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WEEKLY PAPER,



DEVOTED TO

FREE RELIGION.

VOLUME IX.

BOSTON, MASS:

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1878.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 419.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS B. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 2, 1876.

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

GLIMPSSES.

A "HAPPY NEW YEAR" to all who do not seek their own happiness through the unhappiness of others!

THE CINCINNATI Methodist Conference has a preacher six feet and seven inches in stature. He ought to be well informed as to what transpires on high.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY describes Positivism as "a half-breed between science and theology; endowed, like most half-breeds, with the faults of both parents and the virtues of neither."

THE EXECUTIVE Sub-Committee of the National Liberal League for the State of New York, in which some changes have occurred, is as follows: H. L. Green, Salamanca; D. M. Bennett, New York; De L. Crittenden, Rochester; J. W. Truesdell, Syracuse; J. A. Wilson, Albany.

DR. J. C. MICHENER, representative of Iowa on the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, has associated with himself the following persons, as a State Committee: J. H. Strong, Des Moines; P. L. Schmitz, Clinton; C. D. Roberts, Keokuk; E. C. Walker, Florence.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH, of Dublin, in a recent charge to his clergy, takes a despondent view of the prospects of the English State Church. He thinks that the chief danger comes from the interference of the State, and says that "the State, as a political organism, is far less Christian than it used to be,—can hardly be said, as such, to be Christian at all."

THIS IS too good a joke to be lost: "At one of the club-dinners on Saturday a gentleman making a humorous speech read two extracts and then said, 'Gentlemen, one of these is cut from a lecture by Rev. Joseph Cook, and the other from Daniel Pratt's last circular, and I defy any one of you to tell which is which.' Singularly enough no one present was able to solve the riddle."

REV. M. J. SAVAGE is the most radical preacher in Boston, according to our own ideal of radicalism. He is clear, explicit, and bold; he talks to be understood, not to dazzle or make a display of verbal fireworks, and he talks because he has something to say. He does not think just as we do, and we would not give a pin to make him; but he *thinks* and *says* what he *thinks*, and his sermons command our admiration by their sturdy directness and moral force. One of the best of them is a recent discourse on "Church and State," which we shall share with our readers next week.

THE HORTICULTURAL HALL Lectures for 1878 will be as follows: Jan. 6, Octavius B. Frothingham; subject: "The Assaults of Christianity." Jan. 13, Samuel Johnson; subject: "The Soul of Culture." Jan. 20, John Weiss; subject: "Survival of the Fittest." Jan. 27, Reuben Tomlinson, of South Carolina; subject: "The Southern Question,—Is it settled?" Feb. 3, Samuel R. Calthrop; subject: "The Law of Evolution applied to the Hebrew Faith." Feb. 10, Carlos C. Carpenter; subject: "The History of the Sun in Human Thought"; illustrated by the Stereopticon. Feb. 17, Prof. Edward S. Morse; subject: "Japanese Ways." Feb. 24, Wendell Phillips. Mar. 3, William J. Potter; subject: "Is Modern Civilization the Product of Christianity?" Mar. 10, Prof. Alpheus Hyatt; subject: "Analysis of a Problem in Evolution"; illustrated by the Stereopticon. Lecture at 3 P.M. precisely. Tickets for sale at this office.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE of Chelsea, Mass., at a recent meeting (of which we hope to receive a fuller report), passed the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That we, the members of the Chelsea Liberal League, cordially and emphatically indorse and ratify the action of the National Liberal League at its first Annual Congress, held in Rochester,

N. Y., Oct. 26, 27, and 28, 1877, in adopting a political platform for the Presidential election of 1880.

Resolved, That we heartily accept the platform there adopted, as our own, and pledge ourselves to use every effort to secure the prevalence and supremacy of the principles and purposes therein enunciated and set forth.

Resolved, That we consider the aforesaid action of the National Liberal League, in Congress assembled, of vast significance and promise, and recognize in it the birth of a movement which will greatly hasten the time when the people will see and feel the limitations and inconsistencies of the liberty which now we boast,—when the rights claimed by all will be as readily conceded to all, and when this country shall be free in fact as it is now in theory.

THE OPENING PAPER of this first issue of the ninth volume of THE INDEX is one of the most important documents ever presented in the Congress of the United States—the famous Report on the Sunday Mail by the Honorable Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, January 19, 1829. Appended to this great State paper are the preamble and resolutions adopted at a citizens' meeting held in New York City, January 31, of the same year. Both these papers are conceived in the true spirit of the National Liberal League, and are pregnant with instruction for those who see no utility in such an organization as the latter. If the previous generation had been as apathetic on the great question of religious liberty and secular government as too many persons of to-day, the National Government would have been Christianized long before this, and we should have witnessed the melancholy failure of the grandest experiment ever tried to found a great nation on the natural rights of man. Well does it behoove the children to be as wise as the fathers, and to put an end forever to the machinations of the clerical party by adopting the Religious Freedom Amendment of the United States Constitution. Nobody can say without stultifying himself that there is no need of such a measure, when the still recent success of the Orthodox attempt to shut the Centennial Exhibition on Sundays is remembered. The clerical policy is strengthening every day, and it will triumph overwhelmingly at last, unless the Rochester platform is adopted, defended, and made victorious by the roused "conscience for liberty" of the American people.

WHAT LOVER of equal rights in religion can feel easy in his mind over the school question, when such cautious but emphatic declarations as this in favor of keeping the Bible at all costs in the public schools proceed from the great ecclesiastical bodies of the country? "Ex-President Woolsey of Yale, according to his paper read at the National Congregational Council, on 'The Bible in the Schools,' thinks that the question has gone beyond the possibility of a compromise with the Catholics. 'It will amount hereafter,' he says, 'to a plan to give up all mixed schools. The Catholics will join, until that time shall come, with all infidels and many political interests, in keeping religion out of schools, in whatever form it presents itself and asks for admittance.' His conclusions are: (1) that the formal teaching of morals should be a part of public school education; (2) that, unless a considerable minority in a school district object, the Bible should be used as the text-book in morals; (3) that, if the Bible is withdrawn, as a concession to objectors, other suitable books on practical morality should be substituted. The essay was referred to a committee, at the head of which was President Angell of Michigan University. The report of the committee (unanimously adopted) declared that, 'whatever system of schools is adopted by the State, there is a necessity and duty of teaching moral duties; that, in the practical teaching of such duties, ethics cannot be altogether dissociated from religion; that a division of school funds among sects is not to be thought of, and that we cannot abandon our school system on account of our difficulties with infidels or Roman Catholics.'

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

OFFICERS.

President. FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Boston, Mass.

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CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, H. L. Green; Corresponding Secretary, John Hammond. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Cattaraugus County Liberal League.

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MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.—President, Robert C. Spencer; Secretary, William A. Boyd. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Milwaukee.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

WEBSTER, as Secretary of State under Harrison, had a worrisome time about the President's Inaugural Message. He wrote one out himself, and endeavored to make Harrison accept it, but that worthy was obdurate; he had prepared his own and was determined to read it. Webster told his friend Harvey, that he was annoyed because the Message was, according to his judgment and taste, so inappropriate. It entered largely into Roman history, and had a great deal to say about the States of antiquity and the Roman proconsuls and various matters of that kind. Indeed, the word "proconsul" was repeated in it a great many times. When he found, says Mr. Harvey, that the President was bent upon using his own inaugural, Mr. Webster said that his desire was to modify it, for as it then stood, he said, it had no more to do with the affairs of the American Government and people than a chapter in the Koran. General Harrison rather reluctantly consented to let him take it. Mr. Webster spent a portion of the next day in modifying the Message. Mrs. Seaton remarked to him, when he came home rather late that day, that he looked fatigued and worried. Said she, "I really hope nothing has happened." "You would think that something had happened," he replied, "if you knew what I have done. I have killed seventeen Roman proconsuls as dead as smelts, every one of them."

THERE ARE QUEER nooks and corners left in old England. A visitor to a country parson tells how, when he accompanied him lately to take the duty in a remote parish, the sexton said: "Perhaps your reverence won't mind preaching from the chancel, for we've got a duck a sittin' in the pulpit."

Report on the Sunday Mail.

BY HON. RICHARD M. JOHNSON.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, January 19, 1878.—Ordered, That, in addition to the usual number, three thousand copies be printed. Mr. JOHNSON, of Kentucky, made the following REPORT.

That some respite is required from the ordinary vocations of life is an established principle, sanctioned by the usages of all nations, whether Christian or Pagan. One day in seven has also been determined upon as the proportion of time; and in conformity with the wishes of the great majority of citizens of this country, the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, has been set apart to that object. The principle has received the sanction of the national legislature, so far as to admit a suspension of all public business on that day, except in cases of absolute necessity, or of great public utility. This principle the committee would not wish to disturb. If kept within its legitimate sphere of action, no injury can result from its observance. It should, however, be kept in mind that the proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious, as well as civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.

We are aware that a variety of sentiment exists among the good citizens of this nation on the subject of the Sabbath day; and our government is designed for the protection of one as much as for another. The Jews, who in this country are as free as Christians, and entitled to the same protection from the laws, derive their obligation to keep the Sabbath day from the fourth commandment of their decalogue; and in conformity with that injunction pay religious homage to the seventh day of the week, which we call Saturday. One denomination of Christians among us, justly celebrated for their piety, and certainly as good citizens as any other class, agree with the Jews in the moral obligation of the Sabbath, and observe the same day. There are also many Christians among us who derive not their obligation to observe the Sabbath from the decalogue, but regard the Jewish Sabbath as abrogated. From the example of the Apostles of Christ, they have chosen the first day of the week, instead of that day set apart in the decalogue, for their religious devotions. These have generally regarded the observance of the day as a devotional exercise, and would not more readily enforce it upon others than they would enforce secret prayer or devout meditations. Urging the fact, that neither their Lord nor his disciples, though often censured by their accusers for a violation of the Sabbath, ever enjoined its observance, they regard it as a subject on which every person should be fully persuaded in his own mind, and not coerce others to act upon his persuasion. Many Christians again differ from these, professing to derive their obligation to observe the Sabbath from the fourth commandment of the Jewish decalogue, and bring the example of the Apostles, who appear to have held their public meetings for worship on the first day of the week, as authority for so far changing the decalogue, as to substitute that day for the seventh. The Jewish government was a theocracy, which enforced religious observances; and though the committee would hope that no portion of the citizens of our country could willingly introduce a system of religious coercion in our civil institutions, the example of other nations should admonish us to watch carefully against its earliest indication.

With these different religious views, the committee are of opinion that Congress cannot interfere. It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true, or what false. Our government is a civil, and not a religious institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely, without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiments of citizens, and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others.

The transportation of the mail on the first day of the week, it is believed, does not interfere with the rights of conscience. The petitioners for its discontinuance appear to be actuated from a religious zeal, which may be commendable if confined to its proper sphere; but they assume a position better suited to an ecclesiastical than to a civil institution. They appear, in many instances, to lay it down as an axiom that the practice is a violation of the law of God. Should Congress, in their legislative capacity, adopt the sentiment, it would establish the principle that the Legislature is a proper tribunal to determine what are the laws of God. It would involve a legislative decision in a religious controversy; and on a point in which good citizens may honestly differ in opinion, without disturbing the peace of society or endangering its liberties. If this principle is once introduced, it will be impossible to define its bounds. Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the Constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining the Divine Law. It is a right reserved to each citizen; and while he respects the equal rights of others, he cannot be held amenable to any human tribunal for his conclusions.

Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle, which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation

for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled by the same influence. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bands under it; and the catastrophes of other nations furnish an awful warning of the consequence.

Under the present regulations of the post-office department, the rights of conscience are not invaded. Every agent enters voluntarily, and it is presumed conscientiously, into the discharge of his duties, without intermeddling with the conscience of another. Post-offices are so regulated as that but a small proportion of the first day of the week is required to be occupied in official business. In the transportation of the mail on that day, no one agent is employed many hours. Religious persons enter into the business without violating their own consciences or imposing any restraints upon others. Passengers in the mail-stages are free to rest during the first day of the week, or to pursue their journeys at their own pleasure. While the mail is transported on Saturday, the Jew and the Sabbatarian may abstain from any agency in carrying it, from conscientious scruples. While it is transported on the first day of the week, another class may abstain, from the same religious scruples. The obligation of government is the same to both of these classes; and the committee can discover no principle on which the claims of one should be more respected than those of the other, unless it should be admitted that the consciences of the minority are less sacred than those of the majority.

It is the opinion of the committee that the subject should be regarded simply as a question of expediency, irrespective of its religious bearing. In this light it has hitherto been considered. Congress have never legislated upon the subject. It rests, as it ever has done, in the legal discretion of the Postmaster-General, under the repeated refusals of Congress to discontinue the Sabbath mails. His knowledge and judgment, in all the concerns of that department, will not be questioned. His intense labors and assiduity have resulted in the highest improvement of every branch of his department. It is practiced only on the great leading mail routes, and such others as are necessary to maintain their connections. To prevent this would, in the opinion of the committee, be productive of immense injury, both in its commercial, political, and in its moral bearings.

The various departments of government require, frequently in peace, always in war, the speediest intercourse with the remotest parts of the country; and one important object of the mail establishment is to furnish the greatest and most economical facilities for such intercourse. The delay of the mails one whole day in seven, would require the employment of special expresses, at great expense, and sometimes with great uncertainty.

The commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of our country are so intimately connected as to require a constant and the most expeditious correspondence betwixt all our seaports, and betwixt them and the most interior settlements. The delay of the mails during the Sunday would give occasion to the employment of private expresses to such an amount that probably ten riders would be employed where one mail-stage is now running on that day, thus diverting the revenue of that department into another channel, and sinking the establishment into a state of puellability incompatible with the dignity of the government of which it is a department.

Passengers in the mail stages, if the mails are not permitted to proceed on Sunday, will be expected to spend that day at a tavern upon the road, generally under circumstances not friendly to devotion, and at an expense which many are poorly able to encounter. To obviate these difficulties, many will employ extra carriages for their conveyance, and become the bearers of correspondence, as more expeditious than the mail. The stage proprietors will themselves often furnish the travellers with those means of conveyance; so that the effect will ultimately be only to stop the mail, while the vehicle which conveys it will continue, and its passengers become the special messengers for conveying a considerable proportion of what would otherwise constitute the contents of the mail.

Nor can the committee discover where the system could consistently end. If the observance of a holy day becomes incorporated in our institutions, shall we not forbid the movement of an army; prohibit an assault in time of war; and lay an injunction upon our naval officers to lie in the wind while upon the ocean on that day? Consistency would seem to require it. Nor is it certain that we should stop here. If the principle is once established that religion or religious observances shall be interwoven with our legislative acts, we must pursue it to its *ultimatum*. We shall, if consistent, provide for the erection of edifices for the worship of the Creator, and for the support of Christian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity. It is the settled conviction of the committee that the only method of avoiding these consequences, with their attendant train of evils, is to adhere strictly to the spirit of the Constitution, which regards the general government in no other light than that of a civil institution, wholly destitute of religious authority.

What other nations call religious toleration, we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any portion of citizens, however small. Despotism power may invade those rights, but justice still confirms them. Let the

national legislature once perform an act which involves the decision of a religious controversy, and it will have passed its legitimate bounds. The precedent will then be established, and the foundation laid for that usurpation of the divine prerogative in this country which has been the desolating scourge to the fairest portions of the Old World. Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence, by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant, to relieve the widow and the orphan, to promulgate to the world the gospel of their Savior, recommending its precepts by their habitual example; government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It cannot oppose them, and they will need its aid. Their moral influence will then do infinitely more to advance the true interests of religion than any measures which they may call on Congress to enact.

The petitioners do not complain of any infringement upon their own rights. They enjoy all that Christians ought to ask at the hand of any government,—protection from all molestation in the exercise of their religious sentiments.

Resolved, That the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS,

ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK, AGAINST THE PASSAGE OF ANY LAW PROHIBITING THE TRANSPORTATION AND OPENING OF THE MAIL ON SUNDAY.

UNITED STATES SENATE, February 9, 1829.—Ordered, To lie on the table and be printed.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

Sir,—I have been directed by a public meeting of the citizens of this place, to forward to you the enclosed preamble and resolutions, unanimously adopted by said meeting, and to request the favor of you to lay the same before the honorable body over which you preside. Respectfully your friend,

PRESERVED FISH.

At a very large and respectable meeting of the citizens of New York, at Tammany Hall, on Saturday evening, January 31, 1829, convened for the purpose of expressing their sentiments on the proposition now before the Congress of the United States, to stop the transportation of the public mails and the opening of the post-offices on Sunday:

PRESERVED FISH, Esq., was called to the chair, and ELISHA TIBBITS and DANIEL JACKSON, Esqs., were appointed Secretaries.

The following preamble and resolutions were then presented by Saul Alley, Esq., prefaced by some pertinent remarks, and, after having been read, were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, This meeting has witnessed with mingled emotions of regret and alarm the exertions of a certain portion of our citizens to influence the Congress of the United States, by their memorials, "so to amend the existing laws regulating the post-office department, as to prevent the transportation and opening of mails, and delivery of letters, newspapers, and packages, on the day which is almost universally acknowledged as the Christian Sabbath"; and inasmuch as they appear to have lost sight of the precepts and genuine character of the religion which they profess, by supposing it requires the aid of civil government for its support, and that the Congress possess the power to favor any particular class of citizens, in propagating their peculiar views, either of the doctrines or duties of religion, this alarm is excited by the attempts which have been made, and are now making, to influence and control the public opinion, to make all our literary and benevolent institutions subservient to sectarian purposes; and more especially by the recent extensive concerted and simultaneous measures to induce the national legislature (by a multitude of memorials and petitions) to enact laws which would violate a fundamental principle of the federal constitution; and,

Whereas, This meeting considers it the unalienable right of every man to worship Almighty God when, and where, and in what manner it may accord with the convictions of his own understanding; and that the only legitimate course to be pursued by every religious sect which wishes to increase its numbers and influence is to accomplish it by the example of piety, benevolence, and liberality, rather than by coercive measures; convinced of the correctness of these views, this meeting would respectfully remonstrate, not only against the proposed change of the existing laws regulating the post-office department, but also against the passage of any law having for its object the regulation of religious duties, or which may, in any way, interfere with what properly belongs to the conscience of each individual. Therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting highly disapproves of the recent attempts of certain religious sects, who have combined to influence the National Legislature to pass an act which would favor their own peculiar views of religious duty, as being not only contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of opinions to every citizen, but fraught with the most pernicious and dangerous consequences to our civil and religious liberties, and calculated to prepare the way for the final establishment of a national religion.

Resolved, That the late able report of the committee on post-offices, etc., to the Senate of the United States, receives the fullest approbation of this meeting, and that we feel particular satisfaction in observing the prompt manner in which it was adopted by that honorable body.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, it

is the duty of every good citizen to frown with indignation upon every attempt on the part of any religious sect or denomination of Christians, as such, to obtain influence in the councils of the nation, whereby would be endangered the great and fundamental principles of religious and civil liberty, guaranteed to us by the Constitution.

Resolved, That we have witnessed with great regret the recent adjournment of the Assembly of this State to join in a fast, not emanating with the authorities of the State, but at the special request of a sectarian congregation in Albany: thus exhibiting a fatal example of devotion to sectarian influence, and hazarding the interests of this State, by interrupting public business at the call of any Synod who may order a similar fast; and this fact, in connection with the attempt to stop the mails on Sunday, creates just apprehensions, that, if religious partisans of any particular sect shall succeed in making the laws of the land tributary to their doctrines, it will be a signal for dangerous innovations on the civil and religious rights of the people, and we shall be called upon to surrender these inestimable blessings which were secured to us by the valor and fidelity of our fathers.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the editors of the New York *Enquirer*, *Evening Post*, and the *American*, for their patriotic and independent opposition to the proposed restrictions on the transportation of the public mails.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and published in newspapers in this city, and a copy thereof sent to the President of the Senate of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRESERVED FISH, Chairman.

ELISHA TIBBITS, } Secretaries.
DANIEL JACKSON, }

PLAIN TRUTHS FOR WESTERN READERS.

To intelligent men at the East, it seems a most amazing thing that there is so great an indifference at the West as to the public credit. For the South there is some excuse. The debt was created in suppressing rebellion. But the Western States were intensely and vigorously loyal. They gave without stint of their best blood to sustain the Union. How can it be that the people of those States care so little for the honor of the nation preserved so largely by Western fidelity and heroism? Yet Pendletonism suddenly became so strong in that region, at one time, that few Republican statesmen had the manhood to combat it. Inflation swept over that section, like a prairie fire, in 1874. The demand for repeal of the Resumption Act was resisted with difficulty in any Western State in 1875 and 1876. Now the silver delusion, coming swiftly like a nightmare, has driven crazy nearly every public man and journal at the West. And yet the people of that region are personally not devoid of honesty nor of common sense. How is it that every sort of raid upon the public honor prevails there so easily?

If it be in part because the people of the West do not comprehend how public prosperity depends upon public credit? Daily experience has not familiarized them with the effects of credit upon commerce and industry. Crops can be raised, whether capital is alarmed or not. But merchants know that crops cannot be moved unless money can be borrowed to cover the cost while moving from the farm to the consumer. If capital is alarmed, if banks are in trouble, the movement is instantly checked; the producer has to sell at lower rate, in order to sell at all. The loss in price he feels; the disorder of the credit system, which is often the true cause, he rarely perceives. Why is capital alarmed, and why are the banks in trouble? The most necessary reserves of banks, savings banks, insurance and trust companies, and active capitalists, are kept in government bonds. Danger to them, or a decline in their price, instantly brings disorder to the whole money market, causes corporations and lenders to call in loans and refuse renewals, prevents the free employment of capital which is necessary for active business, and thus checks purchases and shipments. The producer suffers. Within the last two months, movement of crops has been checked by uncertainties in the money market, and Western and Southern producers have already lost millions of dollars because of the silver agitation.

The instant effect of public credit upon private prosperity is constantly felt at the East. Mines employing an hundred thousand men must stop work if the borrowing of money is checked by alarm of capital. Mills and factories employing workers by the hundred thousand are obliged to borrow constantly, and a week of alarm in the money market is a week of disaster to industry. Failures by the thousand result from every new raid upon the public credit. The alarm is not unreasonable. Not only the national banks, by which the greater part of commercial loans are made, but nearly all financial corporations wisely hold in public securities as large a part as possible of their surplus or reserve fund. Short loans are drawn in at once when there is alarm, and government bonds cannot be advantageously sold. In New England more than one person to each family is a depositor in a savings bank, and the least danger to these banks causes many to withdraw deposits. But these deposits amount to twelve hundred millions, and are largely employed in moving machinery, paying wages and carrying crops and other products to consumers. An alarm instantly checks the vast commerce and industry which depend upon freedom of borrowing.

The West and South have to pay a large share of the cost of all uncertainty or alarm in business,—in part, because unemployed hands cannot buy so freely of Western products; in part, because in times of

uncertainty Eastern mills or merchants do not venture to carry as large stocks of cotton or wool or grain; in part, because the cost of articles imported or manufactured here is increased by uncertainty and stringency in the money market; and in part, because the West and South are always borrowing largely at the East, and have to pay more for money when there is fear of trouble. In these, and in many other ways, the great burdens which Western repudiators cause inevitably roll back in great part upon Western producers. Many millions, no man can tell how many, the agitation this fall has already cost. The West has assailed the public credit, and has thereby fleeced itself. The sale of bonds was stopped, and the price lowered; thousands of depositors were alarmed; hundreds of banks tried to protect themselves, and some failed; the money market was made uncertain and feverish. The cost is heavy, and the West pays its full share.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A MORNING WITH COMTE.

Every scrap of information in regard to the opinions and personal characteristics of the distinguished author of the *Positive Philosophy* is read with interest. The November number of the *Nineteenth Century* has a brief article with the above title, which contains some new items. It is the sketch of a visit which Sir Erskine Perry paid him, Feb. 25, 1853, at his well-known rooms in Paris. It had been said that at this time he was living in great poverty, and his visitor called to ascertain the truth of the story and to relieve his necessities if there were occasion. Some time before this, Mr. Grote, Sir William Molesworth, and Mr. Ralke Currie, through the influence of John Stuart Mill, had come to his assistance, and he was then (1853) living upon the contributions of his Positivist disciples and devoting his whole strength to the elaboration of his philosophical analysis of society. Sir David Brewster clearly recognized in 1838, in the *Edinburgh Review*, the general accuracy of the great fundamental law which Comte professed to have discovered, and announced that the French philosopher's great object was to place social physics on the same positive basis which he had found to belong to physical science. It was John Stuart Mill who said that Auguste Comte had "alone arrived at any results truly scientific" in regard to sociology—a subject which Herbert Spencer is slowly elaborating,—and his strong sympathy with humanity and his lofty views of morality have attracted the attention of the most eminent thinkers of the day, not less than the clearness with which he enunciated his great fundamental idea of social law at the early age of twenty-four. He died in 1857, and was in the full enjoyment of his fame when Sir Erskine Perry called on him. While waiting for the philosopher to make his appearance, his visitor took a survey of the room. "On the mantelpiece," says Sir Erskine, "were a few books,—*Don Quixote* in French, *L'Imitation* in Cornelle's translation, *Dante's Inferno* in Italian. In the bookcases I noticed principally Descartes' works in eight volumes; Gibbon, Montucla's *History of Mathematics*, Aristotle in French, Fielding's works, several scientific works. All these were well bound, but all appeared as if little touched or consulted. Comte soon entered, a smallish, stooping man, in long dark tweed dressing-gown, much bloodshot in one eye, healthy, rosy tint, short black hair, small Celtic features, forehead unremarkable, agreeable physiognomy." In speaking of religion from his point of view, he said: "What I can't forgive in Christianity is its rupture with all preceding times; it destroyed the true continuity which binds mankind together. For, drawn clearly, it is the dead who govern the living. Homer, Aristotle, Plato, are always influencing us, and will continue so to influence us; but Catholicism severed itself entirely from the past; it worked solely through the masses and is essentially revolutionary. Protestantism has done still worse by erecting a personal standard; and the delusion of the last century is the worst of all, for it destroyed all authority, all reverence, and naturally produced that unbridled selfishness which is now prevalent everywhere." He gave his visitor the following interesting statement of his personal habits: "I rise every morning at five, and work the whole day except on Wednesdays, when I go out to preside over the Societe Positive (and on the evenings of which day, I may add, he paid a weekly visit to the tomb of Clotilde de Vaux), and except on Thursdays, when I conduct my correspondence and receive my friends. I receive also every evening from seven to eight, and if no one comes in I go to bed at eight. Thanks to my great temperance, my health is perfect, and you see (pulling a lock of his hair) I am not yet gray, for I have no ambition like all the rest. That is to say, I am ambitious; for I wish to found a school like Aristotle or St. Paul, and one that will probably be more important than both of those two joined together. And I am full of hope for the future and have not the slightest doubt thereupon." In regard to his home, Sir Erskine continues: "Seeing nothing but the empty, uncarpeted room in which he received me, the little drawing-room, consecrated by her presence, and by the sacraments, his bedroom, and one or two empty closets in which were a few books—copies of his *Catechisme Positive*, for instance,—I inquired with interest for his library, where he wrote. 'But it is the *salon*, where I receive you at any hour.' 'But,' I said, 'there are no books there.' He rejoined: 'I never read; reading interrupts thinking; it is necessary to begin with reading; but now I have given it up and don't read even scientific works. Fifteen years ago gave up reading newspapers, as I found it very injurious.' 'But how, then,' I asked, 'can you keep up with the history of the times?' 'Oh' said he, 'living at Paris, and seeing so many people as I do,

I hear of everything that occurs.' He then commenced a monologue on journalism, which he thought would some day be driven out of the field by placards posted against the wall; by which those, including government, who had anything to say to the world, would speak at the moment it was necessary; whereas at the present time writers for the press had to pour out a broadside day after day, whether they had anything to say or not. 'But I read poetry, books like those,' pointing to the volumes on the mantelpiece; 'every day I read a chapter in the *Imitation*, and I have a copy there in Cornelle's beautiful translation,—I advise you to get it,' as I had thrown out that I never read a line in this celebrated work. In connection with this taste for poetry, I may also record that, in the course of this long conversation, he threw out that formerly he used to take a stall at the Italian opera, but had been compelled by his circumstances to give it up." His remark about newspapers recalls the saying of the late Thomas Brassey, the great railway contractor, "that he was too busy to read them, and that he depended on his friends for the news." Comte does not suffer by this sketch, and Sir Erskine Perry says of the interview, which was principally a monologue two hours and a half long: "The effect of it on my mind was to inspire me with warm regard for his benevolence and purity of views; with admiration for his profundity of ideas and brilliant elocution; but, above all, with wonder at the calm and well-assured self-complacency with which he regarded his own social theory to be as firmly established as any of the exact sciences which he had previously mastered."—*Boston Herald.*

WHAT NOT TO READ.

SERMON BY A REDEMPTORIST FATHER AT ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH.

This (Monday) morning, at half-past five, one of the Redemptorist fathers preached as follows in St. Patrick's Church:—

"The art of printing has been considered by some to be a great invention wherever it has been introduced; but, like all other things which are good in themselves, it has often been used for other purposes than those for which it was intended. It has been used for other purposes than disseminating sound doctrine and sound morals. I wish to speak to you this morning about the classes of literature you must not read; about bad books and bad papers. All bad books, or all books forbidden by the Church to be read by good Catholics, may be classed under three heads: first, those whose direct tendency is to destroy the doctrines of the Church; secondly, those whose influence destroys morals and doctrine indirectly; thirdly, those whose tendency is neither one nor the other, but to destroy faith. I would warn you, my children, against all such. First, infidel books, by which is meant books written against revelations and intended to destroy a belief in things supernatural—I may mention among these the works of Tom Paine, Darwin, Huxley, and such men,—accepting only the natural and disbelieving the supernatural. Such books are forbidden by the Church; even a priest is not permitted to read them, except by permission from the archbishop, who gets the permission from Rome. This permission is sometimes granted to those whose duty it is to refute them. Then there is another class which, while they cannot, strictly speaking, be called infidel, are heretical. Such books include

ALL PROTESTANT WORKS, BEGINNING FIRST WITH THE BIBLE.

If anybody asks me if the Bible is the Word of God, I answer: If they mean the Catholic Bible,—yes; if they mean the Protestant Bible,—no. The latter is the word of the devil, and is a lie, because written by the father of lies. When Luther left the Church he immediately changed the Bible to justify his actions; and they have been at it ever since, until now there are no less than four thousand variations in the Protestant Bible, consisting of texts left out, parts of texts suppressed, additions, and alterations in punctuation which change the meaning. This book Catholics are warned against. Do not think because the Church forbids the reading of it that she is a tyrant. If a mother saw her child have a razor in its hand would she not immediately take it away? Well, the Protestant Bible is a razor in the hand of a child; a man may use a razor because he knows how, and a priest may read by permission a Protestant Bible because his education is such as to not make it dangerous to him. Some will tell you a Catholic is not allowed to read any Bible; if anyone says a Catholic cannot read a Catholic Bible, tell him he is a liar,—tell him he is a jackass. Tell him for me—with my compliments—

HE IS A JACKASS.

This class of literature also comprises those newspapers and tracts of whatsoever kind that make fun of your religion. And I find that in this city are some which are not only forbidden by the fact that they ridicule your religion, but are also specially forbidden by the archbishop of this diocese; and yet I learn that some Catholics read them! How much better it would be for the Church if she were rid of such! A Catholic ought not to be ashamed of his religion and read a paper of this kind to escape the sneers of Protestants. He then becomes a lick-spittle of Protestants. When a lukewarm, milk-and-water Catholic like this comes to me and says he needs to on account of his business, I do hate such a Catholic; I feel like spitting in his face. Then, my children, I would warn you against all books of superstition, for they are against faith. All fortune-telling books are forbidden, because God only can

foretell future events; even the angels are unable to do this; how much less men! Also all books of immoral tendencies purporting to be medical works and intended to encourage improper practices, especially those illustrated with improper cuts that a Catholic eye should never see. All novels and light reading. Now what is the duty of a Catholic when a book published by a Bible Society is placed in his hands, or when a lady with a blue veil and a reticule on her arm, looking like a potato taken from the cellar, where it has been for ten years, hands you a tract, or, if you won't take one, sticks it under the door or in at the window? Some of you are fond of the weed,—some of you smoke; then

JUST LIGHT YOUR PIPE OR CIGAR WITH IT, or let your wife make coffee with it. These tracts generally have four or five leaves, and are written by Methodist ministers, who have no money in their pockets, and it is done to make money and get a living. These tracts will perhaps tell you that works are not necessary to salvation, or tell you untrue stories about priests or nuns; burn them, and when you have any doubts about a publication, come and ask your father confessor. If you can read, buy Catholic books and papers; subscribe to them,—they will make a good Catholic of you, and you will be able to fight Protestants with your intellect as well as your fists; the former being a more effective way."—*Montreal Daily Witness, Nov. 19, 1877.*

WHAT MAKES A STORM.

Professor Elias Loomis, of Yale College, read a paper on "Contributions to Meteorology" at the recent meeting of the National Academy of Sciences in New York, part of which is as follows: The published volumes of the United States signal service (now covering a period of twenty-one months) show that the great storms of the United States usually begin near the Rocky Mountains. Of the few traced to the Pacific Ocean none come in the south of Oregon. A large proportion of our storms are developed within our national limits or near our borders. Thus we have many chances to observe the first development and gradual increase of a storm. The usual circumstances attending the first development are these: There is an area several hundred miles in diameter over which the barometer has about its mean height. On opposite sides of this region, generally about east and west, at a distance of some one thousand miles, areas of high barometer are formed where the pressure is from one-fourth to a whole inch above the mean. From these two opposite high-pressure areas the atmosphere moves toward the central area, the earth's rotation deflecting these currents to the right. There results a diminished pressure over the central area, causing a still greater inward flow of air, thus producing a still lower barometric pressure. Since the air tends to flow in on all sides toward this low-pressure area, it assumes an oval shape, sensibly circular if the winds are violent. The centrifugal force resulting from this circular movement causes a still further depression of the barometer. This partial vacuum would soon be filled, stopping the inward movement of the air, were it not for the upward escape of this air, carrying aqueous vapor. The whole is cooled, producing rain. The heat liberated in this condensation of vapor causes a further rarefaction of air, increasing the inward movement of wind. Rain is thus one circumstance which increases the force of a storm, but is not regarded as a cause of its origin. The observations prove an inward movement of the air before much precipitation of vapor takes place. The progress of an area of low barometer appears to be mainly determined by the same causes which determine the general system of circulation of the atmosphere. Except in the southern margin of the United States, the average annual progress of the wind is from west to east, and is determined by causes general in their operation. Local storms cannot permanently, but may temporarily, influence this progress, in which case it acquires increased power and will be reestablished in a few days at most, with a force proportioned to the time it was interrupted. The atmospheric disturbance due to storms is mainly confined to the lower half of the atmosphere. The force of this upper current from the west added to that of the lower half of the atmosphere pressing in upon the west side of a low-barometric area, tends to fill up the depression on that side. On the eastern side of the storm, the surface wind alone presses inward, while the upper portion of the atmosphere is still moving from the west. Moreover, the upward motion of the air takes place chiefly on the east side of the centre, as is indicated by the position of the rain areas. By this upward motion, the air which presses in upon the east side of the centre is prevented from restoring the equilibrium of the pressure on that side, while on the west of the centre there is usually little of this upward movement. Thus the low-pressure centre tends eastward, or the storm appears to travel to the east. If there should be a great precipitation of vapor on the west side of the storm centre, this must be accompanied by ascending currents of air on that side, which would oppose the establishment of the equilibrium of pressure on that side, and the storm centre may be held stationary, or even tend westward. A remarkable example of this occurred in March, 1874. This storm travelled from Montana to Nova Scotia at the rate of twenty-four miles per hour. At one time near Nova Scotia its rate was three miles an hour, then fifteen, then three, the storm centre oscillating to and fro. During this period of slow rate much snow fell to the west of the centre of low pressure. This snow-fall is believed to be the cause of the slow eastward progress. Other remarkable instances of this kind have occurred.—*Boston Advertiser.*

GEORGE W. CURTIS' MINISTRY.

The Church of the Redeemer at New Brighton, Staten Island, is a neat, gothic-frame structure, with a high-peaked roof, and a slender tower on the right in front. It stands back off Clinton Avenue, on the south side of the street, about five hundred yards from the water, in the centre of a lawn intersected by gravel-strewn paths. The interior is plain and tasteful. A double row of small, lancet-shaped windows of stained glass lights the sides. In a recess in the rear, lighted by a large rose window, is a sonorous organ. A black-walnut screen in front, hung with crimson cloth, conceals the choir from view. In front of this is the raised reading desk of oak, heavily cushioned in crimson velvet, and bearing the monogram, "I. H. S." A small iron baptismal font, painted white, stands on the left. The church is Unitarian. It was built by private subscription, and is out of debt. Formerly it had a minister at a salary of \$3,000 per year, but two years ago he went away. The congregation then asked George William Curtis to conduct services for them until the vacancy could be filled. He complied, reading each Sunday a selected sermon from the productions of famous theologians, and has continued ever since to act as minister. Mr. Curtis does not confine himself to the writings of Unitarians exclusively, but treats his hearers to discourses produced by Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and clergymen of all denominations. "He has spoiled us so far as getting a minister is concerned," said one of the congregation to a *Times* reporter yesterday. "I don't think we could find one now who would satisfy us." When Mr. Curtis is ill or away, his place is temporarily filled by ministers from neighboring churches. He receives nothing for his services, and the revenues of the church, beyond its small expenses, are employed in assisting other congregations less favored. Last June, Sunday collections were discontinued, and the only receipts now are by voluntary contributions.

Yesterday morning, the polite, gray-haired sexton invited the *Times* reporter to "take a seat anywhere." At eleven o'clock Mr. Curtis entered and seated himself behind the reading-desk. He was attired in ministerial black. When the choir began the opening anthem, there were twenty-nine persons of all ages, by actual count, in the edifice. Subsequently, the number was swelled to about forty, and these almost half-filled the sittings. It was said that the bad weather and the absence of many persons in the country accounted for the small attendance. At the end of the anthem, Mr. Curtis adjusted his glasses, and rising, said in measured tones: "Let us read the psalm on the ninety-seventh page of the psalter." The congregation thereupon arose also, and the fifth psalm was recited, Mr. Curtis and the congregation reading aloud alternate verses. Mr. Curtis then gave out the thirteenth hymn, beginning, "Love divine, all love excelling," which he read to the end with exquisite elocutionary effect. The hymn was sung standing, Mr. Curtis joining. At its conclusion, Mr. Curtis read the thirty-second and thirty-fifth chapters of Isaiah. The choir then sang the anthem, "O Holy Spirit," and when they had ended Mr. Curtis read the twelfth chapter of the Epistle of Romans, and the fifth and sixth chapters of Matthew. The two hundred and first hymn, beginning, "Through all the various shifting scenes," was then sung by the congregation. Then Mr. Curtis read from a recent published volume a sermon by Rev. Starr King, the famous Boston and California Unitarian minister, on the text contained in the twenty-second verse of the fourth chapter of St. John. The discourse was a masterly exposition of the Unitarian doctrine and argument in favor of its soundness. Mr. Curtis' magnificent elocution threw its beauties into the strongest possible light. The audience listened intently from beginning to end, and there were times when all present held their breath, so effective was the rendering of the more brilliant passages. The sermon over, the choir intoned the Lord's prayer, the congregation bowing their heads and following silently. The one hundred and sixth hymn, beginning, "Thy presence, ever-living God," was then sung, and the services were closed shortly after noon by a fervent benediction, invoked by Mr. Curtis while the congregation remained standing.—*N. Y. Times*.

SENATOR SUMNER'S RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

One of the earliest and most attached friends and correspondents of Charles Sumner was his classmate, Jonathan F. Stearns, of Bedford, now pastor of a church in Newark, N. J. He became, after graduating, a teacher in Greenfield, and on entering the seminary at Andover, as a theological student, he addressed to his friends an earnest letter of religious inquiry and appeal. This drew from Sumner the following reply, which we extract from the just published memoir:—

This letter is a reply to one from Stearns, then a student at the Andover Theological Seminary, in which he pressed the Christian faith on Sumner's attention, and began thus: "My knowledge of your candid temper, and the terms on which we have been long conversant with each other, encourage the belief that you will suffer me for once to address you with great plainness. The sentiments of friendship I have so long cherished towards you; the high respect I entertain for your character and talents; the extensive influence which I foresee you are to have in the community; and, more than these, the immortality to which we both are destined,—all forbid me to be silent."

CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 12, 1833.

My dear Friend,—I have received and am grateful for your letter. The interest you manifest in my welfare calls for my warmest acknowledgments. I do not know how I can better show myself worthy of

your kindness than with all frankness and plainness to expose to you, in a few words, the state of my mind on the important subject upon which you addressed me.

The last time I saw you, you urged upon me the study of the *proofs of Christianity*, with an earnestness that flowed, I was conscious, from a sincere confidence in them yourself, and the consequent wish that all should believe, as in belief was sure salvation. I have had your last words and look often in my mind since. They have been not inconstant prompters to thought and speculation upon the proposed subject. I attended Bishop Hopkins' lectures, and gave to them a severe attention. I remained and still remain unconvinced that Christ was divinely commissioned to preach a revelation to men, and that he was intrusted with the power of working miracles. But when I make this declaration, I do not mean to deny that such a being as Christ lived and went about doing good, or that the body of precepts which have come down to us as delivered by him, were so delivered. I believe that Christ lived when and as the gospel says; that he was more than man—namely, above all men who had as yet lived,—and yet less than God; full of the strongest sense and knowledge, and of a virtue superior to any which we call Roman, or Grecian, or Stoic, and which we best denote when, borrowing his name, we call it *Christian*. I pray you not to believe that I am insensible to the goodness and greatness of his character. My idea of human nature is exalted, when I think that such a being lived and went as a man amongst men. And here, perhaps, the conscientious unbeliever may find good cause for glorifying his God; not because he sent his Son into the world to partake of its troubles and be the herald of glad tidings, but because he suffered a man to be born, in whom the world should see but one of themselves, endowed with qualities calculated to elevate the standard of attainable excellence.

I do not know that I can say more without betraying you into a controversy, in which I should be loath to engage, and from which I am convinced no good would result to either party. I do not think that I have a basis for faith to build upon. I am without religious feeling. I seldom refer my happiness or acquisitions to the Great Father from whose mercy they are derived. Of the first great commandment, then, upon which so much hangs, I live in perpetual unconscience.—I will not say disregard, for that, perhaps, would imply that it was present in my mind. I believe, though, that my love to my neighbor—namely, my anxiety that my fellow-creatures should be happy, and disposition to serve them in their honest endeavors—is pure and strong. Certainly, I do feel an affection for everything that God created; and *this feeling is my religion*.

"He prayeth well, who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast.

"He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all."

I ask you not to imagine that I am led into the above sentiment by the lines I have just quoted,—the best of Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner,"—but rather that I seize the lines to express and illustrate my feeling.

This communication is made in the fulness of friendship and confidence. To your charity and continued interest in my welfare, suffer me to commend myself as

Your affectionate friend,
CHARLES SUMNER.

A KIND-HEARTED she-elephant, while walking through the jungle where the spicy breezes blow soft o'er Ceylon's Isle, heedlessly set foot upon a partridge, which she crushed to death within a few inches of the nest containing its callow brood. "Poor little things," said the generous mammoth, "I have been a mother myself, and my affection shall atone for the fatal consequences of my neglect." So saying she sat down upon the orphaned birds. Moral: The above teaches us what home is without a mother; also, that it is not every person who should be intrusted with the care of an orphan asylum.—*N. Y. World*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 29.

Jehu Blatt, \$4; Chas. W. Bennett, 40 cents; William Jones, \$3.70; S. P. Chamberlain, \$3; C. S. Patrick, \$3; Wm. H. Wood, \$3.30; W. A. Culbert, 50 cents; C. B. Peckham, \$3.30; James Nye, \$3.30; Isabella Thomson, \$10; E. M. Wilson, \$3; W. C. Fuller, \$3.30; Leonard Chandler, \$3.30; Clark & Co., \$11.11; H. H. Hatch, \$3.30; T. A. Kinney, \$3; A. P. Hulse, \$3; S. W. Sample, \$3.30; J. P. Quincy, \$3.30; E. T. Billings, \$5.70; M. C. Shannon, \$3.30; A. E. Giles, \$3.30; T. C. Leland, 25 cents; D. A. Oline, \$3.30; William Filene, \$3.30; John Verity, \$3.30; Seth Hunt, \$3.30; Clarence Vail, \$1.00; J. L. Cutler, \$3.30; H. W. Johnson, \$3; W. J. Worden, \$5; F. V. Smith, \$3.30; Joseph Post, \$5; Dr. E. H. Price, \$1; S. L. Smith, \$3.30; John Q. Mason, \$2.30; Samuel B. Honey, \$10; B. Davidson, \$2.30; Mrs. Dr. E. Thomson, \$3.30; John Bodge, \$3; W. C. Fuller, \$3.30; Alex. Foster, \$1.25; Robert Cooper, \$1.00; Osh, \$1; L. Everett, \$3.30; W. R. Sinton, \$1; J. Brookway, \$3.35; D. F. Henderson, \$3; Fred'k Goodfellow, \$5; H. M. Todd, \$2.50; John Sawyer, \$3.30; Dr. John Winslow, \$11; J. G. Whyte, \$3; E. A. Billingsly, \$11; W. H. Sayward, \$3.30; Miss S. P. Beck, \$3.30; E. H. Lamb, 10 cents; Aaron Skinner, \$3; P. H. Clark, \$3.30.

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"SWEET SIXTEEN."

Dear face, with happy, trustful eyes,
And lips so swift to kiss, to smile,
And soft brown hair that never lies
Too smooth to dread my touch the while,—
Dear eyes, so full of gentlest youth,
Of love so free from cloudy trace,
Of maiden modesty and truth,
Of wifely tenderness and grace!

'Tis twice eight years since we were wed,
Twice eight this rainy summer's day,
And yet your loving little head
This morn upon my arm you lay,
As if this were the very time
When first I bore its precious weight,—
As if it shone with girlhood's prime,
And "Sweet Sixteen" were still its date!

Ah more than dear! your guileless part
I match with guilelessness unfeigned,
And give you still an honest heart,
And loyal faith, and troth unstained.
Though streaming tears throughout our past
Have flowed our little graves between,
Each year is holier than the last,
And wedded love is "Sweet Sixteen."

ALPHA.

1875.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Books.

AMERICAN ADDRESSING, with a Lecture on the Study of Biology. By T. H. Huxley. New York: D. Appleton & Co. LIGHT. By A. M. Mayer and Charles Barnard. New York: D. Appleton & Co. SOME GENERAL IDEAS CONCERNING MEDICAL REFORM. By David Hunt, M.D. Boston: A. Williams & Co. REMINISCENCES OF FRIEDRICH FROEBEL. By B. von Marneholtz-Büllow. Translated by Mrs. Horace Mann. Boston: Lee & Shepard. WHAT THINK YE OF CHRIST? By Gail Hamilton. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. ESSENTIALS AND NON-ESSENTIALS IN RELIGION. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: American Unitarian Association. THE OFFICES OF THE OLD CATHOLIC PRAYER-BOOK. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. CHRISTIANITY AND IMMORTALITY. Humphrey-Bennett Discussion. New York: D. M. Bennett. POEMS OF THE LIFE BEYOND AND WITHIN. Compiled by Giles B. Stebbins. Boston: Colby & Rich. VISIONS OF THE BEYOND. Edited by Herman Snow. Boston: Colby & Rich. POEMS. By Louise Chandler Moulton. Boston: Roberts Brothers. PROMETHEUS. A Poem. By S. P. Putnam. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. THROUGH SOME OAK. By N. R. Waters. New York: C. P. Somersby. TOM. A Home Story. By George L. Chaney. Boston: Roberts Brothers. THE BARBARAM OF DESTINY. A Novel. By M. E. W. S. New York: D. Appleton & Co. THE CENSUS OF MASSACHUSETTS: 1875. Boston: State Printer.

Paper.

"CHERRY RIPE!" A Romance. New York: D. Appleton & Co. MY BONNIE LASS. By Mrs. C. V. Hamilton. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. ROMEO AND JULIET. A Tragedy. St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co. THE PATTERN MAN. A Comedy. Albany: J. Munsell. GERALD'S MARRIAGE. By André Theuriet. New York: D. Appleton & Co. SPIRITS. By Théophile Gautier. New York: D. Appleton & Co. THE TOWER OF PERCKMONT. By George Sand. New York: D. Appleton & Co. META HOLDENESS. By Victor Charbutles. New York: D. Appleton & Co. SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey, at Langham Hall, London, from June 3 to November 25, 1877. WHAT IS HUMANITY? By Karl Heinzen. Indianapolis: H. Lieber. WHY AM I A UNITARIAN? By J. F. Clarke. SERMONS by Rev. John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, from October to December, 1877. BEGGARS AND BEGGARY. By Rev. John C. Learned, of St. Louis. RELIGION, NOT HISTORY. By Prof. F. W. Newman. CATECHISM DU RATIONALISME. Paris. AN EPILOGUE OF THE POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. New York: Society of Humanity. POSITIVE PRAYER. By Joseph Lonchampt. Translated by John G. Mills. THE RELIGION OF GOD AND THE SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY. By Joachim Kaspary. London: FreeThought Pub. Soc'y. PHILOSOPHIC IDEAS. By J. Wilmshurst. Boston: Colby & Rich. WHAT WAS HE? or, Jesus in the Light of the Nineteenth Century. By William Denton. Wellesey: W. Denton. ORANGISM, CATHOLICISM, and Sir Francis Hincks. By J. A. Allan. Toronto: Hart & Rawlinson. VINDICATION OF THOMAS PAINE. By R. G. Ingersoll. Boston: J. P. Mendum. RAILWAYS OF NEW SOUTH WALES. By John Rae. Sydney: Government Press. NATURE OF THE PHYSICAL FORCES. By Edward Vogel. San Francisco: A Roman & Co. THE ARGUMENT OF President WATSON on Admission of Girls to the Boston Latin School. REPORT OF New York Sabbath Committee, 1875-7. YEAR-BOOK OF the Unitarian Denomination for 1878. APPLETON'S HAND-BOOK of Winter Resorts. FRIEDRICH ALMANACH für das Jahr 1878. CATHOLIC FAMILY ALMANACH for 1878. REPORT OF Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1877-8. MILWAUKEE Public School Grounds and Parks.

Periodicals.

JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. St. Louis. POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. New York. RADICAL REVIEW. New Bedford. UNITARIAN REVIEW. Boston. CATHOLIC WORLD. New York. THE WESTERN. St. Louis. CANADIAN MONTHLY. Toronto. HERALD OF HEALTH. New York. THE SANITARIAN. New York. JOURNAL OF MICROSCOPY. New York. SEMI-TROPICAL. Jacksonville, Fla. LA RELIGION LAIQUE. Paris.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 3, 1878.

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

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

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A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Elizur Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

CLUB TERMS—TIME EXTENDED.

Until February 1, 1878, THE INDEX will be sent for a year to clubs of five or more NEW SUBSCRIBERS on receipt of \$2.20 each, in advance, instead of \$3.20, the regular cost of subscription. This is an excellent chance for all our friends to join in a vigorous effort to increase the circulation of the most earnestly radical journal in the United States, and thereby to advance the common cause. It is only just to show due public appreciation of the efforts of its friends, and we shall therefore (unless explicitly requested to the contrary) publish the names of all who send us clubs under the arrangement, with the number of new subscribers obtained by each. Shall there not be a little generous emulation to help forward the struggling cause of religious freedom?

F. E. ABBOT, Editor.

PREMIUMS FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

The following premiums for NEW SUBSCRIBERS to THE INDEX are offered with the hope that its sincere co-laborers will vigorously aid in increasing its circulation among their personal friends. To receive these premiums, \$3.20 must be remitted in advance with each name sent in. Please read the list carefully, and see if you cannot afford to earn one or more of the works here offered by a little labor in a good cause.

For One New Subscriber.

Either a complete set of Index Tracts; a bound copy of the Report of the "Centennial Congress of Liberals" at Philadelphia, July 4, 1873; any three Reports of the "Annual Meetings of the Free Religions Association" since 1871; Huxley's *Origin of Species*; John W. Chadwick's *Book of Poems*; or any obtainable book not costing over \$1.

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Either Longfellow's or Bryant's complete *Poetical Works* (illustrated); Darwin's *Descent of Man*; Tyndall's *Fragments of Science*; Lewes' *Physical Basis of Mind*; Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*; Shakspeare's *Complete Works*; Frothingham's *Life of Theodore Parker*; or any obtainable book not costing over \$3.

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Either Pierce's *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner*; Emerson's *Prose Works*; Buckle's *History of Civilization*; Spencer's *Psychology*; Humboldt's *Cosmos*; Fluke's *Cosmic Philosophy*; Johnson's *Oriental Religions*. Vol. I., on "India"; Vol. II., on "China"; or any other obtainable book not costing over \$5.

For Ten New Subscribers.

Either Webster's or Worcester's *Dictionary* (unabridged); Longfellow's *Complete Works* (300 illustrations, full gilt); either Dickens' or Waverley *Novels*, complete in six volumes, and illustrated; Strauss' *New Life of Jesus*; or any other book or books not costing over \$12.

WHICH PROMOTES IMMORALITY— "INFIDELITY" OR CHRISTIANITY?

ASTOUNDING FACTS ABOUT TRINITY CHURCH.

By Christianity we mean the dogmatic, historical, and practical religion of the Christian Church, as codified and expounded in its creeds, preached in its pulpits, and illustrated in its own corporate acts and the acts of its members. We disregard all the minor differences of the sects, and consider only that in which they substantially agree; and we equally disregard all the attempts of confused, half-emancipated thinkers to invent a new definition of Christianity independent of its history and creeds. This religion is one of INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY, whether represented by the Pope, the Bible, or whatever else.

By Free Religion we mean what the churches mean by "Infidelity"—the unsystematized thought of those who resist the arrogant claims and pretensions of Infallible Authority in all its Protean shapes, and form their religious beliefs, whatever they may be, in accordance with the principle of FREE THOUGHT. Although we hold that, if judged by the respective degrees of their loyalty to truth, Free Religion is "Fidelity" and Christianity itself is "Infidelity," we will accept in this article the designation fastened by Christian bigotry and insolence on all who refuse to bend the knee to Christian dogmatism. Waiving for the present our objections to the word in itself, we simply propose to ask this question: Which actually promotes immorality—Christianity itself or what Christians call Infidelity?

We should like rather to ask which promotes morality; but that is not the way in which the subject is forced upon public attention. It is the deliberate, settled, immemorial policy of the Church to accuse Infidelity, in all its forms, of a tendency to promote immorality, and of an actual, necessary influence in that bad direction. An indictment is filed against Infidelity, which all who are included in the class covered by that nickname repel as a slander; they cannot change the indictment, but must meet it as it is. We propose first to show that this accusation of fostering immorality is actually brought against Infidelity, and then to show that, in at least one conspicuous case, it is true of Christianity alone.

1. One instance of this accusation, which will be found repeated more or less explicitly by almost every well-known apologist of Christianity, is as good as a thousand; and it will be enough, therefore, to quote from the St. Louis *Christian Advocate*, the chief organ of Southern Methodism, which in its issue of November 14 contained an editorial "Open Letter to a Disbeliever." The passages here selected are no more remarkable than thousands of others, equally strong, which might have been quoted from other sources:—

You boast of the rapid spread of infidelity among us and hail it as a happy omen. In this your boast is well-founded, but neither proper nor delicate. Infidelity is being spread rapidly,—a fact to which no observant mind can be oblivious and no candid man will deny. It is being spread, and permeates high places and low places, and is perverting or rotting out those principles in our common nature which form not only the basis of good morals, but of civil, social, and domestic happiness as well. . . . Alas! sir, infidelity is "spreading," and in exact proportion to its "spread" is the increase of crime among us. . . . But in closing this, allow the writer to suggest what you would really and certainly do by the abolition of Christianity, if such abolition could by any possibility be effected. You would free the world from its abhorrence of vice; you would take away the strongest possible incentive to virtue, and you would bring back the depraved and disgusting morality, or rather immorality, of paganism; you would rob mankind of a firm assurance of another life and thereby despoil them of their patience, their humanity, their veracity, their charity, their chastity, and of all those virtues which soften, meliorate, and sublime our natures, and in their stead you would a second time open the box of Pandora and fill the earth with violence and cruelty to an extent that would uproot civil society and convert the world into a bedlam.

Enough. This charge of promoting immorality is the great Krupp gun of Christianity in its desperate conflict with modern science; and, every time it is discharged, the stunned people imagine that so terrific an explosion must certainly prove fatal to Infidelity. But the real effect of the firing is confined to the mistaken and injurious impression, made on the thoughtless public, that free thought is dangerous to morality and is therefore an enemy to society. Fear of the supposed immoral consequences of Infidelity, if this should be allowed to prevail generally, keeps thousands and thousands of persons in terrified submission to creeds which they would otherwise discard gladly. Let us, then, take one conspicuous test-case, and learn what it has to teach

as to the respective influences of Christianity and Infidelity on the public morals.

2. Every high-minded man or woman will admit without hesitation that justice is an essential part of morality—that profound respect for equal rights (which is only another name for the Golden Rule common to Christianity and other religions) enters necessarily into the composition of every really moral character. To establish and maintain justice between man and man is surely one of the chief and most sacred moral duties of society; whatever favors the discharge of this duty promotes public morality,—whatever hinders the discharge of this duty is an enemy to public morality. There can be little discussion, if any, on points so plain.

Very well: Christianity has seized and desperately defends certain great privileges and advantages in the government, in persistent defiance and contempt of justice between man and man. It arrogates the right to tax every citizen for the support of its own gospel, no matter whether he believes in this gospel or not. It persists stubbornly in this great injustice, refuses to hearken to any argument against it, consults its own selfish interest alone, robs every taxpayer in the community, and thus in a signal manner helps to demoralize society, of whose moral welfare it yet pretends to be the champion and bulwark!

On the other hand, Infidelity asks no privilege, favor, exemption, protection, or advantage at all; it cheerfully concedes the equal rights of Christianity, and would impose no disability on any one who bears its name; it asks nothing but to be released from the degrading and humiliating obligation of paying tribute to a religion which it believes in a large measure false. It advocates a kind of government which would establish justice between man and man, equal rights between Christian and Infidel, and thereby put public righteousness in the place of public oppression.

In this test-question of public justice, which of the two, Christianity or Infidelity, promotes immorality? Which of the two quickens, and which deadens, the public conscience? Which of the two shows a reverent heedfulness of the eternal laws of right and wrong, and is the more faithful observer of the Golden Rule?

3. But many persons are apparently unable to see clearly in any moral question which does not involve dollars and cents; they consider it very absurd and unreasonable that Infidels should object to being indirectly taxed for the support of Christianity, and jump to the conclusion that, because they cannot see the wrong, therefore no wrong has been done. For all such persons as cannot see any inherent wrong in the non-taxation of church-property, we now publish certain amazing and damning facts about Trinity Church in New York city, new at least to us, which ought to sweep away all church-exemptions in a sudden and resistless whirlwind of public indignation. These facts we have learned on private testimony so direct and precise, and from a witness so careful, truthful, and honorable, that we are willing to vouch for the accuracy of what we now proceed to state, and to challenge denial from the Christian press of the country.

I. Trinity Church owns a vast amount of real estate in New York city, lying compactly between Broadway and the North River, and extending nearly two miles in length and from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile in breadth. The whole district enclosed by a line running eastward from the North River through Cortland Street to Broadway, thence northward seven squares to Warren Street, thence one square westward to Church Street, thence eleven squares northward to Canal Street and (continuing on Green Street) seven squares still northward to Amity Street, thence six squares westward to Sixth Avenue, thence four squares northward to Greenwich Avenue, and thence seven squares south-westward on Christopher Street, where the line strikes the North River once more—all this immense district, lying in the most valuable part of the city, belongs to Trinity Church, together with considerable territory south of Cortland Street concerning the exact boundaries of which we are left in some doubt. The value of this enormous amount of real estate is, at a low valuation, fully **Seventy Millions of Dollars**; and, if we correctly understand our informant, Trinity Church pays no tax on the land itself, though the lessees pay taxes on the buildings they have erected upon it, under long leases.

II. Now it is worth while to inquire how this colossal property earns its exemption from taxation—how it pays to New York city an equivalent in "good

moral influence" for the **One and Three Quarters Millions of Dollars** which it compels the rest of the city to pay as annual taxes in its stead! The great argument urged by all the defenders of church-exemption is that, by exempting churches from taxation, the community saves more in diminished expenses for courts and prisons than it relinquishes by remitting the taxes on church-property. It is plain, therefore, that Trinity Church must exert a prodigious moral influence in repressing drunkenness, licentiousness, etc., in New York, in order to save so vast a sum to the city annually.

What is the actual fact? This—that Trinity Church, by the use it permits to be made of the land it rents to its tenants, is *the greatest feeder of vice in the whole city!* According to the official records in the offices of the Chief of Police and the Excise Commissioners, the real estate of Trinity Church supports **Seven Hundred and Sixty-Four Liquor Saloons**, or "gin-mills," and **Ninety-Six known Houses of Prostitution** (ninety-two white and four colored), with many others suspected to be such! Who can estimate the annual expense entailed on the city by all these haunts of vice in its lowest forms? Not we, assuredly; but it must be simply enormous. Yet Trinity Church is exempted from taxation, forsooth, because it is a "bulwark of morality," and officiates in this capacity by pandering to the most depraved appetites of the worst classes of the city!

All this infamy is a legitimate result of the non-taxation of church-property; and similar or even worse results will certainly follow everywhere, if the original evil root out of which they grow is suffered to remain untouched. One wickedness begets another; the crime of robbing the whole people for the purpose of paying the just taxes of the Christian Church recalls with a long train of avenging curses on the head of the community which has committed and still commits it. If the churches raised their voices in favor of their own taxation, this just measure of redress for a grievous wrong could be carried at once; and then we should be the first to declare that they had rendered, by so disinterested an act, a great, noble, and conspicuous service to the public morals. But how is it? They first debauch the public conscience till it cannot distinguish right from wrong in this matter; and then they employ their ill-gotten gains, wrung from the great stupid public which submits in silence to be plundered and fleeced for Christ's sake, in squandering millions on luxurious church buildings, pampering the pride and exclusiveness of those who frequent these "religious club-houses," and making Christianity so exclusively a rich man's religion that the poor and the lowly turn away from it in bitterness of soul. Nay, let him who has accumulated a vast property go to Trinity Church to learn how **Seventy Millions of Dollars** can be made most effective in demoralizing the community, over whose morals it stands guard as the wolf stands guard over the lamb. Verily, the end of these iniquities is not doubtful. The world with its keen, cold eyes is quite able to see through all this nauseating hypocrisy; it is sure to penetrate the sham of a religion which makes its ostentatious zeal for "morality" the plea for getting exemption from taxation for its gin-mills and brothels. It is sure to ask for a better religion at last. Yes! If the churches are self-deluded in this matter, the big world outside has its own answer to the question: "Which promotes immorality, Christianity or Infidelity?" And its answer is not that of the churches!

EXTRACTS AND NOTES.

ASPASIA.

A talented and accomplished lady writes me thus:—"I find in Chambers' *Encyclopædia* that the common error in regard to Aspasia originated in the fact that *foreign* women (Aspasia was a native of Miletus), whatever their character, were without esteem in Athens; and their children, though begotten in wedlock, were held illegitimate. I have been moved to write, because of a passage in your lecture at Denver from which I inferred that you shared the common notion. Enough bad women have had illegitimate influence in politics; but, if Aspasia was worthy, let us not class her with such, even in our thoughts."

The above estimate of the moral character of Aspasia is sustained by Dr. Ernst Curtius, one of the most learned and most impartial of the historians of Greece. Of Aspasia, who was a citizen of Ionia, a Greek State in Asia Minor, he speaks thus:—

"She came to Athens at a time when everything new and extraordinary, everything which appeared to be an enlargement of the limits of ancient usage, a step forward, and a new acquisition, was joyously welcomed. Nor was it long before it was recognized

that she enchanted the souls of men by no mere arts of deception. Hers was a lofty and richly-endowed nature, with a perfect sense of all that is beautiful, and a harmonious and felicitous development. For the first time the treasures of Hellenic culture were found in the possession of a woman, surrounded by the graces of her womanhood,—a phenomenon which all men looked upon with eyes of wonder. She was able to converse, with irresistible grace, on politics, philosophy, and art, so that the most serious Athenians—even such men as Socrates—sought her out in order to listen to her conversation. But her real importance for Athens began on the day when she made the acquaintance of Pericles and formed with him a connection of mutual love; for the association into which Pericles entered with her for life proves that it was not sensual love, or a passing excitement, upon which this connection was based. It was a real marriage, which only lacked the civil sanction because she was a foreigner; it was an alliance of the truest and tenderest affection, which death alone dissolved,—the endless source of a domestic felicity which no man needed more than the statesman who lived retired from all external recreation, and was unceasingly engaged in the labor of his life. Thus the foremost woman of her age lived in the society of the man whose superiority of mind had placed him at the head of the first city of the Hellenes, in loyal devotion to her friend and husband; and although the mocking spirit of Athens eagerly sought out every blemish which could be discovered in the life of Pericles, yet no calumny was ever able to vilify this rare union and to blacken its memory." (*Hist. vol. 2, p. 508: edition Scribner & Co., 1871.*)

But Lecky, speaking of the different classes of women in ancient Greece, says that "in general, the only women who attracted the notice of the people were the *hetærae*, or courtesans"; that "the most virtuous men habitually and openly entered into relations which would now be almost universally censured"; that "a concurrence of causes conspired to bring a certain section of courtesans into a position they have in no other society attained. . . . The courtesan was the one free woman of Athens, and she often availed herself of her freedom to acquire a degree of knowledge which enabled her to add to her other charms an intense intellectual fascination. Gathering around her the most brilliant artists, poets, historians, and philosophers, she flung herself unreservedly into the intellectual and æsthetic enthusiasms of her time, and soon became the centre of a literary society of matchless splendor. Aspasia, who was as famous for her genius as for her beauty, won the passionate love of Pericles. She is said to have instructed him in eloquence and to have composed some of his most famous orations. She was continually consulted on affairs of State; and Socrates, like other philosophers, attended her assemblies. Socrates himself has owned his deep obligations to a courtesan named Diotima."

Plutarch says that Aspasia's business was neither decent nor honorable. Grote mentions the statements of Plutarch and Athenæus as to this disreputable business, but fails to find any better evidence of their truth than a passage which one of them gives from one of the comedies of Aristophanes, about the reading of which passage there is some dispute.

B. F. U.

AN ORTHODOX VOICE FOR JUSTICE.

Under the heading, "Religious Liberty Violated," the *National Baptist* uttered a brave and noble protest against Sabbatarian legislation, which deserves especial honor from an Orthodox journal, and which we would recognize most cordially and admiringly. This is the article:—

In Crawford County, on the 16th of June, two citizens were prosecuted for working in the planing-mill, and for cultivating potatoes on Sunday, the 10th of June. The prosecution failed to show that any religious meeting was disturbed; in fact there was no meeting within several miles. It was shown by the defendants that they were connected with the Seventh-Day Baptists; that they religiously observed the seventh day as the Scripture Sabbath, abstaining on that day from all labor. It was further shown that in 1880 Congress refused to pass a law forbidding the transmission of mails on Sunday, alleging that it was because, as they say, "Sunday is not known in that instrument (the Constitution) as a holy day. The conscience of the Jew or Seventh-Day Baptists is as sacred as that of the first-day man; and the conscience of the individual is as sacred as that of the whole community. To pass such law would be legislating on religion, and therefore unconstitutional."

All in vain; the defendants, being Mr. Daniel Waldo, a most quiet and respectable citizen, and his hired man, Albert Wood, were fined \$4 each, with imprisonment if the fine was not paid.

We need not say to our readers that here was a gross violation of religious liberty, the real principle of which is that each person shall enjoy to the full the right to follow his own conscience, or his inclination, or his judgment, in the matter of religious observance or non-observance, so as he do not interfere with the rights of his neighbors. These men

did not in the least interfere with the rights of others. Had they run a planing-mill in the heart of a crowded city it would have been different. They had a right to observe the first day or not to observe it; they had a right to observe the seventh day or not to observe it.

Imagine the situation reversed. Imagine the Seventh-Day Baptists in the majority, and suppose that we were fined and imprisoned for working on Saturday. Suppose that we were in Turkey and were imprisoned for working on Friday. Suppose that we were in Spain and were punished for working on a Saint's day. The principle is the same.

We trust that at each association of Baptists the matter will come up, and that a united protest will proceed from all our people. We have ever demanded liberty of conscience, not for ourselves alone, but for all men, of whatever creed and of no creed. Let us urge the matter on our law-makers. We hope that another session of the Legislature will not pass before the oppressive and unjust law is swept from the statute-book.

Communications.

WISCONSIN LIBERAL NOTES.

As has already been noticed in THE INDEX, the Liberal League of Milwaukee is now auxiliary to the National League, having received a charter. A constitution has been framed, according in the main with the form suggested by the board of directors of the National League for the use of local auxiliary leagues, and this is now an organization ready to perform its legitimate work. The immediate work seems to indicate itself in the direction of church taxation, and prompt, active measures will be taken to bring the subject before the people and raise the question in legislation this winter. A discussion was held at the last meeting of the League with reference to the matter of memorializing the legislature. It was urged that possibly other methods than that of petitioning might be employed with better effect in influencing public sentiment, and also might bring more weight to bear upon the legislative body.

Public sentiment is undergoing rapid changes upon this subject, and the arguments in favor of church taxation appeal forcibly to persons whose sense of justice and common sense are not warped by self-interest.

Rev. G. E. Gordon, of this city, has prepared a paper upon the subject, which will soon be read at the Academy of Music, under the auspices of the Liberal League. This paper will also be pushed as far as practicable into the newspaper press of the State, together with such other matter as shall bear directly upon the subject, with the intention of influencing public sentiment to a degree that shall tell upon the legislative body at the coming session.

The clauses of the Constitution, approved by the National League, relating to social work were stricken out, not seeming to be practicable at present. I for one, however, have hope that the League will grow speedily to proportions which shall warrant the organization of fraternities, etc. The secularists of Milwaukee are an unnumbered multitude. It needs the rallying standard of active social effort to be able to number them and to count them in. The tendency of freethought is here, as elsewhere, toward isolation, individualism. The force of all movements to liberate thought is unavailing without united action. There is an almost stolid indifference with regard to the interests of the children of freethinkers. Some sort of ethical instruction combined with social activities seems imperative, and there is not a Sunday-school in our city which is up to the requirements of radical parents; not one where I, at least, could conscientiously send my children. Many parents, who entertain ultra opinions on religious questions, act very timidly and compromisingly with their children. Intellectual freedom is one thing for a man or for a woman, but quite another thing for the youth of the family. It would not appear to be a very difficult task to give to a child a clear idea of the Bible, for instance, as we ourselves see it, or a notion of the growth of religions of the revolution of goodness, etc., etc., and thereby save it from the confusions and uprootings to which the inquiring mind is always subject, when it comes to a consideration of such questions. I hope to see the ideal Sunday-school grow out of Liberal League Fraternities,—a Sunday school shorn of sickly sentiment, and promoting the finest ethical culture. Meanwhile we must be willing to do what can best be done, and do that with all our might.

It would be unjust to omit mention in this connection of the Annual Conference of Unitarian and Independent Churches, held in the city of Jamesville, commencing Tuesday, Dec. 18, and continuing three days, which I had the pleasure of attending. The doors of this conference were literally open for all who desired to take part in the services. Narrowness and bigotry were nowhere visible. The essays which were read covered a variety of subjects; and without any design—each essayist having chosen his own subject without reference to any general idea,—there was in each an emphasized expression of the theory of evolution,—William C. Gannett, of St. Paul, closing the list with one of his clear-cut, characteristic essays, in which he traced the growth of our nineteenth-century rationalism, from the sun-god and human sacrifices worship through its various stages of development, likening this growth to that of a plant, whose outcome was a fragrant flower. From rootlet to blossom, a unity; from Judaism to free religion, a unity.

At this conference, Rev. G. E. Gordon read his paper upon church taxation, and the following reso-

itions were presented by him and adopted with enthusiasm, and without a single voice of dissent:—

WHEREAS, We believe that no part of the money raised by local or general taxation should be used for other than strictly public purposes; and,

WHEREAS, No institution can be considered public unless it is the property of, unless it is supported by, the State; and,

WHEREAS, Churches are not in any such sense public institutions; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that Church and State are forever divided in America; and,

WHEREAS, Exemption of churches from taxation is a modified form of a union of Church and State; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that all taxation finds its reason alone in the consent of the taxed; and,

WHEREAS, The forced indirect taxation of the whole people, for the support of institutions which do not represent this universal consent, is contrary to this equal foundation for just taxation; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that whatever the State protects should contribute to the expense of that protection; and,

WHEREAS, Churches do not contribute for the expenses of their protection, in tangible and understandable "value received"; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that exemption of churches from taxation is injurious to the best interests of religion; therefore,

Resolved, That the members of this Conference of Unitarian and Independent Societies, in their individual capacity, hereby express their belief that churches and church property should no longer be exempted from taxation.

Resolved, That a commission of five persons—consisting of Rev. G. E. Gordon, Milwaukee; Rev. H. M. Simmons, Kenosha; Mr. J. A. Treat, Sharon; Mr. E. B. Winship, Racine; and A. M. Thayer, Sparta—be appointed to prepare and present to the next Legislature a memorial praying for a law ordering the taxation of all church, sectarian, and ecclesiastical property.

A committee of five was formed to carry out the spirit of the resolution. This comprised the main missionary work of the convention.

All Souls Church, where this conference was held, has no creed or formula of membership. It signified willingness to cooperate in all laudable efforts to promote the welfare of the society in all that is required. There is no celebration of the Lord's Supper, no rite of baptism. The so-called pastor speaks once on Sunday to a large audience upon topics of the times, and is oftentimes applauded with the enthusiasm sometimes manifest in a lecture-room. The parlors of the church are used for dancing, and the earnestness of these liberal people is acknowledged to exceed that of the most Orthodox societies in all social and charitable work. It is almost an ideal church you see, stamped withal by a most beautiful, or religious, or good (just as one pleases to call it) spirit.

I must mention also another society, which was represented at the conference by its leader,—a young man of broad notions and fine talents. The basis of this society is simply a few statements relative to the supremacy of reason, the importance of conduct; and the only bond uniting the society into a working organization is a recognition of these and an expressed determination to endeavor to elevate the standard of character.

Mrs. Celia P. Woolley, one of your most valuable correspondents, was in attendance, and read a fine paper upon "Woman's Relation to the Church and State."

I ought perhaps to beg pardon for taking so much space with these conference notes; but I cannot help fancying that such gatherings are quite significant of the rapid changes for the better in our liberal churches. This broadening of many of them stands out in bold relief, as contrasted with the narrowness of many others that still adhere to superstitious prejudices, while professedly announcing themselves as liberal Christian organizations. Symptoms of real healthy, religious growth are rare enough to deserve recognition, and find a place among our liberal notions.

I cannot close without just alluding to the Sunday Lecture Society of Milwaukee which this season has proved a success,—quite astonishing in the points of finance and of attendance. The Academy of Music is crowded each Sunday. The entertainments are purely of a popular character, not aiming at instruction. Only the most popular and successful talent is employed. High prices are paid for these, and the admission fee is but twenty cents; yet it pays all expenses. Money-making is not the object of the society. It is that of affording to a large class of people the choicest platform entertainments at a price which all can afford to pay. It is also doing a good deal to rid the community of puritanical and Sabbatarian nonsense, and giving refined recreation to the work-a-day people, whose Sunday is their only rest-day and holiday. AMELIA W. BATE.

MILWAUKEE, Dec. 17.

"FREEDOM THE FRIEND OF PURITY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—One of my many reasons for giving you a title which you do not claim, that of Christian (not, of course, in an ecclesiastical sense), is your gentlemanly regard for the feelings of the better part of our society in all matters related to chastity. On this subject the professions of many are, I am convinced, mere sham; but as for you, I sincerely believe that your inner feelings are even stronger than your words. You have kept THE INDEX singularly purer than many religious journals—from all sensational matter. If anything has ever appeared to

which I must take strong exception, I have been satisfied that it had obtained a place in your columns on the ground of free discussion, but on the strict condition of speaking to the mind alone, and containing not the slightest appeal to animal passions. Your editorial article, "Freedom the Friend of Purity" (INDEX, Dec. 20, 1877), is a new proof of my having not misunderstood you; yet while I have praised our society, and you for upholding her decent feelings, I do not mean to imply that you or our society have a clear idea of the principle on which those decencies rest, or that the conclusions of both you and our society are correct in the sense of completeness.

Your long and valuable quotation from Mr. Comstock's Boston speech clearly proves two things at any rate. First, it reveals a frightful and universal unchastity among the male and female minors of the whole country. Secondly, it manifestly refutes your third conclusion, "that Anthony Comstock, having been proved unfit to exercise the great powers of his present appointment, . . . ought to be summarily dismissed." Evidently there is not in the United States a man whose labors we can less afford to spare, even if in some instances he has collared the wrong man. The reason why his efforts will fail is, that they do not take the evil in its source. The corruption which he depicts is not created by the trade by which the demands of that corruption are supplied. It is the trade that is called into existence by the corruption itself. The corruption, and the trade which it engenders, are the creature of our statutory laws on the condition of minors. This operation of our statutes, entirely unforeseen to the legislator, is clear as daylight to whosoever has the joint experience of the confessional and of residence among nations of a less artificial civilization. This blunder of our statutes, whose good intention I do not question, limits itself to two points, which being corrected the evil will disappear.

1. The first blunder consists in the power given to parents to put obstacles, more or less absolute according to the various American States or European countries, to the marriage of their puber children under twenty-one years of age. No law can morally give such power to parents or guardians, or to any one, over persons of such age as to be able by the fact and manifest intention of Nature, to love and be loved, to have children, and love and support them. Our laws granting such power to parents and guardians over free white citizens, whether male or female, are entirely parallel with the laws of the late slave States, the general effect of which was, with varieties of form and degree, to recognize no marriage of slaves which the master was bound to recognize or respect. The result was that, among the slaves debarred of legitimate satisfaction and honorable family ties, the most frightful immorality prevailed. The same cause, as your quotation of Mr. Comstock shows, produces exactly the same result among our minors of both sexes.

2. The second point, in our statutes, which requires immediate repeal, is the placing of puber minors under the control of their parents or guardians with regard to property matters. I do not speak of inherited property. I am in no hurry to allow a boy of fifteen to spend in revelry in two years the property which the wisdom of his ancestors has gathered in two hundred years; and should I recommend any amendment of our laws in this respect, it would be to prevent not only minors but anyone from squandering in useless expenses the capital amassed by others through years of a better conduct. But I want all pubers, minors and others, to have the free control of their labor and of its earnings. Without this second amendment of our statutes, the first amendment, allowing puber minors to marry, would in practice prove a delusion and a farce. To marry is to found a home. A home must be supported by the product of labor; the preparation of a home is the product of labor. A laborer, the products of whose labor another man can at any moment step in and confiscate, has no prospects of support on which to found a home. Until the law guarantees to him such prospects, what he wants is not a wife to make a pauper of, but a rifle to defend his rights; and puber boys who do not lay by their dimes to buy the rifle will lay them by for investment in such literature and such implements of which Mr. Comstock has raised the price by destroying of them twenty tons.

Of the two amendments which I propose, the joint effect will be to make early instead of late marriage the universal rule. Young puber people will, then as now, become fond of each other and wish to go to housekeeping together. The execution of this legitimate wish the law, instead of preventing, punishing, or obstructing, will simply record, by allowing any clergyman or proper officer to solemnize the marriage. But will that put a stop to all evils? Will all early marriages prove to have been suitable marriages? Will well-married people in all cases duly appreciate their happiness and never sin against it? Will young wives never grow old before their husbands, or young husbands before their wives? Will there remain no place for temptation and unlawful satisfaction?

There will still be temptation and sin, but, in the main, in another part of life, of different character, and with entirely different individual and social results. The early part of life will be generally pure. The married population will be composed not of reformed libertines, who once patronized the literature and manufactured articles which Mr. Comstock confiscates, but of persons who never knew what pruriency was, whose first becoming aware that they might have passions was a feeling of love for each other, an honorable feeling which has been gratified. Unlawful pleasures, if they ever come to be desired, will be the lot of a later part of life, a part of life when passions are less strong, and when

the un-beauty of their only possible satisfaction will have an additional effect in deadening them. Fornication, adultery, and the kindred sins will be the foulsome appanage of dirty old men and dirty old women whom no number of years could ever teach to be wise. Pouch! They will be the scorn of youth. What blooming lassie, who can by her smiles induce a lad of her age to work and make a home for her, would ever become the prey of a dirty old man? What young man will ever think of taking for his wife a reformed rake who, during years of puber school-girlhood, has revelled in obscene books and plates and in disgusting physical satisfactions, when he can have direct from her mother's hand, and lead to God's altar, and thence to his manly home, a younger girl, a virgin undefiled? Yet, as I have admitted that there will be misfits here as in everything else, the following point at least will be secured, and in its social and lasting results I affirm its incalculable value: *the children to be born will be the children of youth.* These children of a pure bed will remain to continue the nation, even if, after their birth, their parents' wedded life, pure at first, has at last come to a shipwreck. As the production of offspring is not specially the aim of debauchees, those last dishonored years will wither away fruitless: blotted out of the book of life forever, as I have no doubt will be ultimately eliminated from mankind, through the survival of the fittest alone, the offspring of any person who before the birth of his children practiced unchastity in any form.

That the results of Mr. Comstock's efforts, incomplete and valuable as they are, should be obtained at such a cost as that of one of our most precious liberties, the liberty of the press, is a matter of as deep concern to me as to you. But there is a liberty more precious still than that of saying and printing what we think right: it is the liberty of doing what is right. This liberty our laws refuse to our puber minors, condemning them to a life of sin. Let us repeal those abominable laws, restore to Nature her rights, and we shall find "Freedom the friend of Purity." I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 21, 1877.

USEFUL KNOWLEDGE NOT OBSCENE.

MR. EDITOR:—

We have just read with profit your worthy article under the heading of "Freedom the Friend of Purity." You are right. A reliable teacher of bodily or mental health never has the least appearance of obscenity or blasphemy in his teachings.

A clear and correct distinction must be made, by competent authority, between the two classes,—the one fairly represented and protected, and the other prevented. To "index" is to "make known," to "point out" the facts as they occur. You faithfully do it. How can we be too radical? The actual state of society, fairly represented, is the basis of any reform it may need.

We want to be delivered from ignorance and its consequent oppression. Intelligence cannot be gained without fair comparison. The most radical reformers make the best contrast between fiction and fact, awaking the drones to action. Make men think, they will then act. We can trust the result. Real liberalism is to speak what you know to be truth, and assist others to do the same. Any person who is not ready to hear a plain statement of fact is not ready to reform. The true liberal desires knowledge on all subjects that lead to health, the type of holiness. Every person who cannot allow his pet ideas to be compared with those held by other teachers and thinkers, must not appear in a free meeting to exhibit them. Physiological teachers as a class are quite as moral and free from blasphemy or obscenity as the majority of professing Christians, who are too often ignorant of the proper use of their reproductive organs. Knowledge protects us from obscenity and blasphemy better than any other influence. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are the best means of obtaining the necessary knowledge. No unjust, bigoted tool of anarchy should be the sole authority to prosecute anyone or everyone he may decoy, in a matter of so much importance. An educated man would not attempt to decoy any person. Honesty and justice wrong no person. T. L. BROWN.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., Dec. 23, 1877.

L. K. WASHBURN ON "FREE RELIGION."

EDITOR INDEX:—

Allow me to express my sincere thanks, in common, doubtless, with your thousands of readers, for the able and timely discourse on "Free Religion" by Rev. L. K. Washburn, appearing in THE INDEX of December 6. It presented cogently, clearly, and appositely the respective designs and ultimate aims of the two antagonistic phases of thought,—Christianity and Free Religion; and its strong, incisive, compact sentences, tersely and vigorously phrased, were aglow with words of wisdom, light, and spiritual beauty. Let the liberals of the land ponder well the indisputable truths embodied in the appended excerpts from this most excellent epitome of the religious status and the needs of the hour, and learn therefrom their duty in the crisis now dawning upon us:—

"The Christian's idea of religion is something that ought to suppress freethought and inquiry, get possession of the government, control legislation, govern the schools, regulate public libraries, and run the world generally. . . . The Christian is opposed to anybody else having anything to do with politics, literature, education, or religion."

"Free Religion stands for the eternal in religion, for the virtues that are common to all humanity. . . . It demands that all men shall have equal rights in

the justice of man, and equal rights in the justice of God."

"I know that many regret that hard words are used against Christianity, and we regret that hard words must be used; but the hardness of the words is their truth. . . . This is the reason that Free Religion attacks Christianity: because the true interests of the soul demand it. It is the religious demand of the day, and we must not be false to truth out of respect to falsehood's gray hairs. THE ONLY SAFETY FOR LIBERTY AND TRUTH IS THE DOWNFALL OF CHRISTIANITY; AND THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID TAKING THE SWORD IN THEIR DEFENCE IN THE FUTURE IS BY BEING HONEST, AND FEARLESSLY SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN THE PRESENT. . . . Only the death of Christianity will give freedom to the world. Then our duty is to kill Christianity; kill it with a better religion; kill it with the truth,—that sword of God that sooner or later will sever every Christian church."

"Men say, 'Why attack the Church? Why say anything against Christianity? Wait, and everything will come out right.' But everything will not come out right, if we wait. . . . Shall we wait to do right? Is there any particular hour set apart for right-doing? Yes! It is this hour. . . . God never does man's work. Wait is not the word for earnest men, but Work. Let us have no compromise with wrong, no treaty with tyranny; but make wrong surrender to right, and tyranny abdicate in favor of justice."

"The religious demand of to-day is religious truth, and men who dare speak it. . . . If the truth should prove everything that we now hold holy and sacred false and base, we must still say, 'Let us have the truth.'"

WILLIAM EMMETTE COLEMAN.

PORT LEAVENWORTH, KAN., Dec. 11, 1877.

THE LIBERAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Liberalism, or freethought, in religion has never yet been so far organized that it could find the time it needs, and ought to give, to the proper religious education of the children of un-Orthodox parents. It has been so far too busy in its desperate hand-to-hand fight for liberty to speak its thoughts, to make any arrangements for the future.

But, nevertheless, this is one of the sub-questions which even now is sorely troubling many parental minds; and one of the questions which must take prominence in discussion whenever religious liberty is a real thing, and organization of free minds takes place. Those who remember dimly their own rigid bringing up in childhood have no desire to have their children's minds biased as were their own in the direction of orthodoxy. But they should beware, however, of falling into the opposite error of making liberalism, by the same means, as repugnant to these young minds by anythingavoring of bigoted insistence on their children's acceptance of radical opinions upon religious subjects. From personal observation I sometimes fear that there are already, at this early stage of doubt of Christian dogmas, men who are so bitter in their opposition to Christianity as to be bigots in their unbelief, and so capable of doing wrong to their children by forcing them to accept their parents' disbelief on pain of parental displeasure without reference to the child's own proclivities or religious tendencies.

That the religious education of their children should be attended to by freethinkers of all grades is not a matter of doubt. To allow the churches to get the start of freethought in blessing these young minds is not to be thought of. But freethought and liberalism would be misnomers if the churches were not allowed an equal chance with such liberalism. It would, of course, be a more certain method of making bigoted, unreasoning opponents to Christianity to bring up children as far apart from all the influences of the Church as possible; to forbid the reading of the Bible, attendance at any church, or association with any rabidly religious person of any faith whatever; to allow no tracts or religious books, or stories filled with Christian thoughts to be read; to forbid attendance at revivals, Sunday-schools, or camp meetings. Such a course would most certainly tend to bring up a class of children to be men and women as bigoted, one-sided, and opinionative as the closest and most conservative Christian sect ever brought up in the blind bigotry of faith. But this is surely not one of the results we are striving for. I confess I fail to see any improvement in society which such a state of things could bring about. To exchange one rigid system for another is not, certainly, progression. I hope the liberals of to-day take a wider, more comprehensive view of things. The mission of freethought is not to make new ruts in old roads, as narrow and inconvenient as were the old, but rather to level all ruts into one broad road, wide enough and smooth enough for all to travel peaceably and happily thereon.

Therefore let the children be taught freely all systems, but let them be taught scientific fact as the test of all systems. Let them be their own judges as to the accuracy of those tests, and let the tests so made guide them whithersoever they will. Of course there are sure to be mistakes made; but these must be accepted with patience, for assuredly fewer mistakes will be made by this than by any other method, and the general effect will be to harmonize all religious ideas into one grand search for scientific truth.

Another thing is to be remembered. It is not the part of liberalism to make differences in beliefs, but rather to blend them all into one harmonious whole. To forbid the children of freethinkers (who are yet far in the minority) to mingle freely with the children of Christians in all their pursuits and aims, is to create social barriers, moral ostracisms, which will

react in feelings of blind partisanship and embittered social relations. Let us do all we can to avoid exchanging the sweetness and innocence of childhood for feelings of enmity or ill-will because of different grooves of thought in the parents. Unless the freethinkers in a place become so far organized as to be able to sustain some kind of independent institution analogous to the Orthodox Sunday-schools, with all the attendant pleasures, let the little ones attend the Christian Sunday-school in company with their Christian playmates, and let the parents of such children bear their proportional part of the expense without grumbling. If the liberal parent has his children's welfare genuinely at heart, it will always be an interesting and profitable employment for him to inquire at the close of each Sunday into the teachings that have been inculcated in the lessons of the day, and point out all that is true and all that is fallacious in these teachings,—leaving the seed thus sown to germinate in its own time in the individual thought of the child. Better this course than to bring up a race of bigoted and precocious children, embittered against their fellows who chance to differ from them in opinion.

But as soon as liberalism has enough moral and financial strength to form itself into organizations, the children, who are to be the men and women of the future must not be forgotten. Liberal Sunday-schools must be organized for them with all the attractions which now win attendance at Christian Sunday-schools, and as much more as can be devised for giving truth in homeopathic doses, and "sugar-coated" withal. "Milk for babes, meat for strong men," is as true of the children of liberals as of Orthodox Christians. I have been not a little disgusted with most of the few attempts at liberal teaching to children. There has been, for the most part, such an utter lack of sympathy with the immature mind of childhood, such a bare, bald statement of things as could never win entrance to the imaginative, romantic idealism of childhood, that I have not been sorry that no real sympathy existed between the writers and the little ones for whom they wrote. It would be a horribly prosaic world if the children in it could swallow without a wry face such huge lumps of unswetened wisdom. The intellect of infancy can no more digest or assimilate solid, un-garnished truths, than the stomach of childhood can digest the hearty, solid food of a strong, laboring man. Scientific truth to childhood must come as "the little leaven which leaveneth the whole lump," and the children's best teachers must be those who have something of the childlike spirit in them, as well as of intellectual acumen.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THEORNDIKE, MASS.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE PLATFORM.

SOME SENSIBLE IDEAS IN RELATION TO IT BY A WESTERN UNITARIAN MINISTER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Comparatively few persons as yet fully comprehend the breadth and depth of the National Liberal League platform. This is exemplified by the way some small section of the great liberal party takes it for granted that the platform was created for the especial benefit of its little clique, and therefore proceeds to appropriate it to its own use, excluding all others.

To-day I received an interesting letter from a leading Unitarian minister of the West, who has been the settled pastor of a respectable Unitarian society for a number of years, in which he says:—

"I understand that a movement looking towards the formation of a Liberal League here is already inaugurated by a few. No notice was sent to me or to my church, and so none of us were present. An attempt was made by some of the same to adopt a platform which would shut out all Spiritualists and Unitarians. So a materialist friend of mine told me to-day, and intimated that the proposition will be heavily 'sat down upon,' and that a league will be organized on the basis of the Rochester Platform, and that I shall be invited to participate in its organization."

"I am totally opposed to the union of Church and State in any respect, and believe most fully in the principles of the Rochester Platform. But my fear is that our Western 'liberals' are too illiberal and bigoted to unite on so sensible and practical a basis. I suppose the thing desired is to unite as far as possible all who are opposed to the Church and State idea. That will include not only Materialists, Atheists, and Spiritualists, but almost all Unitarians, many Universalists, and also many Baptists, Congregationalists, Christians, and some Presbyterians even in this city. I fear our liberals will not be wise enough to bring this about, chiefly because each will care more for his pet theory than for the main question whether we shall have the right to hold and to teach our individual opinions without interference from the State."

"There is more danger of State interference than most liberals are willing to admit. Point them to the signs of the times, and they laugh at you, and say: 'But see how the Orthodox churches are becoming liberalized! Lots and lots of the members don't believe in the creeds, and there won't be any orthodoxy in a few years.' The truth is, that the conclusions don't follow from the premises. These liberalized Orthodox people have no moral earnestness, or they would leave their church. Their liberalism amounts to nothing. By-and-by the earnest bigots will draw the lines tight, and these 'broad' ones will be whipped in to vote for the Church. There is certain to be a reaction, and the Church will demand more than ever before. I fear there is not moral earnestness enough in professed liberals to

stand up for their rights when the struggle comes. It remains to be seen if they care enough for freedom to forget their personal dogmas in the fight for it."

"I don't know if the principles of the Rochester Convention are destined to succeed in America until liberals have felt the lash of ecclesiastical domination for a while. I feel confident that the principles will ultimately prevail, and I propose to stand for them to the best of my ability. I made as good a fight on the church taxation question as I could, last winter, when it was up before our legislature, but am bound to confess the liberals took little interest in the matter. They care more for party than for principle, or their votes belle them."

I think the above letter contains much truth worthy of the consideration of every professed liberal, and therefore I send it to THE INDEX for publication.

H. L. GREEN.

SILVER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Although in our highly complex civilization all human questions are very much complicated in their practical or concrete aspect, the principles that underlie them are often simple when viewed in the abstract, and it is useful to recur to these fundamental laws.

In the last analysis, what ought money to do? Clearly, it ought to enable us to exchange labor or its products equitably.

What constitutes the exchangeable value of any product of labor? Evidently the amount of labor necessary to produce it.

What is it, then, that makes the exchangeable value of a bushel of wheat, for example, as many grains of gold as there are, say, in a gold dollar? Because, it is agreed, and so far as by our imperfect methods it can be, it is ascertained that it costs as many average hours of labor to produce a gold dollar as to raise a bushel of wheat. The reason, then, why a gold dollar has exchangeable value is, that it costs labor to produce it; and it is selected as a measure of the labor cost, or exchangeable value of other products, because it is supposed to be more uniform in its cost than other products of labor. There are other reasons why it is used for coining into money, which everybody knows.

But its use as a measure of the equitable value for exchange, of the products of labor, is only an approximation to exact justice; for no one product of labor can be a scientific, unvarying standard for the value of all other products or for labor itself. There is only one element that can be exactly measured; namely, the number of hours and parts of hours which make up the cost and the exchangeable value of any product of human labor.

It would take up too much space to enlarge on these axiomatic propositions; but we may apply them to the actual question of the use of silver as an additional factor in this already difficult financial problem of the hour.

Silver costs less in proportion to gold or wheat than formerly, because it takes less labor to produce it; and all the legislation of all the countries of the globe cannot alter this fact. I can understand the desire to do away altogether with the use of coin as money, for that is the tendency of the world's progress; and the more perfect the commerce and finance of any country becomes, the less use is made of the actual metals in proportion to the business done. Doubtless the time will come when all money will be purely representative, representing accurately and exchanging equitably labor and its products.

Meanwhile let us be consistent and honest. There is a vast amount of loose talk about the debtor and creditor classes, and the imputation made that the workingmen are the debtor class. Nothing could be further from the truth. Every manufacturer, every employer of labor, in city or country, is constantly indebted to his workmen for labor performed, in sums larger or smaller, according to how frequently pay-day comes round. The sums thus owed aggregate an enormous amount. Beside this great sum, large in the whole, and of immense consequence in its items, since it represents the daily bread, the life or death, in fact, of those to whom it is due, there are probably in this State alone not less than \$100,000,000 owed by savings-banks to the workingmen.

To remonetize the silver dollar as it was, means giving these capitalist-debtors the power to pay these laborer-creditors nine-tenths of what they owe, and get a legal discharge. A worse robbery could not be devised. All prices would rise before wages would be increased to meet them, for wages are the last to feel inflation. When the adjustment finally came, the workingman would have suffered a large loss and be "as he was," so far as present food, clothes, and shelter are concerned.

It is true that to remonetize silver would put an enormous profit into the pockets of the silver-producing lords of Nevada if the United States would coin ninety cents' worth of bullion into dollars for them; and it would enable our emancipated nation to disgrace itself by paying its creditors in depreciated coin. But, if all the silver in the country were coined into dollars, it would not put any of them into empty pockets, or add one dollar to the circulation of the West. Neither would paying our bonds in silver put money in the pockets of those who own no bonds. Money either is actual capital (coin), or represents it. Countries which have capital, or saved labor, can have all the money or currency they need. Countries without saved capital can borrow if they have good credit, and may save capital, and have money of their own, if they have natural advantages, and if they work and spend less than they make. There is no other way.

F. S. C.

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It is the object of THE INDEX to give public attention to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

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1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
 2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
 3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 8, 1876.

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

GLIMPSSES.

MR. D. M. BENNETT has been discharged by United States Commissioner Shields, on the motion of District Attorney Woodford.

IN ADDITION to the lecture engagements mentioned last week, Mr. B. F. Underwood has others at Owen Sound, Ontario, Jan. 27, 28, 29, and at Lindsay, Feb. 1, 2, and 4.

VICTOR EMMANUEL's death closes a great chapter in the history of Italy. He was a liberal and patriotic monarch, and leaves a stately edifice where he found a pile of bricks.

THE MINNESOTA State Committee of the National Liberal League has been duly constituted as follows: J. B. Bassett, Minneapolis; J. W. Emery, Farmington; M. J. Severance, Mankato; R. B. Mitchell, Duluth; Dr. D. K. Bontelle, Lake City.

REV. J. R. BAKER, of Clarinda, Iowa, a Universalist minister, has carried his society with him over to radicalism. He writes to Mr. Green: "We propose to organize first a County Liberal League, and then we desire to form a District League for Southwestern Iowa for the purpose of cooperating with the National Liberal League."

THE LINESVILLE (Pa.) Liberal League proposes to celebrate the one hundred and forty-first anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, on the twenty-ninth of January. Rev. S. W. Sample, Judge R. S. McCormick, Dr. T. L. Brown, Mr. O. P. Kellogg, Mr. H. L. Green, and Prof. A. B. Brown are announced as speakers. It is to be a three-days' convention, beginning on Sunday, the 27th; and a ball is to be held in Opera Hall on the evening of the 29th.

THE VATICAN authorities to whom is entrusted the task of making new saints have refused to make Christopher Columbus a saint, on the ground that his Christian virtues have not been exemplified by any great deed; that, apart from his discovery of America, his public and private life were open to grave reproach; that, until now, nobody ever thought of regarding him as a saint, or invoking him as such; and, finally, that it is very doubtful whether he died a good Catholic.

MR. H. L. GREEN, who is indefatigably industrious as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, suggests that, whenever a new local League is formed, a notice of that fact be sent to the nearest agent of the Associated Press, to be telegraphed over the country. Many new Leagues have been formed recently, but they will be both stronger locally and more useful nationally, if they join the national movement as auxiliary organizations. This, it must never be forgotten, does not in the least interfere with their absolute independence of action; but it will make them ten times as influential to stand shoulder to shoulder with kindred Leagues all over the land. The movement cannot exert a deep influence on public opinion unless this is done.

THE CASE of Father Stack, of Williamsport, Pa., against Bishop O'Hara, which has been in the courts for over six years, has been decided in favor of the priest. Judge Gamble, acting as chancellor in the Court of Common Pleas, filed an elaborate opinion, in which he maintains that the power exercised in the case by Bishop O'Hara is unwarranted by the canon laws; and that even if the disciples of the Church allow it, such power must, nevertheless, be condemned as contrary to the law of the land and prejudicial to the rights of citizenship. The superiority of civil over ecclesiastical law is expressly asserted. The decree accordingly declares, that the removal of Father Stack by Bishop O'Hara as punishment for a supposed offence was unlawful; that the prohibition forbidding Father Stack to exercise any priestly functions in Williamsport was unlawful. The decree of restoration, as asked for, is not granted,

on the ground that it might be injudicious to disturb the present state of things in the congregation. This point, however, is an open question, if the bishop should appeal from the present decision to the Supreme Court.

MONSIGNOR CAPEL, an eminent Catholic dignitary of London, recently gave the following as the result of his observations and experience in England: "Two forces are now dividing England between them: Catholicism, and infidelity or freethinking,—in other words, pure belief, and the absence of all belief. These are the antagonistic forces; for Protestantism, as a power, is dead. I speak of it so far as regards the Anglican Church, for, undoubtedly, Methodism is a power still. For the most part, however, the intellectual men of the day are becoming either freethinkers or Roman Catholics—chiefly, I believe, freethinkers. It seems to me that more go to that extreme than to the other. I foresee a great struggle in Europe between these forces,—a struggle which will involve vast consequences for empires as well as for religions. In that contest I expect to see America play a great part; whatever may be her disposition, she cannot fail to exert a tremendous influence." How important, then, not to ourselves alone, but to all the world as well, that America's influence should be wise and good! If she fails to receive into her mind and heart the lofty principles of the Liberal League, she will strengthen the cause of ancient and tyrannical superstition, and, despite all contrary intentions or efforts, become the ally of Rome.

NOT FOR a long time have we met with so fine a piece of psychological analysis as is contained in the subjoined extract from a paper by George Eliot on "The Influence of Rationalism," in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1866. It is portraiture so startlingly life-like that it almost brings before us in living and breathing reality a number of our own critics of the last eight or ten years, whose common characteristic has been to confound our definiteness of conclusion and precision of statement with "dogmatism," and their own general mistiness and inconclusiveness with "liberality." We commend the extract to the profound study of all who object to the advocacy of anything in particular and to the agitation of any specific measure. This is what George Eliot wrote: "For the most part, the general reader of the present day does not exactly know what distance he goes: he only knows that he does not go 'too far.' Of any remarkable thinker whose writings have excited controversy, he likes to have it said that 'his errors are to be deplored,' leaving it not too certain what those errors are; he is fond of what may be called disembodied opinions, that float in vapory phrases above all systems of thought or action; he likes an undefined Christianity which opposes itself to nothing in particular, an undefined education of the people, an undefined amelioration of all things; in fact he likes sound views,—nothing extreme, but something between the excesses of the past and the excesses of the present. This modern type of the general reader may be known in conversation by the cordiality with which he assents to indistinct, blurred statements: say that black is black, he will shake his head and hardly think it; say that black is not so very black, he will reply, 'Exactly.' He has no hesitation, if you wish it, even to get up at a public meeting and express his conviction that at times, and within certain limits, the radii of a circle have a tendency to be equal; but on the other hand he would urge that the spirit of geometry may be carried a little too far. His only bigotry is a bigotry against any clearly defined opinion,—not in the least based on a scientific scepticism, but belonging to a lack of coherent thought, a spongy texture of mind, that gravitates strongly to nothing. The one thing he is staunch for, is the utmost liberty of private haziness."

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE. OFFICERS.

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LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

To which Charters have been issued by the National Liberal League. LINCOLN, NEBRASKA. JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS. PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA. MISHICOTT, WISCONSIN. CHELSEA, MASSACHUSETTS. STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA. DENVER, COLORADO. PAINE HALL, BOSTON. PALMYRA, NEW YORK. BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO.

Price, Daniel Korna, P. W. Himes, John Arn, Phillip Gintz, A. H. Brown, Jacob Miller, L. A. Cornet. TITUSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA. HUDSON, MICHIGAN. CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, NEW YORK. NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT. ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI. ROCHESTER, NEW YORK. TOMPKINS COUNTY, NEW YORK. CLEVELAND, OHIO. MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN. JEFFERSON LIBERAL LEAGUE, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK. MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

A LITTLE MORE "religion" has been turned on at St. James' Church, Hatcham. On the first Sunday of this month Mr. Tooth's presence in the chancel was the signal for a skirmish. An attempt had been made to restore the effects of the Ritualistic mise-en-scène. An oak cross had been replaced on the chancel screen; a large cross flanked by unlighted candles appeared on the communion-table; and the high altar was draped with curtains. The church was crowded, and when Mr. MacColl entered the pulpit an effort was made to cough him down. As the congregation were leaving the church at the end of the service, which had been conducted by the former vicar, someone exclaimed that the candles ought not to remain on the communion-table, and a Protestant Leaguer made a dash for the chancel gate. The choristers attempted to keep him out, and there was a general struggle, during which the gate was broken. The police were called in and the church was cleared. While a line of constables was drawn up on the altar-steps to prevent further violence, two mobs of Christian worshippers gathered in the street to shout defiance and sing hymns. In one camp "Hold the Fort" was sung, and in the other, "The Church's One Foundation." The constables finally dispersed the pious rioters.—N.Y. Tribune, Dec. 20.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Last Man.

A SPECULATION.

BY WILLIAM WICKERSHAM.

In THE INDEX of July 19, 1877, there is quite an interesting speculation, under the heading of "The Last Man," as to what shall be the final fate of our race, and especially of its last member thereof; and since any one person, however gifted, cannot be supposed to take every thing into the grasp of his imagination, and because I feel in my inner consciousness that the subject is not nearly exhausted yet, I will venture a few ideas. Indeed, to my thinking, there is a grander, a nobler catastrophe for our race than was suggested in the article above referred to, or advanced by any one as yet.

I have long since been aware of the terrible doom that awaits the highest type of animal on this planet, indeed of all animals on the land; and I have felt it to be a solemn duty to reveal the same to my fellow-men. But on account of a sort of innate perverseness of my nature, I suppressed the sense of duty, from time to time, and I suppose I felt exactly as Jonah did, when he was commanded to declare the destruction of that great city and all the hosts thereof. Jonah did not want to do it; and so I did not want to tell my brother man how all the multiplied millions of mankind are to be swept from the face of the earth; how first his life is to be blotted out, then his flesh to moulder in the dust, then his bones to settle in the mud; then how, after ages and ages, this mud containing his bones is to become solid rock, and the race only to be known as a fossil; and then how, after myriads of millions of ages shall have passed away, and all the stratified rock in every part of the earth which contained the remains of man shall have become metamorphosed into granite; so that in all the earth there will not be a single vestige left, there shall not be a single indication that there ever was such a race on this planet,—I say I did not want to tell this to my brother man, and I did not tell him! But my conscience would not let me rest. Some men's consciences will go to sleep when desired, and trouble them never more; but the more I tried to quiet my conscience the more it would not be quieted. So I said to my conscience: "I will obey, I will carry the message"; and oh the joy, the inexpressible joy, of this virtuous resolution! Now here I am writing the message of the final doom of all my fellow-men who inhabit the earth!

It is well known to scientists that, during the carboniferous period, there were no land animals; that the atmosphere was so highly charged with carbonic acid gas, that no land animal could possibly live; and that this period extended through millions of ages,—that is, ages of the saurian; for, be it known, he was the nearest approach to a land animal then existing; yet he did not at all depend upon the air for his breathing, as the oxygen which he got for the renovation of his blood was mainly extracted from the water, the same as the fishes.

But this state of things, though fatal to land animals, was very favorable to the growth of vegetation. The atmosphere was about twice as great as at present, which kept the earth much warmer than it is now; just as a greater amount of clothing keeps us warmer. The higher temperature of the earth would naturally make the evaporation larger, and the showers of rain would be greater and more frequent. All of these conditions favored the growth of vegetation; and under these favoring circumstances the coal-beds began to form, which gradually stored up the carbon that was held in the air in the form of carbonic acid gas. In this way, it has been thought, by many scholars, the atmosphere was prepared for the advent of land animals; and the coal-beds were accumulated sufficiently to account for the great change which took place from the condition in which no land animal could live to the present condition. The most learned scientists have appeared to be satisfied with this explanation.

But the atmosphere is equal in weight to thirty-three feet in depth of water, covering the entire surface of our planet; and the sum of all the coal-beds in the world would not amount to one ten-millionth of this in weight; so that, if all of them were burned, and the resultant carbonic acid gas were thrown into the air, it would hardly be perceptible, either by analysis or by the state of health of animal life.

Now since it is known that during the carboniferous period the air was so highly charged with carbonic acid that no land animal could live, and since the coal-beds are so inconsiderable in amount as to be entirely insufficient to account for the change in the air which we know has taken place, the question arises, Where in the great store-house of carbon which has been cleared from the air, rendering it fit for land animals to breathe?

One thing it is proper to mention here, although it is not important in this discussion; namely, the limestone and chalk beds. Considering the great quantity of carbonate of lime deposited in the earth, the carbon therein contained would certainly amount to more than that stored up in all the coal-beds; yet there is the best of evidence that all the carbonate of lime which now exists existed at the beginning of the carboniferous period, so that the limestone had nothing to do with clearing the air of those poisonous gases which prevented animal life on the land. So the question recurs again, What has become of the immense amount of carbon with which our atmosphere was charged?

Recently there has been a great deal of attention paid to dredging in the deep seas, in search for the plants and animals inhabiting the floor of the ocean; and by a new invention of great ingenuity, men have been able to dredge to the greatest depths.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

FROTHINGHAM'S LIFE OF GERRIT SMITH.

GERRIT SMITH. A Biography. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

Within the past two years, several notable biographies have been given to the public. A not unworthy curiosity to divine the secret of a great or noble life, and a growing eagerness to search out springs of action and decide what limitations held, or what forces urged onward, the man or woman whose way we watched, fill this generation with an endless why; which has never since the days of Boswell been so fully answered as now. To know thoroughly such men as Macaulay, Kingsley, and Sumner, or such women as Harriet Martineau, is a public boon; and the only regret lies in the fact that partial friends or relatives have done their work too tenderly, and given us a picture made up solely of high lights or faintly suggested shadows. The backgrounds have been miracles of patient, conscientious work. Each detail of life has been given with the loving minuteness of the old Dutch masters; but the central figure we have been forced to outline more or less distinctly for ourselves, and are fortunate if the luminous halo part sufficiently to give the underlying shadows. An artist has worked here also, but one under whose hand grows something more than rare color and delicate outlines. The skilled anatomist shows his power as well, and through careful drapery and perfect flesh, iron muscles do their will, and nerves thrill at the touch of a master hand.

The name of Gerrit Smith recalls at once a struggle, part of a past, already fading away, and with which he was identified heart and soul through years of persecution and obloquy, which the present generation can hardly understand. The book is specially valuable as history, evidence being so carefully weighed, and documents and correspondence so skillfully arranged as to leave little work for the future. It is always a question, given a mass of chaotic material, whether the biographer will present a skeleton or a genuine human being. In this case there is no doubt; and Gerrit Smith, the young man of splendid presence, abounding vitality, and overflowing humanity; the philanthropist, leader, schemer, agitator; a life so generous and many-sided, it is hard to compress it within the compass of these four hundred pages,—lives again. Born to an inheritance of what to the Northern mind seemed almost boundless wealth, and the representative of what would in England be termed the landed gentry, having no parallel in this country save in the South before the war, there was every danger that coming into such possessions at the age he did, would insure a certain degree of "riotous living"; a sowing of wild oats not always incompatible with another and better harvest in the future. A sound and healthy nature, a broad education, and an inheritance of the common-sense and wide knowledge of men which had helped old Peter Smith on his way to fortune, kept the son in the same path, and insured judicious handling of the thousands, familiar to him as other men's tens.

The opening chapters carry us easily and pleasantly to the time, when, at the age of twenty-two, Gerrit Smith had laid upon him, the burden of an estate measured not by acres but by square miles. The law had been his choice as a profession; but in the face of such obligations, the desire was put away, and he devoted himself quietly to a life of noiseless but unceasing application. Remote from the great centres of action, remote even from the small—Albany being the nearest accessible point of cultivation,—his days passed in a round of duty which resulted in his becoming one of the best business managers of the time; though unlike his father he filled the rôle of distributor rather than accumulator. The storm of 1837 passed over his head, leaving him unharmed, John Jacob Astor having aided him by a heavy loan in one of the severest crises—a loan made without security, quarter of a million having changed hands,—and waited Gerrit Smith's own time and convenience for note or bond. No such transaction has before or since been known to take place in this country; and in these days of general distrust none such would be possible.

This intense absorption in business, lasting in great degree to the close of his life, ended any further progress in personal culture. A fair student while in college, his bent toward literature was not sufficiently strong to make books a vital part of his life. His library was principally State Reports, Digests, and Official Documents, with an occasional volume of poetry or religious experience. A man of heart and feeling, but never a profound thinker, his outlook was always in one sense limited. He strove for conformity with the religious experiences he loved to read, measured himself by the Calvinistic standard, and mourned over lapses into sin, or sighed for personal holiness, through the pages of a diary lasting for forty years. As the claims of public life increased, the entries lessen, and become rather a record of profuse and indiscriminate giving, which yet found its apology in his own statement, that, as much might have been wasted in high living, it was at least a nobler form of waste to give, without asking curious questions. Colleges, North and South, received his bounty; free libraries were endowed; papers and magazines supported; academies founded. His own village of Peterboro drew upon him at will for the means for beautifying and improving it; beneficence here working the usual result of unintelligent aid, and making the villagers disinclined to the slightest personal exertion in such directions. His daily life was singularly free from ostentation. A plain though large house, of equally plain appointments, was filled from day to day with as motley a crowd of guests as ever gathered under one roof. Black and white, rich and poor; the itinerant minister or Quaker preacher; men and women with "mis-

When they came to try it in the deeper oceans, they found, to their great surprise, that the lower portions of the deeper oceans are immense reservoirs of liquid carbonic acid,—not pure, however, but a liquid forty per cent. of which is carbonic acid. It immediately became a question of interest: how came this great sub-ocean of carbonic acid to exist, and what power holds it in its present position?

In explaining this, I will say that water has an affinity, in a small degree, for carbonic acid, and will, under favorable circumstances, absorb a small portion of it. Especially where the water percolates through decaying vegetation, it absorbs a portion of the acid resulting from such decay. This impregnated water finds its way to the ocean; and in this way nearly all the water passing from the land into the ocean has a small per cent. of carbonic acid.

Now it has been found by experiment that, under a given and very great pressure, carbonic acid can be held in a liquid state, especially if it is diluted with water; hence it would seem that, when the water of the ocean (all of which contains a small per cent. of carbonic acid) finds its way by the varied currents to a depth where the pressure is great enough to hold diluted carbonic acid (in a state of fluidity, then the tendency is for the acid to remain at that depth, as it heavier than water. At that depth there is no tendency for it to go into the gaseous state, on account of the pressure; while the water which brought the acid there in solution will tend to leave for places of less depth, because it is lighter than the acid. Hence, ever since there have been parts of the ocean deep enough to hold carbonic acid in a fluid state by the superincumbent weight of water above it, the acid has been accumulating, until there had become an immense sub-oceanic reservoir of acid, and the air was sufficiently cleared of the acid to render it fit for land animals. At the same time, a sufficiency of the acid remained in the air for the purpose of vegetable growth.

This state of things probably resulted at the end of the carboniferous period, and then an equilibrium was established; that is, there was so small a per cent. of carbonic acid taken by the water and carried to the reservoir at the bottom of the ocean, that it just equalled that which would be carried away from the reservoir accidentally by currents and returned to the air. Thus the per cent. of carbonic acid in the air has remained stationary ever since. But is this state of equilibrium to continue? What can change or disturb it?

It is well known that continental changes have heretofore taken place; and these changes have probably been going on ever since the world began, if it had a beginning. That is, that part of the earth's surface which is now land was once the floor of the ocean; and that part which is now the bottom of the ocean has at some time been the earth's continents. There is the best of evidence that this reverse of land and ocean has taken place many times. Careless observers, and persons who have not thought on the subject, are often led to conclude that, whatever changes might have taken place heretofore, the land and the ocean have at last become fixed and stable, and will never change again. But it requires only a little careful observation and thought to show any one that a grand continental reverse is now taking place. The continents are sinking; and the bottom of the ocean is rising, probably at as great a rate as ever it did. The law by which these changes have heretofore been effected is as active and vigorous as ever it was; and the effect of this law can be calculated with as great certainty as the motions of the planets as to fact, though not as to time.

Now I will give a bird's-eye view of the operation of the forces by which continents subside beneath the sea, and the floor of the ocean rises to become continents. This is accomplished largely by the action of water, which operates in three separate ways.

First, the sea, with ceaseless waves lashing against the shores, is forever making inroads upon the land.

Secondly, the rain falling upon the land is continually washing its surface into the brooks and rivers, which carry it into the edge of the ocean, whence a portion of it is transported by the various currents to the interior, where it is distributed over the bottom in the form of mud, most of which, in process of time, hardens into stratified rock.

Thirdly, the water which falls upon the land does not all flow off over the surface, but a part of it percolates through the soil, and, constantly flowing downwards even through the hardest rocks, some of it finds its way into channels and comes to the surface again in the form of springs. But it largely sinks down to very great depths, and passes from the solid earth at the bottom of the ocean. In its passage it frequently meets with earth and minerals which are soluble; in which case it carries these minerals (to the extent of their solubility) along with it and discharges them into the ocean. In this way the continent is being undermined, and honey-combed throughout its interior, and often, probably, to a much greater depth than the deepest ocean.

One instance of this interior washing is to be seen in the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, which is found in a very extensive bed of limestone from forty to sixty feet in thickness. Overlying this is a hard, stratified rock, about forty feet thick, composed of clay and silica. Now this great bed of limestone, extending over a portion of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, is honey-combed by hundreds of caverns similar to the Mammoth Cave; and you will see all over that part of the country what are called land sinks, where the overlying rock, by the great weight of earth above, has broken through into the cave below, leaving a cavity in the surface of the land.

Now these caves in the beds of limestone are brought about in this wise: the rain falling on the surface of the land (where in the summer time there is a constant decay of vegetable matter) absorbs the

carbonic acid which this decaying vegetation produces; it then soaks through the soil and earth, and percolates through the overlying clay and silica rock, and into the limestone, where its carbonic acid converts a small portion of the limestone into bicarbonate of lime, making it thereby soluble. A minute portion of it is thus carried down to unknown depths and out into the bottom of the ocean, where it is forming immense beds of marble or limestone; and these cavernous excavations will continue as long as the water continues to flow through; that is, as long as there is any of the land above the ocean. But when the continent once becomes submerged, then the caverns no longer increase, but begin to fill up, and the ocean continues to increase in depth over the submerging continent until all the cavities below its surface are filled up. But while this submergence of the sinking continent is proceeding, and giving place for the ocean to flow and grow deeper over it, the continents which have just emerged from the oceans will continue to rise above the water, or rather the water will continue to sink away from them, as the depth increases over the submerging continents. These new continents just raised from the oceans will have new conditions. To a considerable depth their surface, which has not had time to harden into rock, will be mud, or clay, or in a soft state, whatever the material. Underneath this will be the stratified rock, which is merely mud which has had sufficient time, and been under sufficient pressure, to harden into rock. Below this is the uneven surface of the old continents, before they were submerged the last time; and the entire new continents would be solid earth, having no cavities in them.

Now the same process will commence with the new continent which led to the submergence of the old one. The rains will descend upon it, washing away its surface, and excavating caverns beneath its surface; and the sea will commence its ceaseless washing of the shores, and the washing would probably proceed rapidly at first, as the whole length and breadth of their surfaces would be mud. But the washing would be very unequal over the surface, for two reasons: first, where the creeks and rivers ran, the washing would be greatest, and deep channels would be cut; and, secondly, it is reasonable to suppose that while still under the sea, a great number of springs would rise up through the mud deposited in the bottom of the ocean. Many of these would contain silicious and other mineral matter, which would facilitate the hardening of the mud into solid rock; so that great mountains of hard rock would be formed in the mud in such manner that, when the floor of the ocean rises up and becomes a continent, and the mud or soft parts are washed away, these rocky mountains still stand,—the mountains of the continent; although, when the continent first rose up above the water, it may have had no mountains. The present uneven condition of New Hampshire and Vermont is owing to the fact that, where the mountains are, was the hardest or rocky parts, washed slowly; while the low lands were soft, and now washed away much more.

I have carried this discussion further than might be needful, except for the purpose of impressing upon the reader the law by which these continental and oceanic reverses take place,—a law as fixed and certain and universal in its operation as the law by which water evaporates by heat, and condenses by cold; a law which will continue its activity, continue to submerge old continents and to build up new ones, so long as water evaporates from the earth and rains descend thereon.

Now, seeing that the submergence of one continent under the sea, and the rising up of another out of the ocean is not accident, as has been sometimes thought, but is as much in accordance with a fixed law as the revolution of the earth around the sun; and seeing that continents become submerged under the ocean so deeply that the lower region of the ocean became a great storehouse for the superabundance of carbonic acid in our atmosphere by reason of its great depth; and seeing that by an inevitable law, constantly in operation, the bottoms of these deep oceans are being raised up to become again dry land, and thereby throw again those great reservoirs of carbonic acid into our atmosphere; and seeing that this carbonic acid was in the atmosphere before land animals could or did live,—the question is a very pertinent one: What is to become of the land animals when this poisonous acid is thrown into the air again? Nothing is more certain than that it will be. It will continue to occupy the atmospheric position for a period indefinitely great, measured only by millions of ages. So you see that our race (which I very much love) has its doom sealed. I cannot express my regret and sorrow in making known this catastrophe of the human family, since it will disappoint and turn into bitter ashes the sublimest hopes of the heart. I know that thousands and thousands of the best of men and women living entertain the highest hopes of the kingdom of heaven on earth,—a millennium wherein there shall be no more pain; a Paradise which shall embrace the whole earth; a state of beatitude for all the saints of the kingdom, which shall last forever and ever. Knowing, as I do, what a joy there is in this hope for the saints, it makes me very sorrowful to crush their hopes with a rude hand, as I am doing, by disclosing the fact that this world is to perish utterly!

A PUBLIC SPOUTER while making a speech, paused in the midst of it, and exclaimed, "Now, gentlemen, what do you think?" Instantly a man rose in the assembly, and with one eye partially closed, modestly replied, "I think, sir—I do, indeed, sir,—I think if you and I were to tramp the country together, we would tell more lies than any other two men in the country, sir! and I'd not say a word during the whole time, sir."

slons" or without, who wandered that way and claimed the always-ready hospitality; men of one idea and men of all ideas met, went, and came, unchallenged. In Washington it was much the same. And even the Southern hatred of abolitionism was not strong enough to withstand the charm of this magnetic presence, broad geniality, and the manners of a prince, the natural outgrowth of a princely nature.

The darkest shadow on Gerrit Smith's life falls from his connection with John Brown; and here Mr. Frothingham's work is seen at its best. With a delicacy which spares to the utmost the feelings of surviving friends, yet with the keenest sense of justice, and an unswerving honesty characteristic of all his work, the biographer makes plain the part which the great philanthropist took in this emergency,—in one sense the touchstone of his whole theory of life. That in spite of professions and assertions, the stamp of moral cowardice must rest upon his action at this crisis, is perhaps not the fault of the man, but of the insidious disease which for a time clouded all his powers, and forced his friends to place him under treatment in the asylum at Utica. For details the reader must refer to the volume itself, which will take permanent place as a brilliant and yet absolutely accurate record of a life the knowledge of which no American can afford to be without.

Not altogether great, not altogether wise or good, the name of Gerrit Smith is yet the synonym of beneficence and kindness. The opportunity came to him, as it comes to all masters of wealth; but in his case there was no evasion, no waiting for a problematical future. He seized it in its coming, welcomed and used it, and turned the stream of gold once for all into the channel of humanity.

CAMPBELL WHEATON.

NEW YORK.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

HAMLEY'S "VOLTAIRE."

VOLTAIRE. By General Hamley. Second volume of "Foreign Classics for English Readers," edited by Mrs. Oliphant. Edinburgh: Messrs. Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

Voltaire, atheist and infidel, scoffer and scorner of all things sacred; Voltaire, who in his last hours turned coward, and, making peace with Holy Mother Church, died in the odor of sanctity!

This, Mr. Editor, is the account given of the illustrious philosopher of Fernay, by those who desire to glorify the power of their creed at the expense of truth. Among scholars and men of letters we think there will be but one opinion regarding this contribution by General Hamley, not only to the series of foreign classics, but to literature generally.

Voltaire is, for the first time, here given to the reading public of to-day as he was.

To quote his biographer: "An infinitely better man than the religious bigots of his time. He believed, with far better effect on his practice than they could boast, in a Supreme Ruler. He was the untiring and eloquent advocate at the bar of the universe of the rights of humanity." Brave words these, even in the nineteenth century, in eulogy of a man whom the Church has for one hundred years branded as an outcast because he was the avowed enemy of sacerdotalism and priestcraft.

How could it be otherwise with his enthusiasm for humanity and its rights? How could he regard this body of men with other sentiments than those of horror and disgust when we remember their deeds? In 1766, sacerdotalism was rampant. Le Chevalier de Labarre, only eighteen years old, was burned at the stake because he did not salute a procession of Capuchin monks; and into the flames that consumed this unhappy victim of sacerdotal rage, the priests threw the philosophical works of that day, and among them Voltaire's famous *Dictionnaire Philosophique*. To his friend and fellow-worker on the "Encyclopedia," Diderot, Voltaire writes at this moment entreating him "to escape these tiger Jesuits and take refuge in Russia, and there under the protection of the Empress Catherine, far from his ungrateful country, achieve his work in peace, a work destined to be one of the glories of French literature." Voltaire with his illustrious contemporaries, Diderot, Rousseau, and d'Alembert, were in Orthodox opinion all tarred with the same brush. And why? Because, with all the might of a righteous wrath, these men sought to crush the beast *Fanaticism*. *Ecrasez l'infame*. This was Voltaire's famous watchword in his untiring struggle with the Jesuits, a motto which has been interpreted by the Church of to-day, "Down with Jesus Christ."

General Hamley says, "It is in writing to d'Alembert that Voltaire so frequently insists on the necessity of putting an end to what he designates as 'The Infamous.' I want you to crush the 'Infamous'; that is the great point. It must be reduced to the position that it holds in England; 'tis the greatest service that can be rendered to the human race. You will perceive that I speak only of superstition; as for religion I love and respect it as you do.'"

Voltaire, in the above sentence, paid a fine tribute to the character of the religious thought of England at that period. He was fortunate in meeting, during his exile here from persecution at home, those giants of freethought, Bolinbroke, Toland, Collins, etc. Men who are with us again to-day under other aspects, though it is a much less dangerous indulgence to express deism and theism now, than it was in the eighteenth century.

"England," (says our author), "appeared to him at once the land of reason and the paradise of men of letters. From the stand-point of these shores tyranny of all sorts in France wore a new aspect. There he had only dreamed of what a country might be if relieved from the domination of priests and despots; here he saw what it was. Liberty was no longer an idea but a fact; and thenceforth superstition, oppression, and ignorance were the 'Gorgons

and Hydras and Chimeras dire' against which he vowed to wage perpetual war."

We quote this sentence in full not only because it places a much maligned man in his true light before the judgment-bar of humanity, but also as illustrative of the fine appreciative view of Voltaire's biographer, and of the literary excellence of style which is so striking a charm in General Hamley's work.

We halt a moment after reading Voltaire's verdict on English liberalism to think what he would have said of us to-day. We fear between then and now there has been a considerable amount of crab-like movement going on, from which many are only just beginning to rouse themselves. There are still too many of the Johnsonian and Boswellian type of mind who are divided in opinion as to which was the worse man of the two! Rousseau or Voltaire. Chap. I.—"Sir, do you think him as bad a man as Voltaire?" inquired Boswell. "Why, sir," returned the doctor, "it is difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them."

General Hamley in his translation from the *Henriade*, which he classes as "one of the great epics," shows himself complete master of the language, and possessed with a fine poetic instinct. We quote the following stanza as evidence of our author's powers, and because the sentiments expressed by the hero of the *Henriade* rebut of themselves the charge made against Voltaire that he was an "irreligious sceptic":—

"What is," said Henry, speaking to himself,
"The law supreme by God for mortals made?
Does he condemn them that they shut their eyes
To knowledge which himself has made obscure?
Does he an unjust master judge their acts
By code of Christians which they never knew?
No; He who made us means to save us all;
On all sides he instructs us, speaks to us;
Graving on every heart a natural law
Alone unchangeable and ever pure.
Doubtless by this law are the heathen judged;
They too are Christians if their hearts be right."

Yet for such unimpeachable sentiments as these was their author hunted from his country and hounded from society as an unorthodox and ungodly infidel.

Voltaire was simply a sceptic on religious grounds. He doubted that the hierarchy of the Church and its satellites were divinely commissioned by God to teach the evil deeds done in his name. This sceptic's conception of Deity was too grand and reverent to accept the ideal of it offered by the Catholic Christian Church.

Voltaire and Diderot would be quite in fashion to-day with their *Universalism*; for is it not the creed of all liberal Christians? Dean Stanley, Principal Tulloch, and many eminent men on both sides the Atlantic, would extend the right hand of fellowship to such an illustrious example of toleration, one who declared in admiration, "that an Englishman goes to heaven like a free man, by the road that pleases him best" (p. 91).

If Voltaire said this of the England of 1700, he would undoubtedly say it of the America of to-day. To those who are about to honor this fearless pioneer of freedom of opinion, the birthright of man, we can offer no better suggestion in celebration of his centenary than to sow broadcast among their countrymen this work by General Hamley. From the labors of so competent a scholar and critic, the truth about Voltaire will thus be known.

Let priests and sacerdotalists fall foul if they list of one so immeasurably their superior, though it would be difficult even for such to brand with the titles of atheist and infidel that man who, as General Hamley relates, murmured with feeble lips this benediction over the grandson of your illustrious citizen, Benjamin Franklin, "God, Liberty, Tolerance."

LONDON, December, 1877.

RADICALISM IN NEW YORK CITY.

On Sunday all New York turns out and goes to church. No, not all. There is the large body of stay-at-homes, to whom allusion was made in a former article published in the *Telegram*, and who think they serve God just as well by lying a little late in bed, and sauntering lazily through the day, as they would by attending church in a lackadaisical and perfunctory manner. Then, in addition to the stay-at-homes, there is the by no means small number of people who, in the summer at least, spend Sunday out of doors, either at the Park or at one of the thousand and one suburban resorts, and in the winter take to skating, or sleighing, or visiting, as the best means of passing the Sabbath period. Still, the number of church-attenders is exceedingly large. The Roman Catholic and Protestant churches—which represent the two great religious bodies in this city—are full; and all the various sects and denominations outside of these are well represented. Any one who walks the streets of New York on Sunday from twelve to one o'clock, noon, will become convinced that we are a church-going people; and that, whether we have much religion or not, we certainly go through a great deal of the formula of worship.

THE CRY OF ATHEISM.

Nevertheless, a cry comes from the Orthodox pulpit that atheism and infidelity were never more rampant in New York than they now are. That pulpit points to three principal influences as the stimulus to this infidelity. One of them is the preaching of Mr. Frothingham; the second is the preaching of Professor Adler; and the third is to be found in the meetings held by the Spiritualists. Thus say the Orthodox. It must be borne in mind that the *Telegram* is not expressing its own opinion in the matter, but merely that of the denominations which hold to what Theodore Parker used to describe as the popular theology. Mr. Frothingham, as all know, preaches every Sunday morning in Masonic Hall, at the north-

east corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third Street, and he only preaches one sermon per week, which is quite enough, provided it be good. (It might be added, in passing, that Mr. Frothingham's sermons always are good.) Professor Adler, who was born a Jew, but who has emancipated himself from the traditions and beliefs of his race, is President of the Society of Ethical Culture, and preaches every Sunday morning in Standard Hall, at the north-east corner of Broadway and Fortieth Street. He is also a believer in but one sermon per week, and has just founded an ethical school, in which children are to be educated in the principles of morality apart from any set religious belief. It is a creedless school.

WHO, WHAT, AND WHERE.

There are several Spiritualists' rooms in the city where medium and trance-speakers hold forth from Sunday to Sunday. Each of the places we have thus mentioned is visited by many intelligent people. Some of the most intellectual men and women in New York attend the Sunday morning services of Mr. Frothingham. He is to some extent a favorite with actors and actresses, who find in him a finer and more delicate sympathy with their profession than they are likely to find among the Orthodox preachers. Many Jews, also, who no longer have any conscientious attachment to the religion of their fathers, go Sabbath after Sabbath to the Masonic Temple. Professor Adler's congregation is, to a large extent, made up of Jews, who desire a more positive light than that shed by the writings of Moses. The *ensemble* at Standard Hall is decidedly Hebraic; but here and there you encounter a Christian face, and the proportion of Christians is daily becoming larger. The intelligence of the congregations is beyond dispute. With respect to the assemblies of the Spiritualists, not quite so good an account can be given. Intelligence you will meet with, but intelligence does not predominate. So much eccentricity, so much ignorance, so much that is illogical and credulous and queer, are mixed together in the Spiritualist meetings, that a perfectly fair and liberal man cannot give them his unqualified admiration.

NO RELIGIOUS WAR PERCEPTIBLE.

It might, perhaps, be as well to remind the Orthodox world, that at none of the places thus specified would an acknowledgment of atheism be made. Certainly the man who addresses a prayer to a Supreme Being, as Mr. Frothingham and Professor Adler do, each Sunday, cannot justly be accused of atheism. The charge of infidelity may, perhaps, be sustained,—that is, unbelief in regard to certain tenets which are held as irrefutable by the Orthodox churches. As little can the accusation of atheism be sustained when brought against the Spiritualists. The belief that the spirits of the departed can and do revisit the earth, and hold communion with the living, is not tantamount to a disbelief in the existence of one Supreme Head. That the Orthodox churches should have no liking for the two thought-leaders that have been mentioned, and just as little liking for the various societies of Spiritualists, is natural. No thorough believer in the popular religion—that is, religion as it is taught in Roman Catholic and Protestant churches—could possibly give an approving hand-shake to Mr. Frothingham, Professor Adler, or to all the respective lights of Spiritualism. But, meanwhile, the various places where what has been felicitously called "the absolute religion" is taught, irrespective of creeds, are very well attended, and the amenities of the age permit no prospect of a religious war.—*N. Y. Evening Telegram*, Dec. 15, 1877.

TAXING CHURCH PROPERTY.

The leading editorial in THE INDEX of the 3d inst. is devoted to the discussion of the question, "Which Promotes Immorality—Infidelity or Christianity?" THE INDEX is the exponent of the views of a religious association which accepts every result of science and sound learning without seeking to harmonize it with the Bible; and recognizes no other authority than reason and right. It advocates the total separation of Church and State, the abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, the secularization of all public schools, and the equitable taxation of church property. It is edited by Francis E. Abbot, a man of culture and high moral worth, who is assisted by a corps of able contributors. The article referred to above seems to have been suggested by a recent publication in the *St. Louis Christian Advocate* of "An Open Letter to a Disbeliever," in which the statement is made that "infidelity is spreading, and in exact proportion to its spread is the increase of crime among us." The writer in THE INDEX denies the proposition, and insists that freethought is not dangerous to morality, and is therefore not an enemy to society. He argues that justice is the essential part of morality, and that Christianity has seized and desperately defends certain great privileges and advantages in the government in persistent defiance and contempt of justice between man and man. Among these unjust assumptions is that which permits ecclesiastical organizations the right to tax every citizen for the support of its own gospel, no matter whether he believes in that gospel or not. In other words, it exempts church property from taxation, and thus imposes the burden of its protection and guardianship upon the community at large, who have neither pecuniary nor personal interest in its maintenance. Thus every wealthy church which is exempt from the assessors' visitations by law, imposes upon the other property of the community where it exists a heavier load. If this exemption were in the interest of piety and virtue, if its end and object were to encourage men and women in a Christian life, the injustice would be less apparent, and the favoritism would have some show of reason. But when the exemption is in the interest of vice and criminality; when what the church organization

saves in taxes is expended in the demoralization of the community, and in extending the boundaries and strengthening the stability of "Satan's kingdom,"—it becomes a crime against society, for the suppression of which legislation should provide either prevention or penalty. "For all such persons," says THE INDEX, "who cannot see any inherent wrong in the non-taxation of church property, we now publish certain amazing and damning facts about Trinity Church, in New York city, which ought to sweep away all church exemptions in a whirlwind of public indignation. These facts we have learned on private testimony so direct and precise, and from a witness so careful, truthful, and honorable, that we are willing to vouch for their accuracy, and to challenge denial from the Christian press of the country." THE INDEX then gives a list of the vast real estate possessions in New York city of the Trinity Church Corporation, amounting, at a low valuation, to fully \$70,000,000; and states that the land under buildings covering more than forty squares, in the heart of the city, pays no tax, though the lessees pay taxes on the buildings they have erected upon it. Pursuing the inquiry, how this colossal property earns its exemption from taxation—how it pays to New York city in "good moral influence" for the \$1,750,000 which it compels the rest of the city to pay as annual taxes in its stead.—It finds "from the official records in the offices of the Chief of Police and the Excise Commissioners, that the real estate of Trinity Church supports seven hundred and sixty-four liquor saloons and ninety-six known houses of prostitution (ninety-two white and four colored), with many others suspected to be such." This is rather a bad record for the wealthiest church in the country, the members of which profess to be followers of the humble Nazarene, who went about doing good, and from it THE INDEX deduces the moral that "all this infamy is the result of the non-taxation of church property; and that, if the churches raised their voices in favor of their own taxation, the just measure of redress for a grievous wrong could be carried at once, and thereby would be rendered a great, noble, and conspicuous service to the public morals."—*Boston Herald*, Jan. 7.

WHERE HEAT CAME FROM.

There has been a long dispute between the physicists and mathematicians on the one hand, and the geologists and biologists on the other, as to the age of the earth, or rather, since that is equally involved, the age of the sun. Dr. Croll, the distinguished Scotch geologist, has recently offered a theory which is not altogether new, but admits of some novel arguments, and which may serve all parties to the dispute. Beginning with a review of the different theories as to the sun's heat, he rejects the combustion theory as totally inadequate, since if the sun were all a mass of burning coal, it would not last over five thousand years; the chemical theory does not prolong the duration sufficiently; the meteoric theory will not serve; the only remaining explanation is the gravitation or condensation theory. This supposes that the materials of the solar system were originally a nebula, extending through a space many times greater than the orbit of Neptune. The falling together, the condensation of this amount of matter, it can be mathematically shown, would supply enough heat to keep the sun at its present temperature for twenty million years. Unfortunately, that period is not sufficient for the geologist. He demands at least one hundred million years for the changes of the earth's surface, and would prefer twice that length of time. The arguments of the geologist are almost unanswerable; those of the biologist who believes in evolution tend to the same point so far as they go. Prof. Croll says that there is a way out of this difficulty, by supposing that the nebula was not cold but hot. If you suppose it hot enough to start with, you will have heat enough to carry you through. Obviously it is just as easy to suppose a hot nebula as a cold one. But Prof. Croll proposes to provide for this original heat. If the solar system had originally consisted of two masses, each of half the density of the whole, at some immeasurable distance apart, and they fell foul of each other owing to their mutual gravitation, they would strike with a speed of two hundred and seventy-four miles per second. If their motion were stopped by the concussion, an amount of heat would be developed sufficient to convert the whole into a nebula that would take fifty million years to cool. This is decidedly an improvement on the cold nebula. But this supposes that the component halves, before they started on their way to a collision, had no motion. Let us suppose that they were moving beforehand at the rate of two hundred and two miles per second, and that this speed was added to what they got by gravitating toward each other; then we get, when they struck, a nebula extending beyond Neptune, and with heat enough for a sun of one hundred million years' duration. If you insist upon two hundred million, you must give the original masses a speed of six hundred and seventy-six miles per second, beforehand. It will be objected that no such motion has been observed in space. Even the planets do not make such fast time,—the earth, for instance, going only a thousand miles in a minute. The fixed stars whose motion has been ascertained travel very much slower. But Prof. Croll says the fixed stars are those that have gone through the collision process, and have lost their motion. The new hypothesis goes behind the ordinary nebular theory in point of time, giving an explanation for the formation of the nebulae. But it presupposes that there may be vast, cold, inviolable masses of matter rushing through space with such velocity that their mere touch would convert our globe into red-hot gases and distribute it through infinite space. The conception is not incompatible with the sudden flaming out of a new star and its conversion into a nebula, as seems to have been the case with the Schmidt star in Cygnus;

but the facts in that remarkable case were probably not known to Prof. Croll at the time his essay was written.—*New York Tribune*.

A CURIOUS WILL.

A farmer, named Rothgele, lately died in Gallipolis, Ohio, having left a will containing the curious provisions given below. These provisions the circuit court of Gallio County has forbidden the executors to carry into effect; and the case has been taken to the Supreme Court of the State. Judge J. B. Stallo, of Cincinnati, is attorney for the executors, and feels confident of success:—

"It is my will that a white marble monument three feet square, without taper, and six feet high, with the top dressed slightly conical, and the perpendicular angles bevelled with two faces about an inch wide, forming three equal angles to be set upon a granite base, if the same can be had without too much trouble and expense; if so, a rock of a durable kind in the vicinity may be taken, which base should be four and a half or five feet square, and two feet thick, to be set up upon the Brison hill, near my shop, if the same can be purchased; if not, the most suitable that can be had—not in a graveyard, and not far from the road, and in sight of the river will do,—and the following inscription engraven thereon in plain English letters, proportioned to the space on the monument, and the length of the inscription beginning on the side next to the road and not come lower down than necessary; which is to say:—

"The blue sky, with all things therein, is termed the universe, which is infinite in extent in all directions and eternal in duration. No definite thing in the universe is eternal of duration, all definite things being of a changeable nature, creation and destruction being the constant result. Life is natural to certain arrangements of matter and imponderable agents, and is a phenomenon of their peculiar chemical action upon each other. The earth is of great age—probably a million of years,—having been subject to both gradual and revolutionary changes, the great age being most certainly known from approximate calculations of the time necessary for the streams to carry away the rock which once filled their deep channels and wide valleys. The Bible is wholly of human origin, as an impartial critical reading will prove, and contains nothing which human invention could not produce.

"All the gods worshipped now and in times past are imaginary beings of as many forms and attributes as there are individuals to imagine. All the God there is in reality is in the operation of the laws of nature. Christ had a natural father as all other men; and, if Joseph was not his father, he was not the Christ. He did not really rise from the dead any more than did thousands of other men whose ghosts have been imaginarily seen by the most honest men. Strong faith and excitement cause the conception to exceed the senses in brightness; when imaginary objects are taken for real ones, of such as believed only saw them.

"Death is the eternal dissolution of the soul and body of men and the inferior animals,—the soul as the flame of a lamp blown out is no more, and the body decomposing never to be composed again."

"The inscription ends here. The monument I wish to be set up as soon as the proceeds of my farm are sufficient to pay the costs."—*Missouri Republican*, Dec. 16.

HERE IS A doleful story of "The Sabbath-Breaker and his End," taken from the *Presbyterian*, which is certain to put a sudden stop to all embarkations on Sunday for all time to come: "About twenty-five years ago, a very wealthy, but a very wicked merchant, was doing a prosperous business in the city of New York. Among his other sins against God, that of Sabbath-breaking seemed most manifest, and he appeared to take delight in violating the Lord's day. As he did business on a very large scale, he at one time gathered up one million and a half of money, all in the old Spanish milled dollars, which was considered the best currency to send to China, to which his trade had been directed; and as several vessels would be required to bring home the return cargo, he divided his million and a half dollars into seven parts, and putting it into seven ships, sent them to China. But to show his contempt for God and his law, he determined to send them to sea on seven consecutive Sabbaths, intending, perhaps, in this way to test the question as to who should rule, he or Jehovah. The ships went out safely with the money, and returned with the merchandise. They were neither engulfed in the ocean nor wrecked on a lee shore; but when the voyages were settled up, there was a loss of one-third of the money, one million being returned, and five hundred thousand sunk in the enterprise. Loss after loss succeeded, and in about four years after the rich merchant died a bankrupt. Now, was this Providence? Was it God's controversy with a wicked man? or was it a 'chance thing' that happened?"

HAPPILY, the faith which saves is attached to the saving doctrines in the Bible, which are very simple; not to its literary and scientific criticism, which is very hard. And no man is to be called "infidel" for his bad literary and scientific criticism of the Bible; but if he were, how dreadful would the state of our Orthodox theologians be! They themselves freely fling about this word "infidel" at all those who reject their literary and scientific criticism, which we see to be quite false. It would be but just to mete to them with their own measure, and to condemn them by their own rule; and, when they air their unsound criticism in public, to say indignantly, The bishop of So-and-so, the dean of So-and-so, and other infidel lecturers of the present day! or, That rampant infidel, the archdeacon of So-and-so, in his recent letter

on the Athanasian Creed! or, The *Rock*, the *Church Times*, and the rest of the infidel press! or, The torrent of infidelity which pours every Sunday from our pulpits! Just it would be, and by no means inurbane; but hardly, perhaps, Christian. Therefore we will not permit ourselves to say it; but it is only kind to point out, in passing, to these loud and rash people to what they expose themselves at the hands of adversaries less scrupulous than we are.—*Arnold's "Literature and Dogma."*

Poetry.

THE GAME OF LIFE.

[Omar Khayyam, the "Astronomer-Poet" of Persia, was born in the latter half of the eleventh, and died within the first quarter of the twelfth, century. His epicurean audacity of thought and speech caused him to be regarded askance in his own time and country. The following stanzas, which we have taken the liberty to call "The Game of Life," are a sample of his singular poem entitled "Rubáiyat."—*Prometheus*.]

Strange, is it not? that of the myriads who
Before us pass'd the door of darkness through,
Not one returns to tell us of the road,
Which to discover we must travel too.

The Revelations of devout and learn'd,
Who rose before us, and as prophets burn'd,
Are all but stories which, awake from sleep,
They told their fellows, and to sleep return'd.

I sent my soul through the invisible,
Some letter of that after-life to spell;
And by-and-by my soul returned to me
And answered, "I myself am heaven and hell."

Heaven but the vision of fulfill'd desire
And hell the shadow of a soul on fire,
Cast on the darkness into which ourselves,
So late emerged from, shall so soon expire.

We are no other than a moving row
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go
Round with this sun-illumined lantern held
In midnigh by the Master of the show.

Impotent pieces of the game He plays
Upon this chequer-board of nights and days;
Hither and thither moves, and checks, and slays,
And one by one back in the closet lays.

The ball no question makes of ayes and noes,
But right or left as strikes the player goes;
And He that toss'd you down into the field,
He knows about it all—He knows—He knows!

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

And that inverted bowl they call the sky,
Whereunder, crawling, cooped we live and die;
Lift not your hands to it for help—for it
As impotently rolls as you or I.

With earth's first clay they did the last man knead,
And there of the last harvest sow'd the seed;
And the first morning of creation wrote
What the last dawn of reckoning shall read.

Yesterday this Day's madness did prepare,
To-morrow's silence, triumph, or despair.
Drink! for you know not whence you came, nor why,
Drink! for you know not why you go, nor where.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 19.

F. H. Cooper, \$12; D. Sandman, \$3; H. B. McNair, \$2.40; C. B. Hoffman, \$1; A. Bate, \$6.40; M. B. Linton, \$3.45; G. F. Matthee, 25 cents; Nelson Thwing, \$3.25; Henry T. Wright, \$1.25; D. B. Dunning, 50 cents; Harry Grundy, \$4; E. M. Wicks, \$3.25; W. E. Harriman, \$3; Mrs. M. A. Patrick, 75 cents; E. F. Chapman, \$9.60; George N. Fletcher, \$3.20; Julius Rosenthal, \$6; Isaac May, \$3; Smith Wright, \$3.20; Clark & Co., \$19.50; Dr. A. A. Bell, \$6; C. Vonnegut, \$10; Cary Brothers, \$10; Miss S. King, \$1; R. P. Thompson, \$5; James W. White, \$1; J. P. Eganey, \$5.50; Mrs. M. A. Tripler, \$3.50; Mrs. L. Maria Child, \$3.20; W. H. Eastman, 80 cents; S. G. Morgan, \$3.20; Wm. A. Wall, \$3.20; George Stickney, \$3.40; E. Brown, \$10; William Inott, \$3; Dr. C. W. Estabrook, \$6; Joseph Barnadall, \$3.20; J. T. Thornton, \$3.20; Lewis G. James, \$3.20; Rufus Perkins, \$3.20; Rev. H. M. Simmons, \$3.20; John H. Lull, \$13.20; James McTurk, \$3; James Underhill, \$1; H. McVean, \$2; F. W. Titus, \$4.40; Rev. Flake Barrett, \$3.20; J. C. Delano, \$3.20; W. H. Thilghast, \$1.60; Philena Carlin, \$3.20; Mrs. R. Ireson, \$10; Cash, \$2; Dr. H. K. Oliver, \$4.40; D. W. Hyde, \$3.20; James Humphrey, \$3.20; S. L. Hill, \$6.40; S. H. Roper, \$23.20; Richard Humphrey, \$3.20; J. H. Butterfield, 25 cents; George Martin, 50 cents; R. L. Roy, \$1; S. N. Allen, 20 cents; R. Refer, Jr., 50 cents; L. G. James, 10 cents; Dr. J. E. Jones, \$1.75; P. Tavey, \$2; John R. Thomas, \$2; American News Co., \$5.80; George Allen, \$1.70; Jas. F. Richardson, \$10; J. H. Morrison, \$4.10; L. P. Babb, M.D., \$3.20; Mrs. A. S. White, \$3.20; W. N. Clark, \$3.20; T. J. Atwood, \$3.20; Mrs. Dr. Wm. H. Wilbur, \$3.20; Mrs. S. R. Morgan, \$6.40; S. L. Smith, \$2.20; R. W. Love, \$3.40; A. Frigman, \$1.50; John C. Haynes, \$3.20; George H. Foster, \$2.20; Thomas S. Murray, \$1.10; F. W. Evans, \$3; Wm. H. Gross, \$3.20; D. K. Boutelle, \$3.20; Sarah F. Earle, \$3; W. H. Badger, \$3; Wm. J. D. Way, \$6; S. Corner, \$3; Myron Smith, \$3.

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

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 24, 1878.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
COTYLIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHESSEY, GEORGE JACOB
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MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

A CARD.

The Committee on the better establishment of THE INDEX, appointed at a meeting of its subscribers and friends last May, wish to enlist all the assistance they can to lay its claims before every liberal man and woman in our country. They have prepared a circular setting forth the method, motives, and objects of their action, and wish the names of all who are willing to assist them in placing it where it will do good. Please address the Chairman of the Committee, "Ellis Wright, P. O. Box 109, Boston, Mass."

A REQUEST TO LIBERAL EDITORS.

At a meeting of the Directors of the National Liberal League, held in this city on Friday, January 18, it was

Voted, To request the editors of liberal papers all over the country to publish the Directors' "Call to Organize" new Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues on Washington's birthday,—also the "Card" of the Financial Committee, as follows:—

Call to Organize.

CITIZENS of the United States who indorse the appended political platform adopted in convention by the National Liberal League, at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1877, are requested to meet in their respective cities and towns on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, 1878, for the purpose of organizing themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues in accordance with the provisions of the National Liberal League Constitution. Copies of the latter and blanks for organization can be obtained from W. H. Hamlen, Secretary, 231 Washington Street, Boston, or from H. L. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Salamanca, N. Y.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
WILLIAM H. HAMLIN,
J. A. J. WILCOX,
H. L. GREEN,
D. G. CRANDON,
Directors
N. L. L.

BOSTON, Jan. 18, 1878.

Platform of the National Liberal League.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

A Card.

The Finance Committee of the National Liberal League, in consequence of the lack of funds in the Treasury, and of the fact that the Directors are able to do so little of the important work that ought to be done, appeal to all lovers of liberty for financial help, to enable them to publish and disseminate the views of able writers in behalf of the principles of the Rochester Platform, and to advance the common cause in other equally proper ways.

If earnest liberals throughout the United States will contribute one dollar apiece (with as much more as their generosity shall prompt or their means permit), in order to become Annual Members of the National Liberal League, they will furnish the requisite aid, and the work shall be done.

DANIEL G. CRANDON, } Financial
HARLAN P. HYDE, } Committee
SARAH B. OTIS, } N. L. L.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary F. R. A.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE of Minneapolis, Minnesota, have just reorganized and voted to apply for a charter, which has been already forwarded. The new officers are—President, S. C. Gale; Vice-President, W. W. Ross; Secretary, Frank J. Mead; Treasurer, J. B. Bassett. Every such accession to the roll of affiliated Leagues adds strength to the national movement and gives encouragement to its friends. Mr. Mead (in whom the readers of THE INDEX will recognize an old friend) writes cheerily as follows: "We have reorganized and placed the League on a stronger and more enduring basis. Never has a greater interest been manifested in this city than at present in the movement for the entire secularization of the State."

HERE is one more significant indication of a stealthy march to political supremacy on the part of the Church-Power. Such signs of the times are constantly thrusting themselves on the notice of all who are not hopelessly unobservant. In the New York Tribune of January 19 is this brief mention of a new conspiracy against equal rights in religion: "A Sabbath Alliance has been formed in Philadelphia. Its objects are the enforcement of the existing Sunday laws, and the furthering of the enactment of a more precise Sunday law. Judge Porter is the President." Mark that! While the liberals slumber, the enemies of liberty are busily at work. It is not they who think Sunday laws, Bible-in-schools laws, church-exemption laws, etc., of too little consequence to make a fuss over; they perfectly well understand that these things give to Christianity political power, which is exactly what they want. No—it is only liberals who, being unconscious themselves of any wish to tyrannize or persecute, fancy that everybody else is equally so. This may be a proof of their own innocence—but it is an innocence which is the high road to slavery.

THE *Christian Statesman* quotes our account of the shameful uses to which Trinity Church puts its vast tax-exempted property (see THE INDEX of January 3), and says: "We sympathize fully with THE INDEX in the indignation which it expresses over these figures." But, while it favors the taxation of church property not actually used for religious purposes, it still maintains the right to exempt church property which is so used; and thus it continues to defend the gross immorality of taxing non-Christians for the support of Christianity. That is naked robbery, gentlemen of the *Christian Statesman*; and you are doing just as much to scandalize your Christian religion by apologizing for robbery as Trinity Church is doing by leasing its land for gin-mills and brothels. You cannot make Trinity Church your scape-goat. Robbery is as wicked as licentiousness or drunkenness, is it not—even by your own Bible? Then you might as well apologize for both these sins as for one. Do not make two bites of your cherry. We are looking to see how many Christians are honest enough to be ashamed of robbing "infidels" in this manner. There are a few such, we gladly acknowledge; but we shall have precious little respect for the honesty of modern Christianity, until we see a great many more. There is no use in dodging the point; you have got to stop taxing "infidels" to support the churches, or else take your seat, however ruefully, among robbers, pickpockets, and thieves. We are all ready to compare "natural morality" with yours: are you?

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS.

"THE PHILISTINES BE UPON THEE, SAMSON!"

Ever since the country's narrow escape in August, 1876, from an amendment of the United States Constitution which would prohibit sectarian appropriations in the abstract, but which at the same time would except from the effect of this prohibition the existing exemption of church property from taxation and the practice of Bible-reading in the public schools, we have repeatedly expressed the conviction that this measure would be sooner or later revived in Congress, and warned the country against the consequences of it, if passed. It would recognize by implication the Divine Authority of the Bible, destroy the great safeguard of religious liberty by breaking down the absolute secularity of the Constitution, and give to the "God-in-the-Constitution" party success in the worst and most dangerous portion of their programme. Few believed our prediction, it is evident, or the liberals would have showed greater readiness to defend their imperilled rights. But the crisis has come at last. The country, asleep and bound, is set upon by its enemies; and the cry goes forth, "The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!" Whether the announcement has come soon enough to do any good, who can say?

A brief editorial paragraph in the Boston Journal of January 15 was brought to our notice last Friday, as follows:—

The prohibition of appropriations for sectarian purposes, the taxation of church property, an unsectarian school system, the prohibition of ecclesiastical interference in civil affairs, will soon occupy the attention of the United States Senate.

Turning to the telegraphic dispatches, we read this meagre explanation of the item, dated Washington, January 14:—

A Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The Senate Committee on the Judiciary will tomorrow consider Senator Edmunds' proposition for a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting appropriations for sectarian purposes; and there will also be considered at the same time suggestions from gentlemen favoring the taxation of church property, an unsectarian free school system, the prohibition of ecclesiastical interference in civil affairs, and legislation in the interest of any one religious sect.

No other journal that we have seen mentions the fact, and further information cannot be got as yet; but this tells quite enough. The Committee of the Judiciary will soon report a bill or resolution proposing a new amendment to the Constitution; and this, in all probability, will include some smoothly-worded and apparently harmless recognition of Protestant Christianity, whose real effect, if adopted, will be to subvert and destroy the present complete secularity of the Constitution. Little as the people at large will comprehend at the time the ultimate and tremendous consequences of such a change, they will discover what these are to their own cost in the end.

A meeting of the Directors of the National Liberal League was immediately held, on the afternoon of Friday, January 18. The subject was discussed with deep interest, and the following vote was passed:—

Voted, That the President of the National Liberal League be instructed to write at once to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, with reference to the pending amendment of the Constitution on the subject of sectarian appropriations; to urge the principles of the League on the attention of the Committee; and to forward on behalf of the League the petition for the Religious Freedom Amendment, to which 10,660 signatures have been received at this date.

Those wide-awake and earnest liberals by whose exertions the signatures to this petition have been collected deserve the gratitude of the entire liberal public, for having thus given proof, instantly available on short notice, that the great principle of secular government is dear to at least a few of the millions of American citizens. What a potent weapon it would have been, if the petition had indeed received "a million signatures," and not a paltry ten thousand! But, as it is, it will be of incalculable service in securing at least a measure of attention to the principles which ought to shape any Constitutional amendment on this momentous subject of Church and State. If these principles are sacrificed at last in the fierce rivalries of battling creeds, whom have we to blame but ourselves? While the husbandman slept, the enemy sowed tares; and now the harvest is coming up.

It is needless to say that the vote of the Directors of the National Liberal League, above quoted, has been carried out already, and that every practicable plan will be adopted by them for the furtherance of the common cause. Would that their resources were greater! But every liberal who is intelligent

enough to comprehend that a great Constitutional crisis has begun in this country, involving the development or destruction of the traditional American ideal of a STATE TOTALLY INDEPENDENT OF THE CHURCH, and affecting tremendously the whole future of free thought and free religion in the greatest republic of the world, has a work to do without delay.

1. We respectfully but most earnestly recommend that every Local Liberal League in the country call immediately a public meeting in its own city or town, —advertise it well,—engage the best speakers possible,—pass resolutions affirming the paramount importance of the total separation of Church and State, and petitioning the Senate against any recognition of the Bible in the pending Constitutional amendment,—and forward this petition, duly certified, to one of the Senators from the State in which the meeting is held, with an urgent request to present it at a fitting time to the Senate.

2. Let reports of these meetings be carefully and fully prepared for the local papers, and published as widely as possible. If no meeting can be held, then let individual liberals write articles on the subject for the journals of their own neighborhood.

3. Let papers, documents, and especially private letters, be poured in upon the Senators by every one who values the priceless principles at stake. Make it clear, at least, that the people do not want and will not forgive any intrusion of theology, however disguised or sugar-coated, into the great charter of their equal rights and liberties. Depend upon it, the agents of the National Reform Association will be at work, as they were confessedly in 1876.

4. In brief, agitate, agitate, agitate! We who believe that radicalism has something more important to do at this crisis than dreaming or kite-flying, and who know that the Christianizing of the Constitution, artfully concealed, is the settled purpose of those who are hostile to the total separation of Church and State, must not shirk our duty now. Let our watchword be: ACT—ACT PROMPTLY—ACT TOGETHER!

THE SOMETHING BETTER.

Those who question whether Christianity is the absolute and permanent religion are sometimes challenged to show something better; and this apparently, among the critics of the liberal religious movement, is regarded as the one argument that clinches all the rest and is utterly unanswerable. I have been sometimes surprised to hear even those who believe that Christianity is no system of dogmas, nor ecclesiastical organization, nor worship of an historical personage, but a free spirit of life, falling into the same argument, and asking, with an air of triumph, if those who believe free religion not necessarily coterminous with Christianity, can show a finer character than Jesus or a richer religion than the Christian. Even admitting, they ask, that some of your objections to Christianity as popularly organized and interpreted are true, what have you to put in its place that will be so satisfying to mind and heart, and be, on the whole, so full of practical good? You must show the superiority of the new faith before you can expect people to move away from their old faith.

Now with large numbers of people, who are looking only for some immediate practical good, this is, of course, true. They will not leave any present possession, whether it be religion or anything else, until they can grasp the new thing that is to take the place of it, in pretty tangible form. But no new movement in religion, or in anything else of great moment to mankind, was ever able to meet the test required in this challenge; namely, that of immediately presenting something which shall appear to all holders of an old possession as complete and good as that. And if there were no courageous and aspiring spirits, conscious of a thirst within them for something better than any present possession, and ready to follow that thirst, that search, even at the cost of present disadvantage and pain, and though not knowing whither or to what it might lead, there would never be any religious movement at all, nor any progress in human society. The first Christians were entirely unable to show any very great or good results from their having broken with Judaism; nor could they prove to the satisfaction of anybody but themselves that Jesus was a greater character than Moses. And in Moses' time it took more even than his great leadership to convince the Israelites that they were any better off for having left the religious faith and practices of Egypt; and on the weary march of years and generations toward the something better in store for them, they longed

often for the "flesh-pots" left behind. And we have always been taught that it was to the merit of old Abraham that "he went out seeking a country, not knowing whither he went." Of Martin Luther's wife, we are told that she was inclined to doubt whether they had so much religion in the debates and turmoil of the new era of Protestantism as they had in the quieter times under the old faith. But Luther and his compeers had faith in the possible spiritual riches that would come of seeking, and pushed the Reformation through.

These illustrations show the law of all important religious and social movements. They begin in an inward impulse, that may be hardly able to explain itself, rather than in any prudential consideration of outward conditions. They are not made outright complete,—no religion ever was; but they originate in a little seed of sentiment or thought, and they follow certain laws of growth; and it may be generations and centuries before they come to full maturity and fruitfulness. They begin in a desire for more complete spiritual satisfaction, in a search for more of truth; and those who are their first spokesmen are never able to justify their speech by showing the finished result. They may be able only to show that they are seekers, and that the after-building must take care of itself, or will certainly be cared for by the proper architects when the time for building comes. But it is enough for their justification, if they can show, for the better thing demands, the larger opportunity for satisfying man's invincible desire for truth.

W. J. P.

M. FAUVETY ON THE "TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES."

M. Fezandé has laid us under great obligation by kindly translating for our use a very thoughtful letter of the leading representative of the "Universal Religion of Humanity" in Paris. It is a new proof, if one were needed, that the modern world is becoming everywhere conscious of the possibility of a new religious synthesis on the ground of simple humanity, wholly independent of Christianity and all other special religions. We bespeak for M. Fauvety the sympathetic attention of our readers, and prefer to do it without intruding any explanations or comments of our own on his letter. It is enough to thank him for his appreciative criticisms, and to rejoice in the growth they indicate of that new "catholicism" which is yet destined to create a human fellowship coterminous with the globe itself.

PLAINFIELD, N. J., Jan. 8, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—When your "Fifty Affirmations" and "Modern Principles" were republished in November I sent a translation of them to my friend, M. Charles Fauvety, the proprietor and editor of *La Religion Laïque*.

I receive from him a letter which is evidently not intended for publicity. Still I thought it might interest you to know the opinion and strain of ideas of your co-workers in Europe. I therefore take the liberty of sending you a translation of it, which you may use just as you please.

Your brother in the universal religion,

E. FEZANDÉ.

The volume alluded to has not yet reached me. As soon as it comes, I will forward it to you.

Please have my subscription to THE INDEX continued for one year. I will send the money in February.

M. Fauvety's Letter.

I have read Mr. F. E. Abbot's "Affirmations," and I shall make use of them for the next number of *La Religion Laïque* (January 1). It is important that our readers should be made aware of the religious movement in America, and Mr. Abbot's manifesto is too strongly characterized to be silently passed over. I shall be much obliged to you if you will continue to send me the other productions of that Church, and of all other religious associations which are still where we ourselves are: that is, preparing the religion of the future. For you must have noticed that the religion which is forming is one and the same. Mr. Abbot, Mr. Frothingham, and ourselves are expressing the same views, the same ideas, and the same principles, and we speak the same language; a very remarkable fact in the midst of the confusion of tongues which exists in the free-thinking world outside of the religious idea. This is because at the period we have reached, there are already sufficient scientific elements to enable synthetic minds, by rising to a general conception, to meet in unity. Unity is there, indeed, and cannot be found when we limit ourselves to analysis or else to negation and criticism.

It is evident that, at the present day, all men who

have reached a certain degree of light, form about the same idea of the visible world, through astronomy and the physical and natural sciences, and also agree upon the laws and conditions of social life and of the moral world. The result is, that when, with our data, we try to form an idea of the whole, we formulate nearly the same things concerning the end of life, liberty, progress, and the laws of the development of humanity, and that we also give about the same judgments upon the religions which to us have become forms of the past, and for which we have neither hatred nor love. This it is that enables us to be just and even grateful to Christianity, and to speak of it as does Mr. Abbot, and as does *La Religion Laïque*. Our language resembles neither that of those who still belong to Christianity, nor that of those who wage war against it, as was the case in the eighteenth century in France, and as is still the case with those who are mere deniers.

The first portion of Mr. Abbot's "Affirmations" will teach our readers nothing. We have already defined religion more clearly and more precisely; which is perhaps owing to our French language. His chapter on the "Relations of Judaism to Christianity" is also very incomplete, and does not give an adequate idea of those two great religious systems, and of the influence of the former upon the formation of the latter. The chapter on "Christianity" is better; but what is of most consequence, and what I shall publish in *La Religion Laïque* (if I lack space for the rest), is "Free Religion" from Article 32 to the end. This portion is truly remarkable. It is here, moreover, that the real definition of Mr. Abbot's Church is found.

It seems to me that free religion does not essentially differ from Mr. Frothingham's *Independent Religion*, unless it be that it more nearly resembles ours by making perfection the end of life, as I am forever repeating, and consequently by making progress the object of daily effort. This is the point upon which we must all insist. It is by this that all who labor at the social synthesis of the future, whether in France or America, belong to the same country and remain co-religionists, whatever may be the names they take to assert themselves in the face of a hostile past, and of a present which is too troubled to be anything but indifferent. . . .

However, whatever be the name which we provisionally give to our Church, it seems to me that the true name of the religion of the future is that taken by Christianity when its wish was to organize itself by including the whole world. Instead of speaking Greek, we shall speak French, or English, or German, or Italian, or Spanish, or Russian; but we shall call ourselves members of the *Universal Religion of Humanity*. . . .

If you know Mr. Abbot, pray send him my congratulations, and offer him the collection of *La Religion Laïque* which I mail to your address. He probably reads French. At all events I have been sending it to THE INDEX for some time.

CH. FAUVETY.

Communications.

IMMORTALITY.

There is no subject of thought more universal than that of immortality. It is now, it has always been, the question of the day. Men believe that they desire it without having considered the actuality of duration. They shrink so much from losing their personality that they would fain project themselves into continued existence, without endeavoring to realize the significance of eternity. They are excited, enthusiastic over a word, without pausing to reflect upon the illimitable scope of the idea. To be immortal is to be endless; and they often long for this as the fulfillment of conditions, desires, and outreachings, which, however far extended, are ultimately finite. To be forever—to go on, and on, in existence, and never, never to cease! The human mind cannot conceive it. Imagination may dream of cycles upon cycles, but it is always time, not eternity. Beyond limits, imagination sinks dizzy and stunned. Omniscience is not a power of humanity, and the most daring soul and highest faculty of fancy succumb to irrepressible awe before the everlasting immensities.

But to be individually immortal,—to be a personal, indestructible, separate self forever! Is it really desirable by pure reason, when the idea is stripped of all adjuncts of poetry, dogma, and hopes that have their boundaries in human intelligence? Indestructibility is terrifying. To think that nothing that is can ever be nothing is appalling; and to even approach any true sense of eternity must crush out of created spirit all mere emotional longing.

Man often becomes very weary of even his three-score years and ten; and it is not so much the belief in immortality which takes the sting from death, as the craving for change; and as none ever yearn for worse contingencies, the heart deems that in another state all things will be better, and fondly trusts that

flesh and earthly circumstance will be no more hindrances to retard progress. But circumstance must environ all existence, and in each stage of futurity some necessary conditions of being must cause a corresponding feeling of limitation. We stand in trembling reverence before the wonders and majesty of the universe; astronomy has opened up to us sweeps and reaches of space that exact and extend comprehension to its utmost ability. But we know that these mighty systems of constellations revolving through the ages, and hung upon the invisible chain of inflexible law, will run their sublime course, and at last dissolve and reform under the sway of the inevitable; for no atom is ever annihilated, but remains created, whether in a state of chaotic disintegration, or in ordered conformation. And from the science of the stars we have the grandest statistical conception of time that may be, and of the enduring continuance of matter. Cannot we fancy that even inert matter, in all its protean shapes, must become tired of thus going on forever? And is there not a sort of pity in our souls for even the insensate that never rests and never ends?

And shall we, ethereal spirits though we may be, and adapted to receive and understand immeasurable truths, shall we never weary and despair at the incomprehensible ceaselessness?—for eternity is infinite, and only Omnipresent infinity can undisturbedly bear the awful burden of everlastingness. The created may be eternal, but it can never be individually infinite. And for what avail—to live forever?

To increase knowledge? To compass the unknowable, and then the still unknowable, and to keep on into inconceivable intellectual radiations? To have the ears opened to the harmony of the spheres, the revelation of the open vision, the boundless enlargement of comprehension? To learn and to garner up the Almighty secrets? And for what? What is the use at last? Every acquirement must be temporary, and superseded by the higher; and always there must be this one knowledge amid all others: that all that is already known is naught to the illimitable beyond. That which is gained drops behind as we mount higher; and the farther we go, the more and more must that which is attained be merely preparatory. What ultimate purpose can there be where there is no end? It is pouring water through a sieve, the very symbolical labor of the Danesides. It would require a separate miracle for each aspiring soul to keep eternal interest forever unabated. Would there not come a weariness even of wisdom?

But the sentiment of humanity also looks beyond the grave to the reunion of kinships and affinities to the blessed experience of deathless and unconditional love. It is the fond thought of irresistible passion's first intensity; it is the one consolation in unconquerable grief. It is an inculcated doctrine which has become almost inherent in the thought of civilized man. The ardent spirit loses itself in ideal contemplation of uninterrupted association, and believes that as the rapture of mortal emotion annihilates certain spaces of time, all immortal existence will be one beatific consciousness of equal joy, and that eternity will be but extension of an exquisite mood, whose duration will be unperceivable in the endless felicity. But love forgets that it is but one phase of human concern and development, and has no assurance that any being is so constituted as to be forever able to continue at the ecstatic altitude of unspeakable transport. Its supreme moment is high and holy enough to make a heaven and dwell therein. But there is a higher, holier, even more perfect impression than that, when in some hour of comprehending awe, we rise to an unsurpassable cognition and overpoweringly tender reverence for the first great cause, the inexpressible exaltation of natural worship for the unknown and inconceivable; for then the mind and heart and soul are all together at their utmost stretch, and exist for the time being only as an impersonal inspiration. And can love be certain that love only will be all in all to any complex conditioned entity? Love cannot fill the whole earth for even one man, or control an entire lifetime. How, then, for the immeasurable spaces for enlarged effort, and a hereafter of universal distractions? And who does not know, when the sight pierces through the mists of passion and sentiment, sad as the reflection unquestionably is, that there is no love that ever was born which cannot be slain by inexorable time? The morning glow lasts but a little while; the calm of evening affection slowly but imperceptibly perishes of its own placidity; and even the agonized clinging of bereaved devotion subsides into oblivion if only the time allowed be long enough. The very faces of the dead dim in the memory behind the temporal years; and memory is the very handmaid of love. Therefore, what warrant have we that those who go before us to "that other bourne," remain stationary in feeling and place until we join them? May not their state of spirituality, a matter which no one human being can penetrate or predicate of another, be so superior to our own that they may soar by it so far beyond us that we can never reach them? And *vice versa* as regards ourselves and them? For if we judge of things unseen by those that are known, this, and countless other forces, can separate beloved ones, or destroy interwinding content. So that, even as of knowledge, is there not possible also a terrible weariness of love, a point where the aimless endlessness of any experience will appear as mere vanity and vexation?

Many earnest and unsatisfied souls trust to the omnipotent future for the harmonizing of earthly dissonances, the completion of the imperfect, the justification of divinity in mundane management, which so often appears subject only to the infernal. And there is general credence, too, in the adjustment of balances; that Dives, who has had his good things on earth, shall languish of thirst in hell; and Lazarus, destitute and leprous, be received into the very

bosom of Abraham; that the righteous shall be correspondingly rewarded, and the wicked punished.

If the interior vision was more open, knowledge more profound, the sympathetic intuition more keen, the horizon broader, of more liberal faith, might we not find underlying the surface-seeming of things, not only the inevitable foundations of appearances, but the exquisite order of contrivance? With our little span of sight which beholds universal activity within such narrow limits, how can we infer the purpose of the whole? To the ear of the Great Composer there is melodious unity in an entire symphony where parts violently separated from the all may sound meaningless and discordant to less privileged auditors. Imperfection, incompleteness! Can we who see only such a little way as these, apprehend the capabilities, the necessity of completion, or estimate the use of the imperfect? And the law of compensation, what do we know of it, who can never thoroughly enter into the spiritual solitude of our nearest and dearest? The worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched, are they not carried secretly in the living breast of man? And does not every sin contain within itself the ripening germ of its own retribution? While in well-doing is there not a conscious blessing as equality of reward? Who shall estimate his brother's due, or fix the date of its payment? Why postpone present possibilities beyond possible need? And must it take the unrecordable spaces to weigh in the other scale against the atom of time which makes a human career? It is an over appraisal of valuation; an ocean's overwhelming of a single grain of sand; the almightiness of persistent power exerted against a pygmy! And shall we, who know not what evil is, or good, except according to our own autocratic definitions, shall we decide of the incomprehensible, as the Pharisees said of Christ, "Lo, it is by Beelzebub!" And how know we that we shall not deprecate Beelzebub instead of a Redeemer with our unmaterialized eyes also? For from our own within we behold what is without. But to praise the Lord always, some say, is the chief end of immortality. Let us not have so small a conception of God as to incarnate Him in the selfishness that would demand and enjoy such fearful incense; which would surely degenerate from very monotony into hypocrisy or unmeaning habit. To praise God rightly, even acceptably to our inferior understanding, think what a mere instant we can possibly keep ourselves at the requisite height of sublime appreciation; think of the unsurmountable difficulty of suitable interpretation of this super-human uplifting, and imagine if aught not equally infinite with the infinite could sustain such worthy strain throughout unend! For again let us repeat, the created cannot comprehend the everlastingness of eternity!

It is from self conceit, self-absorption, self-seeking that the prevailing idea of immortality arises. If by strong effort of will we can momentarily put these aside, and realize that endless finite existence is not altogether desirable, shall we then grudge to think it less magnificent to change our substance, spirit as well as matter, and to mingle with the universe, be received and dissolved in the one spirit of that universe from whence we sprang? And instead of the unsatisfactory progression of individual and personal immortality, be thus incorporated into the whole, and so at once become infinite and capable of eternity?

Mrs. SARAH BRIDGES STEBBINS.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 3, 1878.

FREE RELIGION.

MR. EDITOR:—

Free Religion, as I understand it, is the enjoyment and free expression of each one's religious thought or idea without being subjected to pains, penalties, or any disabilities, ecclesiastical, political, or social, on account of his opinion, judgment, or faith. Be it rational or irrational, sensible or absurd, the worship of one God or more or none, belief in Jesus or Moses or Mohammed, of Buddha or Zoroaster or Confucius,—every man, each according to his conscientious judgment, subject only to the laws of good citizenship under a secular Constitution, is entitled to these rights.

It is, therefore, neither necessary nor proper that I should attack any man's character, nor the character of his God or his teachers, living or dead, in upholding my own faith, judgment, or opinion, otherwise than in doing so incidentally and necessarily conflicts with what some other persons believe.

In advocating free religion, therefore, I am not justified in calling in question the filial and fraternal character of Jesus; whose doctrine requires that, for the sake of the truth, or what he believed and taught to be truth, a man should sunder all domestic and social ties rather than relinquish it; for to me it appears neither more nor less than a truism that he should do so.

One brought up and educated in the Christian religion, having discovered (as he supposes) that scientific truth and Christianity are irreconcilable, is bound to give up his former belief for the sake of the antagonistic truth which he has discovered, and should not be denounced with the epithets of apostate, heretic, renegade, infidel, turncoat, and similar damaging terms,—all of which indicate more of the spirit of persecution than real regard for truth. This being admitted, the zealous Jew who has become a zealous Christian, or the Christian or Buddhist who has become a Moslem, should not be judged a knave on account of such change, and the free-religionist or rationalist who cannot find a satisfactory foundation for his faith in rationalism is not to be judged harshly and unkindly because he becomes a Christian. Let us all advocate what we believe to be the truth, and maintain what we know, and try to convince our opponents if we can, and be ready to be convinced ourselves if we are wrong;

but let us leave to our opponents the Jesuitical practice of throwing dirt, attacking character and motives, and "dealing damnation round the land" upon those who differ from us.

I do not wish to charge upon free thinkers such abuse of their opponents as they are accustomed to receive; and it is well if we can exercise so much self constraint as not to condemn ourselves in what we condemn in others, whatever the provocation may seem to be. "Let the dead bury their dead," and, if we cannot garnish their sepulchres, let them rest in their graves. THE INDEX has been singularly free from the vice here condemned; and it is hoped the few exceptions may become less and altogether disappear. Our purpose and policy must be conciliation; for we want a free, secular National Constitution and free, secular State Constitutions, whereby every man and woman shall enjoy the same rights in the things in which they differ as in the things wherein they agree. I would disfranchise only such as those who, while they claim the rights of citizenship, acknowledge a higher allegiance to a foreign power. Such persons ought not to be made citizens; and I would advocate such a change of the National Constitution as would deny them the benefit of such right, and refuse the franchise to every one who holds his citizenship secondary to his allegiance to another power.

Before we can secure the Religious Freedom Amendment, we have a mountain of difficulties to encounter; and it is as well to look the subject directly in the face. A majority of the Republicans would vote to day for the Christian amendment in behalf of Protestantism; while a majority of Democrats would oppose it and the Religious Freedom Amendment in behalf of Popery. And the Amendment proposing national protection to United States citizens everywhere would encounter unanimous opposition from a solid South, and partial opposition from a divided North; and no amendment whatever can be obtained for years to come. In the mean time, the advocates of impartial liberty will find abundant employment in striving to awake the dormant interest of those who profess themselves friends of equal rights and free religion.

D. S. GRANDIN.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me., Dec. 12, 1877.

BEES.

"There is more in heaven and earth than is dreamed of in our philosophy." I once kept bees, and studied their peculiarities. They have strong likes and dislikes, take to some and hate others. Is it because of the delicacy of their sense of smell? I think it most likely. Passing their lives amid the sweet aromas of flowers it would seem natural that they should revolt at any acrid or pungent odors. I was never stung by my bees; and on one occasion when a swarm came out on Sunday and alighted among the pea-vines, I gathered them in my uncovered hands into a fresh hive, sustaining no injury in so doing.

Bees are strenuously advocates for temperance. We had a neighbor, a moderate drinker, a mild, harmless man, but my bees would none of him. No sooner did he enter the garden than they were after him, collecting and buzzing around him till he was glad to make his escape. I one day had made use of some cologne which seemed to irritate and surprise them; but when I tossed the handkerchief into the bushes they were quieted.

I think they love children. They would alight on my babies' shoulders and arms, but never sting them. Their hum has a peculiar droning, sleepy sound when they are pleased, totally unlike their sharp buzz when irritated. A large beetle one day, in his clownish bumping around, alighted just inside the entrance to the hive, which had been made wider than it ought to have been. Immediately there was commotion and stir, and a council held. The result was the bees mostly flew away, and, returning before the beetle could realize his "corporal suffering," he was hermetically sealed up, and remained a lump of wax, a sort of insect Lot's wife transfixed for his curiosity.

I once had an antique skull over my desk in a city library, and one bright day was surprised to find myself surrounded by bees. They buzzed about as if seeking a place in which to deposit their sweets, and at length took possession of the skull, and built their cells within, coming and going through the open window with a still, soft companionship not at all displeasing. But when the weather grew cold they deserted me, probably returning to their old homes, from which they had so capriciously wandered.

These freakish movements, inherent in bees, have given rise to many pretty superstitions: such as, if a bee comes into the room, and singling out one from a group, flies and buzzes about that one's head, it is a sign of good news, or a letter, or the advent of a friend. This is as old as the times of Ovid, and has become almost a universal omen among those who will accept a little honey from the mass of exploded belief.

In observing my bees, I came to the conclusion that some advanced members of the community had a perception of color,—as I observed now and then one would be loitering among my flowers, even around those nearly or quite scentless, such as the geraniums; often coming into the widows, as the humming-birds did, who must have been attracted by the brilliancy of color. But the majority of bees were attracted to the white clover and buckwheat, both pale in color.

It may be that bees have exquisite enjoyment in their work; but any child who has been tortured into,—

"How doth the little busy bee,
Improve each shining hour,"

as an incentive to industry, will be glad to believe that the bee is as arrant an idler and vagrant as the

rest of us. I have been at pains to follow some of these models, and became convinced that they had a general good time, hiding in hollyhocks and peeping into trumpet-creepers, and pretending work round panses and roses, when they were simply luxuriating. Even a bee's brain and muscles would give out under perpetual tension; and I apprehend that all their hard-working congeners after all—the beaver (we are told to work like the beaver) and the ant (go to the ant, thou sluggard,) and the “busy bee,” all these torments to lazy humanity,—do not have all their lives devoted to toil, but love to lie off, like the rest of us, and slip here and there, sometimes dangerously, even of bitter absinthe and “herbs of grace”; but not without delight at a rest from honey sweets, to say nothing of a touch of a something strange and unrevealed.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

“LIFE.”

EDITOR INDEX:—

I read Mr. Andrews' articles on “Universology,” in THE INDEX, with great interest; and think that in mental force, deep philosophic insight, and keen analytical acumen he ranks with the best minds of the age. From our acquaintance, however, with the latest utterances of George H. Lewes, he attributes to that philosopher, in article No. XX., which appears in your issue of December 27, a definition of life which Mr. Lewes formulated so long ago as 1853, and which he has expressly declared was abandoned by him even before Herbert Spencer's criticism of it, referred to by Mr. Andrews, saw the light. I give his exact words, as taken from “The Physical Basis of Mind” (*Problems of Life and Mind*, Second Series): “In 1853, after reviewing the various attempts to express in a sentence what a volume could only approximately expound, I proposed the following: ‘Life is a series of definite and successive changes, both of structure and composition, which take place within an individual without destroying its identity.’ This has been criticised by Mr. Herbert Spencer and by Dr. Lionel Beale; and if I had not withdrawn it before their criticisms appeared, I should certainly have modified and enlarged it afterwards.”

Since the time that definition of life was given by Mr. Lewes nearly twenty-five years have elapsed; and his intellectual growth has meanwhile been very great, and in perfect harmony with the most advanced scientific thought and investigation in all matters pertaining to biology and psychology, necessitating, of course, considerable modification, if not entire reconstruction, of any views of life held in that almost pre-scientific age of a quarter of a century ago. I venture to assert that Mr. Lewes' matured thought in relation to this great subject will not meet with the same condemnation from Mr. Andrews that he visits upon his earlier views. And were Mr. Andrews to read the three published volumes of *Problems of Life and Mind*, he would see how utterly Mr. Lewes repudiates materialism, and how strongly he asserts that it fails to furnish the correct solution of those problems. One of the principal aims of the work is to show the untenableness of materialism, pure and simple; while at the same time he points out just how far Spiritualism falls short of giving a true solution of life's problems, and makes a grand effort to effect a reconciliation between the two, by showing how both have hold of the same truths, only viewed in different lights and from different standpoints, and that both views are necessary in order to a complete integral philosophy. The high aim of Mr. Lewes, like that of Mr. Andrews, is to show that there is a fundamental unity underlying all existences; and were the latter well acquainted with the former's recent writings he would probably not be slow to perceive the kinship of ideas and affinity of philosophic method which pervade “Universology” and the “Creed” whose foundations Mr. Lewes seeks to lay.

Let me now give the definition of life at present held by Mr. Lewes, and I think it will be found that it is not a “mere description of the manifestations of life,” and that it is not possible to make it apply to the “operation of building and repairing a house,” which are the criticisms brought by Mr. Andrews against the 1853 definition, and which are obviously valid and unanswerable so far as that definition is concerned, as Mr. Lewes would unquestionably admit. I quote again from the *Physical Basis of Mind* (p. 35, sec. 42): “Life is the functional activity of an organism in relation to its medium, as a synthesis of three terms: structure, allment, and instrument; it is the sum of functions which are the resultants of vitality; vitality being the sum of the properties of matter in the state of organization.”

In case it may be thought that the materialistic skeleton lurks in the definition of vitality as “the sum of the properties of matter in the state of organization, the definition of vital force, on p. 35, sec. 41, as a “symbol of the conditions of organized matter,” should be taken along with the main definition, as well as the whole of sec. 43, which, being brief, I also give: “Vital phenomena are the phenomena manifested in organisms when external agencies disturb their molecular equilibrium; and by organisms when they react on external objects. Thus everything done in an organism, or by an organism, is a vital act, although physical and chemical agencies may form essential components of the act. If I shrink when struck, or if I whip a horse, the blow is in each case physical; but the shrinking and the striking are vital. Every part of a living organism is therefore vital, as pertaining to life; but no part has this life when isolated; for life is the synthesis of all the parts,—a federation of the organs when the organism is complex, a federation of the organic substances when the organism is a simple cell.” (The italics are in all cases Mr. Lewes'.)

Mr. Andrews contrasts life and death with fine insight and wonderful subtlety; but wherein is there

any great difference in his definition of life as “the activity or self-motivistic principle and phenomenon of the universe” and that of Mr. Lewes' which asserts that it “is the functional activity of an organism”? etc. Mr. Andrews will see that Mr. Lewes is at one with him in regard to the important part played by action or activity in defining life. The difference between them is one of degree rather than of kind. The American philosopher includes the universe in his definition; while his English brother is less ambitious in scope, and limits his attention to the domain of organisms. Whether Mr. Lewes would assent to Mr. Andrews' further elaboration of life as “a primal and creative factor in the production of the world,” I know not; but am inclined to think that he would be of the opinion that there are no facts accessible to the human reason that can establish such a proposition.

P.S.—By a singular coincidence, the Rev. Joseph Cook has just given his definition of life, and boldly claims that “life is the power which coordinates the movements of germinal matter”; and he defends this view of life with great acuteness and no little dialectical skill against what he, in common with Mr. Andrews, denominates the materialistic conceptions of Herbert Spencer and Dr. Maudeley. If Mr. Cook could only give us a sound scientific definition of the “power” which is the all-important term in his definition, scientific philosophers would have no great quarrel to pick with it. But who does not desecrate behind his term of power the Christian God, and plainly see that, with Mr. Cook, the two terms, power and God, are synonymous? Would not his real meaning be more accurately expressed by amending his definition thus? “God is the power which coordinates the movements of germinal matter in such a manner that life is the result.” But does this definition add anything to our knowledge, or make the mystery of life any clearer to us?

NEW YORK, Dec. 29, 1877.

“EVERY TEACHER A CHURCH-MEMBER.”

CASTLETON, Ill., Jan. 8, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I take the liberty to send you the following item, taken from the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* of the 3d instant, which, for significance and priestly craftiness, is not easy to beat:—

“President Lewis, in his address before the State Teachers' Association, having insisted that every teacher should be a church-member, Mr. Thorpe offered a resolution to the effect that that portion of the address be stricken from the records as opposed to the spirit of the age. This created a sensation; but the chair declined to entertain the resolution. The question came up again on Friday in the shape of the report of the committee, to whom the address of the President was referred. The committee recommended that the portion of the address objected to be stricken out. The Association took the position that the address was simply the expression of opinion, binding no one and hurting no one; and, after a stormy discussion, the report was tabled by a vote of 67 to 18.”

“Every teacher should be a church-member.” Is this intended as an inducement to every would-be teacher to join the Church in order to have a possible chance to become what freedom has never denied them? If this be the case, about how much will such membership be worth?—and it might be well to count the cost of enjoying the privilege of being a first-class hypocrite.

It seems somewhat premature just at present to “insist” upon this matter, for the reason that, when the God-in-the-Constitution party succeed in their object, it will be perfectly in order; and whatever else Christianity may have in view will then be secured, provided the “spirit of the age” does not prevent it. But what better evidence could be desired of that feeling of despair which Orthodox Christianity must have in order to have such an “opinion” from which the “insisting” part is the natural formality, having for its justification a belief that all souls must eventually embrace its faith or be damned?

Next in order for the Orthodox Christian to “insist” upon is, that the Church shall have the authority to dictate what books the pupil should study. This apparently will be an easy matter when the teacher becomes an *attaché* of the Church. The “insisting” part will then have nothing serious to contend against, and the education of our youth in the terms of salvation, of duties to the Church, and reverence for the priesthood in general, will take precedence of mathematics, grammar, or reading.

The facilities for saving souls are to be increased, legalized, formalized. In other words, the man of the future is to be patterned after the type of theological conception, moulded soul and body so that his exterior will serve the purpose of labelling. He must be a Christian; the teacher must be qualified to supervise over the metal furnished him; the State must furnish the metal, pay all charges, surrender all claims as to the premises, whenever the question of “rights” or “titles” is raised.

What more could a devotee of the Church of Rome ask? Is it not his ideal that has been borrowed, in order to insure posterity to the Orthodox conception of rewards and punishments, schemes of salvation and damnation? Is it time for the Catholic to be jealous. The Pope is to be superseded; for what possibility is there that this functionary should get into our United States Constitution, as the legalized head and ruler among nations? Yet if some one else should get into that instrument as such, I can see no reason why such a precedent will not be an encouragement for any other acknowledged head to be similarly legalized. There seems a possible chance here for a controversy, during which we shall hear from both Jew and Gentile.

C. W. NEWTON.

“LIBERAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.”

EDITOR INDEX:—

The question as to what religious instruction unorthodox parents should give to their children, is perplexing the minds of many a freethinker. It is said that to exclude the children from the influences of the Church, to forbid the reading of the Bible, to separate them from rabidly religious persons would tend to make these children bigoted, unreasoning opponents to Christianity. Not necessarily so. I may forbid my child the Bible on the same grounds that I forbid him Shakespeare, or as I say to him, “You must study the Latin Grammar before you try to read Virgil.” I would exclude him from a rabidly religious person as I would from a nurse charged with ghost stories, or from one who delighted in stories of the horrible.

If the child hear continuous controversies upon religious subjects, if theological dogmas are continually discussed in his presence, and opinions expressed which are hostile to the popular faith, the child may hear only half truths and become a prejudiced bigot. But if he knows nothing of the *pros* and *cons* of religious controversy, has no more desire or aversion for the Sunday-school than he has for the dancing-school, there is no more danger that he will become an unreasoning opponent to Christianity than to Buddhism. He may be ignorant of and indifferent to both.

Is it necessary for a child's religious instruction that he be initiated into the unfathomable mysteries of the nature of God, of the Unity and the Trinity, of heaven and hell, and a hundred other topics generally included under the head of religious instruction? As yet he has not fathomed the “miracle of flowers and trees.” Let him go to the Sunday-school where that is taught. There are a thousand positive miracles to engage his mind before he comes to the questionable one of “loaves and fishes.” There is more danger of giving a child too much religious instruction than too little. He can see for himself adaptation and plan. He is no sceptic; he naturally asks who made it, at once believing in a Creator. Any instruction of ours can add nothing to his knowledge of a God, and we do well if it does not shake his faith. The devout Novallis somewhere says: “The too early and immoderate use of religion is extremely injurious to the growth of man, as brandy to the physical development.” By too great impatience in this respect we lose the end desired. Glorious truths become trite, hackneyed phrases. This most wonderful of books becomes commonplace. We would not think of giving our children Shakespeare or Goethe or Plato, till they are in a measure ready for them; why give them the Bible, while they have neither eyes to see nor ears to hear? Richter says: “You flying teachers, who give children the draught earlier than the thirst, can you ever make good to them the great year, which they would have lived to see, had they, growing up like the new-created Adam, been able to turn round with their open, thirsty senses, in the glorious universe of spirits?”

C. E. SHERMAN.

CHICAGO, Ill.

“RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.”

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

We can as well teach children a *good appetite* as to teach them religion. “Religious instruction” is as absurd an expression to a freethinker's conception as *joyous* instruction would be to a young, healthy seater. We inherit from Christian theology a false issue in relation to this matter, which has given rise to much waste labor. As to this thing of religious instruction for children, it is the hateful legacy of a system which has its crowded nursery of future bigots in every church-vestry in the country. Every liberal should say of it as Macbeth said of physic, “Throw it to the dogs; F'll none of it.” What! no sugar-coat to the pill of science? Beg pardon, I did not say so. Just as palatable as it can be made. That is the test of one's skill as a teacher. Bring the children together. Amuse them by instruction, and instruct them by amusement; and when a truth excites their wonder, wonder with them; but beyond that, and between them and the invisible source of their delightful wonder, we have no business, for we do not know any more concerning that region than when we were children ourselves. So, if you please, “natural knowledge” seasoned to taste; but no “religious instruction.”

Z.

CANON FARRAR recently preached at Westminster Abbey a sermon which in all circles is considered a remarkable one, while the ecclesiastical circles are considerably exercised in regard to it. The sermon at last accounts had not been published, though there has been some inquiry for it. An outline of what it contained is given as follows in an English paper: “Taking those mysterious words in the First Epistle of Peter, about preaching to the spirits in prison, Canon Farrar denounced in the strongest terms the doctrine of eternal punishment as an offspring of bigotry and superstition. It was not to be supported even by isolated texts, for those usually cited had been misinterpreted; and the preacher went so far as to say that, if the revisers of the Bible did their duty, the words hell, damnation, and eternal would be omitted from the new translation. He was particularly severe upon St. Augustine and his material hell, which had thrown a dark stain on theology; in fact, the Canon's condemnation was nearly as strong as Mr. Lecky's famous chapter.” It is not expected that any action will be taken against Canon Farrar for his utterance of such views, for it is said that they are more generally held to than some people would suppose. At the same time it is suggested that for less decisive language than this, Professor Maurice lost his chair at King's College not many years ago.

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Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,--as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"--together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Kashub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglas, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wilson and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooks Herford, and John Weiss,--together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. R. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Leaker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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No. 1.--Truths for the Times, by F. E. Abbot, contains the "Fifty Affirmations" and "Modern Principles." Mr. CHARLES DARWIN, author of "The Origin of Species," says, in a letter to the editor not originally intended for publication, but subsequently authorized to be used: "I have now read 'TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES,' and I admire them from my inmost heart; and I agree to almost every word." New Edition. Price 10 cents; 12 copies \$1.00.

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PUBLISHED BY THE INDEX ASSOCIATION,

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THE INDEX aims--

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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The publication of a valuable leading paper or essay of a thoughtful character, in each issue, will continue to be one of the most marked features of THE INDEX.

Regular editorial contributions will continue to be furnished by the well-known eminent writers who have already done so much to give to THE INDEX its present high position. Other interesting correspondence, communications, extracts from valuable books and periodicals, and miscellaneous articles, will also be published; and such improvements will be made from time to time as circumstances shall render possible.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1878.

WHOLE No. 423.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools; abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSSES.

A NEW Liberal League has just been organized at West Meriden, Connecticut, in affiliation with the National League. The officers are—President, N. F. Griswold; Secretary, Emily J. Leonard; Treasurer, R. L. Roys.

ALL WHO have been interested by the radical sermons of Rev. M. J. Savage, occasionally reprinted here, will be glad to know that they will be hereafter published regularly in the Boston (Sunday) Times. The subscription price of this journal is two dollars a year.

MR. FRANK J. MEAD, of Minneapolis, writes to Mr. H. L. Green: "It is our purpose now to hold during the winter a State meeting of those in sympathy with the Liberal League movement. In case we should, it will result, I think, in adding several more Leagues to the movement."

ANOTHER NEW Liberal League has been formed at Florence, Iowa, to which a charter has been already sent. Officers—Byron McQuin, President; E. C. Walker, Secretary; A. M. Rogers, Assistant Secretary; Mrs. R. I. Wagner, Treasurer; Charles M. Rogers, Phil Wagner, Richard Merritt, and C. B. Hayden, Councillors. An account of its organization by the Secretary will be found on another page.

IN CONNECTION with the general celebration of Thomas Paine's birthday last Tuesday, the subjoined passage from a private letter which we recently received from a very bright lady in Washington, will be of interest to our readers. Speaking of Colonel Ingersoll's lecture on "Ghosts," delivered in that city on January 21, she says: "In enumerating and praising the few men of the past who have 'dared to think and to speak their thought,' when he came to the words, 'and I thank Thomas Paine'—the whole audience almost shouted: the cheers and wild applause held on for several minutes, and broke out again and yet again. . . . As the audience was sprinkled with Senators and Congressmen and people from all over the United States, the applause was of greater significance to me than it would have been in a Boston audience."

MR. BENJAMIN R. TUCKER deserves great praise and abundant encouragement in his efforts to establish the *Radical Review*. He has proved himself to be an able editor, and we hope that his devotion and self-sacrifice will not be thrown away by reason of the hard times. We print with pleasure his notice of the next number: Beginning with Vol. II., No. 1, the *Radical Review* will be issued bi-monthly. While the subscription price will remain the same, the price of single copies will be reduced from \$1.50 to \$1.00. The February number of the *Radical Review* will present the following Table of Contents: "The Decline of Churches," J. Vila Blake; "Musings upon Deity," Christopher P. Cranch; "Work and Wealth," J. K. Ingalls; "The Ethics of Jesus," John L. Stoddard; "To a Man about Town: a Reproach," Emily E. Ford; "Chauncey Wright," John Fiske; "Some Considerations in Ethics," T. F. Brownell; "The Revolution," B. W. Ball; "System of Economical Contradictions. Chapter III. The Division of Labor," P. J. Proudhon. Editor's Translation; "Gold and Silver as Standards of Value: The Flagrant Cheat in Regard to Them," Lysander Spooner; "The Martyr's Vision," John L. Stoddard; "Current Literature": Simcox's *Natural Law*; Bolle's *Conflict between Capital and Labor*; Gill's *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*; Wakeman's *Epitome of the Positive Philosophy and Religion*; Frothingham's *Cradle of the Christ*; Phelps' *Story of Avis*; "Chips from my Studio," Sidney H. Morse. Benjamin R. Tucker, Publisher, New Bedford, Mass.

ACCORDING to the Boston *Advertiser*, the reactionists in New Haven have been at work: "The citizens of

New Haven do not accept without a contest the action of their city board of education in the abolition of religious services in the public schools. Petitions of approval, as they are called, and counter-petitions for a reversal of the action were presented at the last meeting of the board on Friday evening. Among the two thousand people whose names followed the petition to stand by the action already taken, are ex-Governor Ingersoll, the Hon. Francis Wayland, dean of the Yale law school, Professors W. D. Whitney, W. G. Sumner, G. J. Brush, D. C. Eaton, T. R. Lounsbury, Francis Bacon, and A. E. Verrill. But the Yale faculty and the leading citizens are more numerous found among the thirty-six hundred who petition for a restoration of the Bible reading. Ex-President Woolsey, President Porter, Professors Dana, Silliman, Hopkin, and the Rev. Dr. Harris and others, most of whom made up the list of one hundred and twenty-three, largely composed of the faculty, represented the conservative element, and the weight of their names was reinforced by the leading clergymen and business men of the city. An unexpected fact about the petitions to reverse the action of the board was that they were signed not only by representatives of all Protestant denominations, but also by Catholics, Jews, and people of no religious faith whatever. Most of the signers were tax-payers; but some were women not paying taxes. No action was taken on these petitions, both being referred to a committee, to come up again after deliberation. If the contest on this question is to come up now in New England, it is well that it appears first in a city where there is a great readiness of trained men to enter the lists. The way it is decided in New Haven will necessarily have considerable influence throughout the smaller cities and country towns."

A GENTLEMAN of St. Louis whose character and intelligence render his approval especially valuable writes as follows under date of January 20: "Anthony Comstock has recently delivered in this city a private lecture to nearly all the clergymen of every denomination and many of our leading citizens. At the meeting he exhibited not merely obscene publications and pictures, but the tools of the professional seducers, together with private correspondence of such a character as to shut the mouth of every decent and moral man—liberal or bigot,—who might have objected to his crusade against obscenity, unless his so-called evidence is the most monstrous fiction invented by him as a pretext. I cannot possibly conceive how any one familiar with the facts can oppose the most stringent surveillance of the mails to prevent the transmission of the vilest instruments of debauchery for purposes of masturbation, etc., all of which he avowed were being made accessible to every female seminary in the land. You are altogether right in the stand you are making. 'Hold the Fort' for our children's sake." It is this nefarious business, this insufferable crime against the welfare of those whose immaturity and inexperience must make them defenceless victims unless protected by others, which should alone be suppressed by law. If the liberals should be betrayed into confounding the cause of free speech and a free press with the cause of malevolent and aggressive nastiness, they would deservedly array against themselves the self-preserving instincts of the whole community. They would be utter idiots to do this, and we will neither be coaxed, driven, nor fooled into helping crazy fanatics murder the cause of free thought by swamping it in the bog of free licentiousness. If there is not enough insight among the liberals to discover in due time the service which THE INDEX is doing them by its course in this matter, we shall be surprised indeed. But, appreciated or not, THE INDEX will not deviate by a hair's-breadth from the straight path it has pursued, defending at the same time the rights of free thought and of public morality.

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The Relation of Woman to Church and State.

AN ESSAY READ BEFORE THE CHICAGO WOMEN'S CLUB, OCT. 8, 1877. BY MRS. CELIA P. WOOLLEY.

Two facts are broadly prominent with regard to the present position and influence of women. One relates to her political disability; the other is connected with her religious fanaticism. In the Church she is one of its chief instruments of power; in the State she is a nonentity. Such an anomalous position cannot but be fraught with dangerous tendencies; for though woman has come bitterly to appreciate the humiliating relation she sustains to the State, she has scarcely thought of severing or loosening the tie which holds her fast in the bonds of superstition. On the one hand she is demanding an increase of power; while on the other she is making it seriously evident how unfit she often is to wield what little influence she already possesses. Here has been a distorted growth, certain facilities having been pushed to an extreme development, while others have been left to wither and decay. In the present day, when new thoughts and fresh impulses are stirring in every mind, it naturally follows that the old womanly ideal is continually losing its power, and no longer commands the former degree of respect and admiration. The light of "woman's influence," so fondly thought to have led the world to its present stage of moral advancement, has been observed to flicker strangely at times, and cast weird shadows about; showing that it is no celestial thing, after all, which shines by its own burning, but, like the lights of mere human invention, must have good stuff to feed on.

What woman has lacked in scope she has endeavored to make up in intensity. She is a born enthusiast. What she does she does with her might, whether it is dressing for a ball or planning some new scheme of philanthropy. Once tickle her imagination with a new suggestion, and she tingles to the finger-tips to seize and execute it at once. How important it is then that this pent-up ardor and enthusiasm, this almost frantic zeal to be up and doing should be allowed to expend itself in a free and natural manner, to flow, if it chooses, in all directions at once, as a fountain scatters its sunlit drops on all sides. Before and during the middle ages, it was permitted to women to be either domestic or religious; and all down the succeeding centuries the case has only slowly altered for the better. It is said that mariolatry has done much to exalt and refine the world's notion of woman; and very likely this is true. But the kind of exaltation bestowed on woman through the worship of the Virgin was far more a recognition of certain distinctive "womanly traits," than the result of any candid consideration of her claims as a human being. The saintship in woman was revered and adored; but her common humanity was never once thought of. It was not the intellectual, but the emotional and religious parts of her nature which were enlarged upon and made typical. This error, which perhaps was not so much error as half accomplishment, has perpetuated itself to our own day. Though the early saints and religious have faded away into a twilight existence of romance and legend, the devoted Church-woman and ardent missionary still remain. The notion that, outside her home, the peculiar province of woman lies in the Sunday-school and church-society, and that her energies are most suitably engaged in some charitable and proselyting effort,—this notion still prevails, and smacks disagreeably of mediævalism. In the olden time women sought the cloister to spend the rest of their days in holy self-renunciation. The woman of to-day, more active and less contemplative, seeks not so much to absorb the spirit of religion as to impress its forms on all other enterprises and modes of thought with which she comes in contact. Passivity is no longer her distinguishing characteristic. She must make herself felt; and when not allowed to bring the force of a full and harmoniously developed intelligence to bear on the world's great movements, her only alternative is, to feebly bend and direct them according to the whim or prejudice of the moment.

We have heard much during late years of the enfranchisement of women. The subject has received careful attention, not only from reform-agitators, but from statesmen and philosophers as well. Woman suffrage from being a subject tabooed in polite circles, has come to be a natural and frequent topic of discussion among all educated and thinking people. Most of the objections to this projected innovation have proved mere ghosts of the objector's own apprehension. But perhaps the practice of fighting ghosts is not altogether unprofitable, and in this instance may have taught us how to overcome the more tangible difficulties which still confront us. Of such, those best worth considering hinge either on the general question of suffrage, or on woman's present unfitness, through a perverted mental training, for large political responsibility. The abuses recently made manifest in our election system have so cooled the admiration of many for republican institutions, that rather than extend the right of ballot any farther, they would limit it with many new restrictions. This aspect of the question is only indirectly connected with that we have at present under consideration, and is alluded to simply in parenthesis, and to suggest whether in the event of the adoption of these proposed restrictive measures, the reasons would not be still more paramount for admitting women to the class of eligible voters. If the right of suffrage were placed on an educational or property basis, there would be less excuse than ever for with-

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE NEW YORK Times thus reports an interview with a learned Chinaman: "Do you believe in religion? Wall Ho?" "Yes," he said; "we are all alike. We all have the same God. We all pray to him the same,—the Chinaman, Turk, Englishman, and American. He is the same God all over the world, only each nation spells his name differently. We call him Joss; the Hindus call him Bramola; the Greeks call him Theos; the Italian, Deus; the American Indian, Great Spirit; the Frenchman, Dieu; the German, Gott; the American, God; and so on. Every nation has the same God, only they spell it differently. The same God in twenty-six different nations has the same attributes,—omniscience, omnipresence, potentiality. Every nation prays to him the same. You and I, though you call me a heathen, worship the same God. We believe precisely alike, except when we come to the prophets; and then all nations disagree."

holding it from those women who could comply with the conditions. Among another class of objections made up of various fears as to what woman will and will not do when once allowed to vote, there is one, touching on the relation she is likely to sustain to certain issues of theologico-political order, which seems not wholly groundless.

A new note of alarm has been sounded by the secularists of the day, whose share in the work of human progress is to completely divest the functions of government from whatever sectarian ties they have been, or are likely to be, drawn into. The points of the objection here raised are, that women are notoriously bigoted and intolerant in their religious views; and that if suddenly endowed with political power they would pervert it in the direction of ecclesiastical oppression and undue spiritual domination. Let us look at it a moment: the confessional and other appliances of the Romish Church have long made us familiar with the intimacy of the relation between the Catholic clergy and laity. Among Protestants this clerical supervision is greatly diminished in extent, being exercised for the most part over the female portion of the congregation. Without pausing to enlarge upon this rather distasteful portion of my theme, or to illustrate it with extreme cases, it is sufficient to remark upon what has doubtless fallen within the observation of most of us, that an undue amount of influence is exerted by the average clergyman over the women of his church, who on their side manifest far too much receptivity towards this same spiritual guardianship. The habitual and sometimes extreme deference shown by women to their pastor, whom they are apt to endow with all manner of unearthly attributes, seeming to regard him as a mixture of saint and apostle, this, together with an obtrusive show of eagerness to promote the interests of "our church," has, as before said, been noted and unfavorably commented upon by the more astute of our thinkers. I think it was Goethe who said, "Activity without insight is a terrible thing." The present activity of woman seems in many instances to be of precisely this kind. So anxious is she to help on the world's great improvements that she gives herself little or no time to calmly think matters over, and learn what really needs to be done. She buzzes about over the surface of things, poising here and there in separate resting-spells on the social and intellectual troubles of the time, content to cover them with her glittering presence, but seldom setting solidly to work to remove them.

Turning our eyes now from the position of woman in the world of thought, let us glance at the nature and history of the institutions by which she is surrounded. We all know the dread significance of the words, "Church and State," and how it was in resistance to this dogma that our forefathers fitted up a little barque named the *Mayflower*, and set sail for Plymouth Rock. That passage across the sea which has become historic, and which we are accustomed to look back upon as a triumphal march, was looked at otherwise only a retreat.

What could a handful of austere-minded pietists do for themselves or their cause under the terrors of the Bloody Mary reign, the tyranny of Charles I., the invincible authority of an Archbishop Laud, and the wanton misrule of Charles II.? So one ship followed another, making one long line of light between Old and New England, like God's finger pointing the way. Here, at last, in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut man had found the opportunity so long coveted; and unmolested might worship God according to his conscience, and read and interpret the Bible when and how he chose. It would seem as if a small millennium had begun. But human nature, the bed-rock of all character, is forever cropping out in some new and unexpected manner. The Puritans evidently found a non-persecuted existence to be a very dull and spiritless affair, for no sooner had they fairly escaped martyrdom than they set about to make martyrs of each other. They belonged to that class of people, not yet extinct, to whom the zest of life consists in keeping its inconvenient side uppermost. You remember how that indefatigable hero, Mark Tapley, thought there was no credit in being jolly unless one had plenty of excuses for being miserable. So, in the judgment of many, virtue has no merit unless it is continually overcoming temptation; and religion is not religious unless it has been forcibly restrained from becoming infidelity. The Puritans seemed to think true piety could be attained only through intellectual constraint; and it was in accordance with this notion that such strenuous efforts were made by them to reconcile the obligations of an authoritative creed with a free republicanism in the State.

In New England the prevailing religion was Congregationalism,—at one time, says Hildreth, "so favored by the courts and legislature that it continued to enjoy the prerogatives of an Established Church." In the Southern colonies, particularly Virginia, the Episcopal Church was the one in favor, that part of the country having been settled by the aristocratic and cavalier element of the old English society. The Church was supported at public expense, and disbelief in the popular religion punished with civil disability. So slow was Virginia in evincing a spirit of religious toleration, that James Parton quotes Madison as saying, that "if the Church of England had been established and endowed in all the colonies as it was in Virginia, the king would have had his way, and gradually reduced all America to subjection." But the abuses and errors of religious fanaticism were scarcely less in the more Northern colonies. We read that in some of these colonies, officers of State must be Protestants. In others, they must believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, or in the doctrine of the Trinity. Catholics and Quakers were alike denied the privileges of citizenship. From Jefferson's "Notes" we may learn

much of the persecution of the last and most peaceable folk. According to an act of Virginia Assembly in 1706, "any person denying the tenets of the Protestant faith was punished on the first offence by incapacity to hold any office or employment, civil, ecclesiastical, or military; on the second, by disability to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guardian, executor, or administrator, and by three years' imprisonment without bail." This removal of the right of guardianship frequently served to deprive a father of the care of his own children, who might be taken from his custody and placed in more Orthodox hands. It was at this time that those strict Sabbatarian views were held, which made of Sunday, not indeed a warm, bright sun-day, but one of cold, dreariness, and gloom. It is impossible to sum up the entire meaning and history of the Sabbatarian question in a few sentences, and only passing allusion can be made to it in this connection. With regard to its character, it is sufficient to say that the doctrine which imputes special sacredness to the first day of the week can be traced for the most part no farther back than to the Puritan reaction against the excessive lawlessness practiced on that day by the Stuarts in England.

C. K. Whipple, writing on this subject, says: "The doctrine of the complete identification of the Sabbath with Sunday seems to have first been formally set forth by Rev. Dr. Bound, A.D. 1596, a divine of great authority among the Puritans of England." He then shows how it was afterward placed in Westminster Catechism and Confession and brought to this country by the Plymouth pilgrims. From a printed lecture by Rev. M. J. Savage, a few facts equally pertinent are obtained. Constantine was the first to set the day apart as one of public worship for the Christians, not forbidding, however, that the remaining portion of the day should be given to labor or recreation. The institution of the Sunday-Sabbath, so far as it was made a day for religious exercise, *exclusively* claims with Thanksgiving a Puritan origin.

Mr. Savage, after tracing the bearing of Scripture on this subject, shows how these early Sabbatarians were driven to apply the fourth commandment to the first, instead of the last day of the week, in order to find the Scriptural authority they wanted. Sabbath-breaking was defined to the minutest detail, and the slightest infraction of the law punished with heavy penalties. But this state of affairs could not last forever in a country where the population was continually increasing and changing about. Superstition is a plant of rapid growth, but it flourishes best in stagnant waters. If the different sects had been content to remain each in that section of country it had discovered and possessed, they might have continued to hedge themselves about with a bristling array of ecclesiastical statutes; but the Presbyterian must needs go down into Virginia, where he was not long in discovering how irksome it may become to be forced to contribute towards the propagation of a faith with which one has no sympathy. This feeling deepened, until, says Jefferson in his memoir, "The first republican legislature, which met in 1776, was crowded with petitions to abolish this spiritual tyranny." The repeal of only the most oppressive acts was obtained at first, it being 1778 before Jefferson's "Religious Freedom Bill" was passed.

I should be sorry in this resumé of our early religious history to incur the criticism of piling all my facts to one side. I fully appreciate the warning held up by one writer who says: "In judging of the Puritans of New England, and of the theocracy they established in the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and of New Haven, one must be careful not to ascribe to the spirit of the men nor to the influence of their faith, laws and measures which were due to the spirit of the age and to the political necessities of the hour." He adds that they acted as much against the spread of the Established Church, as in the interests of their own. But however that may be, and whether the actuating spirit was of the times or of the individuals, it was equally vicious, and contains a lesson of equal injustice and wrong.

This brief and imperfect sketch of some of the early dangers which beset our government has been given that we might arrive at a better understanding of the true character of that government, and of the respective duties of the various classes who participate or desire to participate in it. Many of these superstitions have died a natural death and will trouble the world no more; others maintain enough of a spectre-like existence to haunt the imagination with a very definite sense of ill. Just now a spirited controversy is going on between secularists and sectarians over what is called the Christianization of the State. A few years ago a National Reform Association was organized for the express purpose of effecting such changes in our national constitution as should make it the upholder and defender of one type of religion only. It is the aim of the zealous propagandists who originated this movement to make this nation appear before the world as one distinctively religious in character and aim.

Ignoring the fact that our population is composed of all sects as well as all nationalities, and that the government is one in which the whole people must have a voice, they are laboring to transform it into one in which the inference is, that the Christian shall have political preference over the Jew, the professed believer take precedence over the heretic and free thinker, and the evangelical legislate for the liberal and radical. The enterprise is a no less gigantic one than the complete remodelling of our government in the cast of sectarianism. By the side of this movement are others smaller in dimension but of similar import. The attempt to retain the Bible in the public schools is one, and to revive certain obsolete Sunday laws another. The secularist party has squarely braced itself for the issue, and through the instrumentality of a National Liberal League, organ-

ized the Centennial Fourth of July, its members hope to so arouse and enlighten public opinion that the last vestige of the atrocious doctrine of Church and State may be removed from the Constitution, and a broad and comprehensive "Free Religious Amendment" made to fill the gap.

The question for our special consideration, and to which we have been so long in arriving, is this: What is the prevailing opinion among women with regard to these projected changes in the governmental policy of our country, and how far, were they once endowed with political power, would they be likely to cast the weight of vote and influence on the side of liberality and justice? Viewed in the light of recent events, wherein women have taken a prominent and decided stand in favor of partial legislation, the prospect is not encouraging. Last summer, for example, some well-meaning women of Chicago, to further the cause of temperance, be thought themselves of the old and quite unsuccessful expedient of Sunday legislation. They circulated, chiefly among the churches, a petition to the Mayor and Common Council, praying that the saloons might be closed on Sunday. Is it in acts like these, with their narrow construction of law and imperfect apprehension of the real need at hand, that the obliquity of woman's moral sense is sadly apparent. Her mental vision seems cross-eyed,—hitting the thing at which it does not aim, and aiming where it does not hit. In their mistaken zeal these women did not pause to consider that it is only to a large minority, and not to the majority, that Sunday is a holy day. The clergy, with a kind of ecclesiastical logic, came very generally to their assistance, each preaching a sermon in which the evils of intemperance were glowingly set forth. Rev. L. T. Chamberlain, of New England Church, was a notable exception. He saw that beneath the good they wished to accomplish there lurked great evil in the manner of doing it, and warned the petitioners of the falsity of the principles on which they were working. He pointed out the gravity of mistake which religious organizations make when, as such, they interfere in political affairs. "The proper function of the Church," said he, "is to enlighten and persuade; never to legally constrain." It may be only just to suppose that the projectors of this movement were not impelled by doubleness of motive, and labored more in the interests of temperance than of sectarianism; yet, none the less, the measures they would have forced into execution were unlawful and tyrannical. Unconsciously they were attempting to subvert one of the fundamental principles of our government,—that which guarantees the right of private judgment with regard to the observance of all religious customs. The time has come when everybody feels disposed to follow Paul's injunction, and be "fully persuaded in his own mind" as to the manner of spending Sunday. Those who believe it to be a day specially sanctified and set apart for a ceaseless round of devotion and praise have a right both to the opinion and to an opportunity for a full and open expression of their views. On the other hand, those who choose to spend the day in social recreation, to seek amusement as well as, or in place of, instruction, have as undoubted a right to make that use of it. The Sabbath was made for man; and, like all other gifts and opportunities, must be left to his own free selection for abuse or profit.

The supreme law for Sunday as for week-day observance is non-interference. Last spring when another petition was circulated in Chicago, asking the Mayor to place women on the Board of Education, a prominent citizen and pronounced radical refused his signature, on the ground that the majority of women if placed in that position would favor the retention of the Bible in the schools. He expressed at the same time, if I remember aright, a general approval of the doctrine of equal rights; but declined in this instance to risk by a too hasty bestowal of power so serious a misuse of it. The position here taken may not have been altogether illogical, but was scarcely wise or rational. Those who take this line of argument are prone to forget that the art of blundering is one in which both sexes are alike proficient. They would admit women into politics only as they do into society: upon her acceptance of a higher standard of conduct than that held to by men. It is as inconsistent as it is ungenerous, to refuse the ballot to woman through fear that she will vote the wrong ticket or uphold unjust measures. This fear must go to the extent of foreseeing the probability that women will act *en masse* against the highest interests of the State, and will even attempt to overthrow its most cherished principles, and thus play a traitorous part to their government before it can reasonably be made the basis of withholding from her her just rights. But, setting aside its inconsistency, the objection here urged, and others like it, have great force; and it remains for woman to disprove them all by employing the interim of waiting for the bestowal of the rights she demands in educating herself into a new and broader comprehension of all such questions. Learning to look upon the public schools as part of the machinery of government, she will soon comprehend that so long as Catholic and Protestant, heretic and believer are alike taxed for their support, it is the very climax of wrong when the money of Romanist and Jew is used for instruction in Protestantism. The school is not the place for religious instruction. The conflicting theories of creeds and subtleties of theology are of too impracticable a nature to enter into the curriculum of the common school.

Woman may well ponder, with grave misgiving and doubt, whether, intellectually, her influence is extended towards the perpetuation of error, or the spread of a broader intelligence. If the former, her excuse is the same which has screened her from the full responsibility of all her shortcomings,—an imperfect education. Woman has never been taught

thoroughness; and it is not strange if she cannot see on all sides of great questions at once. Never having studied the logic of human affairs, she naturally makes use of irrational methods in the attempt to straighten them. She feels more than she thinks, and, assisted by the assurances of men, has come to have unbounded faith in her own intuitions. She is exclusive, narrow, and critical. She takes up the right thing, but it is at the wrong end. She is grieved and troubled at the misery she sees all about her; but at the same time it repels her and makes her squeamish, for she is a creature of nerves, and sets about large jobs of social improvement in a rather delicate-fingered fashion. She makes a better philanthropist than reformer; liking not so much to dig up old roots as to snip off dead leaves and prop up decaying branches. Heretofore the Church has offered to woman her best opportunity and almost her only chance of usefulness. She has been obliged to work through its mediumship to make her wishes known and influence felt. With increased opportunities and a broadened culture, her sense of responsibility will broaden also. She will no longer look at everything from the single stand-point of some narrow and settled conviction. Where until recently she has given all her care and thought to the smaller incidents of life, she will come to bestow an increasing interest on the larger events of history, and will learn to take larger outlooks.

With reference, then, to woman's relation to Church and State, the final word is this: that the former should never be mistaken for, nor in any way affect, the latter. When once vested with the rights of citizenship, it will not be as Methodist, Baptist, Unitarian, or Freethinker that we shall be called upon to act; but as intelligent citizens, desirous only of the highest good of the State, and loyal to the fundamental principles of liberty and equality on which that State rests.

To the demand for the emancipation of woman I would add a plea for the complete secularization of her thought. With greater depth of insight and larger mental grasp, she will realize a fuller and higher type of womanhood. All this and more she will do. When we note how eagerly she is pressing on to a higher intellectuality, how noble are her impulses, how desirous she is to do the right thing, we may well be filled with exultation at the thought of her future. If at present she is a singular mixture of wisdom and folly, of pure and high aspirations, checked in their fulfillment by the absurdest of prejudices, she is day by day slowly dropping off her inconsistencies and leaving them forgotten by the roadside. We have said that woman was "exclusive, narrow, and critical"; but these traits may be explained and partially supplemented by others. Her exclusiveness comes largely from her consciousness of purity; she is narrow, but at the same time intense; and critical, because she is discerning. The "coming woman," whose advent the world affects to deplore, but secretly longs for, will not be less devoted in her aims because she is more philosophic in her method. She will unite the attributes of the types which have preceded her own, combining the majestic freedom and grand outlines of the ancient goddess with the tender grace and spirituality of the Madonna. Like Dante's Beatrice, she fixes her eyes on the eternal truth above; but, unlike that fair and cold divinity, she is all warm and human, filled with a throbbing sense of kinship to all the world.

THE HEYWOOD TRIAL.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT, before JUDGE CLARK.

United States vs. Ezra H. Heywood. Defendant, who is the well-known advocate of labor reform, free love, and other modern doctrines, was called up for trial on two indictments. These charge that defendant mailed at Princeton, addressed to "E. Edgewell, Squam Village, New Jersey," in September last, two publications of an obscene character. These publications, it was claimed in the opening argument of the District-Attorney, were of what is known as a "free-love" character. One of them also purported to be a medical work. They were entitled respectively *Sexual Physiology* and *Cupid's Yokes*. The Assistant District-Attorney, in opening the case, said that he should undertake to prove that defendant sent the books through the mails in response to letters, and that the books were of the character indicated in the form of indictment read. He commented upon the books; set forth the well-known doctrine of the Heywoods regarding social relations, which from time to time have been advanced in the free love conventions. The two questions for the Court and jury he claimed to be, Did the defendant mail the works as charged, and, Were they of an obscene character? He should object to the discussion of other questions, as he judged by the audience present there might be an attempt to discuss the peculiar tenets of the defendant.

Anthony Comstock, the complainant, was the first witness called. His business is that of Special Agent of the Post-office Department and Secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. He testified that in September, 1877, he sent a letter to E. H. Heywood, asking for a copy of two books which the latter had advertised by circulars, being *Sexual Physiology* and *Cupid's Yokes*. Mr. Comstock produced the books and the wrappers, with the correspondence between himself and Heywood. Mr. Pickering objected to the books going to the jury for them to pass upon their character, as the defence claimed that the publications do not come within the provision of the statutes, not being obscene. Judge Clark then took the books and decided that the books should go to the jury.

On the cross-examination, Mr. Comstock said he received a salary from the Society for the Prevention

of Vice, and not a cent from the Government. The examining counsel attempted to inquire into the knowledge of the witness regarding obscene books, and carried it to such length that the Court put a stop to it as discreditable to the Court. The book in question was to stand or fall by itself, as the law alone was to be taken to show the standing of the book, and the Court recognized no obscene book as a standard of obscenity. The attempt was to introduce a very low book as representing the class that the statute was made to prevent the circulation of. The examination then took a legitimate course, in the course of which the witness stated that he was officially notified by the Post-office Department that the books in question were passing through the mails and were of an obscene character. At the time he wrote the letter to Heywood he knew the books were advertised in *The Word* for general circulation. One book had been brought to him by a man who wanted to act as its agent in New York; and that person he had told if he attempted to circulate it he would be liable to be prosecuted. Counsel tried to show that this prosecution was an outgrowth of an attack made upon him in *The Word* or in one of the books, and asked questions of that nature. Witness replied he had not read or heard of the strictures published by Heywood when he commenced these proceedings. Witness was asked how many cases he had brought in court, and he replied one hundred and forty-three—convictions in all except four,—and three of those on account of a flaw in the indictments. Regarding publications, he had secured prosecutions by means of correspondence with parties, had sent his letters under different names and from places where he did not belong. (Counsel asked him if that was his idea of morality, but was stopped by the Court.) Counsel endeavored to ask the witness if the Attorney-General had decided that certain medical works were not obscene in order to classify the books in question; but the Court informed the counsel that the question need not be answered, as the Attorney-General's opinion was not needed in this Court; this case is to rest upon itself. The examination closed here.

David H. Gregory, postmaster at Princeton, testified in relation to Heywood's sending letters through the mails, and to an acquaintance with his handwriting by delivering to him registered packages. He then identified the writing on Comstock's packages as that of Heywood's; the package passed through his office. Cross-examined: Witness would only say that in his opinion the writing was by Heywood; he saw almost every day letters addressed in his handwriting; witness knew nothing against Mr. Heywood's moral character.

This substantially closed the Government evidence. Some eighteen or twenty witnesses for defence were called, and Messrs. Ellsner Wright, Sidney Morse, A. E. Giles, and J. M. Bruce, M.D., successively took the witness-stand; but nothing definite in aid of the defence was elicited, as the Court excluded the line of interrogatory which counsel had proposed to follow. The testimony offered was held to be inadmissible, as it was but the expression of an opinion by the witnesses as to whether the books complained of were open to the objections alleged against them. That was the very question the jury had to decide, and the opinions of other men were not to govern them in their deliberations. Certain medical books, which counsel for defence had proposed to introduce, were also excluded, on the general ground that the questions as to whether other books, having more or less resemblance to these, were obscene or not, could not be passed upon by the jury. Mr. Pickering then began his argument for defence, and had not closed at the adjournment of the Court. His general view was that the defendant, being a man of education and of just repute as a reformer, was not likely to be engaged in any business open to the objections alleged in the indictment. He claimed that the Government had failed to prove that Mr. Heywood or his agent had deposited these books, and had proved at most that Comstock had received them. He defended the books as being of a useful and moral tendency, and as giving to readers medical information avoiding the use of technical terms. On trial, P. Cummings for the Government; J. F. Pickering and G. W. Park for defendant.—*Boston Globe*, Jan. 18.

Second Day.

United States vs. Ezra H. Heywood. At the opening of the Court yesterday morning, counsel for defendant continued with his closing address to the jury, speaking an hour and three-quarters; and elaborating the points previously suggested, and arguing especially that the question of the freedom of the press was involved; in other words, the question whether a censorship shall be maintained with one man, Comstock, as sole censor.

Mr. Cummings, in closing for the Government, said the argument of defendant's counsel had been devoted to Heywood's character, his reform work, and to defaming Comstock, and to the danger that we should not have a free press and free speech. All these things had nothing to do with the case. The whole case rested upon the books, and the question as to who sent them through the mails. The Government had proved that the defendant sent the books in question. He then considered the books, and commented upon the effect such pernicious doctrine would be likely to have upon boys and girls at school and others who had not reached the age of mature judgment, and read extracts from them to illustrate his point.

Judge Clark in his charge defined the law regarding the circulation of obscene matter by the use of the mails. Under this law the defendant had been twice indicted, there being two books described. It was a question for the jury whether he deposited either or both of the books, and they should answer

upon each. It was equivalent to his personally putting the books in the mail if he caused others to so act. A book is obscene that is offensive to decency. A book is obscene in whole or in part comes within the meaning of the law. A book is obscene which excites impure or lewd thoughts or is of an immoral tendency. A book is obscene that would incite the practice of impure desires. It was in argument that Heywood's designs were honorable, but the Court instructed that his design had nothing to do with it. A man might be opposed to this doctrine maintained by defendant in his book, and use the text and pictures in arguing against the doctrine; but he could not be allowed to send the work through the mail. It was claimed that this book is no more immodest than other books (the Bible being suggested by counsel for the defendant), but the jury had no right to make any comparisons; these books were on trial. It was argued that these books would not incite impure thoughts with the jury. That was not a question. The books were not intended for men who would be likely to weigh the contents with mature judgment. They were to consider the case in its bearings upon the community, upon the home, upon happy children in the home. There are a thousand happy families where this book might come in, and they were to consider what might be the effect. The Judge quoted two paragraphs from one of the books, and asked the jury what could be more indecent than those. The case was given to the jury at 1.20 P.M., and at the adjournment of the Court had not returned a verdict. Instructions were given them to seal their verdict when reached and put it in custody of the officer, to be opened on Tuesday morning next, to which time the Court adjourned. The case proceeds under section 3893 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which defines the act of mailing obscene matter as a misdemeanor, and makes it punishable with a fine of not less than \$100 or more than \$5000, and imprisonment at hard labor not less than one year or more than ten years, or by both fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the Court. Jury out. P. Cummings for the Government; J. F. Pickering and G. W. Park for defendant.—*Boston Globe*, Jan. 19.

The Verdict.

At the coming in of the United States Circuit Court this forenoon at eleven o'clock, Judge Clark sitting, the jury in the Ezra H. Heywood case made their report of the verdict agreed to in the jury-room Friday night last.

The clerk put the inquiry: "Mr. Foreman and gentlemen, what say you to the indictment charging Ezra H. Heywood, of Princeton, with depositing in the mails the book called *Sexual Physiology*,—is he guilty or not guilty?"

The foreman answered, "Guilty."

This made a little commotion among the friends of Heywood, who were out in force; and one of the jurors was desirous of saying something.

Judge Clark, noticing that there was some misunderstanding as to the meaning of the verdict, asked the jury if they had determined the character of the book, and whether it was obscene or indecent in their opinion or not. The foreman, with some hesitation, said they had decided it was not obscene.

The Judge then said, that he should receive the verdict as a general one of "not guilty on this indictment," and it was so entered.

Upon the other indictment against Ezra H. Heywood, the depositing of the book, *Cupid's Yokes*, in the mails, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, which answered also the question of the character of the book.

The Assistant District-Attorney then asked that sentence be passed upon Heywood; but the Court consented to withhold the sentence till two o'clock Wednesday, when defendant's counsel desires to file a motion.—*Boston Journal*, Jan. 22.

Postponement of Sentence.

In the case of *Ezra H. Heywood* the motion for a new trial and for arrest of judgment was withdrawn and a new motion for arrest of judgment filed, which will be heard before Judges Clifford and Clark at the May term.—*Boston Advertiser*, Jan. 25.

IS IT A SAFE POWER?

[The following article, copied from the *Boston Globe* of January 16, is admirable, and we approve every word of it.—Ed.]

There are two prolific sources of evil which affect the moral, mental, and physical well-being of society, and produce deplorable results which are fully realized by very few people. Only those who have had exceptional means of observation, or have given the matter special attention and study, are aware of the demoralization that comes from these sources of pollution. One of them is the circulation of reading matter and pictorial representations of one kind and another, appealing to the sensual instincts and debauching the character of the young. It is a hard task for human beings to purify themselves, and exalt their thoughts and actions at all times to the standard of rigid virtue. There is enough of the beast in them to be all the time dragging them down into the mire; and it is only by proper culture and discipline that they can bring the senses into subjection. To keep the young from a tendency to vice is especially a matter of difficulty, which is greatly enhanced by the demon of all uncleanness that is actively trying to poison their thoughts and stimulate their passions until they lose all self-control. The iniquity of a clandestine circulation of obscene books and pictures, and the importance of putting a stop to it by every proper means, can hardly be overrated.

The other source of evil, even more prolific and destructive than this, and one that gives it most of its potency, is ignorance. The lack of knowledge among

human beings of some of the most important functions of their nature, and of the duties which they owe to themselves, is simply appalling. From it comes the fostering of sensuality and all the secret abominations which have already sapped society of its moral stamina and degraded whole nations, physically and mentally. There has been an eager suppression of knowledge, from false views of delicacy, that has done more to degrade mankind than all the churches and Sunday-schools can undo. Every child, as it comes to an age when such knowledge is important to it, should be educated to know itself thoroughly; and unless it is so educated, it cannot know how to govern itself. This education should be judiciously conducted; but in the present state of ignorance among all classes and all ages, any means intended for enlightenment and the dissemination of needed information is better than none. There is the very widest distinction to be made between writings intended to debauch the mind and incite to vice, and those intended to produce the opposite result by the dissemination of knowledge and of sound ideas regarding the sexual nature. Classing the two together is a monstrous misjudgment. The suppression of any sober, candid discussion of questions that concern the well-being of society is not only mistaken as a matter of policy, but it abridges the freedom of speech and of the press which is guaranteed by the Constitution of the country.

There is upon the statute books of this country a law designed to prevent the dissemination through the mails, of those publications, prints, etc., of which we have spoken as an agency of evil. We cannot believe that it was intended at the same time to aid in the suppression of knowledge or the smothering of discussion on questions that affect the welfare of individuals, of families, and of society at large. Under that law an agent has been appointed, with a liberal salary and a degree of discretion that we do not believe it safe to put in the hands of any man, however well-meaning. He has the power to overhaul the mails in search of suspected matter, to arrest men for depositing in the mails or taking therefrom, anything which in his individual opinion is improper, and to act as a spy and detective upon the whole postal service of the country. He can make arrests on his own discretion, and use the courts of the United States for prosecutions begun by his sole authority. It is more than questionable whether such power should be given for any purpose, however well defined; but when it is exercised at the discretion or caprice of the man clothed with it, it may become an instrument of oppression and evil to which it is not easy to place the limit. Interference with individual liberty should be sparingly permitted, and not at all at the discretion of some irresponsible man with more zeal than judgment. We want, by every possible means, to promote virtue and purity, and prevent vice and pollution; but the work is only hindered by sweeping legal enactments, the execution of which is given into the hands of the officious agent of some private association, with all the powers of the government at his command to use or abuse. Of course he can inflict no penalty without a conviction, and the court may revise his judgment as to what is improper; but he can interfere very seriously with the rights and liberties of innocent men.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN AT PROVIDENCE.

The Free Religious Association was addressed by Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, on Sunday afternoon. The hall was well filled, and the audience was cordial in its expressions of approval of the lady, who is new to the American public. Mrs. Neymann is a very attractive speaker, of winning and refined appearance, clear thought, cultured expression, and pure and earnest feeling. She is not yet so familiar with the English pronunciation as to have lost that foreign accent, which, however troublesome it may be when the speech is obscured by bearded lips and coarsened by heavy masculine tones, is fascinating in a sweet-voiced woman.

The subject of the address was "German Scepticism." Mrs. Neymann introduced it by the statement that although she was a German, she was in heart and sympathy an American. For this reason, doubtless, she confined herself chiefly to German radicalism in this country. She said, in substance, although rare individuals have long reached by philosophic investigation the position of freethought in religion, such independence is of recent growth in the more ordinary minds. Now, however, among the German element in this country, radical societies are everywhere springing up. Many of them have regular speakers; own, or hire, pleasant rooms; and have interesting programmes of instruction and amusement for each winter. Discussions of serious problems, and the social culture of the members, are the two objects of these clubs. They have done a good work, but until recently have been too self-centred. Germans accustomed to having all governmental machinery fixed by powers superior to the individual, have not felt the importance of arousing and moulding public opinion in order to secure needed reforms. Germans are theorists, idealists. Freethought owes a great debt to German philosophers and scientists, who, when the great minds of other nations were absorbed in more external matters, devoted themselves to the patient search for truth, which resulted in the contributions of Kant, Leibnitz, Schiller, Goethe, Herder, Lessing, Humboldt, and others, to knowledge and virtue. These great thinkers rested ethical laws on firmer foundations than the Bible or Church; on the human reason and the facts of life, and thus prepared the way for modern science to demonstrate the propositions they laid down. The influence of these minds on German

thought has emancipated it from superstition. Americans, on the contrary, are still firmly bound to tradition. But distrust of accepted statements is undermining our social order. Doubt of non-essentials, stifled in expression by cowardice or self-seeking, results in such a deterioration in honesty and mental clearness that the end is a doubt of the essence of all religion and an inevitable breaking of all moral ties.

Liberals have, therefore, a great work before them, to teach humanity the laws of life. We must have a fixed standard of morals; and to this end the new religion must teach and expound the effects of sin and vice. The study of the real world has been too long neglected for appeals to prepare for an imaginary one. Scientific laws and their application to practical affairs, æsthetic culture, the social and moral needs of actual life, must be studied and knowledge popularized. Only the wise do good simply for the sake of good. The ignorant must be taught why they should sacrifice the baser and lower nature for the higher, and how they may become obedient to the dictates of an enlightened conscience.

As one movement tending toward practical effort in this direction, Mrs. Neymann instanced the "Union of the Radicals of North America," formed at Philadelphia in 1876. The Declaration of Principles of this "Union" contains the following sentiments: "The North American Republic boasts of the best Constitution, and has under it fostered the greatest political corruption and confusion."

"Permanent and thorough reform can only come from a decisive appeal to the dictates of reason to the natural rights of man, and to the fundamental principles of truly republican life." The principles of complete personal religious liberty and full secularization of the State, which are a strong and prominent feature in the Declaration of Principles, of this first German Association of Radicals, which aims at a practical effect on the government, these principles, Mrs. Neymann claims, are held by all her freethinking countrymen. Whatever may be their differences, they unitedly claim full religious liberty.

Mrs. Neymann closed with an earnest appeal to radicals to realize the magnitude and nobility of the work of public education, which may be for them, and the need of enthusiastic devotion to the principles of liberty and truth to which they stood pledged. —*Providence Journal*, Jan. 14.

THE NEW Canon of Westminster (Farrar) must have sent dismay through Pandemonium by his last utterance in the ancient Abbey. Having quoted from the Bible the words "hell," "damnation," "everlasting," he continued: "I say unhesitatingly; I say with the fullest right to speak and with the necessary knowledge; I say with the calmest and most unflinching sense of responsibility, standing here in the sight of God and our Saviour, and it may be of the angels and spirits of the dead, that not one of these words ought to stand any longer in our English Bible; and that, being in our present acceptance of them simply mistranslations, they most unquestionably will not stand in the revised version of the Bible, if the revisers have understood their duty. The verb 'to damn' in the Greek Testament is neither more nor less than the verb 'to condemn.' The word 'aiónios,' translated 'everlastingly,' in its first sense means 'age-long'; in its second sense 'something above and beyond time.' The word rendered 'hell' is Tartarus, borrowed as the name for the prison of evil spirits. In five verses it is Hades, the world beyond the grave; in twelve places it is Gehenna, the Valley of Hinnom, outside Jerusalem, which after being polluted by corrupt practices was purified by fire,—the metaphor of purifying and correcting punishment, which, as we all believe, does await the impatient sinner both here and beyond the grave." These statements are not new; but as they were uttered amid the very walls where the revisers of the English version are sitting, they may be regarded as an indication of some very important changes in the coming Bible. It may be doubted whether Westminster Abbey would ever have been built if those words now so solemnly denounced in it had not been taken in the received sense. It is very certain that a number of exhorters will find half their chapel "properties," as the theatre folk say, gone, if the new Bible compels them to substitute for the familiar Saxon "hell and damnation" ingenious interpretations of classic Tartarus and Oriental Hinnom. It may be that the old doctrine of hell, which the pious lady said would, if abolished, "take away half her religion," will be preserved only by the profane; for we can hardly expect they will in future bid people "Go to Tartary!" —*M. D. Conway*.

"IF YOU SHOULD see me speeding my horse on the Brighton road on Sunday afternoon, . . . you would not believe me when I prayed, 'O Lord, may we abstain from all appearance of evil!'" said the present pastor of the Park Street Church in his sermon last night; and the good deacons and the older members exchanged knowing looks, and smiled significantly as their thoughts took a twist into the almost forgotten past.—*Boston Globe*. This reminds us of a little story of the Rev. Dr. Stone, a pastor of Park Street Church back in "the almost forgotten past," which may have furnished the traditional basis for Dr. Withrow's allusion. Dr. Stone owned a pair of very pretty-matched horses, rather given to speed, which he drove in to church on Sunday, from his home in the Roxbury district. In his congregation was a dear, saintly old mother—a veritable mother in Israel,—who loved her pastor, and would not tolerate the thought that he could do anything wrong. As she was being jogged along the milldam road in the family carriage one Sunday morning, on her way to church, accompanied by her son, the pastor's team bore down upon them at a two-fifty gait—it being a little late,—and passed them like a

flash, the doctor holding the reins. "That reckless man!" exclaimed the dim-sighted old lady,—"to be so unmindful of the Lord's day!" "Why, mother," answered the son, "that is Dr. Stone." "It is!" she said, in momentary confusion; but added, as her faith reasserted itself, "The dear man—I suppose he couldn't hold them!"—*Golden Rule*, Dec. 12.

Poetry.

PRAYER.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

As Satan passed through heaven from
A walk on earth one day,
The Lord looked up and questioned him:
"Didst hear my creatures pray?"
"Ay, Lord, I heard their prayers resound
Whene'er I listening stood;
But, by my soul, not one of them
Prayed for his brother's good."
Then looked Jehovah fire and flame,
And spoke this fierce decree:
"Who makes a selfish prayer is thine;
The others come to me!"
Then all that night on heaven's walls
The Lord and Satan stood,
To see how many sons of men
Would pray for a brother's good.
Alas, they watched there many an hour,
And yet there came no sounds:
The poor they prayed for pennies, and
The rich they prayed for pounds;
The ugly prayed for beauty, and
The awkward prayed for grace;
The old ones prayed for youthful looks
To hide a wrinkled face,
The limping prayed for healthy joints,
The red-haired prayed for brown,
The short ones prayed for longer legs,
The long to be cut down.
The brown eyes prayed for blue ones, and
The cross-eyed prayed for straight;
The fat ones prayed for melting down,
The lean ones prayed for weight;
The doctor prayed for sickness, and
The undertaker death;
The captives prayed for sunshine, and
The phthisicky for breath,
The maiden prayed for lover's vows,
The soldier prayed for war,
The beggar prayed for horse to ride,
The drunkard prayed for "more,"
The sick man prayed for break of day,
The thief for longer night,
The miser prayed for more of gold,
The blind man prayed for sight.
At last there came a fearful voice
Up to the starlit sky:
"Oh, may my uncle's soul this night
Rest with the Lord on high."
"There's one for me!" Jehovah cried.
"Not so!" the devil said;
"He's heir to all his uncle's wealth,
Hence wants the old man dead."
Just then there came another voice
In supplicating tones:
"Oh may the grave be late to close
O'er neighbor David's bones."
"There's surely one for me at last!"
But Satan cried: "Not yet!
He merely wants the man to live
Until he pays a debt."
And so they waited till the stars
Went out at break of day;
Then Satan seized his bag of souls
And sped his homeward way.
Upon high heaven's glittering wall
Long had they listening stood,
But not a mortal all that night,
Prayed for his brother's good.

INGRESSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, Jan. 19, 1878.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 26.

Mrs. H. Grinnell, \$1; Charles Robinson, \$10; John T. Adams, \$3.20; Mrs. Charles Goodred, \$7; Cash, \$1; Oliver A. Bailey, \$4.95; A. Dunbar, M.D., \$5; W. C. McDonald, 80 cents; C. Folsom, \$3.20; C. C. Biles, \$11; George Johnson, \$2.20; J. T. Brady, 25 cents; John Cowan, \$3.20; Isaiah West, \$3.20; Herman Werner, \$3.20; Dr. Merger, \$3.25; A. R. Hinchey, \$3.15; George Riker, \$1.75; E. C. Stedman, \$3.20; Wm. A. Butler, \$3.20; B. M. Green, \$3.20; F. O. Dorr, \$3.20; S. W. Allen, \$3.20; T. M. Hart, \$3.20; A. W. Kelsey, \$1; George Stokney, 10 cents; F. H. Gakwitz, \$2; S. B. Coleman, 10 cents; Samuel Colt, \$3; J. R. Fletcher, \$6.40; W. E. Bush, 10 cents; Theron C. Leland, 50 cents; Mary Montgomery Singleton, \$3.71; J. M. Holmes, \$2.10; W. R. James, \$4; Thos. H. Matthews, \$3.20; A. N. Adams, \$3.20; P. C. Howland, \$3.20; W. E. Mott, \$3.20; Harry W. Smith, \$3.74; Hugo Andriessen, \$3.20; Aug. Brentano, Jr., \$2.20; D. B. Humphrey, \$3.20; Henry Kiest, \$3.20; Castle Baker, \$11; M. E. Adams, \$1; Johanna Ellenbass, \$4; J. W. Springfield, 30 cents; C. J. Rider, \$3.30; Harry Grundy, \$2.50; N. Little, \$10; E. A. Sawtelle, \$3; Henry N. Stone, \$3.20; Cash, \$1.

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

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JANUARY 31, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 251 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLSON OFFICE, No. 35 MONROE STREET: J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
 OTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

THE RESULT of our late offer of club terms for THE INDEX has not been very encouraging; but we thank very sincerely the few who, as shown below, have made special exertions to increase our circulation. The promised list, not a long one, is as follows:

Sender of the Club.	No. New Names.
D. A. ROBERTSON, Enon, Pa.5
.....New York City5
DR. J. WINSLOW, Ithaca, N. Y.6
E. A. BILLINGSLEY, Lincoln, Neb.5
C. BAKER, Bay City, Mich.5
DAVID H. CLARK, Florence, Mass.5

A REQUEST TO LIBERAL EDITORS.

At a meeting of the Directors of the National Liberal League, held in this city on Friday, January 18, it was

Voted, To request the editors of liberal papers all over the country to publish the Directors' "Call to Organize" new Local Auxillary Liberal Leagues on Washington's birthday,—also the "Card" of the Financial Committee, as follows:—

Call to Organize.

CITIZENS of the United States who indorse the appended political platform adopted in convention by the National Liberal League, at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1877, are requested to meet in their respective cities and towns on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, 1878, for the purpose of organizing themselves into Local Auxillary Liberal Leagues in accordance with the provisions of the National Liberal League Constitution. Copies of the latter and blanks for organization can be obtained from W. H. Hamlen, Secretary, 231 Washington Street, Boston, or from H. L. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Salamanca, N. Y.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN,
 J. A. J. WILCOX,
 H. L. GREEN,
 D. G. CRANDON,
 Directors
 N. L. L.

BOSTON, Jan. 18, 1878.

Platform of the National Liberal League.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

A Card.

The Finance Committee of the National Liberal League, in consequence of the lack of funds in the Treasury, and of the fact that the Directors are able to do so little of the important work that *ought to be done*, appeal to all lovers of liberty for financial help, to enable them to publish and disseminate the views of able writers in behalf of the principles of the Rochester Platform, and to advance the common cause in other equally proper ways.

If earnest liberals throughout the United States will contribute one dollar apiece (with as much more as their generosity shall prompt or their means permit), in order to become Annual Members of the National Liberal League, they will furnish the requisite aid, and the work shall be done.

DANIEL G. CRANDON,
 HARLAN P. HYDE,
 SARAH B. OTIS,
 Financial
 Committee
 N. L. L.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary F. R. A.

SHALL THE CONSTITUTION BE REVOLUTIONIZED?

Since our last issue, we have succeeded in obtaining a copy of the joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which has been already reported in the Senate by Hon. George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. According to the *Boston Globe*, it was introduced into the Senate on January 10—three weeks ago; and yet so little comprehension is there of the significance, purport, or profoundly revolutionary effect of this measure, that it has attracted almost no attention. The text of the pending amendment is as follows:—

Section 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation shall be appropriated to, or made use of, for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination shall be taught; and no such particular creed or tenet shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.

Never was there a more cunningly-devised attack on the religious liberties of the people—a more plausible or seemingly fair measure for the abrogation of their equal rights. Its object and effect must be to convert the Constitution of the United States into a charter of perpetual political supremacy to the Evangelical Protestant Christian churches. It would doubtless take time to develop this revolutionary tendency; the revolution would not come in the shape of an earthquake, but in that of a *poisoning of the blood of the body politic*, a slowly-working, invisible, deadly malaria. We ask the close and dispassionate attention of every real patriot and liberal, while we point out briefly just what this measure means.

1. The first section, down to the last four lines, simply lays down with great explicitness the general principle of *no sectarian appropriations*—a most excellent and just principle, essential to secular government. But then follows a proviso excepting from the operation of this general principle the practice of Bible-reading in the schools and the existing exemption of church property from taxation (for that is what is meant here by "the rights of property already vested").

Now on the face of it this proviso, to all who have thought on the subject, must appear to be a direct contradiction of the general principle itself—a ridiculous stultification of it, a glaring inconsistency with it, an astonishing denial of its applicability to cases where it ought eminently to apply. It may be imag-

ined, therefore, to be an amusing illustration of the illogical character of Protestant Orthodoxy rather than a clause which would have a mischievous practical effect. Nothing could be more short-sighted than such a conclusion.

How would the Supreme Court interpret that proviso? As an inoperative and meaningless contradiction of the general principle enunciated, by which it would therefore be rendered null and void? Not at all. No Court could ever declare the fundamental law, which it has been created to interpret, to be in contradiction with itself; no Court could ever undertake on this ground to set aside any clause of the Constitution, since this would be declaring itself superior to the power which has created it. The Supreme Court, therefore, would be compelled to put such a construction on the Sixteenth Amendment, if adopted, as should render it consistent with itself. How could this be done?

Solely by deciding judicially that the proviso does not contradict the antecedent principle: that the practice of Bible-reading in the public schools is not a sectarian practice,—that the Bible is not a sectarian book,—that the Bible is the recognized religious law of the whole nation; that the exemption of church property from taxation is not a sectarian practice,—that the churches are not sectarian institutions,—that the churches, as "property already vested," have the "right" to be partially supported by the indirect taxation of the whole people.

In no other manner can the proposed Sixteenth Amendment be construed as logically consistent with itself; and in no other way, therefore, could the Supreme Court interpret it. Yet see to what monstrous conclusions it would thereby commit the government—how destructive to the equal rights of the citizens, how oppressive to all freethinkers! "The Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants," declared old Chillingworth; and the proposed amendment would declare the Bible to be not a sectarian book, but the great and Constitutionally recognized religious authority of the whole people. In other words, the "religion of Protestants" would be declared to be, by the Constitution, the established religion of the United States and the supreme law of the land. Congress, it is true, cannot establish any such religion; but the people, by amending the Constitution, can. Shall they do that? Do they mean to do that? If not, they must see to it in season that the amendment shall not be adopted with this proviso; for, once adopted, they cannot prevent the logical consequences of their own action. Let that amendment once become part of the Constitution, and Church and State will have become indissolubly united; Christianity in its Protestant form will become the State Religion, and the Protestant churches will become the State Church. It will take time to reveal the full effect of their action, but that will be what the people will have permitted ecclesiastical ambition to do, if they slumber now.

2. The recognition of the Bible in the Constitution by name, as a book which the Constitution itself, representing the supreme authority of the national will, may not dare to exclude from the public schools, would be a fatal rupture of the hitherto unbroken secularity of that great instrument. A chain is broken if you break one of its links; and the secular Constitution, if this amendment passes, will be gone forever. There will be time enough to lament its destruction, when it is too late—time enough to deplore the indifference, stupidity, criminal neglect, which suffered priestcraft to cheat the great republic out of its birthright. One leak is enough to sink a ship; and if there is not enough skill in carpentry to prevent it, there will not be enough to stop it. There is no protection of the people's equal religious rights except the secularity of the Constitution; once shatter that and the struggle of the fiercely-contending sects for the political mastery of the nation will know no bound. Nothing but a bloody war could ever restore that secular Constitution which we now enjoy, but which—shame on our sluggish souls!—we do not know enough or care enough to protect. If this ill-omened amendment falls to become a part of the Constitution, it will only be because the Republican party is not now strong enough to force it through Congress; its failure will be due to partisan jealousy, not to the wisdom or virtue of the people, unless the people improve bravely on their own not creditable past.

3. The reason for the exception of the Bible from the operation of the otherwise general principle of the amendment, although not explicitly stated, is implicitly contained in this marvellously Jesuitical proviso. The proviso recognizes by necessary impli-

caten the right of the Bible to be in the public schools—a right so sacred that even the sovereign people may not dare to touch it. What is this right of the Bible in the schools which even the sovereign people may not question? *The Divine Right of God's Holy Word, as the authoritative Revelation of his Will.* That is the implication back of the smooth and seemingly innocent phraseology of the proviso. As Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., of New York, expressed it in his book, *The Right of the Bible in Our Public Schools*:—

"The right to teach the Scriptures, and to have them read in the public schools, is founded on the fact that they are the Word of God for the instruction of mankind. A revelation from heaven for all mankind is the property of no sect, and cannot be called sectarian; consequently no sect has any right of conscience to object against it." [p. 13.]

"The Bible is of no sect, and belongs to none, and may not be ostracised or excommunicated by any, nor rightfully complained of in any presence, nor under any circumstances, as an oppression upon any conscience." [p. 72.]

It is these haughty, intolerant, and tyrannical principles, clearly expressed by Dr. Cheever, and covertly implied by the proviso, which will be found hereafter by the Supreme Court to be contained in this Sixteenth Amendment if it ever gets incorporated into the Constitution. Do you believe that these apparently remote and absurd logical consequences can never be judicially extorted from such brief and simple language as that of the Amendment? You know nothing of ecclesiastical cunning, nothing of clerical ambition, nothing of history or human experience or human nature, if you doubt it. The danger is not of sudden or bloody outbreak, of an outflaming civil war—we never expected that; but the danger is of a slow decay of republican institutions under the cancerous influence of triumphant clericalism. Give priestcraft an inch, and it seizes a mile. If there is any intelligent patriotism among the liberals of the United States, they will exert their utmost power, instantly, without delay, to nip this incipient revolution of the Constitution in the bud. "Resist the beginnings of evil"—for no man can foresee their outcome. America, like England, "expects every man to do his duty."

THE DANGERS OF WIT.

Freethinkers should be careful in this age of the world not to indulge too freely in humor and irony. Not all men are yet capable of receiving them. Bœotia in Greece was noted for being a country where wit was wasted. So is Philadelphia, probably from its neighborhood to Princeton, in our day. It is a sort of Scotland, where Sydney Smith, if he were alive, would have to carry a trephine in his pocket to get his jokes appreciated. A melancholy instance of the misapplication of wit on the part of natural philosophers, like Huxley and Tyndall, is to be found in the way that the Christian philosophers of Philadelphia understand them, as exemplified in the *Penn Monthly* for January, in an article on the question, *Is Christianity on the wane?* The writer, who gives his name as Robert Ellis Thompson, and is undoubtedly a fair sample of the most advanced and liberal Christians of the region he inhabits, discourses as follows on negations:—

The later utterances of Clifford, Hæckel, Tyndall, and Huxley cannot be surpassed in negation. That there is no God; that man is an automaton necessarily moved by natural forces, and by no other; that the freedom of the will is a weak delusion; and that the *genus homo* is properly no *genus*, but merely a species of the *genus simia*; that there is no such thing as necessary truth, for in other planets it may be that two and two do not make four, while two straight lines can enclose a space,—what is there to wait for after this? We have had the last word of scientific materialism, and last words are proverbially associated with death-beds. (It is only a Richard Baxter who is privileged, on finding his last words a marketable article, to give us a second batch of them.) And of the motley crowd who had attended these new hierophants of negation, no small number have begun to draw back on finding what is to be the end of the pilgrimage. So long as science seemed to have a quarrel with the theologians only, they applauded. But when they discovered that the moralist was to have even less quarter than the theologians, and that the denial of miracle led on, if not to the denial of human responsibility, at any rate to the rejection of the only intelligible reason for asserting it, they thought they had enough of science. We are not speaking at random, but from observation of a pretty large number of cases. The pendulum has already begun its rebound, and who can say how far it will swing to the other extreme?

It is Thompson who italicizes *genus* and *species*. The subsequent italics are mine.

Now men who cannot understand the irony contained in the supposition that in some other planet two straight lines may enclose a space, cannot be

hurried. They must be waited for. They must be allowed still to imagine that men who are demonstrating the reality of necessary truth, or inevitable unconquerable necessity, are unhooping the universe and sending it back to chaos. Let them, however, be comforted with one thought: that while these dreadful men, "Clifford, Hæckel, Tyndall, and Huxley," are so busy looking into the nature of things, as things are, they cannot be burning up those who differ from them. When Mr. Robert Ellis Thompson shows us how much the world has been demoralized by the writings of Euclid, we shall know how much it is likely to be demoralized by the writings of the terrible men whose names he uses with almost no understanding of the meaning of their words or works. E. W.

THE HEYWOOD CASE.

The conviction of Mr. E. H. Heywood for sending *Cupid's Yokes* through the mails, under the statutes excluding from them "obscene" literature, is a flagrant violation of justice and common sense; and Judge Clark's decision as to what constitutes a book "obscene," in his charge to the jury, is a disgrace to the bench. In *THE INDEX* of December 3 and December 20, we pointed out the absolute necessity of observing the distinction in this respect between the *main purpose* and the *incidental expressions* of a book. For lack of a proper emphasis on this point, Judge Clark has blundered into a definition of obscenity which will condemn as unmarketable an immense proportion of the greatest works of human genius. Incidental obscenities, nay, passages and whole poems, fundamentally indecent, can be found in such writers as Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Moore, and nearly every prominent name in English literature down to very recent times, not to mention classical and foreign literature; and no law can possibly stand which would suppress such works as these. The Bible itself, by Judge Clark's definition, is unfit to mail or to use; and if his decision is sustained, the hard common sense of the world will not long tolerate any arbitrary exception in the case of that or any other book.

Now the book for which Mr. Heywood has been condemned is as much repugnant to all our own tastes and opinions as it can possibly be to Judge Clark; we sympathize neither with its thought nor its style. All the more on this account, however, do we insist that Mr. Heywood shall not be *judicially* condemned for simply advocating his abstract moral theories, whether wise or unwise, in his own way. The theories are to us as hateful as the way is repulsive; but to confound his book with that vile class of literature which alone ought to be suppressed is a monstrous injustice, and we protest against it with irrepressible indignation. For Mr. Heywood himself, ill-balanced and disregarding of sound canons of propriety as we think he has shown himself in his writings, we entertain a very sincere personal respect; we know nothing whatever against his moral character, and have never heard it so much as doubted.

It is a burning wrong to remand him by a judicial sentence to the class of human hyenas who make it a business to deprave and pervert the passions of the young; and Judge Clark must be considered as having shown himself by his conduct of this trial unfit to preside in cases where personal rights and liberties and great principles of freedom are at stake. The law as he expounds it is an outrage on civilization and an insult to the public intelligence; and we would rather run all possible risks from the evil it was properly meant to remedy than see it continue on the statute-book as it is. What a blunder, in the name of purity, to drive the most earnest friends of combined purity and freedom to take such a position as that! But Judge Clark will in the end be overruled by an authority higher than himself—enlightened public opinion; and we hope fervently that this predestined countermanding of his decision will come soon enough to save Mr. Heywood from infamous injustice.

UNDERSTAND, BEFORE YOU COMPLAIN.

We used to imagine that straightforward statements, put into plain English and free from all sorts of ambiguity, could be understood by radical readers of *THE INDEX*, if not by the Christian public whose green spectacles might be fairly supposed to lend some verdancy to what they read in a free-thought journal. But we have changed our mind on this point. It is not in the power of the English language to state anything so unequivocally that some good radical soul will not vow that we said

black when we said white, or no when we said yes. We have inexhaustible patience and good humor for criticisms of what we do say; but human nature itself is liable to give way, when protests against what we have not said come clamoring for publication. One man makes a string of blunders in reading his *INDEX* and publishes the whole string in the *Truth Seeker*; and over the wall go a crowd of others after him, like sheep after their bell-wether. We are getting tired of publishing such protests without a word of comment; we propose to accompany the new batch in this issue with some plain words.

What was the ground we took about legislation concerning "obscene literature"? Briefly this:—

1. That "the statutory phrase 'obscene literature' should be strictly confined to publications designed expressly to demoralize, pollute, and corrupt, by ministering to lewd passions for the sake of profit to publishers; and that it should not be construed to include any publications not so designed, even if they do contain incidental expressions liable to be adjudged obscene by an unprejudiced moral judgment."

2. That publications in this narrow sense "obscene" should be prohibited from passing through the mails by United States law; but not that anybody, for this or any other purpose, should have power to tamper with sealed letters or packages in the Post-office.

3. That the existing laws ought to be jealously revised, so as to be incapable of being wrested to the punishment of any publishers but those guilty of dealing in the nefarious stuff already mentioned.

4. That Anthony Comstock has been guilty of intolerable abuse of power, and ought to be summarily dismissed from the Post-office Department.

Under the heading, "Off the Track," we have elsewhere grouped three letters on this subject, and now make short notes on them here in succession.

Number I.

Mr. Bennett explains his use of the names of McKesson & Robbins on his circular. We drop that subject, not wishing to comment on his explanation.

The authorship of the petition he circulated is of no consequence; we neither know nor care who wrote it. The petition itself opposes all United States legislation against really obscene literature, and we approve it; that is reason enough for all that we said, and we have nothing to take back on that point. We have never defended the laws as they stand; we have expressly called for their radical and jealous revision; we have been and are strongly in favor of their "material modification," as Mr. Bennett well knows; and he does extremely wrong to intimate, or leave it to be inferred, that we are not in favor of such "modification." The real point of difference between us is that the petition he issued asks primarily for the total repeal of the United States laws, on the ground that the separate States should be left to "provide suitable remedies"—which they cannot do; while we would ask for radical modification, but not total repeal. How can he wonder at the position which we take on this subject, when he himself has been forced to take it at last, as proved by this sentence on the first page of the *Truth Seeker* of January 19: "SO FAR AS REAL OBSCENE BOOKS AND PRINTS WHICH ARE CALCULATED TO INFLAME THE PASSIONS ARE CONCERNED, THEIR CIRCULATION SHOULD BE PROHIBITED, BY MAIL AND ALL OTHER MODES OF TRANSPORTATION, BUT THE MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE SECTION ARE FAR TOO SWEEPING AND INDEFINITE." Exactly! That is precisely the ground we have taken and recommended. We congratulate Mr. Bennett on at last perceiving the utter folly of taking any other ground. The fact that he has been driven himself to assume a position against the recommendations of his own petition ought to make him ashamed of the miserable insinuations in the last part of his letter—to which we pay no further attention. We simply say that we spoke promptly and warmly in his defence when he was attacked by Comstock, and deserved better treatment than to be slandered and vilified by him, merely because we declined to take with him a false and ruinous position which he has himself been at last forced to abandon.

Number II.

We thank Mr. Leland for his kind opinion of our "pluck," etc., but venture to suggest that, as shown above, it is not our "Plevna" that has been captured! The question now is whether he himself will "move on with the rest of the Liberal army," as Mr. Bennett has been forced to do, or stay to share the fate of Osman Pasha.

Number III.

It moves our strong regret to see our good friend Mr. Mead so rashly and precipitately enlist under

that "Radical Free Lance." Let us see what it is that he has so incautiously indorsed.

1. The "Lance" declares for "absolute freedom of expression, without compromise, without concealment." For instance, he would repeal all laws making false witness, perjury, libel, and slander indictable crimes, and leave every man and woman utterly defenceless against a species of cruelty and malice which is often more infamous than murder. We thought no intelligent radical could seriously lay down so extravagant and absurd a proposition. It is time to know that words are sometimes crimes, and that all crimes come within the strict province of government.

1. The "Lance" goes off into a ridiculous jeremiad over our "deserting freedom's brave champions," etc., as if, forsooth, it was deserting Mr. Bennett (whom we had already defended), to refuse to go in with a hip-hip-hurrah for a particular form of petition which Mr. Bennett himself has been compelled to contradict! Cannot a man believe in freedom of the press, unless he believes in exposing little children to infamous solicitations by mail which, if offered in person, would be fitly answered by nothing but a summary knock-down? This drearly silly stuff of "Free Lance," misrepresenting us from beginning to end, we did not think it worth while to accompany with even a single word of comment at the time; we did not believe there was one among our readers who would not see through its flimsiness. But to Mr. Mead the cobweb has proved a lasso!

Let us be understood, if such a thing is any longer possible on this earth. We are no more in favor of governmental supervision of the people's morals, as such, than Mr. Mead or his captor. But, in the name of all good thinking, what but "protection" of citizens in their rights is the object of government? We insist on the right of the children to be protected in theirs; and if that is the "paternal or protective principle," make the most of it. If governments are not founded to protect rights, will our good friend tell us what they are founded for? Is not taxation justifiable only on that ground of protection? Very well: we shall leave to him the delightful task of proving that children have no rights in this matter to be protected.

And this "tampering with the mails"—have we ever hisped a syllable in favor of it? Rub your eyes, friends; see what you are about. Before you send any more articles of misdirected protest, we beg you to take the very small trouble of understanding what you rush to criticise. For what we do say we hold ourselves strictly accountable; but we shall print no more communications, on this subject at least, which take us to task for what we have not said. That pastime is waxing tedious.

We will simply add a letter from Mr. Underwood, published in the *Truth Seeker* of January 19, and commend his sensible words to the careful attention of all:—

BRIGHTON, IOWA, Jan. 11, 1878.

DEAR BENNETT:—

From your statement in the *Truth Seeker*, I judge that you are not in danger of prosecution for "blasphemy and obscenity," on the information filed against you by Comstock. I congratulate you on your escaping the annoyance and trouble of a trial, with the worse results that would follow in case of conviction. How Comstock could expect a trial and conviction for blasphemy in a United States Court, I am still unable to see.

I think all Liberals should unite in petitioning Congress to modify that "obscenity act," so it cannot be made to apply to any publishers or persons except those who are engaged in spreading literature concerning the obscenity of which there can be no doubt. There is a class of books to which the word is applicable, and there is only one class of books to which it is applicable. Whether Congress has rightful authority to prohibit the transmission of such literature through the mails, seems to be a question on which there is a difference of opinion. Why not, then, have a petition which all Liberals can sign? There is no doubt that there should be legislation by some authority adopted to prevent the circulation of vile literature, the kind that is written to excite the passions and to corrupt the minds of youth. Whether Congress or the State deals with this matter, there must be something clear and definite as to what literature is included. Now, I don't think we should waste time or temper in disputing on a subject concerning which liberals are perhaps equally divided. Let us have a petition for such modification of that "obscenity act" as shall not render possible the arrest of honorable men by a narrow-minded and bigoted agent of the government, A. J. Comstock. The foregoing has been suggested by Mr. Abbot's articles, and by those in reply in subsequent numbers of the *Truth Seeker*. Why should the *Truth Seeker* and *The Index* get into a dispute over this matter, especially where it is liable to degenerate into bad spirit and bitterness (as shown by the article of "H. B. B." in the *Truth Seeker*), and where it can do no good. Mr. Abbot is a hard worker in the cause of liberalism, and has been years arousing lib-

erals to organize for defence against every infringement on their rights by orthodoxy. I know you, too, to be a warm-hearted lover and advocate of the same principles. Now what I want is to see you and Abbot, and the *Investigator*, *Evolution*, and *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, and other liberal papers, pulling together. Then we will have harmony in our ranks and something will be accomplished.

If you deem it necessary to retain the form of petition you have issued, do so for those who like it; but why not issue another form for those who believe there should be laws against the circulation of obscene literature through the United States mails, but who would gladly petition for a modification of the present foolish and unjust law as it now stands? Be assured that I have but one object in writing you this letter—which I write by way of suggestion only,—and that is to encourage unity and cooperation in working for an object in which all true Liberals are interested, and which is liable to be kept back by needless differences and disputes among us.

Fraternally yours,
B. F. UNDERWOOD.

Communications.

OFF THE TRACK.

Number I.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In an editorial in your issue of the 17th, in quoting an advertisement from the *Tribune*, and in your subsequent remarks, you wrong me. Will you allow me space in your columns to explain?

I did not use the name of McKesson & Robbins without calling upon them and learning that, so far as the Comstock laws are believed to be unconstitutional and oppressive, they were in perfect sympathy with me. They also approved the effort to have the laws repealed. In one remark, Mr. Robbins said that they hardly wished their name used; to which I demurred, and asked what objection there could be to it. The circular only urged the signing of the petitions, which they approved; and as they were so widely known, I would be very glad to have their name to remain on. No objection was raised after this; and Mr. Robbins said, if another party named at the time would cooperate, they would also.

I left a copy of the petition with them as well as the circular, and they did not refuse at that time, nor for ten days afterwards, that I should let their name remain on; and it was not until Comstock and other Christians remonstrated with them that they forbade the use of their names, and then it was too late; several hundreds had gone out, and some by mistake were sent afterwards without their name being erased. I may have acted wrongly in the matter; but I thought I had their sympathy and their tacit consent. I certainly did not intend to act dishonorably, much less criminally.

It is hard to estimate the weight of Christian and Comstock pressure upon those who had consented their names might be used. I asked none to sign the circular. Comstock threatened them with a suit for libel if they did not say I used their names without authority. Some under such intimidation signed a paper to that effect.

In your remarks you got the petition and the circular somewhat confounded. I placed nobody's name to the petition, but only to the circular explanatory of the petition and the necessity of signing it. I left with each party whose name I used a copy with their name attached, and continued those only who expressed themselves in sympathy with what I was doing, and retained none who protested against the use of their names.

Let me assure you, that petition was not drafted by myself, but by as able and clear-headed a lawyer as this city affords, and as sound a liberal as this age can boast. I regard it as having scarcely a fault in it; and, for the life of me, I cannot see why you should raise such an objection against it,—just at the time, too, when thousands of them were being sent over the country for signatures, that you should write five columns in your paper in opposition to it,—that you should refuse to sign it, and also advise others not to sign. The laws are certainly very objectionable. They were passed in great haste and confusion, without due consideration. They were not called for by any considerable number of the American people; and their administration has been made extremely oppressive and cruel to hundreds of unsuspecting and well-meaning people.

It is clear to many minds that the good they have accomplished could easily have been effected without crushing the principles of individual right and personal liberty. Much ado has been made about the danger under the old regime of improper circulars being sent to children and pupils. It would be far better to have second and third-class mail-matter for such young people to be examined by parents, guardians, or teachers before delivered, without violating the Constitution and crushing out the very spirit of American liberty. If you will notice, the petition only asks for the repeal or material modification of the laws.

You seem to think those who favor a change of the present laws are in favor of obscenity. You could not make a greater mistake. I think nearly one hundred thousand persons have signed those petitions, and that they are as pure and high-minded men and women as this country produces. Those names will soon be laid before Congress, and it is to be hoped they will produce not a little effect in causing the repeal of some of those most odious and oppressive laws.

If you are pleased with Comstock's recent triumph in your city over E. H. Heywood, for publishing and mailing his pamphlet called *Cupid's Yokes*, you ought to be congratulated. So that respectability and

purity are preserved, perhaps you care nothing for personal rights. Comstock ought to appreciate your defence of him. He may need it. He has many Christian defenders, but not many radicals or infidels. He ought to let you pass scot-free, while other liberal editors and publishers are sent to prison.

The ruling of Judge Blatchford in the lottery cases was familiar to my attorneys; and they deem there is a wide difference between a definite and well-understood crime, and those which are so indefinite and vague that different detectives, attorneys, juries, and judges who may chance to try cases brought before them will construe them differently. If immorality, indecency, and obscenity are crimes punishable with fines of \$5000 and imprisonment for ten years, they ought at least to be clearly defined. This fact alone argues strongly in favor of a repeal or modification.

I have not been arrested yet for using the name of McKesson & Robbins, but know not how soon I may be.

Truly yours,
D. M. BENNETT.

NEW YORK, Jan. 19, 1878.

Number II.

NEW YORK, Jan. 18, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—THE INDEX this week is a capital number. I admire your fairness and pluck in publishing so many charges of hot shot against your own positions. Any editor is a good editor who hears all sides. If you can maintain your ground, good; but I think your Plevna will be captured, and you will have to move on with the rest of the Liberal army. Comstock isn't a redoubt in the liberal lines worth halting the whole corps to defend; especially when there are such weak places in the defence as the McKesson & Robbins statement. Mr. Bennett called on several druggists, these gentlemen among the number, with a proof of his circular, and had a friendly talk with them, in which they entirely agreed with him that the Comstock enactments were bad laws and ought to be repealed. McKesson & Robbins said they had already spent \$50 in efforts and movements to secure their repeal, and had written to members of Congress and influential persons, asking their aid and influence to that end. Some of the druggists gave Mr. Bennett full consent to use their names; some gave a quasi consent, or, at all events, did not refuse; and none objected, outright, or, if they did, they made only such objection as came from fear of what Comstock might do to them.

After the circular and petitions had been sent and distributed over the country, either Comstock or his agents went among the druggists, threatened, "bulldozed," and stirred them up to withdraw their names and influence from the support of Mr. Bennett. Neither did he refuse to strike any names from his circular. After the circular had gone abroad and entirely out of his hands, how could he strike off any names? Besides, they have not brought suit against Mr. Bennett for this or any other cause, as you credit the *Tribune* with stating. All these facts you should know, and let your readers know, in any treatment of Mr. Bennett's case.

I am much obliged for the publication of my protest against the old style morality. The "defining" shall begin on my part in due time; also I will try to pay my respects to "A. W. K." on Communism.

I began this as a hurried private letter, but some of it ought to be published.

Very sincerely yours,

THERON C. LELAND.

Number III.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I desire to put on record my most cordial indorsement of the communication of "Radical Free Lance," entitled "Absolute Freedom of the Press," published in THE INDEX of Jan. 17. Such of your readers as have made a careful and thoughtful study of Buckle's *History of Civilization* will remember how uncompromisingly he wages warfare against the "paternal principle" in all things,—politics, religion, morals. His great work is not at hand, and so I shall not attempt to quote the language *verbatim*; but I distinctly remember how through this great historic masterpiece there runs a never-ceasing protest against the protective or paternal principle. In Dr. Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*, in Lecky's *Morals and Rationalism*, in Spencer's *Social Science*,—in short, whenever the pen of rationalism touches, we find the same protest. Sometimes with the calm argument of the philosopher and scientist, sometimes with the indignant outburst of the man who has suffered; but from the brain of radicalism always, in some form, this protest comes. In the hearty stroke of that "Free Lance" I discovered the ring of the true metal. Better license with liberty than no liberty! Infinitely better that the land should be flooded with obscene literature than that a man, or a church, or a society should be empowered to rife the mails, and establish a paternal protectorate over the medium of thought-exchange in the land,—over the mind and conscience of one individual.

The effort of every fixed system is to repress the individual, and compel the race to grow in a certain given direction. Christianity is such a fixed system, and in so far as it has been successful in its effort at repression, just in that ratio has the growth of the race been prevented. What is wanted is absolute freedom of the individual,—no gyres and fetters on body or mind; no dictator in Church or State; no good father or kind mother standing guard over the morals or intellect of men and women; but simply a government that shall say, "Your freedom is assured from the wrong-doing of your neighbors; in return you must do no wrong to your neighbors."

It must surely be clear to the editor of THE INDEX that to grant permission to any man or body of men to tamper with the mails in any manner whatever, is opening a door dangerous to the liberties of the citi-

son; and I cannot yet see the force of the reasoning by which he defends his position. Therefore I am reluctantly—very reluctantly—compelled to take the position of "Free Lance," and conclude that on this question the usually courageous and clear-headed editor of THE INDEX has been betrayed into intellectual error by the logic of his sympathies, enlisted against a vicious trade in obscene books.

Yours very truly, FRANK J. MEAD.
MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Jan. 20, 1878.

"PLAIN TRUTHS FOR WESTERN READERS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In THE INDEX of January 8 is an article copied from the New York Tribune, entitled, "Plain Truths for Western Readers"; also an article on "Silver," by "F. S. C."

Permit me to say respecting the first, that there is very little truth in it. The substance of the article is an effort to show that money is withheld from business when there is danger of a general depreciation in the value of money. And the supposition is that the contrary of this would be true; namely, that when there is a prospect of money undergoing appreciation, the holders of money would be eager to loan it out or employ it in sustaining industries or in some way invest it. It needs but the plainest common-sense to understand that these suppositions are not true. When money is itself increasing in value, and, of course, other things decreasing, then it is profitable to hoard money and doubly precarious to invest it.

Take the experience of the past few years. A thousand dollars that were buried in the earth four years ago, if dug up now will buy very nearly, taking the average of things, twice as much as when it was buried. On the other hand, had the thousand dollars been invested in property, the investor would find now that he could realize but five hundred on it.

Would this be the case if money was itself undergoing depreciation and other things rising in value? Would it be the case either if prices were stable? It used to be thought necessary to first sow before one could reap; to strew before he could gather; but in these times when the great object seems to be to make money itself grow, not by use, but by the legal restriction of quantity to increase its unit value, it is the servant who buries his talent that gets the reward.

"F. S. C." starts out with a proposition that is not sound. Value does not depend solely on labor. A coined silver dollar of the mintage of 1793, if tested, will bring a hundred dollars. Is that because it has taken a hundred times as much labor to produce it as it did a dollar coined in some other year?

Dr. Linderman seemed to suppose in his recommendation to Congress to coin the trade dollar, that a bar of standard silver, if divided into pieces of 420 grains each, would exchange for more tea or silk than if the same bar was divided into pieces of 412½ grains each! And Congress, and a great many people, seem still to rest under the pleasant delusion. But there is no more truth in it as a question of fact than that a piece of leather cut into five pieces, as Locke illustrates it, will cover a larger ball than if cut into four.

Just as absurd is it to suppose that to remonetize silver would give a large profit to silver producers and bullionists, as Dr. Linderman, "F. S. C.," and so many others suppose. Suppose the old status of silver were restored—free coinage and unlimited tender,—will a bar of silver be worth any more when divided into pieces of 412½ grains, and the weight and fineness of such pieces certified by the stamp of the government, than as a silver bar, when any one holding it could have it so stamped free of charge? Would "F. S. C." or any one else give more grains of gold or more of anything else for the bar of silver after it was so divided and stamped than before, if he could have it so divided and stamped for himself for nothing?

Just as erroneous are the suppositions that labor will be paid less if silver were remonetized. Whether or not 412½ grains of silver, coined or uncoined, will exchange always for 23 23-100 grains of gold, involves quite other considerations,—considerations that neither the debtor nor creditor took into account when obligations were entered into.

This money question involves wider considerations than either of the articles embraced. It makes comparatively little difference whether both metals circulate together as money in every country; but it does make such difference whether one of the metals be removed from the coinage of the world or not, that civilization itself becomes involved.

Suppose for a moment the total mass of both metals in the world to be fused together, and in this form open to coinage throughout the world. In the United States 394 47-100 grains of the fused metals would make two dollars or two units. It is plain that the number of coins or units that could be made, and the value of each would depend on the quantity of the two metals. That was, in effect, the condition of things in 1872. The metals were not fused, but silver and gold were both money metals, and the number of units there could be depended not on one metal, but on both.

Now suppose a movement were set on foot to abolish half of the combined metals, and it were carried out, what would be the effect on the value of the remaining half? The effect of demonetizing half, when, not so combined, can be no different. Is the world prepared for such a step? Can it ever be?

We may be saddened by the plaintive mourning of men who purchased bonds, or bought debts, based upon a volume of money consisting of gold, silver, and inconvertible paper, aggregating at least ten thousand millions for the world, because after debts

amounting to three times the total quantity of money in existence have been created, the people who must pay them are unwilling to abandon silver and have greenbacks destroyed, and the volume of legal tender money thereby reduced to \$4,000,000,000 instead of \$10,000,000,000; but it can only be at the moral conception that could prompt such a demand.

The most important principle in monetary science to be kept in view is the relation of quantity of money to quantity of commodities and transactions. It is this relation that determines prices. Any movement, therefore, to reduce volume of money, while commodities and transactions are increasing, as they should be with increasing population if intelligently undertaken, must be with no other view than to increase the value of money and decrease that of other things, and to thereby wrongfully change the relation of property and debts.

William Leekie, in summing up the effect of such measures in England, after showing the effect in England and throughout Europe, of first increasing the volume of money by paper issues and then reducing it again to metallic money (they did not undertake, either, at the same time they were trying to reduce the quantity of paper money to abolish half of the metallic money), also says: "No extensive country can even alter its currency from the precious metals to paper, and then back again to the precious metals without seriously affecting the value of property among its neighbors. These violent changes, in the degree in which they have lately been experienced in Europe and America, have defeated, in numerous instances, the very end and object for which men form themselves into societies; viz., for the mutual protection of their lives and properties. It is now, unfortunately, a matter of history, that hundreds and thousands of virtuous and industrious families have been reduced to ruin and beggary by the late changes in the value of money, who, from their own conduct and situation in life, had no reason to look for or to expect such a calamity." If this was true when written in 1841, how much more forcible is its application now. The people of the West are glad to have enlightenment on this question, and especially to have their moral sense quickened; but, really, would it not be well for the Eastern press to test its own ground a little more thoroughly before speaking with quite so much assurance? We want to believe that the editor of the New-York Tribune works in a free harness; but if it be so, he is certainly open to the charge of writing a good deal that is very superficial.

A. J. WARNER.

MARIETTA, Ohio, Jan. 17, 1878.

RESUMPTION IN ENGLAND.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In all the discussion of the silver question, I do not remember to have seen any account of the experience of the Bank of England in resuming specie payments after a suspension of twenty-four years, from 1797 to 1821. Therefore, with your permission, I will give a few facts in relation to it.

When the question of resumption was under discussion in the British Parliament, Ricardo, the well-known political economist, then member of the House of Commons, gave it as his opinion that, as the Bank of England notes were then within four per cent. of gold, there would result only a four per cent. fall in prices, if the bank should return to specie payments.

Following his advice, to which his successful business career gave great weight, Parliament passed in 1819 the act commonly known as Peel's Act, to prepare the way for resumption. The result showed Ricardo in error. Prices fell over fifty per cent., and great distress was caused thereby among the manufacturers and other producing classes. Many failed, and others bore with great difficulty the heavy losses thus brought upon them. Then statesmen began to inquire into the causes of the financial troubles. It was ascertained that the great draft upon the gold stock of the world, consequent upon resumption in a single metal, had so appreciated the value of gold, as to cause a great fall in prices, measured in gold. And it was also discovered that the ratio of the difference between paper and hard money at the time resumption is determined upon, is no indication how great will be the fall of prices by the time resumption is an accomplished fact.

As we have now about \$700,000,000 paper money in the United States (including National Bank notes), if we resume in gold, we shall need to draw from two to three hundred millions from the gold stock of Europe, which, with the \$75,000,000 now in the treasury, destined to this use, will perhaps be sufficient.

How far this would raise the premium on gold, no one can foretell. This, however, seems safe to premise: if England, with all her wealth, had such a struggle merely to maintain the convertibility of Bank of England notes, the United States cannot have a less difficult task before her, if she attempts to withdraw from circulation—to redeem—as the Resumption Act provides, her \$350,000,000 of greenbacks, and to maintain the convertibility of the National Bank notes.

How could our manufacturers endure the falling prices that would result from such an attempt? Production would seem to be impossible, save with loss. Wages would fall, men be thrown out of employment, tramps increase in numbers, taxes grow more burdensome, and social evils multiply.

I do not like to be a prophet of evil; but I do not see how it could be otherwise. The laws of Nature will act; and it is the part of wisdom in us to find out the laws on which our social fabric so largely depends. Let us be wise in season!

Yours, EMILY J. LEONARD.
W. MERIDEN, Jan. 8, 1878.

NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE
AT FLORENCE, IOWA.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

On the evening of Saturday, Jan. 19, the liberals of Florence and vicinity met at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Phil Wagner, and organized the "Florence Liberal League," with a membership of nineteen. The following are our officers for the ensuing year: President, Byron McQuin; Secretary, B. O. Walker; Assistant Secretary, Albert M. Rogers; Treasurer, Mrs. L. V. Morton; Councillors, Richard Merritt, Charles M. Rogers, Phil Wagner, and C. B. Hayden. Annual meetings for the election of officers to be held on the 19th of January of each year. Annual election for the selection of delegates to the Annual Congress will be held at such times as the Board of Directors shall designate. Monthly business meetings on the 19th of each month. Shall hold regular Sunday discussions, etc., at Wagner's Hall, at two P.M. Programme for Sunday afternoon, January 27th: Music; reading of "Demands of Liberalism," and other matter explanatory of the Liberal League movement. Statement of the local work of the Florence League. Discussion of the question: "Should all Laws Exempting Church Property from Taxation be Repealed?"

We intend to perfect arrangements for a Children's Fraternity as soon as possible. This must be one of the most important departments of our work. Our Constitution makes provision for the establishment of a Sunday reading-room as soon as the Board of Directors shall deem expedient. We mean to educate. Fellow liberals of Iowa and of the whole Union, the Florence Liberal League extends to you the right hand of cordial good-will and fraternal fellowship, and trusts that you will go and do likewise, where you have not already entered upon the good work. It is proposed to hold a State Mass Convention of the Liberals of Iowa, at Des Moines, sometime this winter. More about it soon. E. C. WALKER,
Sec'y of Florence Liberal League.

OBSCENITY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It cannot be too often repeated, that there is nothing obscene or profane or wicked in sex in itself; and that there is nothing vile or immoral in the manifestations of sex in themselves.

The market for obscene literature depends upon the existence of ignorance and unbalanced organizations. The only permanent cure for any evil is "the absorbent substitution of the opposite good."

Let our children, then, be well-born, and well-taught, and there is an end to the trade in obscene books and pictures. All that is needed to put all those foul birds to flight, is liberty and light.

Repression never cured, and never can cure, any evil; and Comstockism can, at best, only palliate, if indeed it will not aggravate, the evil it pretends to oppose.

F. S. C.

[This is in the main true, and very well put. Repression never cured murder or any other crime; law against crime is a very imperfect protection at the best, though it accomplishes something; and it can never be too strongly urged upon parents that the chief protection of their children depends upon themselves. "Comstockism," however, is no argument against seeking to prevent by law, so far as law can be made efficient, those crimes against children which no parent can possibly prevent without the aid of society.—Ed.]

E. C. WALKER.

[Mr. Walker desires us to make the following announcement, which we gladly do for the advancement of the Liberal League movement, hoping that he will receive many invitations to lectures.—Ed.]

The Conflict between Church and State.

Lectures on the following topics are now ready for delivery:—

1. The National Reform Movement.
2. The State Secularization Movement.
3. Taxation, Republican and the opposite.
4. Religion in the School.
5. The State and the Sabbath.
6. National Protection for National Citizens.
7. Education and the State.
8. Who shall vote?
9. The Duties of Liberals.
10. The Liberal League and Politics.
11. The Modern Inquisition.
12. The Final Authority in Morals.

I will lecture on the above subjects in the West, until April 1, for actual expenses, and am especially desirous of assisting in the organization of Local Liberal Leagues. Address,

Florence, Iowa. E. C. WALKER,
Lock-Box B.

AT A MEETING in London to receive a report from the missionaries sent to discover the tribes of Israel, Lord H— was asked to take the chair. "I take," he replied, "a great interest in your researches, gentlemen. The fact is, I have borrowed money from all the Jews now known; and if you find a new set, I shall feel very much obliged."

AN ABSURD rumor prevailed at one time that the end of the world was at hand. The most practical suggestion mooted on the subject was the reply of an urchin who heard his mother talking with fear and trembling of the affair: "If it's true, nither, widna ye better tak' the bawbees oot o' the savings bank?"

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support.

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

ADVERTISING RATES.

Table with 2 columns: Description of ad (e.g., 'For 1 to 12 insertions'), Price per line.

On half-column advertisements, a discount of 10 per cent. will be made; on full-column advertisements, a discount of 25 per cent.

On all advertisements for which cash is paid in advance, a further discount of 25 per cent. on the total, as above calculated, will be made.

TO ADVERTISERS.

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

TOLEDO, Ohio, Sept. 20, 1872. TO THE INDEX ASSO., Toledo, O.: Gentlemen,--Having had occasion to advertise in your paper during the past two years quite largely, I take pleasure in stating that I have always obtained very satisfactory returns--better in fact than from book advertisements in any other paper I have advertised in.

Special arrangements will be made at reduced terms for long-time or extended advertisements. Address THE INDEX, No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, Boston.

CULTURED FREE THOUGHT.

The Index Association, OFFICE, No. 231 WASHINGTON ST., BOSTON, publish THE INDEX, A Weekly Paper devoted to Free and Rational Religion.

It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

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

- O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York City. WILLIAM J. POTTER, New Bedford, Mass. WILLIAM H. SPENCER, Haverhill, Mass. Mrs. E. D. CHENEY, Jamaica Plain, Mass. GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, London, Eng. DAVID H. CLARK, Florence, Mass. Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Tenny, N.Y. J. L. STODDARD, Boston. ELIZUR WRIGHT, Boston. O. D. B. MILLS, Syracuse, N.Y. W. D. LE SUEUR, Ottawa, Can. BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, Thorndike, Mass. ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, St. Louis, Mo.

Every liberal should subscribe for THE INDEX as the best popular exponent of Religious Liberalism. Every Christian minister, and every thinking church-member, should subscribe for it, as the clearest, most candid, and most scholarly exposition of the differences between Free Thought and Evangelical Christianity, and as the best means of becoming well informed of the arguments and the movements which the Church will have to meet in the future.

Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America--that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,--is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

Send \$3.20 for one year, including postage, or \$1.00 for three months on trial.

Address THE INDEX, No. 231 Washington Street, Boston.

PUBLICATIONS INDEX TRACTS.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

Freedom and Fellowship in Religion. A volume of ten essays upon speculative and practical problems of religion, by D. A. Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, Samuel Johnson, John Weiss, W. J. Potter, F. E. Abbot, O. B. Frothingham, J. W. Chadwick, T. W. Higginson, and Mrs. E. D. Cheney, and extracts from Addresses by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, Dr. Bartol, Wendell Phillips, Rabbi Wise, Horace Seaver, A. B. Alcott, Lucy Stone, Charles H. Malcom, Julia Ward Howe, and others,--all given on the platform of the Free Religious Association. Price (reduced) \$1.50.

"One purpose of this volume is to give an answer to the question, What is the meaning of the Free Religious Association?"

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1872. Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Celis Burleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, O. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 424.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

"I AM SURE," said Professor O. C. Marsh at Nashville, "I need offer here no argument for Evolution; since to doubt Evolution to-day is to doubt science, and science is only another name for truth."

Miss ELLEN M. WRIGHT will give an entertainment at Paine Hall, Friday evening, February 8, at 7½ P. M., consisting of imitations of celebrated actresses and some eccentric characters, for the benefit of the Hall.

"DURING a recent court-martial in Oregon," says the New York Evening Post of January 11, "the evidence of Colonel Cuvier Grover, brother of Senator Grover, of Oregon, was ruled out because of his expressed unbelief in a God."

IN SOME PLACES the Catholic laity are growing pleasingly rebellious to their priests on the school question: "A conflict over the school question has broken out at Newport between the Roman Catholic priests and some of their parishioners, because the latter, disregarding the injunctions of their spiritual guides, send their children to the public school, on account of the manifest inferiority of the Roman Catholic school. The priests retaliate by refusing these people the privilege of the confessional, and there is great dissatisfaction and complaint."

THE NEW HAVEN school question is settled exactly right, at least for the present: "Some time ago, the Board of Education of New Haven adopted the recommendation of its Committee on Schools and discontinued religious exercises in the public schools. Some excitement was created by this. Remonstrances and approvals numerous were presented. Friday evening the Committee on Schools, to which these were referred, presented a long report, in which they maintain the position they first took. This report was adopted by the Board. Three members of the Board presented a minority report. Both reports were ordered to be printed."

REV. S. P. PUTNAM, whose name is familiar to readers of THE INDEX, has published through G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York, a striking poem entitled *Prometheus*. As a poem, it is not without faults of execution, though it is full of beauties and breathes the true poetic spirit; but, as a meditation on the great problem of duty, it is a remarkable production. No single quotation would do it justice; it must be studied and pondered as a whole in order to perceive or feel its power. No thoughtful and aspiring nature, capable of sympathy with a poetical interpretation of the eternal struggle of humanity towards its ideal, can fail, we think, to be deeply impressed with this little work. It is well worth buying and reading.

A "COUNTRY PARSON" writes to the New York Tribune that, if Congress coins a silver dollar worth ninety cents, he hopes they will "have the grace not to put 'In God we trust' on it," since Deuteronomy, xv., 13, 15, declares: "Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small; but thou shalt have a perfect and just weight," etc. On the contrary, Congress ought to put that motto on this coin and no other, since it would mean, "Here are ninety cents—you must trust in God for the balance." Such an inscription as the latter would be in perfect harmony with the "God-in-the-Constitution" policy that would make the whole nation appear to profess a faith which, as is notorious, multitudes of them do not have.

IT IS GREATLY to be wished that the book of *Hymns and Anthems* in use at South Place Chapel, London, where Mr. Moncreu D. Conway holds his weekly religious services, might be cheaply republished on this side of the water. The first hundred and fifty hymns were arranged by Rev. William J. Fox, Mr. Conway's noble predecessor; and the present edition, with many additions, was superintended with his characteristic good taste by Mr. Conway himself. Such a book as this is a great desideratum in America,

or would be, if liberal societies were more numerous. Exquisite poems are here, full of the most free, reverent, earnest humanitarianism of this age. If anything could sing away the woes and wrongs of earth, the sweet melodies of this little book would do it.

HIS LECTURESHIP COOK has got into the claws of a griffin, and been badly bitten. An anonymous writer in the *New Englander* for January, reviewing his book entitled *Biology*, has exposed without mercy the scientific emptiness and "philosophical charlatanism" of this would-be *Cædipus Redivivus*—whose portrait a caller at THE INDEX office the other day struck off in a flash of inspiration as "a religious Ben Butler." What could be wickeder than this thrust from the *New Englander*? "Throughout, 'the Lectureship' is synonymous with the lecturer, being a favorite device by which he may modestly speak of himself in the third person, and also imply that this person is an institution?" Now this remorseless munching-up by the griffin of the *New Englander* (an Orthodox periodical, be it remembered) so exasperated His Lectureship that he is reported to have denounced the author of the offensive article as a "scapecrime writer," and to have been not a little chafallen on discovering that he had in his wrath applied the epithet to no less a person than Dr. Asa Gray, Professor of Natural History in Harvard University! The joke is too good to be lost.

THIS is the touching message that comes from one of our subscribers in Michigan,—one whom we have never seen, but whose poems, occasionally published in these columns, have revealed a sweet and noble nature: "Dear INDEX,—Please find enclosed two dollars to renew my subscription. I would send full amount for a year if I expected to be here to receive the paper. I am far along with pulmonary consumption, and the end is probably not distant. While I am here, I want to read THE INDEX." Such words as these hush for a moment the clamorous noises of the world. Brother, we send you a tender good-speed on your mysterious voyage. We know not its destination, but for such as you who could fear? With peacefulness and quiet dignity you gaze upon that future which fills the superstitious with idle alarms, and undismayed accept your lot in a universe of which so little is known to any. For each of us the same hour waits; and we thank you, brother, for showing with what unfeigned serenity the free thinker moves onward to meet it. You need no exhortations; but you will not despise the unasked sympathy with which your "dear INDEX" has received your calm and manly message, or the pleasure it feels because you wish its companionship to the last.

DISPATCHES from Washington on January 11 contained the following statement, which ought to set to thinking every citizen who has in any degree acquired that rare accomplishment: "The Board of Indian Commissioners met in this city to-day to receive reports of religious bodies who have the selection of agents and other work in connection with the Indian policy instituted by President Grant. Representatives of the Presbyterian, foreign and domestic missionary boards, Baptist Home Missionary Society, the several yearly meetings of Friends, American Board, American Missionary Association, and Unitarian Association were present. A report was received from the Episcopal Board. The Methodists and Roman Catholics sent no reports." Here we have officers of the government meeting in convention with representatives of ecclesiastical sects, to deliberate and act on questions of national policy; yet there are liberals utterly unable to see any peril to republican institutions from this glaringly evident union of Church and State! Every new precedent of this evil kind will only render the final struggle more fierce and desperate; for it is written in the book of fate that this great Republic shall be secularized at last.

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

WHEN MR. ALLSOPP was missionary among the Amaponda people, near the Zulus in Southern Africa, their renowned king, Faku, was urged to call in the aid of the rain doctors to put an end to a long season of drought. He refused to do so unless Mr. Allsopp and his converts failed to obtain rain by their prayers; and accordingly a Sunday was appointed as a day of prayer and fasting for rain. Early on the Sunday morning a crowded prayer-meeting attested the general interest of the converts. Later in the day a still larger gathering took place, and the whole service was solemn and impressive. In the afternoon they went again to pray; and as one and another kept dropping in, gathering clouds drew the attention of all. Before the service was half over the great drops of rain began to fall, and at its conclusion a steady down-pour had set in and continued all that night and during the following day and night. God had heard prayer. The windows of heaven were opened, and the drought was ended.—New Zealand Christian Record, Sept. 22, 1877.

A Crumb for the "Modern Symposium."

BY JOHN FISKE.

No one to whom the question of man's destiny is a matter of grave speculative concern can have read, without serious and solemn interest, the discussion lately called forth in England by Mr. Frederic Harrison's essay on "The Soul and Future Life."* In no way, perhaps, could the darkness of incomprehensibility which enshrouds the problem be more thoroughly demonstrated than by the candid presentation of so many diverse views by ten writers of very different degrees of philosophic profundity, but all of them able and fair-minded, and all of them actuated—each in his own way—by a spirit of religious faith. This last clause will no doubt seem startling, if not paradoxical, to many who have not yet come to realize how true it is that there is often more real faith in honest scepticism than in tardy or timorous assent to a half-understood creed. But no paradox is intended. I believe that there is as much of the true essence of religion—the spirit of trust in God that has ever borne men triumphantly through the perplexities and woes of the world, and the possession of which, in some degree, by most of its members, is the chief deferential attribute of the human race.—I believe that there is as much of this spirit exhibited in the remarks of Prof. Huxley as in those of Lord Balfour. In the serenity of mood with which the great scientific sceptic awaits the end, whatever it may prove to be; in the unflinching integrity with which his intellect refuses to entertain theories that do not seem properly accredited; in the glorious energy with which, accepting the world as it is, he performs with all his might and main the good work for which he is by nature fitted;—in all this I can see the evidence of a trust in God no less real than that which makes it possible for his noble Christian friend to "believe because he is told." I am sure that I understand Prof. Huxley's attitude; I think I understand Lord Balfour's also; and it seems to me that the difference between the two attitudes, wide as it is, is still a purely intellectual difference. It has its roots in differently blended capacities of judgment and insight, and in nowise fundamentally affects the religious character. It will be well for the world when this lesson has been thoroughly learned, so as to leave no further room for misapprehension. That great progress has already been made in learning it, we need no other proof than the mere existence of this "Modern Symposium" on the subject of a future life. Three centuries ago it would have been in strict accordance with propriety for the ten disputants to have adjourned their symposium to some ecclesiastical court, preparatory to a final settlement at Smithfield. One century ago there would have been wholesale vituperation, attended with more or less imputation of unworthy motives; and very likely there would have been some Jesuitical paltering with truth. To-day, however, the tremendous question is discussed on all sides—alike by Protestant and Catholic, by transcendentalist, sceptic, and positivist—with evident candor and praiseworthy courtesy; for, in spite of Prof. Huxley's keen-edged wit and Mr. Harrison's fervent heat, there is no one so fortunate as to know these gentlemen who does not know that many tenderness and good feeling are by no means incompatible with the ability to exchange good hard blows in a fair English fight. It is with some diffidence that I venture to add my voice to a conversation carried on by such accomplished speakers; but the present seems to be a proper occasion for calling attention to some of the misconceptions which ordinarily cluster around the treatment of questions relating to the soul and a future life. In thus entering upon the discussion, I do not feel called upon to defend any particular solution of the main question at issue. Going by the "light of Nature" alone—to use the old-fashioned phrase,—it will be generally conceded that the problem of a future life is so abstruse and complicated that one is quite excusable for refraining from a dogmatic treatment of it. Nay, one is not only excusable, one is morally bound not to dogmatize unless one has a firmer basis to stand on than any of us are likely to find for some time to come. We may entertain hypotheses in private, but we are hardly entitled to urge them until we feel assured, in the first place, that we have duly fathomed the conditions requisite for a rational treatment of the problem. It would appear that some of the participants in the "Modern Symposium" have not sufficiently heeded this obvious maxim of philosophic caution. Loose talk about "materialism" is apt to imply loose thinking as to the manner in which the metaphysical relations of body and soul are to be apprehended. Perhaps Mr. Harrison, as a positivist, will say that he has nothing to do with apprehending the metaphysical relations between body and soul; but, however that may be, there is some laxity of thought exhibited in charging Prof. Huxley with "Materialism" because he speaks of "building up a physical theory of moral phenomena." At the same time, I think we must admit that Prof. Huxley is talking somewhat loosely when he uses such an expression. To try to explain conscience, with metaphysical strictness, as a result of the grouping of material molecules, is something which I am sure Prof. Huxley would never think of doing; but, unless I am entirely mistaken on this point, there is no ground for Mr. Harrison's charge of materialism. To see Prof. Huxley charged with materialism, and in a reproachful tone withal, by a positivist who does not acknowledge the existence of a soul, save in some extremely Pickwickian sense, is a strange,

*The articles are all reproduced in The Popular Science Monthly Supplement, Nos. 1, 2, 6, and 7.

not to say comical, spectacle. "What next?" one is inclined to ask. Positivists are apt to have, indeed, an ecclesiastical style of expression; and one would almost think, from his manner, that Mr. Harrison was making common cause with theologians. Into the explanation of this curious phenomenon I cannot here profitably enter. The reasons for it are somewhat recondite, and are subtly linked with the general incapacity under which positivists seem to labor, of understanding the real import of the doctrine of evolution. However this may be, the impression that the group of opinions represented by Mr. Spencer and Prof. Huxley are materialistic is so widely spread, that it is worth our while to spend a few moments in ascertaining what materialism is, and how far it is involved in recent scientific speculations. Is the present drift of scientific thought really setting toward materialism, or is it not?

No epithets are more familiarly used nowadays than "materialism" and "materialist"; but their ordinary function is vituperative rather than logical. As vague terms of abuse they are hurled about with a zeal that may be praiseworthy, but with an indifference that is scarcely commendable, being aimed, as often as not, at the heads of writers who doubt or deny the substantial existence of matter altogether! Such blunders show (among other things) how difficult metaphysical studies are, and indicate that a little more care expended upon analysis and definition would not be thrown away. It is true that something has already been said upon this point,—enough, one would think, to obviate the necessity of turning back to slay the resuscitated ghosts of thrice-slaughtered misconceptions. On the character of materialism as a philosophical hypothesis, Mr. Spencer has been tolerably explicit. Prof. Huxley has summed up the case with his customary felicity, at the close of that famous Edinburgh lecture which everybody is supposed to have read.* In my work on *Cosmic Philosophy*, I have devoted a very plain-spoken chapter to the subject. Nevertheless, as Mr. Freeman says, it is not a bad plan, when you have once got hold of a truth, to keep hammering it into people's heads on all occasions, even at the risk of being voted a tedious bore or a victim of crotchets. We live in a hurried and not over-intelligent world, wherein the wariest of us do not always pay due heed to what we are told, and the keenest do not always divine its sense; but, after we have heard it repeated fifty times that Alfred was an Englishman, and Charles the Great was not a Frenchman, we may perhaps succeed in waking up to the historical import of such statements. In this pithy, though somewhat cynical suggestion, I shall seek an excuse for recurring here to what I have said more than once already.†

From one point of view, materialism may be characterized as a system of opinions based on the assumption that matter is the only real existence. On this view the phenomena of conscious intelligence are supposed to be explicable, as momentary results of fleeting collocations of material particles, as when a discharge between two or more cells of gray cerebral tissue is accompanied by what we call a thought. It requires but little effort to see that materialism, as thus defined, does not comport well with the most advanced philosophy of our time. Materialism of this sort has plenty of defenders, no doubt, but not among those who are skilled in philosophy. The untrained thinker, who believes that the group of phenomena constituting the table on which he is writing, has an objective existence independent of consciousness, will probably find no difficulty in accepting this sort of materialism. If he is devoted to the study of nervous physiology, he will be very likely to adopt some such crude notion, and to proclaim it as zealously as Dr. Maudsley, for example, as if it were a very important truth, calculated to promote, in many ways, the welfare of mankind. The science of such a writer is very likely to be sound and valuable, and what he tells us about wourara-poison and frogs' legs, and acute mania, will probably be worthy of serious attention. But with his philosophy it is quite otherwise. When he has proceeded as far in subjective analysis as he has in the study of nerves, our materialist will find that it was demonstrated, a century ago, that the group of phenomena constituting the table has no real existence whatever in a philosophical sense. For by "reality" in philosophy is meant "persistence irrespective of particular conditions"; and the group of phenomena constituting the table persists only in so far as it is held together in cognition. Take away the cognizing mind, and the color, form, position, and hardness of the table—all the attributes, in short, that characterize it as matter,—at once disappear. That something remains we may grant; but this something is unknown and unknowable: it is certainly not the group of phenomena constituting the table. Apart from consciousness, there are no such things as color, form, position, or hardness, and there is no such thing as matter. This great truth, established by Berkeley, is the very foundation of modern scientific philosophy; and, though it has been misapprehended by many, no one has ever refuted it, and it is not likely that any one ever will. Concerning the value of Berkeley's idealism, when taken with all its ontological implications, there is plenty of room for disagreement; but his psychological analysis of the relation of consciousness to the external world is of such fundamental importance that, until one has mastered it, one has no right to speak on philosophical questions. It is not unfair to say that materialists, as a rule, have not mastered the Berkeleyan psychology, or given much attention to it. In general, their attention has been too much occupied with filaments and ganglia, to the neglect of that close subjective analysis which they unwisely stigmatize as dreamy meta-

physic. Hence, on the whole, materialism does not represent anything of primary importance in modern philosophy; it represents rather the crude speculation of that large and increasing number of people who have acquired some knowledge of the truths of physical science, without possessing sufficient subtlety to apprehend their metaphysical bearings. Büchner, the favorite spokesman of this class of people, occupies a position precisely similar to that of Lamettrie in the last century, and will, no doubt, in the days of our grandchildren be as thoroughly forgotten as his predecessor; while the same barren platitudes will be echoed by some new writer in the scientific phraseology then current.

But there is another way of looking at materialism which makes it for a moment seem important, and which serves to explain, though not to justify, the alarm with which many excellent people contemplate the progress of modern science. A conspicuous characteristic of materialism is the endeavor to interpret mind as a *product*,—as the transient result of a certain specific aggregation of matter. To a person familiar with post-Berkeleyan psychology it seems clear that such an endeavor is quite hopeless, and that no such interpretation of mind can ever be made. But a multitude of very respectable readers, who are not so profoundly conversant with metaphysics as Spencer and Huxley, have taken it into their heads that the doctrine of evolution is advancing with rapid strides toward just such an interpretation of mind; and hence it is quite common to allude to Spencer and Huxley as "materialists," which, to my mind, is very much as if one were to allude to Mr. Wendell Phillips as a distinguished pro-slavery orator. The mistake, however, is not unnatural when we consider its causes. In point of fact the terminology of science is thoroughly materialistic, though probably not more so than the language of ordinary discourse. It is intensely materialistic for us to speak of the table as if it had some objective existence, independent of a cognizing mind; and yet, in common parlance, we invariably allude to the table in terms which imply or suggest such an independent existence. Just so in theoretical science. In describing the development of life upon the earth's surface, when we say that consciousness appeared on the scene *pari passu* with the appearance of nervous systems, it is not strange if we are supposed to mean that consciousness is somehow produced by a peculiar arrangement of nervous tissue,—that "spirit" is in some way or other evolved from "matter." In reality, however, nothing of the kind is intended. Laziness of speech is mainly responsible for the misapprehension. The evolutionist, in describing the course of life upon the earth, is simply imparting to us, so far as he is able, a piece of historical information. Through various complex and indirect processes of inference, he has become capable of telling us, with some probability, how things would have looked to us in the remote past if we had been there to see. He tells us that if we had been on hand in palaeozoic ages we should not have seen the phenomena of consciousness manifested in connection with a fragment of porphyry, or a handful of sand or a tree-fern, any more than we see such things to-day, but only in connection with animals endowed with nerves. In thus extending the results of present experience to the past, the element of sequence in time is introduced in such a way as to suggest the causation of consciousness by nerve-matter. Nevertheless the assertion of the evolutionist is purely historical in its import, and includes no hypothesis whatever as to the ultimate origin of consciousness; least of all is it intended to imply that consciousness was evolved from matter. It is not only inconceivable *how* mind should have been produced from matter, but it is inconceivable *that* it should have been produced from matter, unless matter possessed already the attributes of mind in embryo,—an alternative which it is difficult to invest with any real meaning. The problem is altogether too abstruse to be solved with our present resources. But it is curious to hear honest theologians gravely urging against Mr. Spencer that you cannot obtain mind from the "primal fire-mist" unless the germs of mind were somehow present already. I hope I am not accrediting Mr. Spencer with any opinion he does not hold, and I speak subject to correction; but, if my memory serves me, I have more than once heard him in conversation urging this very objection to any materialistic interpretation of evolution. His wonderfully subtle chapter on "The Substance of Mind" contains, as I understand it, the same argument; but it is easy to miss an author's meaning sometimes when the point expounded is so formidably abstract and general. Be this as it may, we are not helped much by supposing the germs of mind to have been somehow latent in the primeval nebula. The notion is too vague to be of any use. The only point on which we can be clear is, that no mere collocation of material atoms could ever have evolved the phenomena of consciousness. Beyond this we cannot go. We are confronted with an insoluble metaphysical problem. Of the origin of mind we can give no scientific account, but only an historical one. We can say *when* (i.e., in connection with what material circumstances) mind came upon the scene of evolution; but we can neither say *whence*, nor *how*, nor *why*. In just the same way we see to-day that mind appears in connection with certain material circumstances; but we cannot see how or why it is so. Least of all can we say that the material circumstances produce mind; on the contrary, we can assert most positively that they do not.

The proof of this rather dogmatic assertion is to be found in the careful study of that very doctrine of the "correlation of forces" which superficial materialists have exultingly claimed as their own, and which their superficial opponents have foolishly con-

ceded to them. We have been wont to hear this doctrine—the crowning achievement of modern science—decried as lending support to materialism. If this were really so, we anti-materialists would have a poor case, for the doctrine in question is established beyond all possibility of refutation. But it is not really so. On the contrary, the final and irrefragable discomfiture of materialism follows as a direct corollary from the discovery of the correlation of forces.

By the loose phrase, "correlation of forces," what is strictly meant is the transformation of one kind of motion into another kind. What used to be called the "physical forces"—such as light, heat, magnetism, and electricity—are now known to be peculiar kinds of motion among the imperceptible molecules of which perceptible bodies are composed. The discovery of the "correlation of forces" was the discovery of the fact that any one of these kinds of molecular motion is constantly liable to be transformed into any one of the other kinds, or, now and then, into the molar motion of a perceptible body. Heat is all the time being converted into light, or into electricity, or into the peculiar kind of undulatory motion known as "nerve-force"; and *vice versa*. And the law of the correlation is that, when any one of these species of motion appears, an equivalent amount of some other species disappears in producing it. Throughout the world the sum-total of motion is ever the same; but its distribution into heat-waves, light-waves, nerve-waves, etc., varies from moment to moment.

Let us now apply these principles to the case of an organism, such as the human body. All of the "force"—i.e., capacity of motion—present at any moment in the human body, is derived from the food that we eat and the air that we breathe. As food is turned into oxygenated blood and assimilated with the various tissues of the body—which themselves represent previously-assimilated food,—the molecular movements of the food-material become variously combined into molecular movements in tissue,—in muscular tissue, in adipose, in cellular, and in nerve-tissue, and so on. Every undulation that takes place among the molecules of a nerve represents some simpler form of molecular motion contained in food that has been assimilated; and, for every given quantity of the former kind of motion that appears, an equivalent quantity of the latter kind disappears in producing it. And so we may go on, keeping the account strictly balanced, until we reach the peculiar discharge of undulatory motion between cerebral ganglia that uniformly accompanies a feeling or state of consciousness. What now occurs? Along with this peculiar form of undulatory motion there occurs a feeling,—the primary element of a thought or of an emotion. But does the motion produce the feeling, in the same sense that heat produces light? Does a given quantity of motion disappear, to be replaced by an equivalent quantity of feeling? By no means. The nerve-motion, in disappearing, is simply distributed into other nerve-motions in various parts of the body, and these other nerve-motions, in their turn, become variously metamorphosed into motions of contraction in muscles, motions of secretion in glands, motions of assimilation in tissues generally, or into yet other nerve-motions. Nowhere is there such a thing as the metamorphosis of motion into feeling or of feeling into motion. Of course I do not mean that the circuit, as thus described, has ever been experimentally traced, or that it can be experimentally traced. What I mean is, that, if the law of the "correlation of forces" is to be applied at all to the physical processes which go on within the living organism, we are of necessity bound to render our whole account in terms of motion that can be quantitatively measured. Once admit into the circuit of metamorphosis some element—such as feeling—that does not allow of quantitative measurement, and the correlation can no longer be established; we are landed at once in absurdity and contradiction. So far as the correlation of forces has anything to do with it, the entire circle of transmutation, from the lowest physico-chemical motion, all the way up to the highest nerve-motion and all the way down again to the lowest physico-chemical motion, must be described in physical terms, and no account whatever can be taken of any such thing as feeling or consciousness.

On such grounds as these, I maintain that feeling is not a product of nerve-motion in anything like the sense that light is sometimes a product of heat, or that friction-electricity is a product of sensible motion. Instead of entering into the dynamic circuit of correlated physical motions, the phenomena of consciousness stand outside as utterly alien and disparate phenomena. They stand outside, but uniformly parallel to that segment of the circuit which consists of neural undulations. The relation between what goes on in consciousness and what goes on simultaneously in the nervous system may best be described as a relation of uniform concomitance. I agree with Prof. Huxley and Mr. Harrison that along with every act of consciousness there goes a molecular change in the substance of the brain, involving a waste of tissue. This is not materialism, nor does it alter a whit the position in which we were left by common-sense before nervous physiology was ever heard of. Everybody knows that, so long as we live on the earth, the activity of mind as a whole is accompanied by the activity of brain as a whole. What nervous physiology teaches is simply that each particular mental act is accompanied by a particular cerebral act. In proving this, the two sets of phenomena, mental and physical, are reduced each to its lowest terms; but not a step is taken toward confounding the one step with the other. On the contrary, the keener our analysis, the more clearly does it appear that the two can never be confounded. The relation of concomitance between them remains an ultimate and insoluble mystery.

I believe, therefore, that modern scientific philoso-

* "The Physical Basis of Life,"—*Lay Sermons*, p. 106.
† *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, II., 79, 432-451. *The Unseen World*, 41-43.

* *Principles of Psychology*, Second Edition, II., 145-162.

phy, as represented by Spencer and Huxley, not only affords no support to materialism, but condemns it utterly, and drives it off the field altogether. I believe it is even clearer to-day than it was in the time of Descartes, that no possible analytic legerdemain can ever translate thought into extension, or extension into thought. The antithesis is of God's own making, and no wit of man can undo it.

The bearing of these arguments upon the question of a future life may be very briefly stated. So far as I can judge, I should say that, among highly-educated people, the belief in a continuance of conscious existence after death has visibly weakened during the present century. I infer this as much from the timorousness of conservative thinkers as from the aggressiveness of their radical opponents. In so far as this weakening of belief is due to an imperfect apprehension of the scientific discoveries which our age has witnessed in such bewildering rapidity, a word of caution may not be out of place. For all that physiological psychology has achieved there is no more ground for doubt as to a future life to-day than there was in the time of Descartes: whatever grounds of belief were really valid then are equally valid now. The belief has never been one which could be maintained on scientific grounds. For science is but the codification of experience, and it is helpless without the data which experience furnishes. Now, science may easily demolish materialism and show that mind cannot be regarded as a product of matter; but the belief in a future life requires something more than this for its support. It requires evidence that the phenomena we class as mental can subsist apart from the phenomena we class as material; and such evidence, of course, cannot be furnished by science. It cannot be furnished until we have had some actual experimental knowledge of soul as dissociated from body; and under the conditions of the present life no such knowledge can possibly be obtained. But this undoubted fact has a two-fold import. While on the one hand it shuts us off from all scientific proof of immortality, on the other hand it shows that the absence of scientific proof affords no valid ground for a negative conclusion. If soul can exist when dissociated from body, we have no means for apprehending the fact; and therefore our inability to apprehend it does not entitle us to deny that soul may have some such independent existence. We cannot allow the materialist even this crumb of consolation,—that, although he cannot prove that consciousness ceases with death, nevertheless the presumption is with him, and the burden of proof upon his antagonists. Scientifically speaking, there is no presumption either way, and there is no burden of proof on either side. The question is simply one which science cannot touch. In the future, as in the past, I have no doubt it will be provisionally answered in different ways by different minds, on an estimate of what is called "moral probability," just as we see it diversely answered in the "Modern Symposium." For my own part, I should be better satisfied with an affirmative answer, as affording perhaps some unforeseen solution to the general mystery of life. But there is one thing which every true philosopher ought to dread even more than the prospect of annihilation; and that is, the unpardonable sin of letting preference tamper with his judgment. I have no sympathy with those who stigmatize the hope of immortal life as selfish or degrading; and with Mr. Harrison's proffered substitute I confess I have no patience whatever. This travesty of Christianity by positivism seems to me, as it does to Prof. Huxley, a very sorry business. On the other hand, I cannot agree with those who consider a dogmatic belief in another life essential to the proper discharge of our duty in this. Though we may not know what is to come hereafter, we have at any rate all the means of knowledge requisite for making our present lives pure and beautiful. It was Jehovah's cherished servant who declared in Holy Writ that his faith was stronger than death. There is something overwhelming in the thought that all our rich stores of spiritual acquisition may at any moment perish with us. But the wise man will cheerfully order his life, undaunted by the metaphysical snares that beset him; learning and learning afresh, as if all eternity lay before him—battling steadfastly for the right, as if this day were his last. "Disce ut semper victurus, vive ut cras moriturus."—North American Review for January-February, 1878.

NATHAN THE WISE.

It is a singular thing that two translations of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* should have made their appearance simultaneously in competition for Christmas popularity. There are already two in America: one by Miss Frothingham; another by that charming poet, Charles T. Brooks. These translations of Lessing's great drama are unknown in this country; and there has been none hitherto accessible to those who cannot read German, except a very poor version by William Taylor, of Norwich, who died in 1836. Taylor could not understand Lessing, and he toned down the daring thoughts. I fear the same judgment must be partly applied to one of these new versions, that by Dr. Andrew Wood, of Edinburgh. In his introduction he says: "From the contemplation of the character of Nathan, albeit a Jew, though one whom we may term a Catholic Jew, and one who certainly was a virtuous, prudent, humble, generous, forgiving man, even the Christian may derive a lesson." It is amusing to find this unconscious assumption of even a liberally tending man that to be a Christian is more than to be virtuous, prudent, humble, generous, and forgiving, in the same volume with Sittah's words:—

"Their pride is to be Christians, and not men. For even that,—which, from their fonder learnt, Seasons their superstition with what's human.

That not because 'tis human do they love,
But because Christ has taught it, and has done it.
'Tis well for them he was so good a man!
'Tis well for them that they on trust and faith
Can take his virtue! Yet what virtue? Not
His virtue, but his name must be wide-spread
Abroad throughout the world, and must the names
Of all good men degrade and swallow up:
'Tis with a name, and only with a name,
That they've to do."

The real version of *Nathan*, and that for which a career may be anticipated, is by Dr. Willis of whose valuable works on *Spinoza* and *Servetus and Calvin* I recently wrote. This newest of his work has in it heart and enthusiasm. It is evidently its translator's gospel, and he interprets it with appropriate reverence and with spiritual sympathy. The great charm of the drama is the apologue of the Three Rings. The Moslem Sultan Saladin, the Christian Knight Templar, and Nathan the Jew, are bound to each other by mutual services; but their "religions" mean mutual antagonisms. Saladin summons before him Nathan and asks him which faith seems to him truer, and why. The Jew tells him this story:

In the olden, olden time
There lived an Eastern Chief who owned a ring
Of priceless worth, had from the hands of one
He dearly loved. The stone, an opal, flashed
The broken light in hundred lovely hues
Upon the eye, and had the marvellous power
To make him loved alike of God and man,
Who, strong in this assurance, won the ring.
What wonder if this Eastern Lord
Ne'er left the treasure from his hand, and made
Such disposition as secured its passing
As heirloom in his house forever. He
Leaving the ring to him among his sons
Whom he loved best, commanded that his heir
Should in his turn bequeath it to the one
Among his sons whom he most dearly loved;
And more: that the possessor of the ring,
Without regard to claims from prior birth,
In right of the ownership alone should rule
As lord of all. . . .
So came the ring
From sire to son, until at length it fell
To one, the father of three loving sons,
All dutiful alike, and all by him
C cherished with like regard. . . .
Each, in a word, seemed worthless of the ring;
And he, with plous weakness, promised each,
That he should have it. . . .
What could be done—how scape from the dilemma?
He summons privily a jeweler,
Of whom he orders two more opal rings. . . .
Exactly like his own. The artist triumphs:
The rings produced, the father cannot tell
Which of the three is his. Content, resigned,
He calls his sons in turn to his bed-side,
And gives to each his blessing and a ring,
And soon thereafter dies. . . .
The father dead, each son displays his ring
And would assert his place as lord of all;
Discussion follows, difference, dispute—
In vain! The true ring cannot now be known—
(Pause.)
As little known as 'mong ourselves this day
The true religion. . . .
Saladin— But the rings!
—And see you patter not with me in this!
Methought the three great Dispensations named
Were verily distinct from one another—
Distinct even to the meat and drink and garb
Of those professing them. . . .
Nathan—Return me to the story of our rings:
As said, the sons could come to no agreement;
Each swore in turn before the Judge that he
Had had his ring immediate from the hand
Of his dear father—and how true was this!
Thus spoke the Judge: "As ye do not—cannot—
Produce the father, I dismiss the suit.
What think ye I am here to unravel riddles,
Or shall we stay until the true ring speaks?
But hold! the true ring has the power, 'tis said,
To make its owner loved of God and man;
This must decide. The counterfeits you'll own
Have no such virtue. Say then, as ye stand
Which of the three love two of you the most?
What—silent all! Each loved himself alone,
And ye are doubtless all alike deceived:
The rings ye wear must needs be counterfeit;
The magic ring was lost, as it would seem,
And, to conceal the loss, your loving father
Had those ye wear made like it."
Saladin—Excellent! Proceed, I pray!
Nathan—The Judge went on and said:
"If ye seek judgment and not counsel, go!
But would ye rather be advised, I'd say:
Content ye with the matter as it stands. . . .
'Tis possible your father willed to end
This sovereignty of one among his sons.
To me indeed 'twould plainly seem that he
Had loved you all alike, when he took steps
To agrieve no two by favoring one. Well, then!
Let each of you comfort him in such wise
As love unbribed commands; let each resolve
To show the world that in the ring he wears
He holds the prize, its virtues being shown
To Man in acts of Justice, Meekness, Mercy;
To God in thoughts of Love and heartfelt Trust.
And when a thousand thousand years have passed,—
When children's children's children wear the rings,
Come they anew before this judgment-seat,
One wiser than myself might then sit here,
And make the award." Thus spoke the righteous judge.
Saladin—My God! My God!
Nathan—Now, Sultan, if you feel
That you are he—the promised wiser judge—
Saladin—Who—? I? I, dust! I, less than nothing! No—
Nathan—My sovereign, what is this?
Saladin—Dear Nathan, no!
The thousand thousand years of your wise judge
Have not yet passed; his seat is not the one
I fill. So leave me now: but be my friend.

This was the Bethlehem star under which the anti-theological and unsectarian religion of Germany was born. "Lessing," wrote Baur, "has the great merit of having been the first to apprehend in all its vast importance the question of the relation in which the Religion of Reason and the moral sense of man stand to the Religion of History." "In Nathan we have an Ideal of Religious Liberty," said Schwarz, historian of "Modern Theology" and Court-predser of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. "The Deity pervades every line of Nathan," says Kuno Fischer. "Nathan hastens the advent of the kingdom of God upon earth!" cried Strauss. It can hardly be that *Nathan the Wise* can ever be a popular stage-drama as it is in Germany, though it is probable that its fine situations will attract the attention of our clever adapters. But no poem ever written has more certainly before it a great future in England.—M. D. Conway.

PROFESSOR OLIVER'S DEFENCE OF THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

[Every wise and earnest friend of the Liberal League movement must rejoice that it has found such spokesmen as Professor Oliver and his co-workers at Ithaca. We cannot be grateful enough to him for so fine and noble a vindication of our common cause as is presented below.—Ed.]

The Liberal League—Misapprehensions Corrected.

EDITOR OF THE ITHACAN:—
My attention has been called to a passage in Mr. McKoon's interesting sermon, published in the *Ithacan* of December 21; and, as the subject is not one of transient interest, a word of comment upon it may still be reasonable. I quote: ". . . the hidden rocks of atheism, which under the specious name of Liberal League, is seeking to change our organic law, trampling on the Sabbath, and for morality enthroned reason and exclude the Bible; banish God from the councils of the nation, and from all the States, schools, and courts supported by the nation or State. The tiger of human passions thus unchained would run riot," etc., etc.

Here, apparently, are seven distinct charges against the Liberal League movement. They are: first, that the movement is atheistic; second, that it seeks to change the spirit of the nation's organic law; third, that it would "trample on the Sabbath"; fourth, that it would "for morality enthroned reason"; fifth, that it would "exclude the Bible"; sixth, that it would "banish God" from the public councils, schools, and courts; seventh, that it tends to unchain "the tiger of human passions."

1. The Liberal League movement seeks nothing but equal justice for those holding all forms of religious belief and unbelief. Is it atheism to insist that this republic shall not be made a theocracy? Has not the Church yet outgrown her old policy of domination? Is she willing in this age to imply a doubt of the strength of her intellectual position, and to put herself at a disadvantage in her controversy with scepticism by an appeal to the support of the civil power? And will she now brand as atheists all who oppose such an alliance?

Partly to test this very question, we have organized the Liberal League of Tompkins County. It meddles with no one's religious faith, either to attack, to undermine, or to discuss it. But it does insist that the government, supported by the taxes, by the loyalty, and, if necessary, by the lives of us all, shall be absolutely uncommitted to any views concerning religion, and absolutely impartial as between those citizens who regard Christianity as the only divinely authorized religion, and the Bible as the one infallible fount of heavenly wisdom, and those equally intelligent, equally conscientious and exemplary citizens who think otherwise. It would have a government which every good citizen could support without thereby helping to sustain what he might regard as pernicious error; and under which no one could dictate as to the religious life of his neighbor. It would have taxes levied upon "sacred" and "secular" property alike; courts and State governments from which no one could be excluded by religious tests; and public schools where the instruction and the intentional influence should be confined to matters upon which the wise and good are substantially in agreement. In fine, it would have a completely secular government; that is, not one opposed or unfriendly to religion, but one in which the religious needs and scruples of all should be respected with impartial courtesy.

Now equally liberal Protestants, Romanists, and Freethinkers may agree to these principles in a general way, but differ as to their right application; and hence, not only for strength, but to protect itself against onesidedness, the League invites them all on equal terms to join and guide it. Especially does it invite Evangelical Protestants; for since it is in their supposed interest that certain religious abuses now linger in the State, it is important, for the sake of future good feeling, that the reform, which will surely come, be secured through their cooperation.

But is the League elsewhere thus catholic? Largely, I think that it is; and that our liberal Orthodox friends could make it wholly so. But if nearly the whole work is left to be done by Freethinkers, we must not complain if sometimes they do it in their own way.

2. The Constitution of the United States is already secular. That was secured to us by almost the same statesmen who had given us the Declaration of Independence. The Liberal League seeks merely to have the actual government administered in the spirit of this constitution, and to guarantee secularity to the State governments as well. But there is a party which, "under the specious name of" National Reform, "is seeking to change our organic law," and insert religious dogmas into the Constitution. For ten years has it persevered in this endeavor to undo the grand work of the fathers, when the Liberal League was first thought of as a measure of self-defence.

3. Nobody wants to "trample on the Sabbath"; but why should A, who prefers to spend his Sabbath at church, trample on the rights of B, who would rather spend his Sunday at a library or art-gallery, or working quietly in his own garden? The Liberal Leagues are not committed to any details of Sabbath policy. Possibly most of them would say: "Let Sunday be always a quiet, legal holiday. Fill it with opportunities for religious, æsthetic, intellectual, social, and physical improvement and recreation; close then, and on all days, the haunts of vice and dissipation; prohibit noise, and perhaps all unnecessary public trade; let no one disturb his neighbor or needlessly force his neighbor to work; and for the rest, let each use the day as he prefers." Is the Puritan Sabbath nearer than this would be to the early Christian ideal?

4. "For morality enthroned reason." To this, I hope that we can all plead guilty. Is not our friend a little cruel toward his own form of faith, if he maintains that its morality is not based upon reason?

5. "Exclude the Bible." As Liberals we exclude nothing except exclusiveness. For the rest, some of us may see in the Bible a sufficient guide to all the duties of life; while others hold that, though certain great ethical principles have been nowhere more nobly stated, yet its precepts must be tested and supplemented by light from all other sources, and that the unreserved acceptance of a merely Scriptural morality would carry us back to medieval darkness.

6. Banish God." What is God but the intelligence, beauty, goodness, which as most of us more or less distinctly feel is somehow at the root of all things,—though while some of us clothe it with a human-like personality, others, not less reverently, may refuse to give it even a name? To banish God from our thoughts would, as I think, rob our lives of their finest poetry and of their deepest meaning, though not of their sweetness and virtue. But can tax-exemption or other State patronage, the legal and social discouragement of dissent, the perfunctory use of bibles, creeds, prayers, and oaths recall a living God to our hearts? May they not even set up an idol in place of God, the conceit of respectable conformity?

7. "Unchain the tiger of human passions." Who has done this oftener than the Church herself, when, forgetting that hers is a spiritual kingdom and not of this world, she has become corrupted by state favoritism and undertaken to direct temporal power? What wars have been more bitter and bloody, what persecutions more unrelenting than those which she has waged? What abuses more intolerable have driven men to revolt than those in her behalf? And, to-day, by what monopoly of the purest morality, and of the most devoted and intelligent endeavor to make the world better, can she claim to be the only power that can restrain "the tiger of human passions"? Indeed, what spectacle can be more demoralizing than that she, the professed representative of man's highest interests, should set at naught justice, a fundamental principle of morality, and seek to stifle individual aspirations after the truth by denying them the atmosphere of freedom?

Respectfully, J. E. O.

—Weekly Ithacan, Jan. 18.

NINETY CENTS FOR A DOLLAR.

[The following article from the *Christian Statesman* of Jan. 1, 1878, is, in our judgment, an excellent one. We can only wish that this same journal could see the dishonesty of robbing "infidels" to support the churches, as clearly as it sees the dishonesty of making the nation pay ninety cents on a dollar on its public debt.—Ed.]

We have received the following letter in reference to the views we have repeatedly expressed in these pages:—

"Please explain in the *Statesman* on what ground you deny the right of our government to pay its debts in accordance with the terms of the contract with its creditors. Do not the bonds say on their face: 'Payable in coin of the United States'? President Hayes says the bonds issued since 1873 should be paid in gold, for the reason that silver was not a then legal tender, having been demonetized by Congress. Now, unfortunately for that position, the bonds all say, 'Payable in coin of current value in 1870.' Did not our currency in that year, and all preceding years consist of gold and silver? Need I say more? The whole West, almost to a man, is anxious for a return to specie payments, and feels assured that this is impossible without the aid of the silver dollar. I hope the *Statesman* will not be found among the enemies of a sound metallic currency."

In answer, we say: The silver dollar of 412½ grains, in which it is now proposed to pay the public debt of the United States and all private debts whatsoever, and which is only worth about ninety cents, was not current money in this country in 1870, nor for seventeen years previous to that time. Its history, as published again and again by the highest financial authorities, is briefly this: The discovery of gold in California in 1848, cheapened gold and increased the relative value of silver. A cheaper currency always drives out a dearer one. The premium on silver rose to 105, and soon the whole silver currency of the United States was exported, or melted into bullion. To meet the necessity for small change, Congress, in 1853, authorized the issue of small coins of reduced weight, about seven per cent. less in value than the silver dollar; and this is still the standard of our smaller silver coins. At the same time, it provided that they should not be a legal tender in sums of more than five dollars. No similar change was made in the silver dollar, and the gold dollar was allowed to take its place. From that day till the present, twenty-four years, the silver dollar has formed no part of the currency of the country. It has been exceedingly difficult to obtain even single specimens to complete sets for coin collectors. In 1873, there was a complete revision of the coinage laws of the United States, and as no silver dollars were in circulation, and there was no demand for them, no provision was made for their coinage.

Then came a change. Owing to increased production in the mines of Nevada, silver in turn became cheap. The fluctuation was so great that 412½ grains which had formerly been worth 105 cents in gold, sank to about 95. The German Empire, recognizing the unsuitableness of so unstable a medium as a basis of currency, "demonetized" silver, as the United States, and we believe Great Britain, had already done. This threw the silver currency of those nations on the market, and further depreciated it;

so that the "dollar of our fathers" is now worth about 90 cents. This element in the situation has attracted the gaze of some of our sagacious statesmen, and they propose to "remonetize" silver, not by coining dollars with a dollar's worth of silver in them, but by re-issuing the "dollar of our fathers," and compelling every creditor of the nation and of individuals to accept it for his debt. The passage of such an act would be outrageous injustice. The giving of a legal tender quality to United States notes was a forced loan, justified only by the exigencies of a nation's struggle for its life. But the payment of those notes with silver, every ninety cents being stamped as a dollar, would be high-handed robbery. Patriotism, which cheerfully accepted and sustained the former act, would blush for the latter. The legal tender act affected only our own citizens, for government notes were issued only for their use; but this act proposes to pay foreign creditors who largely hold our bonds, at the rate of ninety cents on the dollar. Repudiation by separate States is sufficiently disgraceful. We hope we shall be spared this additional humiliation. It will be observed there is no proposition to coin silver dollars of full value. Such a measure would involve only one question,—the wisdom of adopting silver currency again while the most advanced nations are rejecting it. But the legislation now before Congress involves a moral question, and it is in this light that it becomes appropriate for discussion in these pages.

POISONOUS READING.

A recent issue of *Puck* has an admirable pictorial illustration of the effects of reading a certain kind of literature with which news-stands and circulating libraries are flooded. One page represents a youth fallen asleep in the midst of a small pool of this kind of trash, while the air around is filled with unreal and unhealthy characters and "situations," the dream-product of these pernicious mental stimulants. The other page shows a young man in convict's dress, sitting on his prison cot, his face buried in his hands, and his cell faintly illuminated by a few rays of light falling through the narrow, grated window in the stone wall.

To some persons these suggestive pictures may seem exaggerations; but we are inclined to think that if the full truth were known it would quite equal the fancy of the artist. There is a class of books and periodicals, more abundant in this country than in any other, which literally rots the mind and morals of the reader. They do not contain a single grain of valuable knowledge, and they do contain either open appeals to the lowest and basest passions, or views of life so false and foolish as to encourage the growth and gratification of these passions. Of the absolutely indecent publications we need not speak; but there is a vast number in which indecency is avoided that are scarcely less demoralizing. Indeed, we believe these publications which the law prohibits do far less damage in the aggregate than the others. A vile book or paper modestly at once rejects and throws aside; but a book or paper which, under the mask of sentimental and sensational fiction teaches ruinous lessons, is read unsuspectingly, and so plants its virus deep in the soul. And that virus is as certain to develop in the conduct as the opening of a vein brings blood. There are thousands and tens of thousands of families where a volume of Voltaire or Thomas Paine would be promptly thrown into the fire, which permit the younger members to indulge in a kind of reading as much worse, in its final effects, than anything Paine or Voltaire ever conceived as the devil is darker than an angel of light. The parents do not know this, of course; but they ought to know it, and would know it if they examined the food which goes into the mind as closely as they do that which goes into the stomach. The idea prevails that the boy or girl who is fond of reading must necessarily be furnishing the intellect at least with harmless amusement, if not with solid instruction. This idea might have been correct enough thirty years ago, but it is a wretched delusion now. There are quite as many, probably more, absolutely bad books than absolutely good ones; and as the bad books are usually more attractive to the youthful fancy than the good ones, they are much oftener read. The temperance movement now sweeping over the land is thought to be a blessing of magnificent dimensions; but a movement to improve the quality of the reading of the rising generation would be a much greater blessing to the nation and to individuals. But no such reform is likely to be set in motion, and so poor-houses, penitentiaries, morgues, and hangman's ropes are not likely to go out of fashion.—*St. Louis Republican*.

IN THE *BROOKLYN Catholic Review* of March 31, 1877, the following declarations of Pope Plus IX. respecting the principle of legitimacy and hereditary divine right to reign were quoted from the *Catholic Record*: "I am happy that on this occasion an opportunity is afforded to me to explain to you upon this theme the opinion of the Holy See. It is the wish of the Holy See that the governors of all nations should sincerely believe themselves installed by the will of the Almighty God into their position of authority. *The Holy See has never framed a dogma upon the subject of legitimacy.* The Holy See desires all nations to submit at all times to the dictates of the secular laws of their respective governments, provided their conscience and religious convictions should approve of the same; and urges also obedience to authorities. *The Holy See does not extend any preference to any particular form of government.* It rests content as long as religious education is imparted to the children, where no attempts are made in abolishing the holy sacraments, where no inter-

ference in dogmatical matters is caused. It desires that the rights of the Church be respected, and ecclesiastical authority be supported, in order to stimulate and strengthen in the hearts of men a veneration of Almighty God. Regents as well presidents of republics can bring this to pass. It is, therefore, upon these grounds that the Holy See consented to the recognition of both these forms of government, and has so acted, not from any selfish motive, but convinced of discharging thereby an important duty. Reigning families are just as likely to die out as any other family. In such an event it would depend entirely upon chances and circumstances as to who may be placed upon the throne as successor. These events most assuredly do never occur without the permission of the King of kings, and it is then for His Vicar on earth to defend the righteous. How many legitimate reigning families have not lost by the dispensation of Providence their claim to their throne! The principle of legitimacy is not at all to be considered; but are we not falling into an error in imposing its vindication, under any circumstances, upon the Pope, even then, when it was forfeited by reason of the wrongs done by such families; or, is it presumed that the functions of the bishops and priests differ in one state, whether monarchy or republic, from another?"

THE FOLLOWING story is told by General Harry Heth: "One day General (now senator) Gordon and I were ordered to attack General Grant's lines near Petersburg, and we accordingly moved out toward the front. Gordon, you know, is a preacher, and a man of pious, devotional habits. Just before the action began, he said, 'General, before we go into action, would it not be well to engage in prayer?' 'Certainly,' I replied; and he and his staff retired into a little building by the roadside, and I and my staff prepared to follow. Just then I caught sight of my brother, who was with some artillery a little way down the road, and thinking to have him join us, I called out to him by name. 'Come,' said I, pointing to the building we were just entering. 'No, thank you,' he answered; 'I have just had one.'"

THEOLOGY gets a little mixed in the youthful mind. "Who made you?" asked a teacher of a little girl. She answered, "God made me that length," putting her hands about twelve inches apart; "and I grewed the rest myself."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE MARCH OF THE AGES.

The brain that asks its nobler food,
The innate virtue that would last,
Must seek, revering all that's good,
And garner teachings from the past.

The darkened past was still not wise
Mid all its wondrous deeds, and yet
It teaches to our searching eyes
A lesson that we can't forget.

The living present is not wise,
But, moving onward on its way,
Lends unto truth its aid, and dies
Ere Nature hails another day.

Thus march we on from age to age,
The babe is born, the young grow old,—
And every year adds but a page
Unto the tale that's never told.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

WHERE IS GOD?

BY REV. M. J. SAVAGE.

"Oh! where is the sea?" the fishes cried,
As they swam the crystal clearness through.
"We have heard from of old of the ocean's tide,
And we long to look on the waters blue.
The wise ones speak of the infinite sea,
Oh! who can tell us if such there be?"

The lark flew up in the morning bright,
And sung and balanced on sunny wings;
And this was its song: "I see the light,
I look o'er a world of beautiful things;
But, flying and singing everywhere,
In vain I have searched to find the air."

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 2.

J. Alfred Griffiths, \$7.50; Miss Marian Hovey, \$200; D. S. Grandin, \$1.85; Geo. E. Jewett, \$3.25; E. C. Alphonse, \$4; John Casson, \$3.20; Wm. L. Bowditch, \$10; J. Van Raa, 10 cents; H. Clay Neville, \$11.50; A. Howland, \$3.20; New England News Co., \$11.10; F. V. Balch, \$3.20; U. H. Crocker, \$3.20; A. Folsom, \$3.20; D. Kirkwood, \$1; L. B. Farrar, \$2; Mrs. J. S. Kelly, \$3; J. L. Batchelder, \$1; F. H. Badger, \$3.25; Geo. W. Park, \$3.20; Mrs. A. B. Percival, \$3.20; Dr. E. Wigglesworth, \$3.20; F. H. Henshaw, \$3.20; Caroline Wellington, \$3.20; J. D. Atkins, \$3.20; Dr. E. P. Gregory, \$5.87; M. F. Dean, \$2.20; Dr. L. F. Babb, 25 cents; J. F. Root, 5 cents; Samuel Keese, \$2; D. R. Burt, \$4.80; Rev. A. J. Belknap, \$2.25; J. Aulbach, 10 cents; B. B. Tabor, \$2; M. Block, 25 cents; George Stinson, \$5; E. A. Lindsey, \$3; A. A. Knight, \$10; B. Manke, \$3.20; B. B. Welch, \$3.20; H. B. Sherwin, \$2.20; Daniel D. Millet, \$2.20; Nathaniel Cummings, \$3.20; J. Chappellsmith, \$3.20; Charles Greaves, \$3.20; Joseph Singer, \$3.20; J. T. Brady, \$3.20; William Sabine, \$3.20; Dr. T. H. Everts, \$3.20; Charles Collins, \$3.20; Mrs. J. O. Mill, \$3.20; S. G. Haynes, \$3.20; Thomas H. Knowles, \$3.20; L. Spaulding, \$3.20; Hamilton Littlefield, \$3.20; United States Military Post Library Association, \$3.20; Mrs. M. M. Ballou, \$3.20; William Howland, \$4.40; Miss S. E. Dunn, \$3.20; John Adams, \$3.20; John L. Whiting, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 7, 1878.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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 MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

AS PLACES where the next Annual Congress of the National Liberal League may be held, Buffalo, Chicago, and St. Louis have been prominently mentioned. Of course the city which offers the most in the way of local aid and encouragement, financial and otherwise, will have the best chance. Our Buffalo friends are quite anxious to have the Congress there. The Directors desire only that which is best for the cause in general. What suggestions have the liberals to offer?

A REQUEST TO LIBERAL EDITORS.

At a meeting of the Directors of the National Liberal League, held in this city on Friday, January 18, it was

Voted, To request the editors of liberal papers all over the country to publish the Directors' "Call to Organize" new Local Auxillary Liberal Leagues on Washington's birthday,—also the "Card" of the Financial Committee, as follows:—

Call to Organize.

CITIZENS of the United States who indorse the appended political platform adopted in convention by the National Liberal League, at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1877, are requested to meet in their respective cities and towns on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, 1878, for the purpose of organizing themselves into Local Auxillary Liberal Leagues in accordance with the provisions of the National Liberal League Constitution. Copies of the latter and blanks for organization can be obtained from W. H. Hamlen, Secretary, 231 Washington Street, Boston, or from H. L. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Salamanca, N. Y.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN,
 J. A. J. WILCOX,
 H. L. GREEN,
 D. G. CRANDON,
 Directors
 N. L. L.

BOSTON, Jan. 18, 1878.

Platform of the National Liberal League.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

A Card.

The Finance Committee of the National Liberal League, in consequence of the lack of funds in the Treasury, and of the fact that the Directors are able to do so little of the important work that ought to be done, appeal to all lovers of liberty for financial help, to enable them to publish and disseminate the views of able writers in behalf of the principles of the Rochester Platform, and to advance the common cause in other equally proper ways.

If earnest liberals throughout the United States will contribute one dollar apiece (with as much more as their generosity shall prompt or their means permit), in order to become Annual Members of the National Liberal League, they will furnish the requisite aid, and the work shall be done.

DANIEL G. CRANDON,
 HARLAN P. HYDE,
 SARAH B. OTIS,
 Financial
 Committee
 N. L. L.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER,
 Secretary F. R. A.

THE MILWAUKEE Common Council, on motion of Alderman Shaughnessy, lately adopted the following resolutions with only one dissenting vote:—

Whereas, The normal schools and universities of the State of Wisconsin are educational institutions, built and maintained in pursuance of our public school system, and are supported by general taxation: and

Whereas, The custom is known to prevail in the normal schools and State universities of inviting clergymen of various denominations to deliver moral or religious lectures to the students, of reading extracts from the Bible and other works of a religious character, and of daily opening school with the saying of prayers and singing of hymns; and

Whereas, The good of our school system and consequently the public welfare, demands that our public schools shall be wholly secular in their character; therefore be it

Resolved, That the people of Milwaukee, represented by the Common Council of the city, protest against these customs, believing them to be at variance with the spirit of our institutions and calculated to lessen public interest and confidence in our schools.

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State is hereby requested to enact such laws, during its coming session, as shall forever prohibit and prevent (1) the employment of a clergyman of any denomination, while engaged in such calling, in the capacity of principal, tutor, or moral instructor, in any of the public educational institutions in the State; (2) the saying of prayers, the reading of religious works, the singing of hymns, and the performance of all other sectarian or religious ceremonies.

Resolved, That the City Clerk be instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to the secretary of the Milwaukee delegation, with a request that the necessary bill be introduced in the Legislature and supported by the members from this city.

REV. G. E. GORDON, of Milwaukee, lectured on "Church Taxation," under the auspices of the Liberal League of that city, at the Academy of Music, January 13. The lecture was a very able and forcible one, and at its close the following resolutions were adopted by the large audience:—

Whereas, In conformity to the fundamental principles of our government, the functions of the State are and ought to be purely secular; and

Whereas, The exemption of churches and church property from taxation, either in whole or in part, is in opposition to this principle, a violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, antagonistic to religious liberty and equality, detrimental to true morals and degrading to religion; therefore,

Resolved, That the laws and practices of the State should be made to strictly conform in every particular to the complete and thorough separation of religion and the State by taxing all church property, without distinction or abatement, on a basis of equality with all other taxable property.

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the late action of the Common Council of Milwaukee, embodied in a series of resolutions introduced by Alderman Shaughnessy, as being eminently wise and patriotic in spirit and substance, touching the relations of religion and the State in our public schools and State institutions.

Resolved, That the Common Council be and is hereby respectfully but earnestly requested to consistently carry out the principle of the resolutions by adopting a resolution instructing our members of Assembly to use their influence to secure such enactment as may be necessary to the equal and just taxation of all churches and church property.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Common Council and to the Legislature.

AN ATTACK ON MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY.

Rev. Dr. Cocker, one of the leading Professors of the University of Michigan, made an address on December 12 at the inauguration of Rev. Dr. Fluke as President of Albion College, one of the petty sectarian institutions of that State. This address contained passages which directly impugn the whole policy of sustaining any college not controlled by the Christian Church; and it has not unnaturally stirred up the people of Michigan, who prize their noble educational institution at Ann Arbor. Dr. Cocker talked exactly like Bishop McQuaid, using almost the self-same words, as follows: "Education in the true sense is the legitimate work of the Christian parent, and of the concerted action of parents and churches in a Christian college. The State has not the constitutional authority nor the intellectual and moral competency to provide for and control the higher education." And again: "We believe that religious education is as essential to the welfare of the human race as scientific education on what is called 'the purely positive method.' The Christian Church is prepared to supply that religious education by 'voluntaryism.' If the positivists believe that scientific education by their method is essential to the welfare of the human race, let them do the same. With 'a fair field and no favor' the truth will prevail." The *Coldwater Republican* calls these words a "thrust" at the State University. The *Ypsilanti Sentinel* points out that Dr. Cocker "takes similar ground with respect to States, colleges, and universities that the Catholics have long maintained toward the whole system of State education." The *Marshall Expounder*, an enemy to the University, upholds him in his views, and denounces bitterly the principle of State education. The *Detroit Post and Tribune* pertinently asks: "Does he believe that the University should be 'disestablished?' Does he wish to build up sectarian colleges at the expense of the University? Or were his remarks of a temporary, not to say temporizing character, put forth rather for the sake of harmonizing himself with the demands of the occasion, and made purposely ambiguous? He clearly ought to speak, since he did not speak clearly." A vigorous writer in the *Detroit Free Press* characterizes Dr. Cocker's remarks as "A Blow at the University," and points out that a "Christian College," as he uses the term, is a "sectarian college,"—"in short, a thoroughly orthodox college"; and he truly and forcibly adds: "He [Dr. Cocker] manifestly means war upon the University of Michigan, if not upon the whole educational system of the State. . . . That these views prevail to a considerable extent among the clergy of one or two of the Protestant denominations, the public has had ample reason to believe. This belief has been induced mainly by acts of ill-concealed hostility to the University, by the discussions rather than the acts of ecclesiastical assemblies, and by the utterances of the religious press. The public expression of such views by a Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University, and the leading representative in that institution of a large and powerful denomination, is a fact of no small significance. It indicates that the time has come when patriotic and liberal-minded citizens of all shades of religious opinion should unite to defend the University against the insidious attacks of narrow and bigoted sacerdotalism."

From a private letter on this subject written by an eminent jurist of Michigan, whose name we are not authorized to use, but whose reputation would be a guarantee of the accuracy of his statements, we venture to quote the following extracts:—

"You are probably pretty well informed as to the character and history of the Michigan University. It was at the outset largely endowed in lands by the General Government, and has thus far had a reasonably successful career. It is strictly a State institution, supported in part by taxation, as are our primary schools. It is a part of the State system of educational institutions. It can, however, scarcely be regarded as a secular institution in the same sense and degree in which the inferior schools are; for, to appease the jealousy and hostility of religious sects, the governing body (the Regents) have at all times felt themselves compelled to make concessions in the matter of appointments to Professorships, etc., which have given to the religious and sacerdotal element what has seemed to me an undue control. Still it is as near an approach to a secular institution as any I know of, except Cornell University.

"There are several distinctly denominational institutions in the State called 'colleges'—one Baptist, one Congregationalist, and one Methodist. Albion College is a Methodist concern. They are all feeble institutions, having a hard struggle for existence in competition with the University, which completely overshadows them.

"Dr. Cocker is a Methodist clergyman and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University, and has been for several years. He is in

my judgment a thorough Jesuit, but has a commanding influence in his sect. Considering the position he occupies, the passages I refer you to in his 'charge' appear to me quite significant. There are other circumstances, tending to increase their significance, which I cannot now refer to in detail. The Baptists and Methodists, apparently acting in concert, have been for a long time and in various ways waging a half-concealed warfare upon the University, after the theological or sacerdotal fashion. Circumstances have induced me to observe what was going on quite closely. . . . The University will have to battle for its very existence very soon. Of this I am thoroughly persuaded; but the warfare upon it has been thus far so secret and Jesuitical that only now and then a person apprehends, or can be made to apprehend, the danger."

These facts are full of warning and instruction. Neither secular education nor secular government can long sustain itself anywhere, so long as Christianity retains the least share in political management; its own inextinguishable and insatiable lust of power makes it an eternal plotter against freedom. While the American people are sleeping, they are in great danger of losing that which has made them what they are. The secularity of their institutions cannot be maintained without making them still more rigorously secular. False security is the Republic's most deadly enemy.

PARKER PILLSBURY ON THE SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT.

When was this veteran soldier of liberty silent, if the love of liberty bade him speak? We rejoice that there are at least a few to comprehend the issue and the hour, and thank him for these strong and stirring words:—

The Edmunds Amendment.

CONCORD, N.H., Feb. 1, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I thank you, and all your readers should thank you, for your able, excellent, and timely words of warning and wisdom, in this week's INDEX, on the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Were you abroad among the people as I am, your heart would sink in absolute despair, when you see how the apathy, the indifference of the people prevent them from knowing or even seeing how fast their liberties are sliding from under their feet, were it not that you, like me, have long ago cast the words "Discouragement" and "Despair" out of your dictionary.

The people won't heed, nor, to any great extent, hear you. They won't hear the Eternal God, speaking trumpet-tongued through millions of pages of history, all down four thousand years!

The people wouldn't hear Garrison, nor Phillips, Theodore Parker, Abby Kelley, nor Lucy Stone. But they heard Fort Sumter and Bull Run; and the groans of half a million dead and dying men!

They won't hear you; but at your peril be it if you do not speak out! Another Sumter and Bull Run are in sight. When they come, as come they must and will, you will then be glad and thankful for your every utterance. Garrison and Phillips said no word too much; you cannot. But while they preached and warned and expostulated, the slaves increased from two million to four million! Your experience is not to be greatly unlike theirs. But take heart; they triumphed, and so at last shall you; for the eternal spirit of Truth and Right hath spoken it.

With your mortal sight you may not see the day as do they. But you shall surely triumph, as did they.

Again I thank you for the brave words on the "Edmunds Amendment," and am yours for the conflict, till death or victory, PARKER PILLSBURY.

IS THE LIBERAL LEAGUE EQUIVALENT TO THE CHURCH OF RATIONALISM?

In a recent number of THE INDEX, the present writer offered a plea for the initiation, and ultimate establishment, of a Church of Rationalism, which should sustain, as a transforming and quickening influence, a correspondent relation to the age of reason, upon which we have entered, to that which the existing Church has sustained to the ages of faith we are leaving behind us.

The communication was honored with a request from the editor for a statement of the "precise additions" considered necessary to constitute the Local Liberal League the Church of Rationalism proposed. "Such an attempt," on the part of its author, it was remarked, "will, we suspect, show him that he has hitherto imperfectly comprehended the breadth and fulness of the Liberal League movement."

Having been from the first an earnest sympathizer with the movement just referred to, and given to it

the full measure of the influence we possess, of course we cannot be supposed to harbor any other than friendly feeling toward it in this case. But the Liberal League, we contend, does not and cannot take the place of the Church of Rationalism, which I aimed to suggest.

The design of the Local Liberal League is evidently to concentrate attention upon the principles of the National Liberal League in particular sections and communities, and thus secure those endeavors in their behalf, which shall result in putting them at length into effect throughout our whole political system and domain. What are the principles of the National Liberal League which are thus represented? What are its objects? A glance at the platform adopted at its recent convention at Rochester, N.Y., answers the question. It will be seen at once that they are purely of a political character. They pertain wholly to matters of civil polity, the rights and privileges of citizens. The special, distinctive aim of the Liberal League with respect to these, according to its own declaration, repeated again and again, is the detachment of ecclesiastical from civil affairs; in other words, "the separation of Church and State," so far as such a union can be shown to exist in our country. Now, supposing that all that is here implied were accomplished,—supposing complete religious freedom, according to the fullest conception, or interpretation, even, of the contemplated Religious Freedom Amendment to the Constitution, were secured for each and all of the citizens of the republic throughout the whole length and breadth of it,—all, in a word, which the Liberal League demands, would there not still remain a vast work for humanity to be done, of social improvement, moral and intellectual culture and progress? Must there not always be an ideal life toward which humanity may be pointed, and the possibility of providing favorable conditions and aids for quickening aspiration and promoting advancement toward it? Must there not always be, as the necessary result of the limitation of human faculties, and the circumstances of human life, a work of helpfulness for us to do for others, or of philanthropy? If such is the case, there will be a demand for the Church of Rationalism even when the Liberal League has fulfilled its mission. Nay, there is now, in conjunction with it, one which, if it should not precede the steps taken in that direction, should certainly not be allowed to lag far behind them. Indeed, we maintain that in the majority of instances when there is a collection of liberals sufficiently numerous for the organization of the one or the other, the Church of Rationalism is the most immediate need, the thing which should command the first attention. For while the grievances which the Liberal League aims to correct and remove are real and indisputable, they rest with comparative little weight upon people in general, and had better be entirely overlooked for a time, or left to the ameliorating and eradicating influences of progressive civilization, than the objects for which the Church of Rationalism would stand, and of which the Liberal League takes no direct cognizance, should be neglected.

There is, of course, just ground for complaint that churches are exempt from contributing to the public expenses; that chaplains in the army and navy, congress, and elsewhere, should be supported by the tax of the people, irrespective of their views as to the value of such services, or approval of the expenditure. But these, unjust as they unquestionably are in principle, do not fall very heavily upon the average citizen, and probably compare very unequally, as a direct drain upon the public treasury, with its continual depletion through government mismanagement and corrupt political practices. And so, also, in regard to the Bible in the public schools. Contrary as it is to the principles of a secular State, which we believe is the only kind a State has a right to be, practically it is of small importance compared to whether our children shall be wisely trained, in respect to the duties of life, in morals and character. The same may be affirmed in respect to unjust legal discriminations, on account of religious belief; admitting that they are gross outrages upon the liberty of the individual, it is only here and there one who is materially affected by them, or upon whom they press severely enough to know of their existence.

With all due allowance, then, for the significance and scope of the Liberal League movement, it will be seen that there are certain provisions and aims which we include in the conception of a church, even the most liberal or rationalistic one, which it does not pretend to include.

It is difficult to state the "precise additions"

requisite to render the Liberal League a Church of Rationalism. It may be said, in brief, it can become such only by considerably enlarging the plan of its objects and changing its character. And this we believe might be done without any loss of its identity, or its effectiveness to the cause which it represents. Indeed, we believe that liberalism as a whole would be strengthened. It has got to begin with the education of its children and thus insure them from becoming the allies, hereafter, of effete creeds and benighting superstitions. This is more likely to be accomplished through the medium of a liberal Sunday-school, in most cases, than any other. In addition to this, as has been hitherto intimated, there should be regular Sunday meeting, social occasions, and various cultivating and philanthropic activities. Such a church would be a Liberal League so long as there is any occasion for one, and longer, and survive as an incalculable power in society and the life of man when the League and the cause it represents no longer have an existence.

In closing, we are impelled to say the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., comes more nearly to the realization of the Church of Rationalism, as we conceive of it, than any organization with which we have an acquaintance. D. H. C.

[As we suspected, our valued contributor has forgotten that the Local Liberal League is designed to do all that any liberal society can do. For proof of this, we simply quote these articles from the "Form of Constitution for Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues," recommended by the National Liberal League:—

ARTICLE II.—The objects of this association shall be, first, to cooperate with the National Liberal League in furtherance of the public objects, both general and specific, enumerated in its Constitution; and, secondly, to promote the welfare of our own members as a local liberal society, as provided in this Constitution.

ARTICLE V.—The officers of this League shall be a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and four Councillors. All these shall constitute the Board of Directors, which shall have general management of the affairs of the League, subject only to instruction by the League itself. They shall appoint from among the other members of the League committees on Public Work, on Public Discussion, on Social Affairs, and on Finance; and each Councillor shall be chairman of one of these four committees.

The committee on Public Work shall mature measures for cooperating efficiently in the common cause with the National Liberal League, especially in circulating its documents, petitions, appeals, etc., and carrying out locally the various objects of the Liberal League movement.

The committee on Public Discussion shall mature measures for sustaining regular Sunday meetings for public debates, lectures, etc.; and they shall be charged with the general conduct of the same.

The committee on Social Affairs shall mature measures for holding frequent social assemblies for the benefit of the younger members of the League; and also for regular Sunday meetings of a Children's Fraternity, to promote the moral instruction and social enjoyment of the children.

The committee on Finance shall mature measures for raising the funds necessary for these various objects; and also measures for establishing a Relief Fund to be devoted to the assistance of poor, sick, or distressed members.

All these measures shall be proposed to the Board of Directors, and, after being combined in a single general plan, shall be submitted by them to the League for approval.

All appropriations from the treasury shall be by vote of the Board of Directors; and all orders on the treasury shall be signed by the President and Secretary.

It will be seen that Mr. Clark has considered only half of the objects of the Local Liberal League.—ED.]

Communications.

REAR-ADMIRAL MARXSE AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Of late years I have written little for the press on the subject of woman suffrage. This is not because my convictions upon the subject have changed, or my interest decreased. It is partly because my mind is widely known and my "matter" pretty thoroughly used by those who advocate this cause. Partly, also, because I do not approve of mixing this question with political issues; and believe that I can serve the world better by helping women to "higher education," to "home study," and other necessary preparations for an enfranchisement which is inevitable.

As a rule, what is inevitable need not be discussed; but my attention has been drawn to a lecture on "Woman Suffrage" by Rear-Admiral Marxse. If I have no means of judging of the Admiral's social or political weight, still less can I imagine what has obscured the issues and cobwebbed the eyes of the women of England, if the accounts he gives of their movements be true.

For many years I kept up an active correspond-

ence with the women foremost in this demand, and watched their every step. Of late I have turned my attention to the work done by Josephine Butler and Octavia Hill; and meanwhile their position, or that of their successors, seems to have strangely changed.

What first put it into any woman's head to demand suffrage for single women alone? Certainly not the property-qualification merely, for there are in England, as in this country, a large number of married women entitled to rank as well as property in their own right. Certainly not the expectation of checking possible domestic dissension; for are those single women who possess property to be deprived of fathers, brothers, and lovers? I agree with Admiral Maxse, that this demand for partial woman suffrage is a base counterfeit.

In a note attached to the fourth page, the Admiral quotes a reply of Lydia Becker to Mr. Stephen, to the effect that the "percentage of women who lose their lives in the dangers incident to the profession of marriage exceeds the percentage of soldiers killed in battle!"

In what battle? Who furnished Miss Becker with these absurd statistics? Where did she learn that marriage was a profession? What physiology has she studied that she does not understand that marriage is natural to man and woman, and celibacy unnatural? that the perils of marriage are the perils of healthy human life, and of that only? It is hardly necessary to suggest to a sane mind that, whatever they are, they are voluntarily undertaken, and are not to be pleaded as an argument for any thing, least of all for suffrage.

According to Admiral Maxse, the women of England think to obtain complete suffrage by inserting the "thin end of this wedge"—the thin edge of spinster suffrage—into existing institutions.

If there are any men and women of adult years in an abnormal position, certainly these are the unmarried men and women; and of the two, unmarried men are very apt to have that wider experience which leads to charitable judgment and grave consideration, rather than unmarried women. The vices of a bachelor may make him considerate. The virtues of a spinster tend to narrow her judgment. I make this statement broadly, loving and honoring many single women as my wisest and dearest friends.

Does not every one know how, in cases of unequal or unhappy marriage, the judgment of a single woman is dreaded? It is the wife, not the spinster, who is qualified for the jury in such cases. It is the wife, not the spinster, who is qualified to arbitrate in a discordant household.

It is purely as a compromise to present public opinion, and not because of any special fitness in spinsters, that this enfranchisement is thought of. Let women have done with compromise. It does not become them; and I for one would never seek the franchise for those who are capable of it.

"A proposal to enfranchise married women would be scouted," says Mrs. Fawcett. Undoubtedly; and therefore Mrs. Fawcett and others should set themselves to work to create the public sentiment which will not allow that proposal to be scouted. They should not treacherously yield to it, by asking for the half-loaf which will content no one. Who will have the heart to contend for a measure which excludes the wife and mother from the polls? Surely none of those who understand the social and civil dangers of the young!

"The priest can more readily excite women than men against public measures," the Admiral thinks; and this is put as if it were the result of a certain weakness in women. That is possible; but it also grows out of that disinterested strength in women, which enables them to contend through life against evils which have never touched them personally. Among men it is only the "fanatic" who consents to such a struggle.

"Women are excluded from suffrage," says our author, "as they are excluded from the army,—without contempt." Of course they are; and nothing in the present conduct of the woman's cause is so ill-judged and vulgar as the creation of a false issue between men and women. Twenty years ago, rhetoric was endurable because men needed to be roused. We told them they were "tyrants," just as Garrison said slavery was the "sum of all villainies." But men have roused themselves; and although it is impossible to refrain from the expression of lofty womanly contempt for many things that they say—such things, for example, as the recent discussion of a Latin School for girls has brought out,—still, it is neither fair nor delicate to charge intentional injustice towards women upon the men of our generation.

The present state of things originated in the necessities of a barbarous society; was continued by the demands of feudal law and chivalrous breeding. Nor has there ever been a time, until recently, when women could safely have exercised the freedom now claimed. Let us be reasonable. I, at least, would rather trust the justice of the men of to-day than that of the women, taking both from the cultivated classes; and I challenge my own sex to make me ashamed of the admission as soon as they possibly can. I echo the Admiral's words, when he says that "women make themselves supremely ridiculous when they mimic Hampden by refusing to pay taxes and allowing their spoons to be sold."

My taxes protect my property, furnish me and the public with police, with reformatories, and public schools; they carry out measures concerning which all sane minds agree. The illogical reasoning, the foolish waste of property, exhibited by women in such resistance is not calculated to win the respect of legislators.

So far the Admiral touches what he truly calls a counterfeit movement. So far as his arguments against legitimate woman suffrage are concerned,

they were all answered twenty years ago; and the question can no longer be considered one of opinion. It asks for an experimental basis. If the "more women interest themselves in politics, the better it will be for all of us," why not give them the legitimate foundation of all interest; namely, function? The only bridge which will ever span the Admiral's "dreary sea" is suffrage.

It is impossible to repress a smile, however, when our author goes on to say, "Marriage is as often slavery to the man as it is to the woman!"

Is there no difference in the servitude willingly yielded by affection, the result of individual weakness, or possibly a chivalrous mistake, and that compelled by legal disability?

I am very much ashamed of Mr. Goldwin Smith when he undertakes to answer for the women of France. Certainly, no woman ever did a sillier thing than that, for there is no possible basis of knowledge in the case. Equally foolish is it for any man to say that to command respect, the law must be "man-made."

The law is neither male nor female. Its seat and true birthplace into the world of man is, as Hooker long since said, "in the bosom of God."

The Admiral proceeds to talk of the "constitutional timidity" of woman in a way that I cannot understand. Taken at a venture, women are both physically and morally braver than men; and this courage is precisely what the legislation of the world has never shown. It does not follow that men have courage because they are more prompt to provoke war than women. All true courage lives side by side with endurance, and subsists also with caution.

The Admiral tells us that he writes of the average woman. Certainly the school-master cannot be abroad in the region he inhabits. The women we know here in America are made of different stuff, and will be so long as common schools exist. "The women who hate war and adore the army, who pity the plumage and forget the dying bird," are fortunately not very common with us.

For the first time, I perceive in this pamphlet a proof of the "constitutional timidity" of man. Should suffrage ever be granted to women, the Admiral thinks women will be in the majority; and then should their legislation prove oppressive nothing less than a rebellion will set man free! A little further on he claims that the inconveniences attending the serving of women on juries in Wyoming have caused the practice to be quietly abandoned. If this be true, which I doubt, one would think he could have trusted the commonsense of mankind to find the needful safety-valve. After all, there is no sharp battle between us. He believes "in the utmost practicable emancipation of women." So do we; but we seek it in our own way. When he finds fault with Charlotte Corday, Admiral Maxse shows that he moves with his century; but the Charlotte Cordays have been the women whom men have delighted to honor. The "hour has come and now is" when a far loftier womanhood challenges the public approval.

I pity the woman who wishes herself a man. It is quite possible, as the Admiral says, that she has masculine energies; but she certainly has but a poor conception of adequate womanhood.

This pamphlet holds a great deal of nonsense, which I had hoped never to see in print again; but part of it is quoted from women. God made men to be fathers, and women to be mothers; the one thing is about as dangerous to life as the other. That which involves the highest natural happiness of both sexes, as well as their highest spiritual development, is not to be named by sane people in connection with the unnatural horrors and sufferings of war.

In conclusion, I will repeat what I said the only time I ever had the honor to stand on the same platform with Julia Ward Howe: What noble women do shrink from, and yet that which, for woman's true education, they must unflinchingly endure, is the absurdity, weakness, and unwomanliness only too often inseparable from the management of the woman's cause in woman's hands.

"From my foes I will defend me,"
Cried the Spaniard, as he went;
"From your friends may God defend you,"
Was the answer Echo sent.

CAROLINE H. DALL.

THE CHELSEA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

On Tuesday evening, January 15, a goodly company of ladies and gentlemen assembled in the neatly furnished and spacious parlors of D. G. Crandon, 98 Bellingham Street, Chelsea, to celebrate the first anniversary of the Chelsea Liberal League. The company was more than usually large, most of the original members, with some new ones and invited guests from Boston, Cambridge, and Chelsea being present.

By eight o'clock the larger part of the company had arrived, and the conversation had become general. Cheerfulness and agreeability characterized the interchange of thought, while some occupied themselves in friendly discussion. The main interest, however, centred in the expected essay of the evening, as it was generally known that Mr. F. E. Abbot, of THE INDEX, was to favor the League with his services on this occasion.

At half-past eight o'clock the President, D. G. Crandon, invited attention to the business of the evening. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved, and Mr. Abbot, the essayist, was introduced.

Mr. Abbot, by way of introduction, remarked that the essay was not what he would submit to the League, did his already overtaxed time permit him to prepare another and more appropriate one.

It had already been delivered and published; but on further reflection, he considered the subject-matter too important to be laid aside with the once using.

Attention was then invited to 'Jesus and Socrates' as they appeared in 'The History of Religion.' He said a just comparison of the two loftiest moralists which humanity had yet produced, would be of great value in the settlement of living issues. Five centuries of theological conflict had been preparing the Christian world for a religious revolution. Hitherto Christianity has had for competitors only the inferior phases of historic religions. To-day it must meet the universal religion of humanity; for free religion is, briefly, religion itself freed from the limitations which cling to all its historic forms.

Religion in its infancy is under the authority of individual teachers or Messiahs; but in its maturity it becomes free faith in universal humanity. From childhood to manhood, from subjection to liberty, from persons to ideas, from Christianity to free religion; this is the order of Nature and the course of history.

The peculiarities and parallels of these distinguished characters were then detailed. Their beginnings and outlooks in "the work-shop," as "public teachers" and friends of "publicans and sinners," was placed in forcible contrast with their dislike of the aristocratic and political classes of their times, supporting, if not justifying the assumption of "their own divine mission." The illustrations were taken from every department of their lives, and alike true to character and history, doing justice to Socrates as well as to Jesus.

The conclusion reached by Mr. Abbot is so fundamental to the ethics of the League, and so forcibly illustrates the distance and difference that separates the moralism of history from the mere generalizations of the individual, that it is submitted *verbatim*. Mr. Abbot continued:—

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

"But with Socrates, the case was the reverse of this. The divine mission which he believed to have been assigned him was not that of a Christ or King,—far from it. In his own metaphor, it was that of a gnat, stinging the noble but lazy horse of Athens into activity. [Plat. Apol. Soc. xviii.] Or, in a still homelier metaphor, which contains an allusion to his mother's occupation, he was sent to be the *accoucheur* of thoughts in the human mind,—to be the midwife of the pregnant intellect in the birth of its own off

spring. [Plat. Theat. 17-22.] Stripped of all metaphors, the great aim of Socrates was, not to impart truths to his hearers outright, but by skillful questions and mortifying refutations so to develop the thinking faculties, as to enable his hearers to discover truths for themselves. In this view, therefore, his mission was, in the highest and noblest sense of the word, that of education,—the cultivation of germinal powers into conscious and vigorous maturity. Free development of the human mind,—that was the ideal end followed by Socrates with such untiring and unselfish zeal. More truly than any other human being, Socrates has earned the title of the GREAT EDUCATOR of the human race. He was the father of modern civilization as truly as of ancient philosophy, for his method was, and is, the only one that can develop the human mind. Dogmatism kills the mind; education brings it into life. These, however, are the two contrasted methods of Jesus and Socrates, viewed as moral instructors; the two contrasted methods, also, of Christianity and Free Religion. . . .

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

At the close of the essay, the President said it was the custom of the League to discuss whatever was presented, and invited comment and criticism.

The Rev. Mr. Canfield was called on to take the lead, but declined in favor of the members of the League, as he might be prompted to controversy, though he appreciated the excellent spirit of the essay.

Mr. Abbot thought criticism rather than compliment would be in order.

Professor Toohy said the members of the League would no doubt agree with him in considering the analysis of the two highest developments of historic character very serviceable at the commencement of their second year. Strictly speaking, it did not come within the purposes of the League. Unfortunately, dogma was so mixed in one case, with otherwise good ethical teaching, that it was not easy to say whether principle or authority should rule. The Church is founded upon personality, Peter being authority, by the special selection of Jesus; and the Church of Rome from time immemorial has considered any and all religionists "thieves and robbers" who attempt to gain the heaven of right-doing by another means. The conclusion was no longer authority, however, and hence the need of the Liberal League and other unecclasiastic organizations. The lesson of the evening, therefore, was one of education, and a further realization of the need of separating dogma from principle. The rights of religionists must be recognized, but the rights of non-religionists must also be respected. Both have a common interest in recognizing individual right and the supremacy of secular law; for the one ignored the assumption of favoritism in ethics, and the other made partiality impossible before the law. Such education was the need of the hour, and came into the advent of a truer civilization to separate Church and State.

Rev. J. A. Canfield addressed some questions to Mr. Abbot, developing the thought that Jesus was as true to Nature and his conception of his personal mission as Socrates had been; and that there was no more egoism in the one than in the other. In fact, Jesus was but the embodiment of an idea, he being the mouthpiece of the Father. Under these circumstances, Mr. Canfield considered the assumptions and assertions of Jesus a necessary duty and an essential part of his office, and all the more, as he considered self-assertion a necessary part of the teacher's vocation. Egoism might be offensive; but that depended upon the character of the speaker and the nature of the occasion. The "Verily, verily I say unto you" of Jesus, therefore, might have been expressive of intended and solemn emphasis, rather than personal conceit; and as such should be exempt from the narrowness and selfishness of the common egoist. He did not accept these expressions, however, as the final or best phases of the divine char-

acter; nor did he consider Jesus as the ultimate development of the Father Spirit. On the contrary, he did not know but the time had come when Jesus must give place to other influences in the councils of men, though he had his doubts about it.

Mr. Abbot said that self-assertion and egoism were essential and necessary parts of the true character, and that no real and important work could be done in society without the use of one or both phases of such individuality. His objection to the egoism of Jesus, therefore, was because of the Messianic idea which gave it its peculiar character, and the consequences growing out of it, and saw no reason for modifying his criticism.

Mr. Canfield said he had no further objections to offer.

The president then informed the company they were invited to the back parlor to discuss the merits of, and inwardly digest, another kind of food supposed to be occasionally necessary. The doors were then opened, and the company became aware of the presence of a large extension-table tastefully dressed and most bountifully furnished with delicacies.

Later in the evening the "Sons of Joshua" found occasion to initiate some new members in an adjoining room, where everything went merrily.

But the time had passed and the evening had gone, and the next move was for home. It was a divided duty, however, for it was a pleasure to remain, though necessary to depart. A vote of thanks was passed for Mr. Abbot's address; friendly acknowledgments were made to Miss J. P. Titcomb and Mrs. D. G. Crandon for vocal and instrumental music, amid the general congratulations which were pressed upon the host and hostess for the very pleasant surprise of the evening. Thus opened the second year of the Chelsea Liberal League. J. H. W. TOOHEY, Secretary.

1874 BROADWAY, CHELSEA, MASS.

"SILVER" AGAIN.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It seems as if our silver-remonetizing friends see facts and principles by the shimmering silver moonlight, instead of the clear, golden sunlight of day. How else could A. J. Warner so misunderstand my meaning? I did not say, or mean to imply, that value depends solely on labor. The proposition I did make is true; namely, that the exchangeable value of merchandise (not works of art, curios, mementos, etc.) is regulated by its labor cost. I took it for granted that the "court knew some law," and did not deem it necessary to explain that I meant that the average price depends on the average cost.

No sophistry can do away with this plain fact, and no government or set of governments can, for any length of time, at this period of the world's history, fix an arbitrary price on any article of general production and use. No stamping of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains of silver worth in the markets of the world ninety-two one-hundredths of a gold dollar can make it permanently worth as much as the gold dollar, or more than ninety-two one-hundredths of it; but for a time long enough to inflict vast injury upon the working-classes, who are at all times in the aggregate the largest creditor class, to the extent, namely, of all the wages of labor, the owners of silver bullion, by having it coined at government expense, could with ninety-two dollars' worth of it, pay for one hundred dollars' worth of labor. Also, any debts could be paid with the dollar worth ninety-two one-hundredths of the gold dollar, and now worth less than the greenback.

Of late the advocates of unlimited silver seem to forget that in this country (as well as in all commercial countries) the volume of currency with which the business of the country is carried on is made up mainly of paper, or credits in some form, and that the tendency of progress is toward less and less use of the precious metals. The real basis of the currency is all the exchanging merchandise of the country, including the precious metals; and the more perfect the financial system becomes, the smaller the amount of gold and silver actually used as money in proportion to total transactions.

What Leckie says is true: "No extensive country can ever alter its currency from the precious metals to paper, and then back again to the precious metals, without seriously affecting the value of property among its neighbors." And so it would among its own people. The precious metals have not for the last fifty years at least been the currency of this country except to a very limited extent; and it would be utterly impossible to change to a metallic currency if we had a thousand times as much silver bullion as we have. Our currency has been mainly paper, and must continue so to be. The only question is, what sort of paper shall it be? Shall it be a promise to pay a dollar, universally agreed and believed to be a gold dollar (until the fall in the price of silver in the world's markets), which, owing to doubts about the ability or the willingness of the promisor, is not worth as much as the thing promised; or shall we have a currency or representative dollar, always worth as much as the gold it professes to represent?

It is as clear as that two and two make four, that if the silver bill passes, the greenback, instead of appreciating to the value of the gold dollar, will go back to be worth less than the silver dollar in which alone it would then be payable.

The remonetization of the four hundred and one-half grains dollar would be certain to drive all the gold out of the country, thus depriving us of far the largest part of the precious metals; and so far as that goes we should be worse off than we are now, for we should have but one kind of metallic money, and that silver. F. S. C.

THE SEX OF SIN.

"If she sin, does not her crime strike, not only a blow at the marriage relation, but also at the rights of property? And, therefore, does not a bad life in her tell worse upon society than a bad life in him? Is it desirable that offspring should be heirs of property? I contend that, as society is now organized, certain sins are worse in woman than in man."

The above, in THE INDEX of November 1, is from the pen of Elizabeth Oakes Smith, and indorsed by the editor. My sorrow that such sentiments should be uttered by a woman of influence was only equalled by my surprise at the indorsement.

That certain sins are worse in woman than in man is an old-time belief that should never have seen the light of this generation. This idea, advanced and acted upon by well-meaning, influential women, has made more libertines than the allurement of all the so-called fallen women.

We cannot expect men to object to being told that their evil deeds are only short-comings, while the same offence in woman "strikes a blow at the marriage relation." Many men like to hear that kind of talk,—it quiets a conscience ill at ease and gives them position in society where women, morally on the same plane, cannot enter.

So long as women teach their sons that crime is less a crime in them than in their sisters, so long will the brother define his sisters' social position, the lover betray and desert her who walks as uprightly as himself, and the husband prove recreant to the "marriage relation."

The property argument would be a forcible one if it would bear analyzing; and a good Christian argument, if God looks at sin with mercenary eyes. "Is it desirable that offspring should be heirs of property?" Certainly it is. But how is it in the case of the two families—the A's and B's? Mr. B is the father of Mrs. A's child. The property result is, Mr. A's property descends to the offspring of Mr. B. But to whom does Mr. B's descend? Not to his own child, ignored by him, yet tenderly cherished by the mother, whose crime is said to be greater than that of her guilty partner! She has caused property to be given to her child contrary to a law which she neither made nor sanctions; he has withheld property from his child that the laws of men have directed to be given it. Whose sin is the greater?

"It is to be fervently wished that the other sex should come up to our standard; not that we should go over to theirs."

I fully sympathize with Mrs. Smith in this wish. And yet it is hardly probable that the other sex will aspire to our standard, while taught from infancy that they may fall of reaching this high moral plane, and not be called to the same strict account for the failures that women are.

Let us who claim to love justice call sin sin,—whether committed by men or women; then we can consistently claim equality with "the other sex" we so much desire to elevate.

HELEN LOUISE BLACKMER.

[It was Mrs. Smith's teaching, as we understand it, that sins against chastity are, morally considered, equally reprehensible in man and in woman; but that, considered in their effects on society, they are "worse" in the latter. We think our correspondent has misapprehended Mrs. Smith; if she has not, we certainly did.—Ed.]

"RESUMPTION IN ENGLAND."

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is a pity that Emily J. Leonard should prophesy evil on mistaken premises. The state of affairs in this country is very different from that of England in 1821. The bills of the Bank of England represent an equal amount of coin and bullion in the vaults.

Our currency never professed to do so; the gold or silver held by the banks was only a small portion of the amount of their bills issued; the basis, in fact, of the circulation being the merchandise of the country in the process of exchange.

The government cannot withdraw the circulation if it wishes. The moment the greenback is worth as much as a gold dollar, it will be preferred to the coin and will remain in circulation.

We certainly might have a much better system of banking than the present,—one which would give us a currency measured by the wants of business; but it must be one in which the dollar should be of the same value as the dollar recognized as honest and true by the civilized commercial nations with whom we deal. F. S. C.

A DRAG DRIVEN by an elegantly-attired lady, and with a trim and neatly-dressed colored boy perched on the footman's seat behind, was passing through the street, when it was espied by an old negro woman. "Bress de Lord!" she exclaimed, raising her hands as she spoke; "Bress de Lord, I never s'pected to see dat. Wonder whar dat cullud young gemman pays dat young white 'oman fur drivin' dat kerridge? I know'd it'd come, but never s'pected to lib to see it. Dis nigga's ready to go 'way now."

AS A SCHOOLMASTER was employed the other day, in Scotland, in his delightful task of teaching a sharp urchin to cipher on the slate, the precious pupil put the following question to his instructor: "Whaar dis a' the figures gang till when they're rabbit out?"

A CERTAIN little damsel, being aggravated beyond endurance by her big brother, fell down upon her knees, and cried: "Oh Lord! bless my brother Tom. He lies, he steals, he swears; all boys do; us girls don't. Amen."

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

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 425.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

ANOTHER LIBERAL LEAGUE has just been organized at Manitowoc, Wisconsin, in affiliation with the National League. President, John A. Smith; Secretary, George B. Byron.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD lectured recently in Albany and Utica, and has engagements as follows: Feb. 15, at Urbana, O.; Feb. 17, at Bourbon, Ind.; Feb. 19, 20, 21, at Danville,—Feb. 23, at Riverton,—Feb. 24, at Springfield,—Feb. 25 to Mar. 2, at Minler,—all in Illinois.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN, of New York, will lecture at the Parker Memorial on Wednesday evening, February 20, at half-past seven o'clock. Subject: "What is Religion?" Tickets can be got at this office—price twenty-five cents. All who have heard her unite in her praise, and a full house is anticipated.

"A COUNT," says the New York Tribune, "has been made of the ministers of the Black River and St. Lawrence Congregational Association, with a view to the ascertaining of their belief as to future punishment. This Association is the largest in the State of New York. The Rev. W. D. Westervelt, who prosecuted the inquiry, reports: 'Of those consulted, every one believes the doctrine of eternal retribution. In fact, our Association is very earnestly Orthodox.'"

THAT THE LIBERAL LEAGUE movement is rapidly striking root, and extending itself in many directions, is very clear from the report of Mr. H. L. Green, the earnest and indefatigable chairman of the Executive Committee of the National League. We hope that the various signs of activity he reports will prove to be the forerunners of many new organizations. Remember the proverb that "Union is Strength"; the influence of this movement will be in proportion to the number of Local Leagues affiliated with the National League. We invite particular attention to Mr. Green's interesting and encouraging report on another page of this issue.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE has been formed among the inmates of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Montgomery County, Ohio. The officers are—President, A. McGill; Secretary, Jesse B. Barry; Delegates to the next Annual Congress of the National League, J. B. Barry, A. McGill, Benj. R. Pratt, William E. Bradshaw, Jacob Duschenes. The Secretary writes: "As our chaplain is opposed to anything of the kind and has charge of all the meeting-rooms, we may have some difficulty in procuring a room; but as Dr. E. B. Wolcott, Vice-President of the Milwaukee League, is a member of our Board of Managers, I presume he will use his influence to have us accommodated."

THE POPE'S DEATH cannot fall to be followed by important events. The Jesuits are the Radicals of Catholicism, and would hold it rigorously to the logic of its own ideas; the moderate or so-called liberal party sacrifice logic to policy, and temporize to secure success. If we were a Catholic, we should devoutly pray for the triumph of the Jesuits over the liberals, since that would be the triumph of the religion we believed in; being a rationalist, we hope for the triumph of the Jesuits all the same, because that will all the sooner undeceive mankind and expose the deleterious influence of the Catholic religion. If a Catholic, be one in good earnest, and command respect by your sincerity; if a freethinker, the same advice is just as good.

WE MUST BESPEAK the indulgence of our occasional contributors, and beg to be spared inquiries as to whether and when their articles will appear. It is our wish to oblige all as far as is possible; but it is in most cases impossible to answer such inquiries beforehand. Usually there is a large number of communications on hand, many of which must be delayed, and some of which must be left unpublished from want of room; they cannot even be read im-

mediately, but must wait their turn. Contributors should retain copies of their own articles, and remember the standing rule that "unused manuscripts are not returned." Good articles, especially if short, are always welcome; but we have no time for correspondence on the subject, and must positively decline it.

THE LYNCHING of Dr. Russell in Texas as an "infidel," by members of the Baptist Church, has intimidated Southern liberals, if we may judge by the following letter, recently received from Georgia: "Dear INDEX,—I have taken you for two years, and sent you around among my neighbors on missionary service. Recently a candidate, as you will see by enclosed papers, theological shells were burst around my head in every direction. Lest I may be the subject of a Christian Kuklux movement, I deem it prudent to discontinue THE INDEX for the present. They charged me with not believing in 'Jesus Christ or the Bible.' I replied that, if the whole earth was one Senatorial district, and I could be Senator thereof for saying that I believed that a book was anything more than a book or a man anything more than a man, I would not say it."

IN THE LONDON National Reformer of December 23, 1877, Mrs. Annie Besant gave an interesting account of a lecture by a woman, once a notorious champion of "Free Love," who has now left her own followers in the lurch: "On Friday last, I succeeded in hearing Mrs. Woodhull, having before made several vigorous but futile attempts to do so. Other engagements had claimed me on previous occasions; but at last I duly presented myself at St. James' Hall, and was conveyed to a front seat. There was a fairly large gathering of men and women when Mrs. Woodhull appeared. I was prepared to hear an orator, and a woman whom I respected for her courage, while differing much from her opinions: I heard an actress with some declamatory ability, and a woman who put herself on the side of the Christianity and social routine which she had made her name by attacking. The lady who, in America, had printed *Obscenities of the Bible*, walked on to the platform with an open Bible in her hand, and urged it as a rule of life, a holy, an inspired book. The lady whose doctrines of Free Love have startled the world disclaimed all meaning for the expression, except as it might be applied to the 'free love of God.' One can only presume that she reckoned on the ignorance of her English audience, few of whom would probably be acquainted with *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*; but to those who had read her writings and knew her doctrines, the disclaimer was revolting from its complete untruthfulness. Personally I have always opposed Free Love, believing it to be destructive of all true sexual dignity, as well as of home happiness; but, disagreeing with the teaching, I yet respected the moral courage with which Mrs. Woodhull had proclaimed what she believed to be true. I am only glad that Mrs. Woodhull appeals to the churches and to the clergy, and not to freethinkers,—to 'elegant ladies and gentlemen,' and not to the people. The lecture was a long string of truisms and nothing more; 'good mothers would make good sons'; *voilà tout*. What mothers should do, what changes were requisite, what action we should take, on all this no information was vouchsafed to us; we were implored to 'help,' but were not told what help was wanted. Various passages were read from the Bible, and some ejaculatory prayers were uttered; but no strong thought, no new idea. Of Mrs. Woodhull's eloquence I cannot speak, as the lecture was recited from (apparently) printed slips, and was not extempore. The speaker was very nervous, and her delivery was hurried in the extreme. I can only confess to a profound disappointment, mingled with some irritation at what appeared to me to be the cant of the whole thing."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

MIRACLES come when they are needed. They come not of fraud, but they come of an impassioned credulity which creates what it is determined to find. Given an enthusiastic desire that God should miraculously manifest himself, the religious imagination is never long at a loss for facts to prove that he has done so; and in proportion to the magnitude of the interests at stake is the scale of the miraculous interposition.—Fyroude, in an article on Thomas Becket, in the Nineteenth Century.

Fetichism; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FETICH-WORSHIP OF THE EARLY HEBREWS, AS RECORDED IN THE BIBLE.

A PAPER READ BEFORE A MEETING OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS CONNECTED WITH THE SECOND UNITARIAN CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N.Y. BY LEWIS G. JANES.

The words "fetich" and "fetichism" are derived, from the Portuguese word "feticco," or "feticcao," which means "magic, sorcery, charm, or artifice." This is, perhaps, connected with the Latin "fascinum," a bewitching, or "factitious," made by art, artificial. Fetichism is the worship of superstitious veneration of material things, living or dead, which are considered as the abodes of gods or spirits, or as endowed by them with the power to work beneficent or malevolent influences upon the lives and fortunes of men. It is the lowest form of worship, common among all peoples during the infancy of the race, but now existing as the predominant religion, chiefly among the barbarous tribes of negroes in Africa.* Various evidences of the survival of its influence, are, however, to be met with in connection with the religious rites of nearly every people.

It is probable that among all fetich-worshipping peoples there have been some who have considered the objects of their veneration to be symbols of powers and forces external to the fetiches; while the more ignorant and degraded have believed these powers or forces to inhere in the objects themselves. The selection of objects to be worshipped as fetiches seems usually to depend upon their usefulness or hurtfulness; or upon their representation of the effect of some powerful natural force or influence.

Fetiches are of two kinds: natural and artificial. Among the former are celebrated rocks, particularly high mountain-peaks where lightning is supposed to dwell; single trees and more frequently groves or whole forests; meteoric stones; many animals, as serpents, snails, crocodiles, horses, goats, sheep, etc. Certain tribes of negroes worship elephants' teeth; and the Druids worshipped the sacred oak, hyssop and vervain, and serpent's eggs, as well as objects of artificial construction.

Rocks and stones are among the most common and prominent natural fetiches, and have been worshipped as such in nearly every part of the world. They were the most useful of all natural objects. Out of them the earlier races made their weapons, their utensils, and their abodes. Their hardness and strength were manifestations of a power which was, to their worshippers, incomprehensible; and some, of meteoric origin, they deemed to have been brought to earth by gods or angels. The idol *Manah*, which was worshipped by the Arabian tribes of Hodhall and Khozab, previous to the conversion of that people to Mohammedanism, was a large stone. Its name is said to have been derived from the verb "mana," "to flow," from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to this deity. This fetich was demolished by Saad, by order of Mohammed, in the year of the hejira.†

The founders of the great spiritual religions have all denounced the worship of idols and fetiches, and endeavored to destroy it; but relics of these worships nevertheless remain. Such, among the Mohammedans, is the black stone of the Kaaba at Mecca, which is believed to have been brought from heaven by the Angel Gabriel. This seems to be either a piece of lava, or an ordinary aerolite. It is visited by thousands of pilgrims annually, and is worn smooth by the osculatory service of the worshippers. The pilgrims touch and kiss it with the highest veneration. Aerolitic stones were also worshipped by the Phœnicians. The Palladium of Troy, and the stone at Ephesus, which "fell down from Jupiter" (see Acts xix., 35), were also aerolites.

Another notable example of modern fetiches of this character is the celebrated "blarney stone," to kiss which is supposed to endow the devotee with the property of saying anything by way of coaxing, compliment, or praise, that is most agreeable to the hearer. The stone usually kissed is at the top of Blarney Castle, Ireland; but unfortunately for those who have taken the trouble to visit and salute it, this is not the true "blarney stone." That is imbedded in the castle wall, in such a position that in order to kiss it, one has to be held over the parapet by the heels.‡

Among trees, the oak, palm, terebinth, and mistletoe have been objects of worship. The Druids had their sacred groves of oak, and the "high places" of Phœnicia and Palestine, often mentioned in the Bible, were of this nature. Yahveh, or Jehovah, as well as the heathen gods, was worshipped in these "high places" in the early history of the Hebrews; and before him, El, or El Shaddai, their more ancient sun or fire-god. Into one of these groves Jacob was taken by Isaac when commanded by Yahveh to offer him up as a sacrifice; and here he sacrificed the ram which was said to have been providentially provided in the place of his son. The fetich *Al Uzza*, worshipped by the Arabian tribes of Koreish and Kanana, and a part of the tribe of Salim, was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or acacia. Khaleb Ebu Walid cut it down and burnt it, and slew its priestess, by order of Mohammed. Its name, *Al Uzza*, signifies the same as that of the Hebrew deity, *El Shaddai*, "the most mighty god." This fetich-worship among the earlier Arabians, and many other peoples, was after awhile accompanied

* The Childhood of the World, by Edward Clodd, F.R.S. † Lecture on Arabia and the Koran, by George Sale, Gent. ‡ Appleton's Cyclopaedia; article "Blarney Stone."

by some conceptions of a deity superior to and separate from their idols or fetiches. It was their custom when they planted fruit-trees or sowed a field, to divide it by a line into two parts; consecrating one to their fetiches or idols, and one to the unseen God.

Among the animals worshipped as fetiches, and supposed to be endowed with supernatural powers, the serpent holds a prominent place. The Hindus represent Vishnu as reposing upon the coils of an immense serpent; and this reptile is frequently sculptured in their sacred temples, and held in superstitious veneration. They are forbidden to take the life of a serpent, and consequently great numbers of them are found in many parts of India. Temples have been dedicated to their exclusive worship. Many tribes of negroes still hold them in great veneration; and one of them dedicates to its serpent-fetich a temple, in which serpents are kept as priestesses. The serpent was originally a symbol of wisdom; and its worship was originally not associated with the idea of malevolence which we are apt to connect with it. The Hebrews probably derived this fetich from the Egyptians, who represented the eternal spirit, *Kneph*, the author of all good, under the mythical form of that reptile. They understood the art of taming it, and embalmed it after death. In their symbolical alphabet the serpent represents subtlety or cunning, a low order of wisdom. In this character it is introduced to us in Genesis; and it is referred to by Jesus as a symbol of wisdom. (Matthew x., 16). The idea of the serpent as connected with that of the Devil, or a malevolent power, was derived by the Hebrews from Babylonia, at the time of the captivity.*

The *seraph* (Hebrew "*śrāph*") was originally a fiery serpent; but came afterwards to represent a mythological order of celestial beings with human forms, and three pairs of wings, who were supposed to stand above Yahveh, as he sat upon his throne. It was a *śrāph*, or fiery serpent, that Moses is said to have made by the command of Yahveh, and set upon a pole, that the Hebrews who had been bitten by the other *śrāphs*, sent also by the Lord to bite them as the legend says, might look upon it and live.

The Hebrew word meaning "enchanter" is derived also from a word meaning serpent. The rod of Moses is said to have turned into a serpent when he appeared before the Pharaoh to plead for the freedom of his people. So also did the rods of the Egyptian enchanters, which were swallowed by the more powerful fetich of Moses. These, if they are anything more than mere legends, are all examples of pure fetichism, and are said to have been sanctioned by the direct command of Yahveh.

The early Arabians worshipped as fetiches *Wadd*, which was represented in the form of a man; *Sarva*, as a woman; *Yaghuth*, in the shape of a lion (derived from the Arabic "*ghatha*," to help); *Yauck*, a horse (from *aka*, to avert); and *Naar*, an eagle. These are said to have been the antediluvian idols which Noah preached against before the flood; and *Sarva* is said to have been found lying under the water some time after the deluge, where it was discovered by the Devil, raised up and worshipped by the tribe of Hodhall, who instituted pilgrimages to it. Mohammed completed the work of Noah and the deluge by finally destroying this fetich.

All Semitic religions seem to have early taken the form of Sabalism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies; and many of the fetiches, idols, and superstitious customs of these people are traceable to and symbolic of this worship. In one way or another, it represented the origin of life, or the creative power in Nature; and out of it have grown many of the symbols and ritualistic practices of the Christian church. Fire-worship, burnt sacrifices, and altar-worship here originated, of which the modern censor and incense-burning are survivals.†

The name of the Chaldean city *Ur*, whence Abraham came, means "light" or "fire"; and it is said to have been a centre of sun or fire-worship. Moses is also said to have seen and worshipped Yahveh in the bush which "burned with fire, and was not consumed." Another relic of fetich-worship, which long survived the period of the grossest idolatry among the Hebrews, was the veneration of the *Urim* and *Thummim*. The name *Urim*, which means "light," would seem to suggest the origin of this fetich, also, in the forms of ancient sun or fire-worship. *Thummim* signifies "truth" or "perfection." The *Urim* and *Thummim* are variously stated to have been two images, hidden in the folds of the breastplate of the High Priest; or, by other authorities, four rows of brilliant stones, representing the twelve tribes of Israel. They were used in casting lots, in which operation Yahveh was supposed to control the result, and were consulted as oracles by the priests. In some cases an audible voice was said to issue from them in reply. In this way the priests claimed to derive authority from Yahveh for the government of the people. It is not known exactly when this custom ceased; but it was probably about the time of the first temple.‡ The stars and planets were worshipped by the early Arabians; and out of this grew the pseudo-science of astrology. Traces of the worship of the heavenly bodies are found all through the Bible, even in the New Testament; as in the legend of the Star of Bethlehem, and of the Magi, or wise men from the East, who are said to have visited the infant Jesus. A similar story is told of Sākya-Muni, or Buddha, after his birth.

Sun-worship and star-worship still shed their influences around us, and lend figures to the exuberant rhetoric of that brightest luminary of modern orthodoxy, Rev. Flavius Josephus Cook; as when he says, "The sun is rising in Germany, with God behind it";

and, "Whoever follows, for many years, the trend of the constellations, touches the hem of the garment of Almighty God."* Here he needs only to substitute an accurate translation, to reveal the name of *El Shaddai*, the ancient sun or fire-god of the Hebrews.

Baal, the god of the Phœnicians, who was also worshipped by the Hebrews when they forsook the covenant with Yahveh, and who is frequently mentioned in the Bible, was the sun-god, and his symbols or fetiches have reference to the creative power. The worship of Baal is of very ancient origin. He was represented as a man, with the head of a bull, holding in his arms an infant; and one of the artificial fetiches worshipped in his name was a form of the monolith or obelisk. The obelisk is also found in Egypt as an object of veneration and worship; likewise among the Druids, and the aboriginal tribes of Central America. Another early fetich, perhaps akin to the obelisk in its origin and signification, is the wand or rod. This was used by priests and necromancers, "magi" and wise men, among all the Eastern nations, and was thought to be endowed with remarkable and supernatural powers. The rods of Moses and Aaron will at once come to mind in this connection; the turning of rods into serpents; the smiting of the rock in the wilderness for water; and the upholding of the rod during battle for its supposed influence in favor of victory. Of course, all this is pure fetichism, which Moses, who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," undoubtedly derived from the priests and magicians of Egypt. The rod of Aaron is said to have been preserved with religious care for a long period, and one account represents it as being carried in the sacred ark of the covenant. Out of this worship of the rod as a fetich, comes the modern superstition concerning the use of the divining rod, which is usually a stick of witch-hazel, and is supposed to possess supernatural power to indicate subterranean water-courses, veins of precious metal, etc.

Akin to the worship of the god Baal, was that of the goddess *Ashtoreth*, or *Astarte*, "the Queen of Heaven." She was the principal female divinity of the Phœnicians, corresponding with the moon, as Baal with the sun. Her fetich was a white conical stone, or monolith, and was, in early Hebrew history, frequently set up in the "high places" of Palestine, together with the altars or symbols of Yahveh. What is known as the *Asherah*, mentioned in the Bible, and which was usually a simple stake of wood, driven into the earth, is said by some to have been a symbol of this goddess; but others, among them Kuenen,† considers it a separate fetich or deity. *Ashtoreth* is thought to be identical with the Assyrian goddess *Ishtar*, whose worship was connected with that of the planet Venus; and also, probably, with the Teutonic goddess *Oestere*, or *Oestre*, the goddess of the spring, or creative period in Nature, and the idea and symbolical meaning of whose worship were identical. The principal festivals of *Oestere* and *Ishtar* occurred in the spring of the year, at the same time with the Christian festival of Easter, which grew out of this heathen celebration, and derives its name from that of this heathen goddess. What formerly commemorated the return of the sun and the resurrection of vegetation in the spring, has thus come to celebrate the resurrection of Christ.‡

The long robes worn by priests in many churches were first used in the worship of this goddess, *Ashtoreth*, *Ishtar*, or *Astarte*, "the Queen of Heaven." They were originally just what they appear to be: female costumes, assumed by the priests, out of compliment to the sex of the goddess. Among the Chaldean rites in the worship of *Ishtar*, was the preparation of a sacred cake, known as a *boun*, in the form of a crescent, and sometimes of a cross, and sometimes stamped with the figure of a cross. These cakes were made of flour and honey, and were offered as a sacrifice to the goddess. In this rite we probably find the origin of our "hot-cross buns." It is alluded to in the Bible in Jeremiah vii., 18: "The children gather wood, the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead dough, and make cakes to the Queen of Heaven."

We find also among the Arabs, that the tribe of Hanifer worshipped as a fetich a lump of dough; and, as Mr. George Sale says: "They used it with more respect than the papists do theirs, not presuming to eat it until compelled to by famine." The use of sacred cakes as offerings to the gods, is found in many of the ancient religions; and among the Aryan races we find the fermented juice of the soma, or moon-plant, was the chief offering to their deities. In the rites accompanying this offering it was raised in a wooden cup, precisely as the Roman Catholic priest elevates the consecrated bread called the "host" (from the Latin, *hostia*, a victim). In these customs, which are of sacrificial origin, we find a suggestion of the origin of the use of the bread and wine of the communion.

Out of the veneration of the monolith or obelisk as a symbol of creative power, came the religious use of the cross, in many nations, among various religions, centuries before Christ. The Greek cross, of four equal arms, is found on very ancient Assyrian tablets, on Egyptian and Persian monuments, Asiatic and Greek coins, and Etruscan pottery. The Latin cross is also found on coins, medals, and monuments anterior to Christ. In Scandinavian mythology, the cross, composed of the double hammer of Thor, was revered as a fetich, and used to bless marriage ceremonies. Cruciform hammers of stone of very ancient origin have been found in Denmark, and are supposed to have been used in sacrificing victims to Thor. The cross is also the sacred emblem of Vishnu, and one of the eight altar implements of the Buddhist. Mythic crosses are often found inscribed

in the foot-soles of images of Buddha. The Spanish conquerors found crosses of stone or wood in Mexico, fetiches of the ancient religion of that country. In Roman catacombs have been found crosses of the second century, frequently accompanied by the dove, the serpent, and the fish.*

In Egypt, the crosses were used as nilometers, placed near the river to mark the height of its rise, during the overflow. Since the welfare and life of the people depended so largely upon the overflow of the Nile, it gradually came to be venerated and worshipped as a fetich, and the cross, or nilometer, was revered as its representative. As the people were saved from famine and death by this overflow, the idea of salvation by the cross thus entered largely into this worship of the Egyptians. The idea of sacrifice also seems to have been connected with it in some localities. There are legends of the crucifixion of Krishna, Prometheus, Esculapius, Wittoba, and Buddha, all of whom lived prior to the Christian era. I have, however, been unable to obtain sufficient data for determining whether these legends arose previous or subsequent to the time of Christ; and Orthodox authorities claim that the ideas of crucifixion as punishment, and of salvation, were not united in connection with the religious use of the cross, until after the time of Christ, though both are admitted to have existed separately before the Christian era.

Although the Hebrews were forbidden to make or worship any idol or image of Yahveh, yet their superstitious regard for the ark of the covenant seems to constitute it a true fetich. This ark, which we are informed (I. Kings viii., 9) contained nothing save the two tables of stone on which the law was written, is elsewhere said to have held also the rod of Aaron and a pot of manna. At a later period, the book of the law was also preserved in it. The Jews esteemed the ark especially sacred, and none were permitted to touch it save members of the tribe of Levi. We read of one, Uzzah, who violated this command, and immediately fell down dead.

In war-times, the ark accompanied the army, and was brought forward in critical junctures, and supposed to exert a miraculous power in favor of the Hebrews. On one occasion it was captured in battle by the Philistines, who took it and set it up by the side of their idol, Dagon, a being represented with the head and chest of a man, and the extremities of a fish. Then we are led to infer that sometime during the night a conflict ensued between the two fetiches, or their animating deities; for in the morning Dagon was found lying on his face before the ark; and, having been set up again, upon the next morning he was again found overthrown, and his head and the palms of his hands cut off. So the Philistines thought it best to return the ark to Israel.

In the descriptions of the ark, we find that above it were placed the two *cherubim*. These were by no means the plump, baby-faced angels of Raphael, nor anything which agrees with our modern conception of a cherub. They were winged monsters of the griffin order, and perhaps were not made in violation of the command against graven images, for they certainly were not "likenesses of anything in the heavens above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth." Their earliest form was the body of a winged lion, and the head of an eagle. Their wings stretched on either side of the ark, and between them Yahveh was supposed to dwell.† The ark finally perished in the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar; and in the second temple, its place was supplied by another fetich—a sacred stone,—called, probably with reference to the ancient custom of "drink-offerings," "the stone of drinking."

The early Hebrews also possessed certain household idols called *teraphim*, which were supposed to be endowed with the power of fetiches or charms. We have (Genesis xxxi.) an account of Rachel stealing the *teraphim* of her father, Laban, and of his search for them.

The ceremonies of fetich-worship were various, and often exceedingly barbarous and immoral. They included sacrifices, burnt-offerings of sacred bread, wine, animals, and even of human beings. We have evidence that this practice survived among the Hebrews in their earlier history, as in the story of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter by her father, in obedience to his vow unto Yahveh; concluding with the words: "She returned unto her father who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed. . . . And it was a custom in Israel." The Arabs also frequently put their children to death, especially females, whom they vowed in sacrifice to their idols. Criminals and prisoners were often sacrificed in this worship.

During the early period when the tribe or family was the social unit, each family possessed its own fetich, and kings and princes had usually a large collection. They were often hereditary, and were set up or hung up in the dwelling. Sometimes they were small, and were worn about the neck or elsewhere, or fastened upon domestic animals. They were often provided with food, as if they were living beings. Prayers were offered to them; but if the prayers were not granted, they were sometimes beaten or thrown away.

It takes a long time for mankind to grow up to the conception of a truly spiritual religion. Abraham, Moses, the Prophets, and finally Jesus, mark the progress of the loftier minds among the Hebrews, from the lower forms of fetichism and polytheism, toward this high ideal. Yet even in our day, we see survivals of this old barbarism cropping out under the mantle, of all the great religions. Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism have uttered powerful protests and commands against all forms of idolatry. Yet we still find devotees at the black stone of the Kaaba, the shrine of Buddha, and the cross of Rome.

* *Demonology*, by Moncure D. Conway.

† *The Childhood of Religions*, by Edward Clodd, F.R.S.A.S.

‡ *Urim and Thummim*, Smith's Bible Dictionary.

* *German Rationalism*, by Joseph Cook.

† *History of the Religion of Israel*, Kuenen.

‡ *The Childhood of Religion*, Clodd.

* Article "Cross," Appleton's Cyclopaedia.

† Article "Cherubim," Smith's Bible Dictionary.

Catholicism is full of the relics of fetich-worship. What else are their superstitious veneration of the cross; of relics of "the true cross," and of the saints; their use of the scapular as a charm; of holy water; their belief that the bread and wine of the communion are actually the body and blood of Christ? While I write, I find in the New York Sun of Nov. 16, 1877, an account of an instance of modern fetichism, which I have condensed from its columns:—

The Rev. Father Victor, of West Hoboken Heights, cures invalids by touching them with a silver reliquaire containing a piece of bone from one of the ribs of St. Paul of the cross, the founder and patron saint of the order of Passionist Fathers. Many sufferers attest miraculous cures by this means. A bit of bone two inches long is set in the lining of an oval silver reliquaire, with a glass lid. It is lined with white, silver-trimmed silk; and across the bone is a slip of paper inscribed "S. Paulus Crucis."

Nor are all Protestants, I fear, without their fetiches; finding them in the superstitious veneration of the Bible as the literal word of God; as a charm, in whose presence they feel safe; and in the formal repetition of set phrases, whether of Scripture, prayer, or litany, with the hope and expectation of thereby deriving some mysterious and supernatural benefit. That Mr. Beecher recognizes this tendency to use the Bible as a fetich, I infer from a recent sermon, wherein he is reported to have said of the man "who reads his Bible from mere force of habit": "He gets up in the morning, washes and dresses, and then sits down and reads a chapter in Corinthians, and then goes down to breakfast feeling very much like a man who has nailed a horse-shoe over the door to keep the witches from getting under it."

How long will it take mankind to grow to the comprehension of the statement of Jesus, that God is spirit, and his true worship is not in any kind of formalism, but to "worship him in spirit and in truth"? That greatest of modern Jews, Spinoza, has said: "To define God is to deny him"; and this axiom of intelligent theism harmonizes with the highest development of Hebrew and Christian thought as well as the loftier expressions of Buddhism; for these seek neither to represent the infinite one by images or sacred symbols, nor in the formal statements of an imperfect language.

But while we are thus seeking higher and more spiritual conceptions, we should not forget that these earlier manifestations of the religious faculty are all records of the efforts of men to reverence and comprehend the power and intelligence which are manifested in the universe. While it is true of great reformers, who teach truths in advance of the age, as the poet says, that

"The demons of our sires become
The saints that we adore."

It is also true that the gods of our ancestors often become the demons of later generations. But viewing all in the spirit of a larger charity and a truer philosophy, we may seek knowledge and wisdom even in these lessons of the infancy of the race. Thus we learn to touch the ashes of a dead religion tenderly and reverently, as we would the outgrown and cast-off garments of childhood. This we may do, while yet we strive, as in our duty, to rise ourselves, and to help others to rise, utterly out of fetichism and idolatry and all superstition, into the perfect light and freedom of the truth.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XXII.

There remains something still to be said of Wakeman's classification. In the earlier edition, in which he introduced, tentatively, his aspectual or breadth-wise distribution, the catch-words—the real, the true, the good, and the beautiful—referring to universal being, appear in parentheses merely; while against them stand as equivalent terms, sensation, intellect, conation, and emotion, referring to subdivisions of the observing mind itself—to which last series the predominance was then given. In the later edition, this mental series of keys is omitted, and their more universal or cosmical equivalents are preferred. The question of predominance is not now important; but the admission and affirmation of the essential equivalence of these two series of discriminations is of importance, as indicating, still more conclusively, Wakeman's virtual adoption of scientific analogy, as the underlying ground of classification. How can these two series of ideal discriminations—one relating to subjective phenomena (of the human mind), and the other to objective phenomena (of the outer cosmos) repeat each other as equivalents, except upon the prior assumption, whether expressed, or sensed unconsciously, that the distributional schemes of the mind within, and of the material world without, are virtually identical,—which is precisely the universological conception; which is, in other words, the doctrine of a universal, underlying, all-governing, scientific analogy.

Here, again, by separating emotion from conation (effort, mental dynamics, and mental motion at large), the author converts the usual and accepted threefold division of mind—sensation (or feeling), intellect, and conation—into a fourfold distribution, as more convenient for his purposes. Let us restore the threefoldness, for the sake of simplicity, as we did for the other series, in comparing it with Elsberg's classification, in No. XXI.; and bring both series of key-words, as we then did the first series, into analogical relations with the other still more fundamental and governing series of such discriminations,—matter, form, and movement; or again, with sub-

stance, form, and force. The correlations with them stand as follows:—

1. Cosmical Distribution—
1. The Good, 2. The True, 3. The Beautiful.
2. Mental Distribution—
1. Feeling, 2. Intellect, 3. Conation (will.)
3. Correlational Distribution—
1. Matter, 2. Form, 3. Movement.
(Substance.) (Eidos.) (Motion and Force.)

The significance and importance of this comparative exhibit of a fundamental distribution of the outer or objective world with the well-established and best recognized distribution of the inner or subjective world (the mind); and the virtual identification of the two distributions, in the two spheres, through correlation or scientific analogy; can hardly be over-estimated. To say that mind in one of its departments, the most objectively fundamental department—sensation or feeling,—is the matter of mind, and that there is, therefore, analogically, a matter of mind; or that mind has its own matter and thence its own form or forms, which are its ideas (and so of the intellect), may seem fanciful and visionary; but here we find Wakeman, arriving by empirical efforts at classification, at precisely this view; which is the prior affirmation, from a priori grounds, of universology itself. Indeed, precisely this correlated distribution of the outer world of matter, in its threefoldness, and of the inner world of mind, with its correspondential threefoldness—the one answering item for item to the other,—may be called the practically central universological doctrine. It is consigned to the formulae, IDENTITY OF LAW IN MATTER AND MIND; AND THE TYPICAL REPRODUCTION OF THE SUBJECTIVE IN THE OBJECTIVE WORLD (*Basic Outline of Universology*, pp. 449, 498). And, more of late, John Stuart Stuart-Glennie, in a profound investigation into the true principles of scientific classification, in his work entitled *In the Morningland; or, The Law of the Origin and Transformation of Christianity*, p. 139, lays down, as the postulate of deductive verification, the principle that "there is correlation between the co-existences of Nature and the co-sequences of thought." This is a close approximation to the universological perception, but still an approximation merely. The radical universological statement is that there is correlation, or repetitive scientific analogy, between the co-existences of Nature and the co-existences of Mind, and between the co-sequences of Nature and the co-sequences of Mind—item for item, and point for point—throughout; from the broadest generalizations to the minutest particulars.

Stuart-Glennie has indeed had this very idea before his mind, and rejected it, without sufficiently comprehending it. Upon the page just quoted from, he says: "If there were identity between thought and nature, there would evidently be no need of deductive verification; for, in that case, if a thing were true in logic it would also be true in fact." His error here arises from his substituting thought and logic for the larger subjective world. This alone is Mind, of which the thought-domain is only a segment. Thought, or the logical field of mind being only a part of the subjective world at large, its analogies are only correlative with a part of the objective world; which is, then, the corresponding field in it. What is true in logic is true in that domain or aspect of the cosmos which illustrates logic. And—from the universological hypothesis—so perfect is the correlation, that deduction, verification, or rather objective test-verifications, of our deductions from the known a priori universological law remain necessary; and will remain necessary; only because of insufficient knowledge of the law, or lack of familiarity with its operations; and not from any defect in the completeness of the correlation between the subjective and the objective sphere.

I may also quote Stuart-Glennie, p. 140, to the effect that "nothing can more decisively mark the character of a philosophy than its classification of the sciences." I shall have occasion, subsequently, to give attention to his classification. Here, and as preliminary to such review, let us recur to Wakeman's standard or departmental series of the ordinary special sciences,—the backbone" of his system. This results from subdividing and enlarging the basic distribution into the four kingdoms—mineral, vegetal, animal, and hominal,—until the series is made to include fourteen sciences, proceeding from an outermost or most objective, to an innermost or subjective point of view, in which order the series is called objective,—or inversely, when the series is called subjective, thus:—

Objective Order.	Hominal.	14	Psychology—[Mind-lore.]	1	Subjective Order.		
		13	Linguistics—[Language-lore.]	2			
		12	Aesthetics—[Beauty or Art-lore.]	3			
		11	Ethics—[Department-lore.]	4			
		10	Sociology—[Collective Man-lore.]	5			
		Animal.	M Mineral.	9		Animal; Zoology—[Animal-lore.]	6
				8		Vegetal; Botany—[Plant-lore.]	7
				7		Protistology—[Origins-of-life-lore.]	8
				6		Chemistry—[Substance-lore.]	9
				5		Physics—[Material appearance-lore.]	10
						(Light, sound, etc.)	
				4		Astronomy—[Massive-body-lore.]	11
		Mineral.	M Mineral.	3		Mathematics—[Science of Magnitudes.]	12
				2		Logic—[Science of Co-ordination.]	13
1	Infinitology—[Science of the Undefined.]			14			
			(Metaphysics.)				

Of these fourteen departmental sciences, the first and the fourteenth, the lowest and the highest, have something much in common with each other, and different from the remaining twelve. If the whole series be taken as a vertebral column, a characterization which Wakeman himself has bestowed upon it, then psychology (better mentology—mind-lore) is the skull, and metaphysics the sacrum. Fourier would have called the whole a series of twelve, with a pivot and sub-pivot added; and would have allied it, then, with the musical scale of twelve chromatic notes, resting upon the octave above and the octave below, as its abutments. This analogy, or figure, or fancy, as the reader may choose to regard it, will be recalled in the next article, in connection with Stuart-Glennie's and

Vander Weyde's classifications. The location of the science of mind within the skull is, at least, quite apropos. For the sake of easy reference to this columnar exhibit of departmental classification, I shall call it the *Wakemanian vertebration*. The aspectual adjunction, first of Elsberg, and now of Wakeman, will then accord with the limbs at the sides of the human or animal body; and the Spencerian basis—the discrimination between the concrete and the abstract—with the back and the face of the person, as previously indicated.

To change the analogy: the city of New York is laid out upon such a plan that the ways running north and south are called avenues; and those running east and west, and of course cutting the others at right angles, are called streets. Now let us suppose three different corps of topographical investigators entering upon the examination of the city of New York, with a view of classifying its most prominent characteristics, and reporting them to the outer world. Corps No. 1 begins with and confines itself to the vertical axis of the city's presentation, from mud-hills to capstones, or from sub-cellars to roofs, domes, and spires. By so doing, this corps discovers, and articulately defines, the VERTEBRAL COLUMN of the city's total structure,—the several stories of the buildings corresponding with, or being analogues of, the several vertebrae (of, for example, a human body, standing erect). Now, this may, for the practical purpose of living in the houses, be the central and most important style of information; but it is certainly not integral or universal; nor, from the integral or all-embracing and all-sided or every-aspected point of view, is it the most exact or scientific. The buildings are not constructed upon a uniform plan; their geometrical measures are irregular, fantastic, and whimsical (naturoid, or naturalistic). To gain anything exact or scientific, we must become transcendental, relatively to these heterogeneous phenomena; that is to say, go outside of and beyond them, and come upon the regular plan or outlay of the city by streets and avenues; in which department of affairs geometry has reigned supreme; and with reference to which the exactified aspects of the buildings themselves (a subdominant or minor quality with them) have been arranged.

In the next place, no amount of intercalation of minor discriminations, within this backbone arrangement, will tend, in the slightest degree, to furnish the kind of information which is transcendental. To obtain it, with its broad-spread horizontalism, we must go where it is; we must abandon verticalism (mere observational empiricism), and enter, ex-professo, upon the study of the a priori outlay of the city. In other words, an understanding of the city plot is logically prior to the investigation of basements, parlors, and sleeping-rooms; and from the scientific point of view outranks this other more familiar, and in the usual sense of the term, more practical kind of knowledge; which last is the *Comitist hierarchy of the sciences*.

A second corps of our topographers enters upon one aspect of the transcendental beat of scientific research, and busies itself exclusively with the broad and prominent avenues, omitting still all consideration of the streets. This leads to the discrimination between the down-town region, at the lower ends of the avenues, with its dense crowd of houses and population—the concrete or compacted—and the up-town and country-appearing region, at the upper and outer end of the avenues, the abstract, clear of obstructions, and out-drawn. This is the Spencerian classification of the sciences based wholly on the distinction between the concrete (the grown together) and the abstract (the drawn out).

The third corps of our topographers enters finally upon the investigation of the streets. This corresponds with the aspectual distribution of the sciences, of Elsberg; and now, also, as we have seen, arrived at by Wakeman. This is the breadth-wise outlay of the city; "the fashionable and unfashionable sides," etc. (the good, the true, and the beautiful).

Is it not high time that a central office of topography should be established, at which all the reports of the various corps of investigators should be reported and rearranged and INTEGRATED, or harmonized, as parts of one and the same system?

COOK'S BIOLOGY.

A CAUSTIC CRITICISM OF THE REVEREND LECTURER—HIS SCIENCE SMALL AND HIS ASSUMPTION LARGE.

The "Boston Monday Lectureship" promises to be a three years' wonder. Entirely unheard of till a year or two since, Mr. Cook is, now that his lectures are published in book-form, sure of having his words read and pondered among all sects of Evangelical orthodoxy throughout the country,—at any rate, his influence is no longer local. Moreover, the "lectureship" is now a business. A management has been organized, tickets are sold, and advertisements printed, and there are indications that another year it may "travel."

One of the chief "strategic points" of the Lectureship is to evoke hostile criticism. Its success, and even existence, depends on whether an audience of clients, eagerly applauding every coup of their protagonist against threatening and heretical 'isms and 'ologies, can continue to believe that his shafts cause dismay among all orders of intellectual unregeneracy. Hence, in spite of the animosity with which Mr. Cook has here and there been assailed, many of his friends are beginning to complain of a "conspiracy of silence" on essential points. On the other hand, there are many of opposite bias who, urging his many misstatements of fact, his illicit inferences, the inadequate method with which the ultimate and outlying questions of all human knowledge are discussed, and the bad cookery (if so vile a pun may be

quoted) with which scientific authorities are seasoned and served up, have also complained that thus far there has been no adequate and well-digested verdict respecting his work. The explanation is not far to seek. It is found in the growing belief that Mr. Cook is a sincere enthusiast who has questioned and doubted, and has reached at last the consolation—rare enough in these days—of unreserved conviction. Such a man, however crass or erratic his opinions, deserves a certain respect.

Again, he is comparatively unmolested, because his work is felt to be of significance for the culture of the New England clergy. He is liberalizing, if not even rationalizing, orthodoxy itself, by inoculating the most unscientific class of educated men with his small science. Now—thanks to his hardy courage,—rural clergymen and studious laymen may be seen every Monday at the libraries and bookstores of Boston asking for Beale, Draper, Carpenter, etc., with the laudable purpose of following out Mr. Cook's course of reading. Now, the most unsuspecting theological student may visit any German university, and even *hospitium* with Helmholtz, Wundt, and possibly Haeckel himself, if a few scores of Mr. Cook's prophylactic axioms are well graven upon his memory, without danger of becoming "un-Christianized or shaken in the temper of his faith." His creed, indeed, is as meagre, yet as unmistakable, as the tags nailed up in place of scenery on the early English stage, admonishing the audience never to forget that, although the language, costumes, and plot were contemporary, still all was really in ancient Roman. So, although we hear of "neural tremors," of "the white-gray keyboard of the brain," and are challenged to account for the "perfect eye of the trilobite," and taught why "variability of species is a lessening quality," we are constantly assured that all this is Christianity and not modern science, for "the microscope begins to have visions of immortality." "Everything scientific is biblical, and everything biblical is scientific." "Even the scientific method is of theological origin." Lotze, and even Helmholtz and Wundt, are "on their knees before a personal God." Of course all this is extremely vicious, much in the same way, indeed, as the infernal trappings on the stand of the early conjurers, who, instead of frankly acknowledging that all was the skilful sleight of human hands, appealed in puzzling abracadabras to extra-mundane agencies. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not propose to dispute, or even discuss, Mr. Cook's religious convictions, though probably none of his friends realize how subtly the processes of secularization are accelerated by his methods, or how many of the impediments of orthodoxy are one after another silently abandoned while a whole corps of the theological army is being mobilized. To have occasioned this wholesome ferment is a didactic triumph which a wiser, more learned, better poised mind could never have achieved.

Mr. Cook's science is exceedingly "small,"—for the most part, indeed, scarcely more than an advertisement of a department of research rapidly growing in importance, and which happens never to have been popularized in this country. His information on the subject of physiological psychology may be very briefly summarized; but to correct his errors and inconsistencies and make his crudeness patent to his hearers, would require nothing less than a well-digested text-book on the subject. His uncritical credulity towards scientific authorities upon his own side is seen in his naive acceptance of two of Ferrier's most conjectural statements; viz., "Physiological activity of the brain is not altogether co-extensive with its psychological function"; and "Mental operations are still capable of being carried on in their completeness through the agency of one hemisphere"; and of Beale's continued implication that psychic changes cause physical changes, and not the reverse.

That Mr. Cook is not well informed in physiological psychology is not surprising, and by no means so harmful as it would be in a scientific lecture-room. But what apology can we offer when he affirms that "the Boston Lectureship is abreast of the latest German investigations"? If he would only extend his reading beyond Carpenter—whose work he calls "the best discussion of the relation of mind and body in modern times,"—and a few others, to Wundt and Helmholtz, who are only names to him, and to Hughlings, Jackson, Fechner, Vulpian, Schiff, Horwicz-Flechaig, and scores of others who have lately made original contributions towards the solution of the question of the relation between the nervous system and consciousness, and perhaps even discuss such subjects as aphasia, inhibition, muscular sense, Meynert's schematization, etc., all of which lie directly in his path, but of which he seems never to have heard, his pedagogics would be less incisive. Mr. Cook himself, and still more his unscientific audience, who respond by "applause," "sensation," and occasional "amens," to so many of his wildest assertions, grossly violate that good old precept of Coleridge; viz., be sure you are not ignorant of an author's understanding before you affect to understand his ignorance.

Of his studied forensic against Huxley's bathybius, which for five years caused men to "tremble before the strong negation of the supernatural," but which is now a "myth and byword of derision," it is enough to remember that Huxley has long since abandoned his invention, and that Mr. Cook grossly misquotes and misrepresents what he said about it. Yet in elaborating the thesis that everything organic, even "your molecular brain, is first woven by your bioplasta," he goes beyond even Beale's widest speculations, from whom his charts, facts, language, and deductions upon this subject are borrowed; forgetting Mr. Stirling's wholesome admonition, that if all life is identified in protoplasm, it must be differentiated in protoplasm. Whatever is meant by the phrase, "An involution must precede every evolu-

tion," it is hard to see how this compels the belief in a personal God or an immortal soul. The concessions of evolutionists are undisputed and familiar; so comprehensive a theory of the universe must long remain more or less provisional; it is a question of the balance of probabilities and not of exact demonstration. Yet, even if it be true, Mr. Cook thinks it worth while strategically to urge that the body of religious truth is in no way affected, and to insist that the teleological, which is the one of "thirty forms of the theory of evolution" that he prefers, is, like Darwin himself, probably theistic. Of course, in contemplating the ultimate questions of human knowledge respecting Nature or man, as revealed by the telescope, the microscope, and in the laboratory, the poetic faculties of men everywhere, as Mr. Shalrp has so well shown, are prone to mythologize. Aberglaube is often truly æsthetic, and religion, whatever else it may be, is always the poetry of life. This is well; far better, indeed, than the blank philosophy of necesse. But let us not confound poetry with science, nor forget that there is no adequate proof of the dicta of theology in Nature. Dogmatism in this direction may be more respectable, but it is certainly no more "educated" than the crass, obsolescent materialism whose decent corpse Mr. Cook takes pleasure in mutilating. This should be a wholesome warning to scientific men who are disposed to pass from their speciality, particularly in their more popular utterances, to speculations on the secrets of the universe; unless, indeed, they wish to be immortalized, as Comte has been by the socialists, for their vagaries. Such an apotheosis has already begun for the unfortunate Lotze. No writer can be more æsthetic, modest, fonder of the sacredness of "reposeful mental states," more averse not only to dogmatism but even to system-making, more anxious to make philosophy merely the "general expression of individual culture" than one who, "without assuming to arrive at fully demonstrated results, nevertheless finds in reflection and in conversation upon fundamental problems the noblest occupation of human life," and who, in the *Mikrokosmos*, takes great pains to contrast what he understands by the phrase, "personality of God," in every essential respect with human personality. We can hardly object if such a writer fancies the soul to live and move "in the fibreless parenchyma of the brain"; but the climax of absurdity is reached when Mr. Cook dramatically personates him as standing upon the Tremont Temple platform, swinging an apocalyptic mill-stone and rending materialism "thus—thus," as Mr. Cook tears his notes before a transported audience. The fact is, that Mr. Cook is a neologist, poorly trained in the history of philosophical thought, and still more crude in his psychological analyses. God, materialism, immortality, etc., are for him terms of fixed and exact connotation, to be used without fallacy in an endless chain of syllogisms, instead of exceedingly composite concepts, varying with every shade of individual intelligence and experience.

A man of such vigorous health and of such robust magnetic personality as Mr. Cook, of such assurance and florid eloquence, who lives in what Hegel wittily terms the animal kingdom of mind, can always gather about himself an organization of curious or underrivitalized women who love to be thrilled, of business and professional men who love to hear the best commonplaces about literature, politics, and religion, etc., and of somewhat uninstructed "good" people generally. Some such tendencies are already manifest in the "Lectureship," and whether it results in a new "society," or something altogether new and strange, we would by no means disparage the possible public usefulness of any such consummation. Although as dramatic performer Mr. Cook violates all Hamlet's advice to players, he still moves, and even thrills, his hearers. Though as philosopher his discussions seem more and more manufactured, they are still scarcely less than oracular for his disciples. We only hope the new departure which is inevitable will be well advised; and when he "settles"—which he should do before the heyday of his fame fades,—that it will be to work of a more permanent sort.—*New York Nation*.

THE GREAT AWAKENING OF 1740.—The present remarkable revival of religious interest in this city and elsewhere renders timely and interesting a brief survey of the extraordinary movement of 1740-42, which has taken its place in the religious history of New England as "the great awakening." The revival referred to began in connection with the labors of George Whitefield, the great Evangelist, who, after successful labors in the Middle and Southern States, came to New England in September, 1740. There had been already indications of a revival in connection with the preaching of Edwards and others, and Whitefield's coming fanned into a flame the religious feeling of the people. He preached first at Newport and Bristol, R. I.; and reached Boston September 18. He was received cordially by the Governor and the clergy. He preached the next day in the Brattle Street Church to "about four thousand," and the day after in the Old South to "about six thousand," and afterward on the Common to "about eight thousand." On Sunday he preached "in Mr. Foxcroft's meeting-house," located in Cornhill Square, and known as the "Old Brick." His estimates of his audiences need to be taken with some allowance, as it would be a physical impossibility to crowd into the Old South, for example, one-half the congregation which he records as assembled there. Nothing is easier than to over-estimate a crowd. The day following he preached to great congregations at the "New North" Church, and Mr. Checkley's in Summer Street,—the crowd at the latter place being so great as to occasion a panic in which five persons were trampled to death and many were injured. He preached with marked effect also in Cambridge, Rox-

bury, and elsewhere, both indoors and out, and received multitudes of inquirers at his lodgings. From September 29 to October 7 he was preaching in Marblehead, Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, Portsmouth, and York, Me. Returning to Boston, his preaching was accompanied with even greater power than before. After visiting Northampton, Hadley, and other points in the interior, he left for New York and the South, and subsequently for England. After his departure, the work in Boston was carried on by the city clergy, assisted by Gilbert Tennent, and revivals manifested themselves in all directions through New England. Later, Rev. John Davenport entered on an active career as an Evangelist, and did much harm by his extreme and arbitrary course, his severe condemnations of the ministers and professing Christians, and the excesses which he encouraged. The revivals began to be marked by unpleasant manifestations,—outcries, faintings, convulsions, etc. Mr. Joseph Tracy, who wrote in 1840 a history of the great awakening of a century previous, gives a summary of the results. The members added to the Congregational churches are variously estimated from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand; and there were also numerous accessions to the Presbyterian Church. In the twenty years following one hundred and fifty new Congregational churches were formed, and a considerable number of "Separatist"; and there were accessions to the Baptist churches also. But the effects of the revival are not adequately measured by these figures. Previous to the revival, it was a general practice among the Presbyterian and Congregational churches to admit to communion all persons of Orthodox belief and moral life, without requiring any evidence of conversion. The consequence was, that there were very many unconverted church-members, and not a few unconverted ministers. Multitudes of such members were converted, and in some cases the revival was almost wholly within the Church; and a large addition requires to be made on this score to the estimated number of conversions. Not less than twenty ministers in the vicinity of Boston ascribed their conversion to Whitefield. The population of the colonies at this time was about two million. Supposing the number of conversions to have been fifty thousand, a revival of proportionate power among our present population of forty million would result in the conversion of one million souls.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

AT THE CROSS.

BY ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

Before Thy Cross, dear Lord, I fall;
Out of the depths to Thee I call,
Oh, Friend and Helper, one and all.

Oh, dearest Lord, Thy tender eye
Rebukes, yet pities my lone cry,
When staggering 'neath my cross I lie.

Poor human heart, with human needs,
How many are its broken reeds,
Grasped till the hand in torture bleeds!

How many gourds have felt the blight!
How many stars have lost their light!
How many suns gone down in night!

All, all are gone like barks at sea,
Lost in the dread immensity;
And now I stand alone with Thee.

All prostrate at Thy Cross I kneel,
For Thou canst all our sorrows feel,
And Thy dear hand our wounds can heal.

No more I mark the dreary road
My bleeding feet so long have trod,—
Content to be alone with God.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 9.

A. M. Lathrop, \$2; A. H. Roffe & Co., \$2.20; Dr. John Winslow, \$6.60; J. Aulbach, 10 cents; H. S. Bacon, \$5.30; D. H. Clark, \$18; W. C. Gannett, 25 cents; Parker Pillsbury, 10 cents; W. P. Taylor, \$6.67; B. Greene, \$10; W. E. Darwin, \$1.21; Prof. F. E. Nipher, \$2.30; Rev. J. S. Thompson, \$3.20; Dr. H. B. Clark, \$3.30; Joseph York, \$3.20; L. Markham, \$3.20; D. Muncy, \$3.30; Marshall Pierce, \$3.25; Alexander Fix, \$3.20; David Fey, \$3.20; Mrs. H. S. Mason, \$3.20; Henry Miller, \$3.30; J. S. Palmer, \$3.20; Verain Vorwarts, \$3.20; E. P. Wright, \$3.20; J. H. Elliot, \$3.20; Isaac Benham, \$3.20; Geo. B. Young, \$3.20; Otto Rothschild, \$3.20; J. H. Clark, \$3.20; Mrs. C. E. Serrill, \$3.50; Nelson Thwing, \$1.75; W. W. Justice, \$9.60; William Archibald, 30 cents; Mary E. Bruner, \$2.20; T. McWhorter, \$3; J. E. Larimer, \$9.60; Dr. Henry Baethig, \$5.40; Theo. Frits, \$3; F. M. Tate, \$6.67; M. Michaels, \$6.52; Henry A. Dean, \$3.20; Mrs. Peter Phillips, \$3.20; E. Elsing, \$3.20; Nath'l Holmes, \$3.20; B. Moore, \$3.20; E. H. Doolittle, \$5; Dr. W. M. McLawry, \$3.70; Lucy H. Balch, \$3.20; Ingersoll Lockwood, \$1; J. H. Clark, \$3.20; Jessie Wilcox, \$3.20; A. Gebhard, 10 cents; Rev. A. M. Haakell, 50 cents; W. S. Babcock, \$3; John C. Ramsey, 10 cents; O. C. Cloghton, \$5; W. H. Hamlen, \$3.20; S. Webster, \$3.20; N. C. Nash, \$6.40; H. Stanton Curtis, \$3.20; E. H. Hall, \$1.35; G. H. Foster, \$2.20; Julius K. Rose, \$3; R. Tomlinson, \$6; W. W. Moore, \$6.40; T. M. Hart, 20 cents; Thomas Marshall, \$3; M. H. Parker, 25 cents; Joseph E. Peck, \$4; Huldah P. Robinson, \$3.20; Thomas Goodall, \$4.25; B. Lasker, \$3.20; F. S. Newell, \$3.20; Joseph Whitney, \$3.20; Gardner Murphy, \$13.20; R. P. Hollowell, \$3.20; Cash, \$2; Wm. P. Draper, \$3.20; T. B. Wakeman, \$7.00; Mrs. S. B. Stebbins, 25 cents; J. Bodge, 40 cents; D. Grosbeck, 50 cents.

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

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

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 14, 1878.

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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 WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERRY, GEORGE JACOB
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 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

A REQUEST TO LIBERAL EDITORS.

At a meeting of the Directors of the National Liberal League, held in this city on Friday, January 18, it was

Voted, To request the editors of liberal papers all over the country to publish the Directors' "Call to Organize" new Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues on Washington's birthday,—also the "Card" of the Financial Committee, as follows:—

Call to Organize.

CITIZENS of the United States who indorse the appended political platform adopted in convention by the National Liberal League, at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1877, are requested to meet in their respective cities and towns on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, 1878, for the purpose of organizing themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues in accordance with the provisions of the National Liberal League Constitution. Copies of the latter and blanks for organization can be obtained from W. H. Hamlen, Secretary, 231 Washington Street, Boston, or from H. L. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Salamanca, N. Y.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN,
 J. A. J. WILCOX,
 H. L. GREEN,
 D. G. CRANDON,
 BOSTON, Jan. 18, 1878.

Directors
 N.L.L.

Platform of the National Liberal League.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

A Card.

The Finance Committee of the National Liberal League, in consequence of the lack of funds in the Treasury, and of the fact that the Directors are able to do so little of the important work that ought to be done, appeal to all lovers of liberty for financial help, to enable them to publish and disseminate the views of able writers in behalf of the principles of the Rochester Platform, and to advance the common cause in other equally proper ways.

If earnest liberals throughout the United States will contribute one dollar apiece (with as much more as their generosity shall prompt or their means permit), in order to become Annual Members of the National Liberal League, they will furnish the requisite aid, and the work shall be done.

DANIEL G. CRANDON, } Financial
 HARLAN P. HYDE, } Committee
 SARAH B. OTIS, } N.L.L.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER,
 Secretary F.R.A.

A FRENCH VIEW OF FREE RELIGION.

La Religion Laïque is the name of a monthly magazine of thirty-two pages, edited and published at Clermont (Oise), with business offices at Paris and Asnières. Describing itself as an "Organ of Social Regeneration," and bearing as mottoes on the title-page—"Se gouverner soi-même, en marchant vers la perfection," "*La Religion sans prêtres, sans mystères, sans miracles*,"—it is now about a year and a half old. The editor is M. Charles Fauvety, to whom subscriptions (twelve francs a year) may be sent at "No. 8, Avenue Persaire, Asnières, France."

A letter addressed by M. Fauvety to M. Fezandé, of Plainfield, N. J., was published through the kindness of the latter gentleman in THE INDEX of January 24. It contained a statement that use would be made of the "Fifty Affirmations" in the number of *La Religion Laïque* for January, which has been since received; and we have translated below the article referred to, partly to correct an error of our own in alluding at the time to M. Fauvety's position as "wholly independent of Christianity," and still more to present to our readers his criticisms on that very position of independence. It will be seen from this translation that the movement which M. Fauvety represents is nearly, if not quite, identical with the broadest and most liberal phrase of Unitarianism in this country; and some curiosity may be pardonable as to the connection of his movement with that of Dr. Channing and the late Athanasie Coquerel. Possibly no such connection may exist; but it is difficult not to recognize a certain spiritual, if not historical, affinity between the two movements. Without further preface we invite the attention of our readers to M. Fauvety's article, translated from *La Religion Laïque* for January, 1878.

Religious Movement in the United States.

THE "FREE RELIGION" OF M. FR. E. ABBOT.

A religious movement similar to that which *La Religion Laïque* represents in France exists in the United States. We have already spoken in this journal of the "Independent Church" of Rev. O. B. Frothingham, which suppresses all the sacraments and conserves no other dogmas than the fraternity of man, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul. We shall speak a word to-day of another attempt not less advanced, and of a liberalism not less large, of which the initiative belongs to Mr. Francis E. Abbot. *L'homme distingué* who is at the head of this new Church* published in THE INDEX of November 1 a series of "Affirmations" in fifty articles, which will make sufficiently known the large and progressive spirit of Free Religion—such being the name which Mr. Abbot has given to his work. We shall translate literally those articles of the synopsis in which it is found defined. Those that

*It is surely unnecessary to say to readers of THE INDEX that we regard Free Religion as "founded" by human nature itself on reaching a certain stage of development,—as having made its earliest historical appearance in Christendom at the Protestant Reformation,—as having derived the name it now bears from the Free Religious Association,—and as aiming to establish a free and universal fellowship in religion to which the word "church" would be quite inapplicable. There could not, therefore, be any individual "founder" of Free Religion.—ED. INDEX.

precede give general expositions which will teach nothing to the readers of this Review. They are designed to establish the distinction that must be made between the universal, imperishable Religion which shares the general development of humanity and the particular religions (such as Judaism and the various forms of traditional Christianity) which are destined to perish when they shall have ceased to satisfy the religious needs of an enlightened and enlarged society.

Of the earlier articles we shall mention only the first, which establishes between the work of Mr. Abbot and that which we ourselves pursue a community of aim that will suffice to make us regard as co-religionists the adherents of Free Religion. This first article is thus conceived:—

"Religion is the effort of Man to perfect himself."

This, then, is the manner in which the founder of Free Religion himself defines his work.*

FREE RELIGION.

32. The Protestant Reformation was the birth of Free Religion,—the beginning of the religious protest against authority within the confines of the Christian Church.
33. The history of Protestantism is the history of the growth of Free Religion at the expense of the Christian Religion. As love of freedom increases, reverence for authority decreases.
34. The completion of the religious protest against authority must be the extinction of faith in the Christian Confession.
35. Free Religion is emancipation from the outward law, and voluntary obedience to the inward law.
36. The great faith or moving power of Free Religion is faith in Man as a progressive being.
37. The great ideal end of Free Religion is the perfection or complete development of Man,—the race serving the individual, the individual serving the race.
38. The great practical means of Free Religion is the integral, continuous, and universal education of man.
39. The great law of Free Religion is the still, small voice of the private soul.
40. The great peace of Free Religion is spiritual oneness with the infinite One.
41. Free Religion is the natural outcome of every historical religion,—the final unity, therefore, towards which all historical religions slowly tend.

RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO FREE RELIGION.

42. Christianity is identical with Free Religion so far as its universal element is concerned,—antagonistic to it so far as its special element is concerned.
43. The corner-stone of Christianity is faith in the Christ. The corner-stone of Free Religion is faith in Human Nature.
44. The great institution of Christianity is the Christian Church, the will of the Christ being its supreme law. The great institution of Free Religion is the coming Republic of the world, or commonwealth of man, the universal conscience and reason of mankind being its supreme organic law or constitution.
45. The fellowship of Christianity is limited by the Christian Confession; its brotherhood includes all subjects of the Christ and excludes all others. The fellowship of Free Religion is universal and free; it proclaims the great Brotherhood of Man without limit or bound.
46. The practical work of Christianity is to Christianize the world,—to convert all souls to the Christ, and insure their salvation from the wrath of God. The practical work of Free Religion is to humanize the world,—to make the individual nobler here and now, and to convert the human race into a vast coöperative union devoted to universal ends.
47. The spiritual ideal of Christianity is the suppression of self and perfect imitation of Jesus the Christ. The spiritual ideal of Free Religion is the free development of self, and the harmonious education of all its powers to the highest possible degree.
48. The essential spirit of Christianity is that of self-humiliation at the feet of Jesus, and passionate devotion to his person. The essential spirit of Free Religion is that of self-respect and free self-devotion to great ideas. Christianity is prostrate on its face; Free Religion is erect on its feet.
49. The noblest fruit of Christianity is a self-sacrificing love of man for Jesus' sake. The noblest fruit of Free Religion is a self-sacrificing love of man for man's own sake.
50. Christianity is the faith of the soul's childhood; Free Religion is the faith of the soul's manhood. In the gradual growth of mankind out of Christianity into Free Religion, lies the only hope of the spiritual perfection of the individual and the spiritual unity of the race.

We will point out that, while agreeing with Mr. Abbot as to the aim of life and the object of religion, since he, like ourselves, finds the aim of life in perfection and the object of religion in the activity of constant self-improvement, we distinguish ourselves from him in the sense that, while he voluntarily places himself outside of Christianity, we by no means intend to separate ourselves from it. And why separate ourselves from it, when we can say of the Gospel what Jesus said of the Old Testament—that we "come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it"? Yes, to fulfil it, to complete it, doing by the aid of a more precise science and a more comprehensive philosophy what could not be done eighteen

*See preceding foot-note.

centuries ago, in a less developed, less cultured, and generally less civilized environment than that in which we live.

But, in order to avoid separating ourselves from the Christian tradition, it was necessary to take Christianity at its sources, and to interpret the gospel-word, as we have done, with a spirit of liberty, impartiality, and benevolence, and to know how to discover, under the veil of dogmas and symbols, the relative expression of eternal truth.

It was for this reason that, after having declared at the outset in the preface of our work (see the pamphlet entitled *La Religion laïque et l'Eglise unitaire*), that we assigned to life as its aim, not happiness, whether on earth or in heaven, but perfection in harmony and in fulness, we added that, so doing, we only obeyed the commandment of Jesus himself: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect." Thus we re-united ourselves at the outset to the Christian Ideal.

We have also tried in various articles, and especially in our "Conversations on the Christian Mysteries," to show that it is by a false interpretation of texts that theologians have extracted from the gospels frequently absurd and sometimes immoral and cruel doctrines, which they have imposed on the credulous and unenlightened plety of the world.

It is because Mr. Abbot has not taken account of this work of criticism and rational exposition of the Christian symbolism that he has failed to comprehend the identity existing between the religion of Christ and the religion of Humanity, and has omitted to take into account the perversion which, in the development of the Christian idea, has been caused by the invention of dogmas and the sacerdotal organization of the Church. To that extent the Christian Confession was open to all those who, ceasing to regard themselves as mutually divided by distinctions of class, sex, condition, or race, desired to become, by communion in the spirit of Christ, members of the body of Humanity.

We take up again to-day—we others, the religious men of all countries—with better chances of success, we trust, the humanitarian idea of the first founders of Christianity. And it is necessary to recognize clearly that, in this sense, we are only continuators of the work of Jesus.

Mr. Abbot does well to separate himself from that Christianity which, under pretext of imitating Jesus Christ, recommends the suppression of self and humiliation at the foot of the Cross. But is it quite true that that is the "ideal and spirit" of the Christian gospel? We do not believe it. These false notions cannot be extorted from the letter of the Scriptures except by misconstruing their spiritual sense.

The doctrine of the gospels is a doctrine of liberty, of equality, and of human solidarity. We have not to repudiate it, but to explain and complete it with the help of a social science which, in our days, will necessarily be more exact and positive, but cannot be more humane and fraternal. Ah! if the world would only understand that Jesus is not an individual, but the type of a perfected humanity of which all the members constitute only one body,—and that "Christ" is the desirable state in which the Humanity-Man has attained the life of a holy harmony with the universe, one with God,—it would see that the same idea is expressed, whether one says, with the gospel, that love of the neighbor must lead to a "self-sacrificing love of man for Jesus' sake," or whether one writes, with Mr. Abbot, that "the noblest fruit of Free Religion is a self-sacrificing love of man for man's own sake." (Article 49 of the series.)

Finally, if it were permitted to us to modify Article 50, which is as it were the summary of the "Affirmations," we should prefer to say:—

"If Christianity is the faith of the soul in its infancy, and if Free Religion is the faith of the soul arrived at manhood, the two religions make only one: both, rather, are the Religion of Humanity in its gradual approach towards the spiritual perfection of the individual and the race, through the social union of the human family and through communion of the human soul with the Divine soul."

Expressed in modern phrase, that is religion as Mr. Abbot understands it and as we ourselves understand it; and it is probable that the authors of the gospels did not understand it differently. They never intended to establish the idolatry of a God made Man; but it must be confessed that the gospel-myth, taken literally, could in an age of ignorance end in nothing else.

And now we are with Mr. Abbot when he tries to realize a more perfect form of religion than those

which Christianity has inspired. It is evident that there is a better to be realized; but it is not therefore necessary to break with the Christian idea. It is sufficient to develop it by bringing the ideal of Perfection, "God within us," into harmony with modern thought.

That is the work which we have undertaken. The attempt of Mr. Abbot, like that of Mr. Frothingham and some others which have been made in recent times in America and England, prove one thing: namely, that the number of our co-religionists in the world is considerable.

There is evidently at this time a religion which is in process of revealing itself among men. Doubtless it is only one of the forms of the eternal religion, but its manifestations present themselves everywhere with identical characteristics, as if it had been drawn from the same sources and made of the same elements. It is like the multiplied and collective revelation of one and the same truth.

This phenomenon, of course, contains no element of supernaturalism. In order to explain it, it is sufficient to remark that we have arrived at one of those moments when it is possible to form an idea of our relations considered as a whole, and to raise ourselves to a general conception of the physical and moral worlds. If this conception is truly based upon science, there is no reason why it should not be substantially the same with all those who have acquired science. In our day there is a civilization which, though unequally distributed, is nevertheless quite similar among the enlightened classes of all countries. It follows that, when a philosophic and benevolent spirit desires to formulate a religious synthesis, his thought naturally finds a response in that of all thinkers who have arrived at the same degree of intellectual and moral development.

That is what the gospel meant to express by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles. They possessed from that time the gift of tongues,—that is to say, they made themselves understood by men of all countries, because there were in all countries men who, finding themselves in the same mental state, could spiritually commune with them in the light.

When such a phenomenon occurs, the misery of the Tower of Babel and of the confusion of tongues is nearly at an end. Hosanna!

On the foregoing article of M. Fauvety, whom we gratefully recognize as one of the most thoughtful and genuinely catholic critics it has ever been our good fortune to find, it will not be inappropriate to add a few brief comments.

1. "Why separate ourselves from Christianity?" For the same reason that the youth separates himself from the paternal roof: to do his own inevitable and imperative work in the world. Or (to turn in our favor M. Fauvety's own illustration,) for the same reason that Christianity, finding itself powerless to make Judaism the cosmopolitan religion of the Roman Empire, was compelled to separate itself from its mother-faith, and thereby to prove that Jesus had only the vaguest and most erroneous conception of the nature of his own work and the future of his own religion, when he declared that he came only to "fulfil" the law of Moses. For his own followers, he could not "fulfil" without "destroying" it.

2. "Not taken account of this work of criticism and rational exposition of the Christian symbolism," etc. O yes; we spent years in preaching that "rational exposition of the Christian symbolism," and were at last compelled to give it up as the work of self-deluding imagination rather than of reason. That task is the threshing of straw already threshed—a labor of which we at last grew weary. We must rather believe that M. Fauvety himself has not taken into account the immutable laws of history, when he treats as a mere "invention" of human perversity that necessary dogmatic and ecclesiastical development which was foreordained when Jesus first claimed to be the "Christ of God." There is an utter absence of the historical consciousness in any mind which can treat the history of Christianity for fifteen hundred years as the "corruption" of a primordial gospel, identical with the most highly elaborated religious philosophy of the nineteenth century. We venture to think that M. Fauvety himself will outgrow, as we have done, this forced inversion and negation of natural necessities. The "first founders of Christianity" had no "humanitarian idea" in the modern sense; their one great idea was the "Christ," as viceroy of the "kingdom of God." Hence the Church and the Pope were the inevitable fruit of the Messianic seed.

3. "The doctrine of the gospels is a doctrine of

liberty, equality, and of human solidarity." Alas, no! That is the doctrine slowly worked out by well-nigh two thousand years of added world-experience, but nowhere as yet comprehended save by the really dechristianized intellect. It has never yet been comprehended by the Christian Church—much less illustrated or practised by it. For proof of this look at the history of the Church: is other argument needed?

4. "Jesus the type of a perfected humanity." We heartily sympathize with the substance of M. Fauvety's generous, humane, and liberal faith; but we find the type of its perfect work in the Ideal alone, which has never been realized in the past. The "Jesus" is, after all, only a foregleam of this Ideal in the glowing imagination of enthusiasm; it is only a beautiful dream striving vainly to insinuate itself among the grisly forms of history. Let the Ideal shine where it is—before us, and not behind!

5. We cannot accept the amended 50th article of the "Affirmations." Christianity and Free Religion remain two, after all; just as infancy and manhood are two, despite the persistence of personal identity. What is one is the HUMANITY which abides under all changes; religions are the stages of individual growth, successive and non-convertible.

6. "Not necessary to break with the Christian idea." But this was done at the Reformation, and the fracture is irreparable. The Christian idea is Empire; the modern idea is Freedom; the mischief is already done!

The movement of Free Religion is a great, forward positive movement of the human soul towards its own Ideal—towards that Perfection which lies nowhere but in its own Ideal. It is in vain to cling to the Christian idea, or drape it with beauties which are not its own, but borrowed unconsciously from Humanity. Free Religion has passed through the stage through which *La Religion Laïque* is passing to-day; and it will never return to it. But we recognize sympathetically the affinties which bind us to our large-minded and large-hearted "kinsmen in the spirit," whether trans-Atlantic or cis-Atlantic; and we extend a most cordial greeting to M. Fauvety and his fellow-laborers, with warm wishes for their success and happiness and for a better mutual acquaintance in the future.

Communications.

LIBERAL LEAGUE NOTES.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I have just returned home from two Liberal conventions. The first was held at Linesville, Pa., January 27, 28, and 29; the other at Corry, Pa., January 30 and 31.

The first one was called by the Linesville Liberal League as a celebration of Paine's birthday, and it proved a great success. Linesville is probably the most liberal town in the United States. I was surprised, when I arrived there, to notice a large show-bill, advertising the meeting, posted in the front window of nearly every business-house in the village; and the explanation was, that the proprietors were all freethinkers. G. W. Baldwin, Esq., our National Liberal League committee-man for Pennsylvania, is the editor of the paper of the place, and is also the President of the League.

The meeting was held in the Opera Hall, and was well filled at every session with an audience of from five to six hundred people. On the last evening, when the hall was crowded, on motion of Dr. Brown, of Binghamton, the audience by a unanimous vote, adopted the resolutions and platform of the National League. And the Linesville League has voted to apply for a charter from the National Liberal League. Your space will not allow of my giving any report of the able and earnest speeches delivered on the occasion.

Everybody was delighted with our eloquent young friend, Rev. S. W. Sample, of Meadville; and I am pleased to learn that he is speaking very often in behalf of the principles of the Liberal League. There are but few more able defenders of our platform. Mr. O. P. Kellogg, a Freethought and Spiritualist lecturer from Ohio, delivered on the last evening an eloquent, interesting, and instructive lecture, entitled "Justice to Paine." He is an interesting speaker, and is doing what he can for the League movement. Mr. A. B. Brown, of Worcester, gave a scholarly and well-written address on "Evolution." He is lecturing in that vicinity. Dr. Brown, of Binghamton, enlivened the audience with his wit and humor. The ladies of the League did themselves great credit in serving up a supper on the last evening, in the Universalist Church, that was partaken of by the multitude; after which a large and intelligent party enjoyed a grand dance.

From Linesville the "Two Browns," Mr. Sample, and myself went to Corry, Pa., where a Freethinkers' Convention was held which was well attended, and passed off to the entire satisfaction of all present. Mr. William Barnsdall, President of the Titusville Liberal League, presided, assisted by a lady from Oil City, whose name I obtained, but regret to

say have mislaid. This lady proved an important accession to the meeting. She is an intelligent woman and a fine speaker, and is preparing to take the lecture-field in behalf of the Liberal cause. She proposes to get up a Liberal League in Oil City at once. In my next communication, when I obtain her name, I will have more to say in relation to this new advocate of liberalism. At this meeting the Congregational minister attended and took part in the discussions, to the great satisfaction of our Liberal friends. This Congregational minister is evidently not far from the "kingdom." He insisted that your correspondent was a Christian, and I insisted he was not one. He concluded I was good enough for one, and I thought him too far advanced to be one. I was thankful for his good opinion.

Mr. Barnsdall made some very pertinent remarks in relation to the League movement, and says the Tinsville League is to have a large meeting soon. And I must not forget to say that the meeting at Corry was gotten up by two Spiritualist ladies, who are entitled to great credit. They went around town before the meeting and raised money enough to pay for the hall. And it was as good a meeting as I ever attended. On my arrival home yesterday, I found many letters giving encouraging information in relation to the League movement. Allow me to quote some short extracts therefrom.

Edgar M. Sellon writes from Buffalo, N. Y., that the Liberals of that city are to meet the third Sunday in February to organize a League. He invited your correspondent to attend and address the meeting. Mr. Henry Stemiske, President of the Buffalo Free-thinkers' Association, writes me that that society will unite with the new organization.

Mr. E. C. Walker writes from Florence, Iowa: "It is proposed to hold a State Convention of the Liberals of Iowa at Des Moines, probably about the 7th of March. We hope to organize a State League, and should have had a call out before now, but Dr. J. C. Michener, chairman of our State committee, seems to think that we need be in no particular hurry. Our Local League is a live one, and we hold our first regular Sunday meeting the 27th instant." Mr. Walker appears to be in dead earnest in this movement, and I wish he could be kept constantly in the field.

Mr. Jesse B. Barry, a disabled soldier, writes that the inmates of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers in Montgomery County, Ohio, propose to organize a League at once. That, it appears to me, is a very appropriate work for those who have been disabled in a warfare for liberty.

Dr. C. R. Nutt, of Houston, Texas, is in hopes an auxiliary Liberal League may be established there soon.

Mr. H. Butterfield, of Salem, Kansas, informs me that "the prospects are favorable to organize a League here. No trouble to get forty or more names."

Mr. M. B. Chambers, of Marshallton, Pa., is moving in a League in that place.

Miss Gibson, of Philadelphia, is lecturing there in favor of our cause.

Mr. D. Boynton, of Sandstone, Jackson County, Mich., writes for some instruction in relation to forming Leagues, and says a meeting will be called there soon to organize one.

Mr. E. D. Strong, of San Bernardino, Cal., sends word that a League is to be formed soon in the western town.

Mr. A. B. Register, of Granite Falls, Minn., is moving in behalf of a Liberal League in that town. He says: "That such a movement has become a necessity, no thinking man or woman can doubt. The churches at the present time are making a desperate effort to crush out freethought and liberal expression in every possible direction, while we, without organization, are powerless to defend ourselves."

Mr. F. R. Stagg, of Parkersburgh, West Va., is confident a League can be organized in that town. He says the revivalist Hammond has been holding a "revival" there, and a League will be organized as the result of his labors. I wish that wherever Hammond goes he might produce such a result.

Mr. W. T. Kirby, of Sabattus, Me., has had his attention called to the League movement by the *Banner of Light*, and thinks a League can be organized in Sabattus.

Mr. T. F. Enslow, of Derby, Lucas, Co., writes he is a Spiritualist, and indorses the League movement, and says an effort will be made to organize immediately.

But, Mr. Editor, I will not further trespass upon your space, but only add that I am pleased to see that Miss Emily J. Leonard, of West Meriden, Ct., has succeeded in getting a League organized there. I hope other Liberal women will follow her noble example. H. L. GREEN.

P.S.—In a private letter just received, I learn a new League has just been organized at Adel, Iowa. The officers are Hon. Benjamin Green, President; J. C. Michener, M.D., Secretary; and Miss J. Perkins, Treasurer. The Liberals of this State appear to be wide awake.

"A. W. K." ON COMMUNISM.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your new editorial contributor must have drifted down from a sacerdotal age and lost his way. He seems like one who finds himself suddenly landed and awakened, wild and staring, in a strange camp. At all events he is not at home in the liberal one. He seems never to have heard of evolution, and the "development theory" has no meaning for him. No writer at all familiar with Darwin and Spencer, or with the literature to which their works have given rise, would make such a statement as this: "Our laws and institutions were originally established

mainly for the better protection of the weaker and more defenceless members of society."

Now our laws and institutions never were "originally established." They grew up by degrees out of previous laws and institutions,—shading away to originally mere customs or usages. Besides, when laws and institutions were gradually established, long after the origin and more or less organization of human society, they were established mainly for the better protection of the law-and-institution maker, and the stronger and more fit to survive; and laws and institutions are to this day established by lawyers and capitalists for the better protection of lawyers and capitalists, and only in a very minor way "for the better protection of the weaker and more defenceless members of society."

Again, no student of sociology, or close observer of the social movement from the earliest ages, would utter such a reversal of the facts as the following: "No good and sufficient reason can be given why, if communism be the best and most natural condition of humanity, the movement of society should have been steadily in the opposite direction."

Now, to give your contributor his choice of weapons in this contest, let me "coördinate" for him "all facts bearing upon the question at issue" and see what they teach,—or, if THE INDEX won't hold all the facts, then such fair specimens of them as will indicate the whole. Let us take a rapid trip back to the beginnings of social development. What was the shape of the first human dwelling? A cave in the earth, the hollow of a tree, or a nest in the branches. What shape did it take next? A few upright poles inclined together at the top, with leaves or skins thrown about them for a very rude roof. What next? A cabin of rough logs, laid up in approximate walls, thatched with branches, or fern-leaves, or straw. What next? The adobe hut. Long after that came burnt brick laid up squarely in four walls. Then improvement in the human dwelling went on more rapidly, and upper stories began to be added with substantial roofing. Then came fortresses and castles, abbeys and monasteries, sheltering and subsisting large numbers; till now the highest development of the human residence as far as we have gone is the apartment house, the French flat, and the family hotel in cities; "steadily" not "in the opposite direction" to communism.

Again, what was the first grouping of human residences? The neighborhood of caves, or hollows, or tree-tops. What next? The camp of lodges. What next? The hamlet of cabins. What next? The village of huts, developing into the central village or market-town of adobe houses. Somewhere along in this series also came the tents of shepherds and wandering tribes. What next? The city of wood and brick. And last of all the metropolis, or capital, with splendid residences, apartment houses, and hotels, built of brick, stone, iron, and marble. The gregarious, communistic, social instinct of the human race builds up these small and great aggregated centres, and population has always tended from the rural fields to the village, from the village to the town, and from the town to the city.

Naval architecture has gone through the same evolution, from the first raft of logs to the dugout, or bark-canoe; then to the boat with oars; then through the barque, the sloop, the schooner, the brig, the ship, clipper-ship, and frigate, to the great steamships of to-day, carrying hundreds for a crew, and thousands of passengers, in common mess-rooms, dining-rooms, dormitory, and cabins.

Look now at the development of the art of attack and defence,—or war. The first strife began between individuals with teeth and claws; then between neighborhoods, clans, and tribes; then between regions with rivers or mountains interposed; then between migratory and stationary people; and finally, between kingdoms, empires, and nations. Every step of the way, in this development, war has organized itself on a larger scale, with greater numbers and in grander proportions,—more and more communism, and more complete organization, regulated hierarchy, and socialism as development went on.

Glance now at the development of industry and the arts of subsistence,—each primitive man gathering his own fruits and nuts, then catching his own fish and fowl, then hunting in squads or fishing in crews. But I need not go over all the steps which have brought human industry to its present high development,—immense shops, great factories, colossal establishments; some of them employing thousands of men, women, and children,—more communism, growing step by step as human industry developed.

I have now traced in the most touch-and-go way, five great lines of evolutionary movement from primeval times,—every one of them telling one and the same common story, and every step in them all tending more and more towards masses, aggregation, social organization, and final communism.

The order and naming of the various stages of development may not be as accurate as the specialist in the various lines would make them; but they are sufficiently exact to exhibit the principle contended for.

Now what are the facts of the more differentiated and diversified industrial, educational, and reform movements of this century? It is impossible to take a step in any direction of reform without going straight towards socialism. Penalties for crime take the shape of prisons,—great buildings where numbers are confined, worked, fed, clothed, slept, and sheltered in common departments. The insane are gathered into great asylums; and so are the deaf-mute and the blind. Inebriates are sent to common homes for confinement and cure. Truant and vagrant children are sent to reformatories,—and now the tramp! What do you suppose those who can ride are proposing to do with him who goes afoot? Why, collect him miscellaneous into work-houses, set him at labor in communities, feed, clothe, and

shelter him in common dwellings, where he can be supported at small cost, on account of the economies of the communal arrangement. There is a project of law with these and other provisions now before the legislature of this State. Homes for the aged, homes for the crippled soldier, homes for disabled seamen, are the order of the day. Philanthropy doesn't think of taking a step anywhere except in the direction of cooperation, communism, socialism.

Education takes the same familiar road,—first, instruction at the mother's knee; then under private tutors; then in the "select school" of a few; then at the district school of the many; and, finally, higher education carries the student on through the academy, the college, and the university, with common buildings, dining-rooms, laundry, and dormitory,—communism, socialism, all the way along.

Trade, commerce, business, the first forms partnerships of two, then of three or four; and, finally, great corporations carry on the world's work and distribution. Trade in dry goods, thread, needles, and housekeeping began in the navigator's sloop along the coasts, and in the pedler's pack on land. Then it gathered into country stores; and now it brings up in palaces of merchandise, like Stewart's and Macy's, in great cities. I have myself worn shoes made at my father's fireside by the itinerant shoemaker. The progress of the times soon gathered him into the shops of the town, and now he is mostly working in immense factories at great centres of industry. Clothing has taken the same course, and the sewing-machine employs hundreds of hands in one establishment.

Now, having gathered this cumulative array of facts, to oblige your new editorial contributor, let me call his attention to one point, and rivet it there with all the emphasis of his own italics,—if it is possible to concentrate such vague, diffused outlook as he seems to have cast on the course of history. All these movements are converging branches of one great, all-receiving, unifying stream. They are all flowing now, to-day, as in the past, and all in the same direction, with increasing meaning and momentum. Where are these currents going to unite,—in what all-embracing ocean will they *debouche*? No other deduction from the facts can be made than that humanity will go on with its gradually gathered experiences and prepared materials to ages, millenniums, heavens, or whatever they may be called, of associated, interblended, social harmony. The circle, of which humanity has careered so appreciable a segment, and which socially scientific eyes can to-day see and measure and predict, will continue on to completion. The people, and the whole people, will yet be organized into industries which it will be their delight to pursue, and of which they themselves will receive the rewards; and will be housed in palaces, with appointments, conveniences, and luxurious furnishings, compared with which the residences of the vulgar and vastly rich of the present day will be as the shambles of the savages in an African jungle.

Of course this will not happen by the middle of next week, nor next year. But there is no hurry. There is plenty of time. There is an eternity to fill up, and humanity might get out of work if we do not go slow. The Infinite has taken infinite leisure to create what has been accomplished, and is not going to be hurried now. It depends upon man himself to accelerate this social work. He may aid but cannot much retard it. At all events, the few and rare people who dwell on heights, and get up early, can catch advance scintillations of the coming beams, order their lives thereby, and associate and commune, unscared by the howlings of any owl in the dark ravines of a river valley. This is what the people are doing in a tentative way at Guise in France, at Onelda, New Lebanon, and Icaria in America. These are differing forms of socialism, but the same in substance. They will do for the first rough models for future inventors to improve upon.

In one way or another, the social movement, as we see it evolving, will go on. There will be more and more cooperation, joining of hand to hand in labor, seeing of eye to eye, and standing of shoulder to shoulder, and more and more furtherance of each other's work as the race proceeds. The student of evolution has the right to prophesy because he fulfils the condition,—*he knows*. He has the key of the situation and can read the riddle of the movement. He is at the grand stand of the great Social Derby (history); saw the race start at the beginning; looked down on the speeding contestants as they passed the first stretch (savagery); scanned with eager vision the more exciting second heat (barbarism); observes now, in the third (civilization), that they are running well on the same course, and knows that they will not fly the track, but will arrive at the foreordained goal set before them. That goal is, and can be, no other than socialism—a thoroughly unutilized, economized, and scientized social life in some form,—perfect liberty, security, and happiness of the individual, with complete justice, order, and harmony in the social whole.

This article is already long, but justice requires one further correction of intellectual strabismus in historical interpretation. In his previous article, your contributor wrote the word *commune* when he meant *communism*. In his present statement he devotes a paragraph to the *commune*, but writes shy and don't use the word. The whole paragraph about the "restored column in the *Place Vendôme*" refers to the *commune*, not to communism; and it has no place in this discussion, any more than the word *too* would have in the proposition, two and two makes four; or than a California grizzly would be referred to in those touching lines:—

"The lambs he carries in his arms
And in his bosom bears."

The similarity is one of sound merely, not of meaning. Communism and community are derived from the Latin, *communis* and *communitas*, uncorrupted

by any special and local meaning which the word *commune* got in France. The *commune* in that country has only a very remote social meaning,—no more than the *town* in our political organization. In its origin, the *commune* was a defensive or fighting organization of burghers or citizens, in a limited territorial district,—a legalized arming of the people as opposed to the aggressions of the feudal lords. It was an organization for war and destruction,—very right and justifiable, no doubt, but still war; while communism is an organization for peace and production. The reader who would like to get a clear idea of the French *commune* will find it best treated in Louis Blanc's *History of the French Revolution*, where abundant authorities are cited. The socialistic meaning being taken out of the word, of course the *dictum* falls to the ground, that France "has twice within the past century attempted to reduce the socialistic theory to a practical working polity." THEOBON C. LELAND.

NEW YORK, Jan. 23, 1878.

NOTES FROM AUSTRALIA.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

An old London friend, now resident in Brooklyn, U. S. A., had sent me occasionally a copy of THE INDEX.

In 1876 he arranged that he should obtain and post to me here, monthly, sets of that paper, and I am receiving them pretty regularly.

I have been much gratified by the perusal of the general articles in THE INDEX; by those on morals and "freethought" in particular.

For politics, I have neither the taste nor the capacity necessary for the study and comprehension thereof; but I know that politics must be studied by some minds, if only to secure a place for the study of other sciences. Therefore I conclude—in opposition to the views of some of your subscribers—that articles and letters on politics should sometimes find a place in THE INDEX.

I have been so much and so pleasantly moved by some articles in THE INDEX, as frequently to wish that I could be allowed to collect such articles and reprint them in book form. And I was about to deal thus with the three lectures on "Socrates and Jesus," when I saw that I was not at liberty to do so without your permission; and also, that for the purpose of distribution only, perhaps I should be rendering more service to the work you have in hand—the emancipation of mind from the slavery of superstition—by sending for and circulating copies of THE INDEX, than by a reprint of the articles in question. Yet, as I think that many persons in Australia might read with approval nearly the whole of the lectures on "Socrates," if not also that of "Socrates and Jesus," while they would shrink from reading THE INDEX, I should be glad to see a separate publication of those lectures; and I find that I have at least one co-thinker on that subject in your correspondent "T.," INDEX 25th January, page 45, under the heading "A New Book Suggested." You expressed an opinion, in reply to "T.," that no good publishing house would be willing to incur the pecuniary risks of such publication. If so—if no one in the States would undertake the work,—I venture to suggest that those three lectures be offered to the gentlemen in London who are endeavoring to arrange for the continuance of the *Scott Series of Tracts*, for republication in that series.

I lend THE INDEX to the few persons in my small circle who care to read it, and then post it to London or elsewhere.

I sent for and received a set of the photographic pictures of the chief contributors to THE INDEX, and thus have the pleasure of being face to face with you, dear sir, as I write. Will you do me the favor to send me one or two copies of the late Mr. R. H. Ranney's photographs?

I much regret the loss to us by the early death of so intelligent, so brave, and so good a man and worker as he was. But what sang the divine poet?

"Yes, the grave
Hath quenched that eye, and death's relentless frost
Withered that arm; but the undying fame
Which Virtue hangs upon its votary's tomb
Shall never pass away."

In further proof of sympathy for your work I enclose draft on London for £5, say equal \$25, which you can apply in whole or in part to THE INDEX fund, or to the posting to me a few sets of THE INDEX for all this year, at your discretion. If you decide for the latter, please take care to post in time to catch the monthly mail from San Francisco, and I will ask one of our booksellers to sell the papers. If sold I will remit proceeds to you; if not, I will distribute them.

One of my readers of THE INDEX here has sent me so charming, modest, and timorous a criticism on the article on "Socrates," that I have claimed her permission to send it to you. Not having time to copy it, I send the original, which I think will please you none the less that it questions a portion of the article, and that it is written in a foreign tongue. I place it at your disposal.

There is another article in THE INDEX to which I would especially refer,—"The March of Science toward God": INDEX February 22.

I am an old "freethinker," Mr. Editor,—old enough, at least, to claim George Jacob Holyoake as one of my "godfathers" at the baptismal font of "freethought."

I recall the famous lectures of Charles Southwell and G. J. Holyoake; and I well remember how I listened in wondrous, and at first half-terrified, excitement to the one, and in still wondrous, but pleasant and hopeful, emotion to the other.

Dear old teacher! How glad I am to see new life, new vigor restored to him. How strongly his mind is photographed in his *Secular Review* now before

me. How clearly I behold him, with his terse, epigrammatic style in that article I have referred to—"The March of Science toward God."

It would ill-become an ill-educated man—and a pupil—to criticize the work of a scholar and a teacher; therefore I will only say that I am delighted with the article; that it gives me almost as much pleasure as did an article of his in the *Reasoner*, more than twenty-five years ago,—on "Moderation," I think it was.

For these, and for all other mercies of a kindred kind, *Truth's* holy name be blessed and praised.

But I am trespassing seriously on your space. My few notes have run into a long letter.

Offer to your fellow-workers and receive for yourself the assurance of my sympathy, gratitude, and respect.

Yours sincerely, B. R.

SYDNEY, N. S. Wales, June 1, 1877.

P.S.—There is not much show of freethought in these colonies; but I am told that there is a deep undercurrent of it; and I will send, or cause to be sent to you, a few notes occasionally, if you think they would interest your readers.

[We should be very glad to receive our generous friend's "Notes," even if, as in this case, they have to travel three times over the ocean to get to us, as happened to these by a misdirection of the letter. And we thank him gratefully for his liberality to THE INDEX, his £5 having been safely received.—ED.]

PAY YOUR POSTAGE LIKE A HERO.

THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In your article on the "Inviolability of the Mails," you take a square position on a point on which I have for years done obscure battling, and which has been of late forcing itself into prominence under difficulties. I mean the difference of postage rate between manuscript and printed matter. I quote of you the following paragraph, page 30, column 3:—

"3. The notion that there is some divine sanctity in the mails, rendering it absolute sacrilege to open for any purpose whatever any package dropped into the post-office, is a species of superstitious fetish-worship which we did not suppose any radical could be capable of. Certain classes of mail-matter are charged a lower rate of postage if left open at one end of the package; and the purpose of this regulation is to enable the post-office officials to examine the package. What absurdity, then, when we have all acquiesced for years in the inspection of our mails to this extent, to befool ourselves with the fiction that some inexplicable sacredness hangs about a bundle of circulars or pamphlets! If this is so,—if it is a violation of our sacred rights for the post-office man to peep into our packages,—let us all heroically pay letter-postage, and our rights will be inviolable. It is ridiculously unheroic, to say the least, to barter away these precious rights merely for a few cents lower postage!"

The liberty of the press and the sanctity of the mails are important principles; and whether they should cover the printing and sending through the post-office obscene matter or other matter judged criminal, is an important and intricate question. But in the controversy which has lately been raised on these matters, the sturdy advocates of the variously opposite opinions seem, with the single exception of yourself, to forget the main relevant point, which is one of application of public money raised by taxation.

They assume, or seem to assume, that the post-office, in this country, is a mere public convenience administered on business principles, and used by individuals on the strict condition of adequately paying for the services which they receive. Were this the case, the post-office might say, and ought to say: "I have nothing to do with prying into the contents of the letters and other mail-matter entrusted to me. I read the address, weigh the parcel, see that the postage is right, and send to destination. I am bound to secrecy by my oath of office, and answer the questions of press-reporter and police-detective alike by showing them the door. Dynamite cans, torpedoes, etc., of course excepted. In case of the matter being objectionable in a moral-literary point of view, the police must stop it before it reaches my hands or after it leaves them."

This is, of course, what a serious post-office administration ought to be by law enabled to answer in any country where the post-office is a public convenience conducted on the business principle of self-support. But in the United States the post-office is not self-supporting in either fact or principle; but is, legally and intendedly, a great charitable and missionary institution, transporting at public expense, through half-free rates, both the literature which is to civilize the people, and, under the wings of that literature, the advertisements through which the commercial man who has the most money can crush his competitors out of existence. Those commercial men, no doubt, amply repay the nation for the gratuity they receive, by giving to Congress many a good advice, chiefly as to the financial policy to be pursued by the nation. But how can the literature proper repay the nation for the gratuity which it receives in the shape of privileged postal rates? By being what it is by law intended to be: civilizing, refining, moral, Christian in the Protestant sense,—the only sense in which the law in this country is acquainted with Christianity. There must be some agency to ascertain whether the press fulfils, in this sense, its high missionary purpose. Mr. Comstock is that agency, and must, like every executive officer, use his judgment in interpreting his duty, subject to the orders of his superiors and the revision of the courts. We cannot expect his judgment, or even that of the courts, to coincide in every case with

that of every particular individual among us. But the worst mistake he or they could make would not be half so outrageous as the idea of the people carrying at charity rates, through the national post-office, immoral pamphlets.

I do not mean that our legislation on this subject, though I understand its working and appreciate its purpose, is all that I want it to be. I would rather say, Save all this trouble by conducting the post-office on strict business principles, charging for all mail-matter alike according to weight or bulk at one uniform rate, irrespective of manuscript or printed matter. If the matter be criminal, let it be dealt with as such before it reaches the hand of the post-office authorities, or after it leaves them. Even thus there would still be, to use the words of Mr. Comstock, "abundant means of detecting the vendors of vile literature without resorting to unlawful methods," as he shows is already the case with matter circulating at letter-postage rates.

But if the principle of a distinction between mail-matter to be transported at business and at charity rates is to be maintained, what we must demand is, not a less stringent but a more stringent application of the principle of discrimination between matter entitled to that charity rate or not entitled to it. Not only obscene literature, but all mercenary literature is injurious to the public interest and debasing to the public character. No obscene, copy-righted, or mercenary literature ought therefore to be transported through the mails except at full letter-postage rates. Nor ought any advertisement, covert or avowed, have the benefit of the charity rates; for though the advertisement may have, within a certain measure of decency, its legitimate place in commerce, it amounts to downright theft when, not content with crushing the many under the feet of the few through the beastly force of sheer money power, it must travel dead-head on the purse of the whole public.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

JULIUS FERRETTE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Jan. 18, 1878.

DEFINITIONS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Definitions are always in order, and especially among liberals who wish to be understood, and to understand each other. If "A. W. K." will define communism, in a sociological sense, or in a common-sense way, he will see that the persons who pulled down the ugly column in the *Place Vendôme*, erected to commemorate and perpetuate that love of military glory which has been so costly a curse to France, were not communists, but "communards," and he will know that their action has no more to do with socialism proper than with the man in the moon.

They would have done a great service to their country if they could have destroyed the insane love of which the column is a type; but sentiments cannot be changed by violence.

So far from their action being communistic, it was an illustration of the destructive form of individualism, where the rights of others are not recognized at all, but "what is mine is my own, and what is yours is mine." Communards and communists are not one and the same. F. S. C.

HOW CHURCHES EARN THEIR EXEMPTION.

CHICAGO, Jan. 21.

DEAR INDEX:—

Enclosed please find a couple of "announcements," the like of which appear almost daily in our papers the whole season through. These churches are built upon most desirable lots upon the finest residence street in the city. In the second one mentioned, I have "assisted" at church sociables, fairs, lectures, readings, a French play, a parlor opera, and concerts. Others could say the same of scores of other churches here; for all our new ones (and, as you know, the first made nearly all new,) have not only a pastor's study, but "elegant parlors," dining-room, kitchen, etc.

Yet these are the ecclesiastical buildings which, upon the plea of "religious use," are exempt from taxation. Yours, KATE N. DOGGETT.

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Do not forget the grand exhibition of living statuary this evening at St. Paul's (Dr. Byder's) Church.

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THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Liberalism is born of freedom and intelligence, and seeks above all things else to establish and perpetuate for generations to come a still larger freedom and a still higher intelligence. What nobler impulse can move the human heart than the desire to enlighten mankind and clothe them with greater liberty? We certainly know of no cause that ever enlisted the head, heart, or hand of man that was nobler than this cause of freethought. And what better method for the reform of society can be instituted, in these "times that try men's souls," than that of organizing Liberal Leagues? In fact, this matter of forming Leagues seems to be the *imperative duty of the hour*. W. S. BELL.

THE FIRST THING is to make your sermon plain. Mr. Blomfield preached on the text, "The fool hath said in his heart, 'There is no God.'" Wishing to find out how it pleased his people, he called a poor foolish man to the pulpit and asked him how he liked the sermon. The reply, which made Blomfield a sadder and a wiser man, was: "Well, sir, I must say I can't agree with you. In spite of all you've said, I think there must be a God."

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1878.

WHOLE No. 426.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSSES:

THE DIRECTORS of the National Liberal League return their cordial thanks to all the liberal journals which have published their "Call to Organize."

COL. INGERSOLL has stirred up so much of a breeze about "Hell" that it threatens to put out the fires. In fact, his "revival" is about as popular as Moody and Sankey's—and considerably more useful.

THE ALBANY LIBERAL ASSOCIATION, which has about sixty members and is in a flourishing condition, has voted to become a Local Auxiliary Liberal League. President, Thomas J. Hennessey; Secretary, Thomas Dugan. A charter has already been forwarded to the Secretary. This action of the Association is encouraging, and will, we hope, stimulate other similar organizations to join in the national movement.

IN TRENT, Michigan, a "Free Religious Society" has been recently organized. A majority of them are Spiritualists, numbering about thirty; and a correspondent (himself not a Spiritualist) speaks warmly of their "efficient services in the cause of Free Religion." How good it would be, if a generous rivalry should spring up among the various schools of liberal thinkers as to which of them should render the most aid to the common cause!

A CORRESPONDENT in Iowa, whose name we are not permitted to use, has just written as follows, showing that there are Christians who are just enough to approve the principles of the Liberal League: "I like it [THE INDEX], not for its religious, but for its political principles. I would dearly like to see them succeed. I suppose I ought to speak this softly, as I am a Congregationalist minister." We fervently wish there were more such Christians as that!

NOTHING CAN be learned by us respecting the prospects of the Edmunds Amendment of the Constitution in the Senate. Probably it will be taken up suddenly for action, and be as suddenly disposed of; for its advocates do not want it discussed. But discussion alone can reveal to the people the measureless mischief which, if adopted, that Amendment would accomplish. Where is the popular indignation which has been so confidently prophesied as certain to blaze forth at a real attempt to pass the Christian Amendment? Here is the Christian Amendment in all its essential features, and scarcely a voice is raised against it. And yet complacency still sings its little tune of "no danger!"

COLONEL INGERSOLL seems to be in a fair way to become a rival of Edward Kimball, the "church debt-raiser"! According to the Albany Express, he has been engaged by the pastor and trustees of a Baptist church in Binghamton, which is heavily in debt, to lecture in that town under their auspices, in order to raise money to pay off the debt. This is a more honest ambition than that of escaping just taxation; and if Colonel Ingersoll can only persuade this Baptist church to include among its just debts the taxes they have so long shirked, we shall regard him as a genuine missionary to the morally benighted Christians. The town of Binghamton ought to pass a vote of thanks to THE INDEX for this suggestion, if it thereby receives the taxes.

MR. T. C. LELAND sent not long since a decidedly pungent letter to the New York Tribune, in which occurred the following passage: "There is a little cloud now rising, not big enough for much of a shower as yet, and serving at present only as a shining mark for liberals to point their shafts of ridicule at. The National Liberal League has been organized to form a new political party and cast votes; and it needs only a few more acts of tyranny on the part of the Comstock crowd to swell that cloud into a storm altogether beyond the calculations of 'Old Probabilities'; and that will flash the conviction into what passes for the minds of the administration

of this government that they had better adhere to the principles of the 'daddies,' whatever becomes of the dollars."

ACHMET VEFIK PASHA, the new prime minister of Turkey, according to a letter in the Independent by Rev. George Washburn, D.D., President of Robert College, Constantinople, has given a definition of a "good Mussulman" which is eminently worth noticing. He says: "Whoever believes that there is one God, to whom all men are responsible for their actions, that man is a good Mussulman." On this definition Dr. Washburn remarks: "He [the Pasha] declares himself a good Mussulman; but his definition of the faith of Islam is one that would include a good many who never thought of calling themselves Mussulmans." Of course! Everybody will see the absurdity of a definition that does not define. But this same absurdity is committed by those Liberal Christians who drop Christ out of their definition, just as Achmet drops Mohammed out of his. This careful suppression of the personal leadership which makes the heart of these two religions is exceedingly significant, as indicating an internal decay in both of them, and prophesying a final dying-out of both in the universality of Free Religion. We recommend to all friends of the latter to make a special note of these remarkable words of Achmet Vefik Pasha.

WE AGREE with Mr. Tomlinson, whose able lecture we print this week, that the "Southern Question" is not yet settled, and never will be settled except on the basis of "justice and freedom." We agree with him also when he says: "The country decided to give the Southern colored man the right to vote, and pledged itself to protect him in the exercise of that right"; and when he says: "I submit that the nation which wantonly repudiates its obligation to protect eight hundred thousand men in their right to vote freely, and calls it justice, cannot be expected to be very scrupulous as to the repudiation of its pecuniary obligations"; and when he says: "So far as the action of the government is concerned, there is nothing that we can do except to refuse to believe or say that that is just and final which we know to be neither just nor final, and to do all in our power [the italics are ours] to avert as much of the evil resulting from the new Southern policy as may be." But the practical question is now no longer of "the political rights of a race"; it is no longer possible for the nation to protect the negroes as a class; that is not "in our power." The question to-day is as to the RIGHTS OF THE CITIZEN AS SUCH, no matter whether those rights are political, civil, or religious; the question is whether the nation itself, as distinct from State or municipal governments, is under any obligation to protect EQUAL CITIZEN-RIGHTS. Say yes to that question, and you plant yourself on the second plank of the Rochester platform; say no to it, and you "abandon the negro." When we heard a strong advocate of the nation's duty to protect the freedmen recently declare himself opposed to that second plank of the Rochester platform, and yet at the same time profess not to "abandon the negro," it seemed to us the very acme of self-stultification: he "abandoned the negro" in that very declaration. Whoever means business when he talks of the "nation's duty to protect the negro" will be driven, whether he wishes it or not, to accept that second plank; for there is no "protection" to anybody in merely mourning over irreversible facts. It is time to take a forward step, and "protect the negro" by claiming from the nation itself protection for the fundamental rights of citizenship, regardless of race, color, condition, sex, or creed. Without that principle recognized in the Constitution and applied impartially to North, South, East, and West, nothing can be done for the disfranchised colored man; his fate is beyond the nation's control as things now are, and his only hope is in that great, just, and beneficent principle.

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Price, Daniel Korns, P. W. Himes, John Arn, Phillip Gintz, A. H. Brown, Jacob Miller, L. A. Cornet. TITUSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.—President, William Barnard; Secretary, C. M. Hayes. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Titusville Liberal League. HUDSON, MICHIGAN.—President, Dr. Levi R. Peirson; Secretary, Dr. F. O. Baker. Issued to Levi R. Peirson, A. D. Armstrong, James S. Bedel, Miles C. Beach, W. R. Norris, R. H. Armstrong, R. W. S. Johnson, E. M. Brown, G. L. Harceron, Philip Sewall. CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, H. L. Green; Corresponding Secretary, John Hammond. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Cattaraugus County Liberal League. NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.—[Officers not yet reported.] Issued to E. M. Sherman, W. W. Stow, F. A. Hermance, T. F. Hamilton, D. M. Hamilton, W. F. Hopson, E. R. Whiting, E. E. Seaman, A. C. Harrison, R. F. F. Shepard, and others. ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI.—President, P. V. Wise; Secretary, H. Brunsing. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the St. Joseph Liberal League. NEW YORK, NEW YORK.—President, Hugh B. Brown; Secretary, A. L. Rawson. Issued to T. B. Wakeman, Henry Evans, A. L. Rawson, Hugh B. Brown, E. Langerfeld, D. S. Plumb, O. E. Browning, Mrs. Ellis Erving, Miss E. W. McAdams, Mrs. O. E. Langerfeld, on behalf of the Society of Humanity. ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.—President, Mrs. Amy Post; Secretary, Willet E. Post. Issued to Benj. Gregg, Mrs. Amy Post, Willet E. Post, Emily G. Beebe, Dr. Sherman, Mrs. Barker, Clement Austin, Wm. H. Gibbs, Dr. C. D. Duke, and others. TOMPKINS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, Dr. John Winslow; Secretary, Myron E. Bishop. Issued to C. W. Ames, Wm. A. Anthony, Geo. Arnold, M. E. Bishop, H. B. Buel, W. Dennis, Isaac Flagg, B. W. Franklin, C. Gardner, W. Hutchins, and others. NEW YORK, NEW YORK.—President, A. L. Rawson; Secretary, Porter C. Biles. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Manhattan Liberal Club. CLEVELAND, OHIO.—President, E. D. Stark; Secretary, Mrs. M. B. Ambler. Issued to E. D. Stark, Mrs. Louisa Southworth, B. White, W. A. Madison, S. E. Adams, Daniel E. Tilden, W. Galen Smith, Walter F. Johnson, Thomas Jones, and Mrs. M. B. Ambler. MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.—President, Robert C. Spencer; Secretary, William A. Boyd. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Milwaukee. JEFFERSON LIBERAL LEAGUE, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.—President, Moses Hays; Secretaries, Fred. Hebard and J. B. Pike. Issued to L. Garson, N. O. Tiffany, Adolph Roth, J. W. Roberts, R. F. Smith, Julius Rothbult, A. C. Allen, C. B. Strong, De L. Crittenden, and F. Bush. MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.—President, S. C. Gale; Secretary, Frank J. Mead. Issued to the President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer, on behalf of the First Liberal League of Minneapolis. FLORENCE, IOWA.—President, Byron McQuinn; Secretary, E. C. Walker. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Liberal League of Florence, Iowa. WEST MERIDEN, CONNECTICUT.—President, N. F. Griswold; Secretary, Miss Emily J. Leonard. Issued to W. W. Lee, Edwin Dayton, R. L. Roys, C. C. Munn, N. W. Pomeroy, N. F. Griswold, Mrs. F. Loomis, Marion L. Pomeroy, Joseph Frankowski, Mrs. J. Frankowski, and Emily J. Leonard. MONTGOMERY COUNTY, OHIO.—President, A. McGill; Secretary, J. S. Barry. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the National Military Home Liberal League. MANTOWOC, WISCONSIN.—President, John A. Smith; Secretary, George B. Byron. Issued to J. A. Smith, L. Mendlik, G. B. Byron, F. Heinaman, F. Ransch, F. Kostomolatsky, F. Stirn, F. Kolinsky, J. Mendlik, L. Oberland, and others. ALBANY, NEW YORK.—President, Thomas J. Hennessey; Secretary, Thomas Dugan. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Albany Liberal Association. [N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION. ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

ON THE FRONT OF Mr. Charles Reade's house, near London, has lately been painted in large letters the inscription, "Naboth's Vineyard." This is supposed to refer to a prevalent idea that some one covets the site, desiring to pull down the modest tenements and erect magnificent mansions.

[FOR THE INDEX.] The Southern Question: Is it Settled? A LECTURE DELIVERED IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION, JANUARY 27, 1878. BY REUBEN TOMLINSON, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

In his report upon the condition of the South made to President Johnson in the autumn of 1865, Mr. Carl Schurz, after describing the disorders then existing in that part of the country, said:—"In seeking remedies for such disorders, we ought to keep in view, above all, the nature of the problem which is to be solved. As to what is commonly termed 'reconstruction,' it is not only the political machinery of the States and their constitutional relations to the general government, but the whole organism of Southern society that must be reconstructed, or rather constructed anew, so as to bring it in harmony with the rest of American society." This, as I understand it, is a concise statement of the Southern question as it stood in 1865; and we naturally ask ourselves, Has the problem been solved? Is "the whole organism of Southern society" to-day "in harmony with the rest of American society"? President Hayes says that it is so substantially; and that, for the complete settlement of the question, nothing is needed on the part of the North and of the government but an entire letting alone of the whole subject; unless, indeed, as we are left to infer, we may be able by appointments to office and by our general demeanor to convince the Southern white men that we heartily recognize their right to the exclusive political control of that portion of the country, and that we repent of the attempt by legislation and by governmental interference in pursuance of that legislation, to establish political equality among all classes. In this opinion, the President is sustained by a large number of eminent men, journalists and others, who, until quite recently, advocated a policy directly the reverse of that which now obtains, and is known as the "Hayes Policy." Are these gentlemen, and the thousands that follow them, right in the new conclusions they have reached, and in the new policy adopted by them? To answer this question satisfactorily let us consider briefly the course of reconstruction, from the cessation of active hostilities between the government and those in rebellion against it. The enforced abolition of slavery under the war power of the government did not change the opinion of the slaveholders, or of the thousands of non-slaveholders who had grown up under the influence of the system, as to its value as a social, financial, and political power. On the contrary, the very violence with which the claim of the master to his slave was overthrown, added to the spirit of domination which the long existence of the system had engendered in the minds of the ruling class, made it almost impossible for the latter to either think or act, justly and reasonably, with regard to their former bondmen. It was for the purpose of saving, aggrandizing, and perpetuating slavery that the South rebelled against the government; and the agony and humiliation of her defeat were increased a thousand-fold when she realized that the cherished institution for which she had ventured all was to be swept away forever. In the mind of the Southern white man, financial success, political power, social prestige, ancestral and State pride were all embodied in this system; and when it was gone, all was gone. Of course, after active hostilities had ceased among the great majority of Southern whites, the first and most important thought was of bread for their families, and of the best means of making good the losses of the war. But a very considerable, and, it must be admitted, a very influential class of Southern white men immediately set themselves to the work of devising plans by which the freedmen should be kept, as nearly as possible, in a state of slavery; and which, at the same time, should secure to the States lately in rebellion their former potential sway over the destinies of the nation. To prove the substantial truth of this view, it is only necessary to recall the action of the Southern States under the provisional governments established by President Johnson. The "negro codes" of the different States, together with the systematic violence resorted to for the suppression of the spirit of independence that was gradually growing in the minds of the freedmen, convinced the most reluctant among those who were not actively in sympathy with the South, that the government could not safely surrender the extraordinary powers which, by the war and its attendant circumstances, it had been forced to assume and exercise. In these days, when it is fashionable, and even an evidence of political virtue to denounce those who participated in the work of Southern reconstruction as "carpet-baggers" and "adventurers," it is worth while to remember what the temper of public opinion at the North at that time was upon the subject of interference with "local governments" at the South. That which is now considered prima facie evidence of a corrupt and degraded character was then lofty patriotism, to be cheered and encouraged by all good men and citizens. It is not to be denied that the bad conduct of many of the men engaged in the work of reconstruction is mainly the cause of this change of sentiment. On the other hand, it cannot be denied, I think, that the North, tired of waiting for the solution of the problem of reconstruction, has sought to justify its impatience at inevitable results, by credulously adopting as true, wholesale defamation of the character of the instruments it had selected for the work. This much on that subject in passing. We all remember the impatience of the country

to have the questions growing out of the war settled. Here and there among the true friends of the nation a voice was raised in deprecation of the haste with which the people were rushing to a conclusion in the matter of "reconstruction," and of warning that the population of the South, both black and white, was unfitted to be at once entrusted with the power of establishing State governments which would be no longer subject to the supervision and control of the general government. But the few who thus uttered warnings against hasty action were overwhelmed by the tide of feeling that demanded a speedy settlement of the questions growing out of the war. We wanted peace; we wanted the "erring sisters" to immediately resume their places in the family-circle, exercising all the rights, and demanding all the privileges belonging to States always loyal to the government. Accompanying this feeling were honest doubts and scruples as to constitutional power. "Once a State, always a State," and similar maxims perplexed and disturbed the constitutional conscience of the country. With curious inconsistency those of us who thought it a violation of constitutional principles to govern the rebellious States as Territories, did not hesitate to enforce the most radical changes in their State governments before allowing them to take their places again in the Union on terms of equality with the other States.

The distinguishing feature of the reconstruction measures as finally adopted, was the extension of the right of suffrage to the recently emancipated slaves. Of course other features of the plan were open to, and received a great deal of, criticism; but the central idea of the system was, in the language of that day, "negro suffrage." The negro was to vote in order to protect himself and assist in making the rebellious States thoroughly loyal members of the Union; and the plan contemplated the protection of his right to vote, until such time as the old ruling-class should both in theory and in practice cease to interfere with that right. The leading white men of the South and their allies at the North denounced that plan as not only unconstitutional, but as flagrantly oppressive and degrading to the Southern white population; and pointed out with great clearness that inasmuch as the native white element of the South, as a class, could and would take no part in establishing governments under the plan proposed, and as the great mass of the freedmen were incompetent for this task, the lead in the work would necessarily fall to the few native whites, who were ready to ally themselves with negroes and to the "Northern adventurers" (to use their phrase) who had been left in their midst by the fate of war; and that the governments thus built up, encountering inevitably the determined opposition of the property and intelligence of the South, would prove inefficient, corrupt, and subversive of the best interests of the country. I think it is not assuming too much to say that all thoughtful men at the North anticipated just such evils, if the white people should hold themselves aloof from the reconstruction movement. But the hope was cherished that reason would prevail, and that what seemed to us to be to the best interests of the South and of the country, would induce her leading men to take control of the movement, and by a prompt recognition of the colored man as a citizen, direct the exercise of his newly acquired rights generously and wisely. It were fruitless now to inquire why this was not done. It is enough to know, and to remember when we consider the present aspect of the question, that from that time to this, nowhere in the South has the old ruling white element practically recognized the right of the colored man to vote, in the same way and with the same freedom, as do men of its own class. In this attitude toward the colored man and the reconstruction policy, the South has received the consistent support of the Democratic party. In 1868, the year in which these new governments went into operation, the National Democratic Convention, which nominated Seymour and Blair, adopted a resolution introduced by the present Governor of South Carolina, declaring the reconstruction acts "unconstitutional, null, and void." And in pursuance of this declaration a campaign was organized in the South, and especially in South Carolina, with Hampton at the head of it, of precisely the same character as that which was organized to defeat Hayes and Chamberlain in 1876. In 1868, prior to the October elections in the North, a reign of terror existed in the upper and middle portions of South Carolina, which not even the presence of troops could wholly suppress. The result of the elections in the October States, however, did what the troops up to that time had not yet succeeded in doing; and an address was issued by Hampton as chairman of the State Democratic Committee, saying to his followers in substance that Grant would be elected anyhow; that the continued murder of Republicans in South Carolina could not prevent that result, and might bring great disasters upon themselves; and that the murders were stopped until the next occasion arose. And let it be understood that at the time this bloody campaign was begun and carried on, the new government of South Carolina was not yet three months old, and that the jobbery and corruption which have since been made the pretext and justification for murder and outrage, and, finally, for a bloody and successful revolution, had not yet been consummated. Here, then, we have the reconstructed governments starting on their career with bankrupt treasuries, and with a large majority of the property-holding and intelligent classes in deadly opposition to them. All over the South the leaders of white public opinion announced that the true policy for them to pursue was to withhold all support from the new governments, and seek to make them so odious that they would break down of their own weight. In what I have further to say of the past of reconstruction, I shall confine myself to the

State of South Carolina, being more familiar with the facts in her case, and for the additional reason that what is true of her is substantially true of all the other States.

I wish it understood that I recognize the fact that, during the whole period of reconstruction in South Carolina, there have been a very considerable number of peace-loving and law-abiding men who have in a quiet way deprecated and feared the results of the violence and lawlessness of which the friends of the government have been the victims. But to quote again from Mr. Schurz:—

"It must not be forgotten that in a community a majority of whose members is peaceably disposed, but not willing or not able to enforce peace and order, a comparatively small number of bold and lawless men can determine the character of the whole. The rebellion in itself in some of the Southern States furnished a striking illustration of this truth."

Without going into detail on this point, it is sufficient to say that at no period since the war has there been a determined effort on the part of those who claim to be lovers of peace, and in favor of an honest acceptance of the results of the war, to prevent or punish those outbreaks of violence which have occurred whenever the representative white politicians of the State have thought that the emergency demanded them. I also, for the argument's sake, am willing to admit all the jobbery and corruption that have been or may be charged against the Republican government of the State up to the beginning of Governor Chamberlain's administration in 1874. That in some cases these charges are exaggerated, must be evident to any one who is familiar with the methods of political warfare in this country. But the bare truth with regard to a part of the earlier administrations of that government is so disgraceful, that I do not care to quarrel over the instances of exaggeration. Nor do I think it wise or necessary to dwell upon the alleged fact, that some prominent Democrats were mixed up with almost all the jobs which disgraced that government. Even if this were true, it could not change the record of the Republican administration, or remove its share of responsibility for the misgovernment that existed.

It is worth while, however, in the light of the occurrences of the past year, to point out that the doctrine of the "white-liners," enunciated early in the history of reconstruction, "that the worse the negro governments were the sooner they would be overthrown," was consistently acted upon by the men who finally succeeded by means of violence and fraud on their own part, and by treachery on the part of others, in usurping the control of that government. The history of political affairs in South Carolina since the establishment of the reconstructed government in 1868, shows clearly that the alleged willingness on the part of the so-called Conservatives, to cooperate with the Republicans in behalf of good government was a mere sham, in so far as the men who have always controlled the councils of that class in political emergencies were concerned. In almost every instance where an alliance between the Democrats and Republicans was made at all, it was with the worst element of the latter party. These alliances, however, were more apparent than real, and had for their principal object the dividing and scattering of the Republican forces.

It may be asserted, then, that up to the time of the election of Governor Chamberlain, there had been no genuine cooperation of the conservative element with that class of Republicans who, it was admitted, had both the intelligence and character to achieve reform. With the advent of the Chamberlain administration, however, and as it became evident to the most incredulous of his opponents that he was in earnest, and was both willing and able to accomplish, in great measure, what he had pledged himself to do, a very different feeling began to show itself. The really conservative spirit that had been latent in the minds of large numbers of the white people of the State, made itself felt, and the Governor was the recipient of a series of eulogies and congratulations, which aroused the fears and jealousy of his own party, and would have turned the head of a man less wise and cautious than himself. Pledges of the firmest and most vigorous support were freely and publicly given to him by almost all the leading conservative politicians and citizens of the low country, and by many of the leading men of the middle and upper part of the State. Close observers, however, noticed as a significant fact, that the class of men, of whom the "Edgefield men" were the representative types, were either silent or coldly critical, in the midst of these congratulations. Indeed, many of the white leaders who honestly thought that the best interests of the State would most effectually be secured by the continuance in power of Governor Chamberlain during another term, did not hesitate to say privately, that they feared a determination on the part of the more active white Democrats to be satisfied with nothing less than "straight-out" Democratic or "white-line" nominations, believing that they would be able to overthrow the reconstructed government of South Carolina by the same means that had succeeded in Mississippi the year previous. In other words, these men did not want a reformed government nearly so much as they wanted Democratic success and the consequent practical disfranchisement of the colored voter. For while it may be true that the increased representation which the citizenship of the negro gives to the South would prevent his open disfranchisement, even if the power existed to accomplish that purpose, it is equally true that his exercise of that right is so offensive to the white people, that now that the control of the governments is in the hands of the whites, he will for years to come remain practically disfranchised.

I take it that no one, except for partisan purposes, will dispute the fact that, within three months after

he became Governor of South Carolina, Mr. Chamberlain had the entire confidence of at least nine-tenths of the people of the State, of all classes. Of course I do not include in this statement the ring politicians of the Republican party, or the "white-line" leaders of the conservative party. By Senator Patterson and the men who trained with him, Mr. Chamberlain was accused of betraying the Republican party; and this accusation was credulously listened to by many leading Republicans at Washington and elsewhere. On the other hand, Butler, Gary, and other advocates of the "shot-gun" policy, both openly and covertly, denounced him as a treacherous hypocrite, who was simply playing a deep game for the purpose of keeping himself in power. But aside from these men, and the few who were directly under their influence, a great majority of the people of all classes, while not approving in detail all the acts of his administration, recognized and enthusiastically approved the earnestness and integrity of purpose which chiefly characterized Mr. Chamberlain's government. During his administration, up to the time of the Hamburg massacre in July, 1876, Mr. Chamberlain was looked upon by a majority of the people of the State as not only a true reformer of governmental abuses, but as the true reconciler of conflicting classes. He and those who cooperated with him at that time, did not suppose that conciliation meant the putting of one class under the feet of another, to be mercilessly jumped upon whenever they should attempt to rise. They did suppose that true reconciliation of conflicting classes would result from the recognition and rigid protection of the rights of all classes; and that if concession is due from any class to another, it is due from the intelligent to the ignorant, from the strong to the weak.

I assert, then, that under Governor Chamberlain's lead, reconstruction in South Carolina was rapidly securing what had not yet been secured in any other Southern State,—an honest and vigorous administration of governmental affairs, with the complete protection of the civil and political rights of every citizen of the State. In support of this statement, I might consume the hour allotted to me in citing proof; but must content myself with a brief summary of the abundant testimony. I will first condense the opinion of the State, as expressed through its newspapers and public speakers, during the year 1876. Let it be understood that I quote from Democratic papers and speakers scattered all over the State.

Let it also be understood that my purpose is not the vindication of Governor Chamberlain—his brave and unselfish performance of his duty is his sufficient vindication,—but to show that according to the utterances of those authorized to speak for the better class of the whites of the State, he was considered as all-sufficient to achieve those reforms which all united in considering desirable; and that the charge afterwards made that his surroundings were such as to preclude his doing what he had pledged himself to do, was an afterthought urged at the instance of those who were determined to rule or ruin; and that the attacks made, infamous as they were, were not so much against him personally, as against the cause he represented.

The *Winnboro News*, in June, 1876, said:—

"Governor Chamberlain is a necessity. He alone in the State has power at present to check frauds, foster honesty, and restore order out of chaos."

The *Grange* of January, 1876, said:—

"Governor Chamberlain is every day fulfilling the pledges made alike to conservatives and Republicans in his campaign."

From the *Abbeville Press* of August, 1876, I quote as follows:—

"The course of Governor Chamberlain, we think, commends itself to the cordial support of all the friends of good government in the State."

The *Camden Journal* of August, 1876, said:—

"Being the ablest and purest man in the dominant party, he has become a necessity to the welfare of the State; and it behooves all good citizens to stand by him while he seeks to secure for them good government."

The *Columbia Phoenix* of February, 1876, said:—

"The country is conscious that there is a steady hand at the helm of State affairs, and feels a renewal and an increase of confidence in the pilot."

The *Horry News* of September, 1876, said:—

"His history as Governor has been pure, unspotted, and unstained."

From the *Charleston News and Courier* of May, 1876, I quote as follows:—

"Governor Chamberlain richly deserves the confidence of the people of this State. The people of South Carolina who have all at stake, who hear and see what persons outside of the State cannot know, are satisfied with Governor Chamberlain's honesty. They believe in him, as well they may."

From a speech of General James Connor, Governor Hampton's first Attorney-General, delivered in Charleston, December, 1875, I quote as follows:—

"Governor Chamberlain stands out, bearing the wrath of his own party to maintain unbroken his pledges of reform. As he is true to his duty, let us be true to ours, and stand firmly and unitedly by him in support of the right."

Colonel B. F. Pressley, one of the oldest and most respected lawyers in the State, said at the same meeting:—

"There must be no mental reservations when we say we will stand by Governor Chamberlain. We mean it as our fathers meant it, when they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors."

The *Barnwell Sentinel* in November, 1875, said:—

"While the Governor does not abate one jot or tittle of his party fealty, he will not support any measure or policy that does not tend to advance the interests of South Carolina. This is true statesmanship, and is all we need to redeem the State."

I might continue to quote from other papers, but

this must suffice to show in what manner the conservatives accepted Governor Chamberlain and his administration during its first year.

As early as February and March of 1876, the machinations of the "white-liners" had accomplished something toward creating a public sentiment adverse to him. This change of sentiment was shown chiefly by a cessation of enology on the part of some of the papers, and intimations that a united democracy was needed, not only to save the State from radicalism, but to assist in securing success to the National Democratic party in the contest then about to open. This reactionary conservative movement took more definite shape at the convention held in April, to elect delegates to the National Democratic Convention.

Notwithstanding this, however, the authorized exponents of the best conservative sentiment of the State were still fully and earnestly committed to the support of Mr. Chamberlain. I will now give some citations in support of this view.

From the *Charleston News and Courier* of January, 1876, I quote as follows:—

"Time has justified us, as it will justify Mr. Chamberlain. Time has shown that whoever else goes back, he will move steadily forward."

The same paper in February, of 1876, said:—

"We believe that without regard to consequences, to himself or to his party, he will go on to the end in the narrow path of right."

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of conservatives, held at Barnwell, January, 1876:—

"We heartily indorse Governor Chamberlain in his efforts to redeem the State from plunder and degradation. And while he has been faithful to his own party, he has also been faithful to ours; and we hereby pledge ourselves to stand by and support him promptly, faithfully, fearlessly, and defiantly."

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting held at Sumter, January, 1876:—

"Governor D. H. Chamberlain has illustrated by his conduct the noble ends that may be achieved by a stranger who differs from many of us in matters of political faith, but who unites with good men of all views in measures of earnest reform; and this people will sustain him to the end."

Coming down to June and July, 1876, just before the nomination of Hampton, we have such expressions as these: Mr. George W. Williams, probably the wealthiest and most extensive business man in the State, wrote a letter, in which he said:—

"I honestly believe that Governor Chamberlain can do more for South Carolina, in and out of the State, than any other man."

The *Charleston News and Courier*, commenting upon this letter, said:—

"The most influential bankers and merchants in Charleston hold substantially, the same opinions as those expressed by Mr. Williams."

Again, the same paper said:—

"By supporting Mr. Chamberlain, the whole country will secure without revolution a government every way satisfactory. We hope that General Hampton will not be nominated, because we do not believe it possible to elect him."

The same paper on another occasion said:—

"The Democrats in South Carolina are in a minority, else they could and would as a party, obtain control of the State by their own efforts. Governor Chamberlain will probably be the candidate of the Republican party for reelection. The wilder the talk of the radical democracy, the greater is his strength as a commanding necessity to his party. In case that he be nominated he will have the undivided support of the radicals. There will be no bolt. Add to the solid Republican vote the power to obtain Federal troops as they may be needed, the executive appointment of Commissioners of Election, the broad and undefined power of the Board of State Canvassers, and what prospect is there that he could be defeated? It could be done only in one way: by armed force. For that the people are not ready; and if they were ready, such a course would end in disaster and ruin."

Here my citations must stop; and the importance of showing clearly what the state of feeling in South Carolina was, previous to the nomination of Hampton, which was the active beginning of a campaign of blood and outrage, must be my excuse for the copious extracts I have given. I have shown, I think, that a large majority of the thoughtful white people of the State were not only content with Mr. Chamberlain, but that they earnestly desired to secure his reelection. What I have quoted also shows that a majority of the white people were so fully and openly committed to his support that nothing less than a complete revolution in public sentiment with regard to him, could concentrate the white vote against him. Of this the "white-liners" were well aware; and their efforts had been steadily put forth for some time to produce that result.

The tone of the newspaper articles and resolutions I have quoted, shows that the moderate Democrats were fully alive to the character of the campaign, which the "straight-out" men proposed to conduct, and desired, if possible, to frustrate their plans. Hence, when the foundation of the campaign was laid by the Hamburg massacre, but few of the newspapers of the State had any apologies to offer for the murderers; and two or three of the leading papers went so far as to denounce the whole affair in strong terms.

This unusual state of things, however, lasted but a little while. Very soon the men who committed the crime, and those who sympathized with them, made themselves heard. In a Democratic convention held at Newberry, the *Charleston News and Courier* was repudiated for denouncing the bloody work at Hamburg; and the Edgefield democracy also adopted resolutions denouncing the same paper. In fact, as soon as Governor Chamberlain's letters to Senator

Robertson and President Grant, on the subject of the massacre, became public, the "Mississippi" and "shot-gun" policy declared itself openly and in full vigor. From that time until the meeting of the convention that nominated Hampton, every species of clamor and falsehood was resorted to for the purpose of creating prejudice in the minds of the whites against Mr. Chamberlain. Notwithstanding the leading papers of the State and of Georgia had given full accounts of the massacre, differing in no important particular from the statement made by the Governor, he was denounced in every part of the State as "a malignant slanderer of a high-toned people"; and the people were appealed to to hurl from power one who had thus vilified their character. These efforts to arouse the prejudices of the people were successful; and as soon as the Democratic convention, after a debate in secret session, decided to nominate a "straight-out" ticket, no Democratic paper or speaker in the State dared to do other than support the policy of the party, and denounce as unsparingly as they before had praised Governor Chamberlain and his administration. The leading men and newspapers who before the convention had asserted that the Republicans could only be defeated by the "shot-gun" policy, as if to vindicate the truth of their assertions, immediately became the most strenuous and malignant advocates of that policy.

From the rostrum and through the public prints, notice in effect was served upon every man in the State that to support Chamberlain was to put himself outside of the law and of the protection the law was supposed to give. Whatever doubts were felt on the subject at the North, no man in South Carolina doubted that we were in the midst of a revolution, the violence of which; on the part of the revolutionists, would be measured entirely by the necessities of the case.

Time will not permit me to do more than indicate the character of the campaign. The details of the murders; of the formation and drilling of "rifle-clubs"; of "night-riding"; of the intimidation of election officers; of fraud in its various forms,—are all to be found in the records of the Congressional Investigating Committees and of the United States Circuit Court, before which some of the conspirators and murderers were tried.

Any one who will take the trouble to familiarize himself with this testimony, will not fail to understand that the Democratic campaign in South Carolina in 1876, organized as it was in opposition to the judgment and wishes of a majority of the most thoughtful and well-disposed people of the State, was simply a campaign of murder, violence, and fraud; the real purpose of which was, not the securing of a good government (for that, it is clear, could have been obtained by peaceful means), but a government that should represent and be controlled exclusively by the white people of the State.

It is this result which a Republican administration has quietly permitted to be accomplished; and which, there is reason to believe, a large majority of the people of the North acquiesce in, even if they do not welcome it, as a just and final settlement of the Southern question. I know it is not a just, and therefore I cannot think it a final, settlement of that question. No special surprise need be expressed that Southern white men should resort to such means for overthrowing governments forced upon them in opposition to their wishes. With their feeling toward the colored man as a citizen, which they have never succeeded in concealing, and but seldom attempted to conceal, it is no matter of surprise that they should seize any and every means to extinguish him as a voter.

But it is matter of surprise that the North, which is yet enduring the misery and demoralization of a war, begun and waged in behalf of the domination of Southern white men, should approve of a policy which practically nullifies some of the most important results of that war, and assumes that a minority of the people of any State in the Union may at any time, and for any purpose, good or bad, rightfully seize the State government; and that the federal government has no right or power to intervene for the protection of those who may have thus been despoiled of their rights as citizens.

Our responsibility for abandoning the colored voter of the South cannot be escaped by assuming that he will be safe in his civil rights, and less liable to outrage from his white neighbor now that he has ceased to be a voter; or because that, as a voter, he did not prove a success. All these considerations would have been in order when the reconstruction measures were under discussion; but the country decided to give the Southern colored man the right to vote, and pledged itself to protect him in the exercise of that right; and this pledge was not made contingent upon the wise or unwise use of the ballot. It was based upon the idea that he must vote in order to secure his personal and civil rights, and assist in making the State in which he lives a loyal and firm supporter of the general government. We conferred the right of self-government upon him, knowing his ignorance, his weakness, and his habit of subordination to the dominant race; and because in his attempt to exercise that right he blundered, and became an easy prey to demagogues and to an unscrupulous and vigilant foe, we repudiate our obligation to protect him further, and remand him to time and the sense of justice supposed to be latent in the hearts of those who have oppressed him for generations. And this is called a just and final settlement of the Southern question; and those who refuse to consider that question a "dead issue" are called lovers of strife and discord.

Some of the most prominent advocates of the new Southern policy are now valiantly denouncing the dishonesty of repudiating the pecuniary obligations of the government. I go with him who goes farthest in such denunciation; but I submit that

the nation which wantonly repudiates its obligation to protect eight hundred thousand men in their right to vote freely, and calls it justice, cannot be expected to be very scrupulous as to the repudiation of its pecuniary obligations. Many of the leading newspapers of the country that have been most clamorous in their support of the policy which has resulted in crushing out the colored voter at the South, are now very anxious at the prospect of a "solid South" in favor of financial repudiation. What reason have they to expect anything else? Has the South ever, in the history of the nation, heartily and unitedly supported a policy which had for its prime object the maintenance of the national honor? On the contrary, has it not always, with a greater or less degree of unity of purpose, according to the exigencies of the case, struggled for objects inconsistent with national unity and honor, and calculated only to enhance its sectional power at the expense of the whole country? What is there in its recent history to justify us in thinking that it will adopt a different policy, either now or in the near future? Absolutely nothing.

Precisely the same spirit which before the war tried to stifle the anti-slavery agitation by cries of danger to the Union, and injury to the business interests of the country, now seeks to quiet the conscience of the North by talk about a reconciliation that, whatever its intent may be, is, in fact, nothing but a *carte-blanc* to the embittered Southern white man to exercise his own will, regardless of the rights of others, as he has done heretofore.

It will be understood, I trust, that I do not think that the system of reconstruction adopted by the country resulted in a very brilliant success. It was as successful, however, as we had any reason to suppose that it could be under the circumstances; and, notwithstanding its attendant evils, accomplished much good for the South and the nation. And if a little of the patience and fortitude which we expect from the negro under his trials, had been exercised by the intelligence of the country, we would, within a reasonable time, have witnessed a true pacification on a basis of justice and freedom. As it is, I do not see how any man in his senses, with eyes open and clear memory, can confidently assume that the Southern question is settled. If Mr. Schurz was right in 1865 in his statement of the problem which was to be solved, then certainly the question is not settled; for I take it that few men will be so bold as to say that "the whole organism of Southern society" is to-day "in harmony with the rest of American society." If we are to live in peace, this harmonious relation must be brought about; but it cannot be done by making believe that it is already accomplished, and denouncing as malcontents and disturbers of the peace those who cannot see in the supremacy of the "white-line" and "ku-klux" element at the South any promise of an early establishment of such relations between the two sections. I care nothing for the Republican party, except as it can assist in bringing about this and kindred results. I am not blind to the fact that many of its recognized leaders are self-seeking and unscrupulous politicians, who, by the merest accident, are on the side of justice and national honor. Nor am I insensible that much of the impatience of the country with the course of political affairs, and of apathy over the outrages in the South, are justly attributable to past misgovernment there as well as in the North. But I am also sensible of the truth that in this country no governmental abuses are without peaceful remedies; and that for the national government to permit revolutionary measures to be adopted and successfully carried out for the ostensible purpose of curing the evils of misgovernment, is a more fatal blow at the fundamental principles of our government and society than the effects of mere misgovernment, for a longer term of years than it has existed at the South, could possibly be.

But we are asked, in the language of "Boss Tweed," which since last March has been adopted by the self-constituted pacificators of the country, "What are you going to do about it?" "The thing is done," they say; "and it surely is not the part of wisdom to continue the agitation of a question which, so far as the action of the government is concerned, is practically settled." Therein in a great degree consisted the criminality of the act which overthrew the legal and equitable governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, and erected usurpations in their stead. That act—which at the time was asserted to be merely experimental—and its consequences can never be revoked, at least by the present administration.

Many excellent people stood doubtfully by, as they saw the President, under the plea that he was carrying out the pledges of the Republican party, scatter to the winds the rightful governments which were the choice of those whose votes made him President, and, stifling their doubts, acquiesced in his action. It was not long, however, before these same excellent people, when the President, in the excess of his desire to "conciliate" the South, fell into platitudes about "the great and good man" Hampton, and solved the problem of the war by the assertion that it was only a question as to which side had "the most Greeks," and appointed to the offices in the South men only who were satisfactory to the recently reconciled, began to think that he was going too far; and wanted to cry *halt!* To my mind the conduct of the President is perfectly logical, and not to be condemned by those who supported his action last March. To condone and acquiesce in the seizure by force and fraud of the legitimate government of a State, is but little worse than to condone and acquiesce in rebellion against the general government; and the approval of the former act involves logically, at least, an apology for the latter. If "pacification" requires a surrender to the white leaders of the South of the essential features of the reconstruction policy, I cannot see but that it also re-

quires that they shall be allowed to dictate the action of the administration, with regard to federal affairs within their States. Hence the President, if not faithful to the pledges made before, is at least logical in his action since he became President. It is not strange, then, that the supporters of this policy should say, "What are you going to do about it?" So far as the action of the government is concerned, there is nothing that we can do except to refuse to believe or say that that is just and final which we know to be neither just nor final; and to do all in our power to avert as much of the evil resulting from the new Southern policy as may be.

Because the action of the government is conclusive, so far as its own power is concerned, we are exhorted to acquiesce in it as the "consummate flower" of political wisdom and of patriotism. At first it was defended simply as a political necessity; now it is magnified by its supporters as a policy dictated by supreme wisdom, and based upon principles of equity and justice; and they who fail to recognize in it these qualities, are denounced by its supporters as desiring to foster hatred between the two sections of the country, or as the defenders of those men in the Republican party who by their corrupt practices made it impossible for the Democrats of the South to rely upon the ordinary methods for securing political evils, and thus drove them to revolution as a remedy.

I would not shut my eyes to the difficulties that have surrounded and still surround this question. Indeed, it is because I think I appreciate these difficulties fully that I am impatient with the precipitancy with which reconstruction in the South has been pronounced a failure, and, under the specious cries of "home rule" and "local government," the political rights of a race, so far as the power of the government to protect them extends, have been abandoned. "Home rule" and "local government," as understood by those who clamor for them in the South, mean simply the right of the minority because it is white, intelligent, and rich, and therefore strong, to govern the majority because it is black, ignorant, and poor, and therefore weak. Fortunately for the negro, his rights cannot be persistently outraged in the South without disturbing the peace of the whole country. In this fact lies his ultimate safety; though he will doubtless continue to suffer for some time to come, as he has done in the past; and the nation will be fortunate, indeed, if before the end of his trials is reached, it is not forced to pay dearly for its cowardly desertion of him.

In a speech, said by the newspapers to have been delivered on the evening of the 9th of November, 1876, when it was thought that Mr. Tilden was elected, Mr. Hayes stated with great earnestness his fears as to the fate of the colored man in the South, if Mr. Tilden should prove to be elected. Yet it would be difficult to conceive of any policy likely to have been adopted by Mr. Tilden toward the South much more sweeping or conclusive in its character than that adopted and put into active and continuing operation, by Mr. Hayes; and which has been pronounced to be just and wise by many of those honorable men who have heretofore been distinguished as the earnest friends of the colored man, and the untiring foes of his oppressors. When the judgment of such a man as Colonel Higginson, or of others of the same class, is given upon a question of this kind, I should be very slow to express a contrary opinion, were I not impelled by an overriding conviction of the unsoundness of their conclusion. Laboring under the excitement consequent upon the Hamburg massacre in 1876, Colonel Higginson felt very much as many of us feel to-day. In a letter to the *New York Times*, commenting upon that massacre, he said, among other things:—

"For one, I have been trying hard to convince myself that the Southern whites had accepted the results of the war, and that other questions might now come uppermost."

Some of us have tried to do this also, but have not succeeded so well as Colonel Higginson. We are unable to see anything since that massacre, which justifies the opinion that Southern white politicians will not again resort to the same means for the accomplishment of similar results; and the time will come, I think, when Colonel Higginson, who is always manly and honorable, will confess that he was hasty in approving of Mr. Hayes' surrender.

It is an ungracious task to interpose scepticism as to the intentions of the Southern whites, as a class, toward the colored man, at a time when nearly all the organs of public opinion are proclaiming the duty of faith in their professions of good-will as the most certain way of inducing them to live up to such professions.

Ungracious, however, as the task may seem, it is none the less a necessity of the hour. For now that the protecting arm of the government has been formally withdrawn, it becomes all the more important that the friends of the colored man and of permanent domestic peace should be active and vigilant. Whatever feeling in favor of justice to the colored man may be latent at the South, needs to be quickened into life and vigor by all proper influences that can be brought to bear for that purpose.

In my judgment, failure to adopt such methods for influencing public opinion at the South as may be at our command, because, forsooth, they may be interpreted as impertinent intermeddling with its affairs, will be criminal neglect of a duty which we owe to the colored people and to the nation, and which may not with safety remain undone. Here is a race which by our connivance was brought here, and has been kept in ignorance and degradation. That race must be lifted up, or remain forever an element of danger and discord to the whole country. Education in the broadest sense is the one sure means by which that danger can be averted. To expect that the South under existing circumstances will meet the immediately pressing necessities of the

case, is to expect too much. It is no injustice to the white people of the South to say that adequate disposition and means are both wanting on their part. She is unquestionably poor, and when the matter of providing the means of education for all her children is under discussion, she feels poorer than she really is. In many portions of the South, notably in South Carolina, it is only quite recently that any considerable number of persons among the property-holding and educated classes have admitted that education is a good thing for what they term the "lower orders." With this disposition now that the political pressure is removed, it will not be surprising if the provision of public educational facilities should, as a whole, prove fitful and unsatisfactory, and that the tendency of things affecting the colored people should be backward rather than forward.

The Republican party in the South fell far short of its duty in the matter of education. Nevertheless, the tendency of the people as a whole was forward; and the safety of the country demands that that tendency shall be preserved and increased to the utmost.

I would do injustice to my own feelings if I did not disclaim any intention of indulging in indiscriminate denunciation of the motives and purposes of the white people of South Carolina and of the South. There are hundreds of men and women among them who in their hearts condemn the crimes that have been committed in the name of a desire to secure good government; and, if they dared, would make public proclamation of their abhorrence of such deeds. But these people are as powerless today to influence or withstand the overmastering political fury of the ambitious and unscrupulous men, who control public affairs, as they were to oppose the blind fury of secession. Whether in the future they will show greater independence and courage than in the past, is part of the problem yet to be solved.

I am as fully convinced as any one, that political action based upon the hatred of any special class of our citizens, or section of the country, must be ruinous in the long run, and is certain to be followed by a reaction; and I have never been, and am not now, governed by such a motive, in considering the Southern question. Insincerity may, however, prove as disastrous as hatred, in deciding upon and directing political action; I have therefore tried, during the hour you have asked me to use, to be perfectly sincere in my treatment of this subject.

I feel and appreciate fully the force of the circumstances which have seemed to justify the acquiescence of the people in the new policy adopted. But the power to resist and control circumstances when vital principles are at stake, is the sure test of the capacity of a people for self-government; and it seems to me that no amount of "guah" about "conciliation," "local governments," and "home-rule" can obliterate the fact that in this case we have failed in our duty, and that we will have to pay the penalty for such failures. In describing and condemning the revolutionary measures which, by the consent of the national government, overthrew and usurped the places of valid governments in the South, and thus, as I think, interposed serious obstacles to the progress of its people in the principles and practice of free government, as well as to their social advancement, I would not be understood as advocating revolutionary action in return, or as despairing of the ultimate solution of the problem of civil and political equality under our government. As I have before intimated, many important advantages were gained under the system of reconstruction; and the practical duty now is to see that those advantages are not wholly lost by the reactionary movement which seems to have set in.

The best course to be pursued in the future is one about which good men may honestly differ. But, while admitting that the action taken cannot be revoked, duty to the truth of history, and loyalty to the fundamental principles of our government seem to me to require that we should refuse to admit that that action was justified by considerations of either justice or necessity, and insist that this judgment of the policy adopted shall stand, whether the immediate apparent consequences of that policy be good or bad.

THE IOWA CONVENTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Please insert the following call in THE INDEX immediately. Can you get away from your editorial duties long enough to come out to Des Moines and tell us of the "impending conflict"?

Mrs. Mattie Hullett Parry and Mr. J. R. Baker will be present, and speak right well for truth and equal rights. Hope to have Mr. Underwood and Colonel Jamieson with us, and other good speakers besides. A most cordial invitation is extended to every one who possibly can be present. Our Des Moines brethren are making preparations for the accommodation of their visitors,—the particulars of which shall be sent ere long. Arrangements will be made with the railroad companies for a reduction of fares.

We desire to see every liberal in the State constitute himself a committee of one for the purpose of advertising the coming convention. Write up the subject for your local papers. Let your friends know of the proposed meeting. Every one attend the convention who can possibly come. We want to perfect a strong State organization, and to do so we must, each of us, do his or her individual duty. Now is the time to arouse ourselves and go to work. Let us compete in generous emulation with our co-workers in the East. On to Des Moines! E. C. WALKER.

[We wish we could accept the kind invitation above tendered, but it is impossible. The earnest liberals of Iowa do not need our aid, but they have our cordial sympathy in their efforts. Let the con-

vention be a great and influential one, resulting in a large number of new local auxiliary Leagues.—Ed.]

Freethinkers of the West.—Greeting:

MASS CONVENTION OF IOWA LIBERALS.

TO EACH FRIEND OF STATE SECULARIZATION, INDIVIDUALLY, THIS CALL IS ADDRESSED:—

We want you to attend and take part in a Mass Convention of the friends of National Unity, State Secularization, and Universal Education, which will convene at Des Moines, Iowa, Thursday, March 7, 1878, at ten o'clock A.M., and continue for two days, day and evening sessions. Mr. B. F. Underwood and other distinguished speakers from abroad are expected to be present. It is proposed to organize a State Association or League, and we hope that every county in the State will be represented. Liberals of adjoining States are cordially invited to attend.

We are approaching a crisis in the relations of Church and State. The signs of the times are portentous of coming trouble. The Church is encroaching slowly, but stealthily and surely, upon the domain of the State, and is remorselessly chiselling away the rights of the private citizen. The experience of all times and the lessons of history warn us to be on the alert to resist the first attempt to render the State subordinate to the Church. The attempt to Christianize the United States Government, the exemption of church property from taxation, the use of the Bible, of religious hymns, of sectarian textbooks, and the utterance of prayer in our common schools; the use of public school buildings as places of sectarian worship; the appointment of chaplains in the Army and Navy, and in State and National institutions, in public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character; in the appointment by the President of the United States and by the Governors of the various States of religious feasts and festivals; in the use of the Judicial oath, in the enactment and enforcement of sabbatarian laws, and of laws intended to give to one class of religious believers any legal advantage or immunity which is not equally granted to all citizens,—these and countless other indications of the hold which the Church has upon the State call upon us to be up and doing.

Therefore we earnestly call upon every lover of equal rights and justice; upon every one who desires that ours shall be a land of civil and religious liberty in deed as well as name; upon every man and woman whose desire is that the magnificent heritage left us by the founders of our government shall not be stolen from us by the rapacious hand of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and upon every one who believes in the natural equality of all men and in the right to follow in the footsteps of science by the enlightened reason of man; upon each and all of these do we call to take hold and help us at Des Moines. The agents of reaction and ecclesiasticism are at work in every nook and corner of Europe and America. Shall the soldiers of Freedom sleep while the fetters are forging which shall bind the limbs of their children in gyves of steel? This is the hour to work. We must not delay.

The call is alike to Materialists, Spiritualists, Free Religionists, Christians; to any and to all who are willing to work for the complete separation of Church and State. Let there be a full attendance. The arrangements made for the accommodation of visitors at Des Moines, the reduction in fare made by railroad companies for the occasion, the speakers engaged, the subjects on which they will speak, will be announced by the committee in due time. For any information on the subject address the members of the committee.

J. C. MICHENER, M.D., *Chairman*, Adel,
J. H. STRONG, Des Moines,
C. DEROBERTS, Red Oak,
E. C. WALKER, Florence,
E. H. GIBBS, Oskaloosa,
Iowa State Committee of the N. L. L.

Other papers please copy.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 16.

B. N. Allen, 25 cents; W. C. Head, 25 cents; M. B. Sherwin, \$1; Joseph W. Wayne, \$3.27; Rev. Charles Voysey, \$4.78; L. M. Nicholson, \$3; David Giddings, \$3; Prof. W. C. Russell, \$3.20; A. Ferandie, \$3.20; E. C. Macgill, \$3.20; Frederick Looser, \$3.20; D. G. Francis, \$3.20; Wm. J. Worden, \$3.20; Killian Brothers, \$3.20; G. A. & S. Hill, \$3.20; H. Molineaux, \$3.20; Prof. W. F. Allen, \$3.20; Dr. O. G. Clark, \$3.20; Rev. S. H. Winkley, \$3.40; A. Hecht, \$3.20; J. N. Lombard, \$3.20; F. J. Humphrey, \$1.75; A. H. Roffe & Co., 50 cents; D. B. Morey, \$3.20; J. Ansbach, 10 cents; Judge A. S. Latty, \$3.27; W. Carpenter, \$1; Col. G. G. Minor, \$2; D. B. Morton, \$3; Dr. Jas. P. Atwater, \$3.29; E. C. Hart, \$3; E. D. Burleigh, \$3.20; Mrs. Rosalie Hopper, \$3.20; Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, 10 cents; Geo. E. Baxter, \$3; H. W. Stanton, 10 cents; Mrs. Kate N. Doggett, \$3; A. G. Boynton, \$6.65; Dr. David Prince, \$3; A. Shone, 10 cents; Prof. J. E. Oliver, \$10; Samuel D. Bardwell, \$6.40; H. Schoeppe, 10 cents; William Phillips, 50 cents; Edmond Prand, \$3.20; Mrs. H. Judd, \$3.20; John Gilles, \$3.25; E. Hassall, \$3.20; E. Racicot, \$3.20; Rev. O. W. Wendte, \$3.20; S. N. Allen, \$1.60; S. Lydiard, \$3.00.

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

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 21, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 36 Monroe Street; J. T. FRAY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

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

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

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A REQUEST TO LIBERAL EDITORS.

At a meeting of the Directors of the National Liberal League, held in this city on Friday, January 18, it was

Voted, To request the editors of liberal papers all over the country to publish the Directors' "Call to Organize" new Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues on Washington's birthday,—also the "Card" of the Financial Committee, as follows:—

Call to Organize.

CITIZENS of the United States who indorse the appended political platform adopted in convention by the National Liberal League, at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1877, are requested to meet in their respective cities and towns on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, 1878, for the purpose of organizing themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues in accordance with the provisions of the National Liberal League Constitution. Copies of the latter and blanks for organization can be obtained from W. H. Hamlen, Secretary, 231 Washington Street, Boston, or from H. L. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Salamanca, N. Y.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT,
WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, } Directors
J. A. J. WILCOX, } N. L. L.
H. L. GREEN,
D. G. CRANDON,

BOSTON, Jan. 18, 1878.

Platform of the National Liberal League.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatharian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

A Card.

The Finance Committee of the National Liberal League, in consequence of the lack of funds in the Treasury, and of the fact that the Directors are able to do so little of the important work that *ought to be done*, appeal to all lovers of liberty for financial help, to enable them to publish and disseminate the views of able writers in behalf of the principles of the Rochester Platform, and to advance the common cause in other equally proper ways.

If earnest liberals throughout the United States will contribute one dollar apiece (with as much more as their generosity shall prompt or their means permit), in order to become Annual Members of the National Liberal League, they will furnish the requisite aid, and the work shall be done.

DANIEL G. CRANDON, } Financial
HARLAN P. HYDE, } Committee
SARAH B. OTIS, } N. L. L.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER,
Secretary F. R. A.

MR. FROTHINGHAM ON "THE ASSAILANTS OF CHRISTIANITY."

Mr. Frothingham, as will be remembered by our readers, gave the opening lecture this winter (January 8) in the course of "Sunday Afternoon Lectures" at Horticultural Hall—his subject being "The Assaults of Christianity," of whom he chiefly instanced Celsus, Voltaire, Paine, and the editor of this journal. For literary reasons, he withholds it at present from publication. Having learned this fact accidentally (for we naturally felt debarred in this case from requesting the manuscript for THE INDEX), we obtained the favor of a private reading of the lecture, together with the unsolicited permission of making an abstract of it for these pages. To do this with any degree of fairness to Mr. Frothingham, however, would be a task beyond our opportunities, and we must content ourselves with the humbler work of jotting down a few thoughts suggested by his valuable monograph.

Let us frankly discharge a debt of gratitude at the outset. So far as the essential elements of our position respecting Christianity are concerned, Mr. Frothingham has sketched it with a wonderful fidelity and penetration. The causes, method, and spirit of our anti-Christianity are delineated with a truthfulness and generosity of recognition of which only such critics as Taine and Sainte-Beuve are capable—men who can enter with a delicate sympathy, for the time being, into minds and characters widely unlike their own, and thereby can seize the secret which is hidden from all but the Ariel-like imagination. We have often seen caricatures of our thought, but never before what we could honestly accept as its faithful portrait. In fact, Mr. Frothingham has put us into the condition of the man who, being asked by the artist who had painted his likeness what he thought of it, looked at it for a while, and then replied: "Very good—that is the face I shave."

But our chief interest in reading this lecture was to obtain light on the question how far Mr. Frothingham identified himself with the "assailants of Christianity" whom he was describing. On this point we think the following sentences will leave little doubt:—

"Should Christianity succeed in making head in America, the genius of American institutions must, in Mr. Abbot's view, be fatally compromised; and to prevent its thus succeeding is the object of an opposition as determined as was ever organized—more radical than Voltaire contemplated, and more earnest than Celsus proposed.

"In the judgment of this lecturer, Mr. Abbot's conception of the Christian system is substantially just. His criticism is warranted by history. His definitions are correct in the light of fair interpretation. Whether or no his apprehensions of the future are wise will be a matter of opinion. That it can be a matter of opinion among earnest men would seem to indicate some vagueness in the portents. . . . They who hold that the cause of Reason is not put in jeopardy or embarrassed by Christianity,—that Christianity, though essentially unreasonable, is, at this stage of knowledge and experience, too weak, too much divided, too far attenuated to be

feared by the mature intellect,—are right in pursuing the quiet ways of culture, leaving the outworn system to fall away of itself. But they who believe that Christianity is opposed to Reason and is *still strong enough to check its progress and thwart its aim*, must agitate, speak, write, prophesy, edit papers, organize Leagues, leave no means untried to destroy its influence. It is not for them to celebrate its past achievements, to detail its services, to magnify its glories, to exalt its beauties. This properly falls to the duty of its champions. The assailant picks at the assailable points, marks the defective places in the line of wall, directs his aim at the arsenals that are its strength and the towers that are its pride, and does not hesitate to demolish its beauties if he can humble its renown. All we ask of him is fidelity to the laws of war. He must not be a sneak; he must not employ spies or dissemble with 'quaker guns.' The issue is too grave for sarcasm or dissembling. Candor, honor, sincerity, an indomitable love of truth, an invincible enthusiasm for humanity, are the qualities to be enlisted for this warfare. That these qualities are enlisted now,—that ridicule, scorn, vituperation, vulgar abuse, ignorant pretentiousness have been outgrown with the methods of bygone days, is the sure sign that the assault has reached the highest dignity, and has the best omen of success. When the dogmatic spirit shall be cast out,—when the exclusive claims to authority and supremacy shall be disallowed and disavowed,—when aspiration, spirituality, equity, kindness, human love, shall alone remain as the animating principles of the Christian Faith,—when the champions of the Church shall strike hands with the friends of Reason,—then, but not till then, will the assailants drop their weapons."

From these closing passages of Mr. Frothingham's lecture, it seems that those of his listeners were in error who (as some did) understood him to admit that the fairest interpretation of Christianity might possibly harmonize it with freedom, truth, and reason (Unitarianism). On the other hand, those who understood him to approve our own position unqualifiedly seem to have been scarcely less in error, and to have been misled by his extraordinary justice and fairness in stating it into imagining that he was describing our position as his own (anti-Christianity). If we apprehend his meaning correctly, Mr. Frothingham holds ground intermediate between these two positions, and to be neither Christian nor anti-Christian, but simply non-Christian. In other words, he conceives the only truthful interpretation of Christianity to be that which represents it as intrinsically and necessarily despotic in its nature, and hostile to its fundamental idea to freedom of thought and democratic institutions; while at the same time he believes that, at this late day, this despotic system has become so enfeebled by age and the growth of civilization as to be practically no longer dangerous to mental or political liberty, and therefore to be no longer a public enemy in any sense which would require emancipated minds to join actively the "assailants of Christianity." Such a view as this would lead, logically and legitimately and honestly, to pursuit of the "quiet ways of culture" rather than to any form of anti-Christian activity. This is the position of a large number of scientific, philosophic, and earnestly humanitarian spirits at the present day. They neither accept nor yet oppose Christianity; they criticize it, decline to acknowledge its authority or to bear its name, and devote themselves according to their individual tastes to such independent interests as they judge most worthy of their attention.

The only issue we could have with them would be one that concerns a question of fact; namely, is Christianity so far decayed and decrepit as to be practically innocuous to the highest interests of mankind? We believe that this is very far from being the real state of the case, and that a period of reaction is setting in which will show the dogmatic and ecclesiastical system of Christianity to be still enormously strong,—so strong and so vital as still to exert a most disastrous influence in keeping the human mind in darkness, and so aggressive as to demand great exertion on the part of the friends of secular government and secular education to prevent these priceless principles from being overwhelmed by the re-concentrating forces of their great enemy. This question of fact is one which events alone can fully answer. We claim no infallibility in our own view of the case, but must steadfastly adhere to it and act upon it just so long as it is our own. Meanwhile, we wish that those who hold the more optimistic view would soberly and seriously set themselves to explain the grounds on which it rests, and thoughtfully study the grounds of the opposite view.

THE NEW DISCUSSION.

It is a curious coincidence that, side by side with the popular agitation on the silver-money question, there has arisen in this country a new and widespread discussion of the old dogma of eternal punishment. It might be hard to say which question is sharing the greater portion of public interest. And perhaps there is a meaning in this coincidence. We might, at least, imagine a staunch believer both in honest money of one standard, and in the old doctrine of a material and endless hell, disposed to hint that a people who are trying to debase the money of their country will very naturally take to heresy on the matter of future punishment. And, on the other hand, there are some of us who do not now believe in the old doctrine of hell-torments, who yet would be inclined to look upon the doctrine with more tolerance, if our American Congress should succeed in the plan on which it seems madly bent, of repudiating a part of the national debt; for how otherwise could such a disgraceful crime be adequately dealt with? On the whole, therefore, it seems probable that neither side will be able to make much from the fact that these two discussions chance to come together. Everything depends upon the premises from which one starts.

But in this recent discussion of the dogma of eternal punishment, two very significant features appear: first, that the secular newspapers have entered the discussion so freely, or have, at least, been so eager to report what is said upon it elsewhere; and second, that the public press has ventured to treat the question with so much of humor and banter. The first of these facts is significant, as indicating that a question which was once regarded as exclusively in the province of the pulpit and the professional theologian, is now held to be open to popular debate. The secular newspaper writer may not have much knowledge of Biblical criticism, nor of metaphysical theology; yet his right to discuss the subject is not challenged. And if he can bring to the consideration of it arguments based on sound common sense and common humanity, he is likely to find more numerous and more docile hearers than will the Biblical and metaphysical theologian of the old days. And the second fact—that the public press has ventured to treat the question with so much of *peristylage*—is quite as significant. It hints that the old view of future retribution—of hell with its fire and brimstone and infinite ingenuity of never-ceasing physical torments—is fast becoming a superstition, which vast numbers of people in Christendom are not afraid to laugh at. Of course, in itself, the question of retribution in another world for human conduct in this world, is the most serious question that man can put to himself. And if people had a very deep belief in the doctrine of eternal punishment, we could hardly conceive of their being in a mood to trifle and banter on the subject. Nor, if the belief had the hold in the churches and among religious people that it once had, is it probable that secular newspapers, having a business eye upon their patronage, would venture to treat it with so much humorous levity. When a belief can be thus treated safely, it is an indication that what was once a solemn and general faith, is being discarded by the average common sense of society as a superstition. Thus has it been heretofore with the beliefs in witchcraft, in magic, in astrology,—beliefs which once held great sway in ecclesiastical circles. When large classes of people ventured to become humorous over such beliefs as these, the notions had passed irrevocably into the domain of superstition, nevermore to trouble rational intelligence.

The truth is, "hell" is beginning to be put into quotation-marks; and this is one of the signs of the times. The conception belongs to a past theology, and people are thus beginning to indicate it as traditional. Even a good many sound Orthodox people do not like to be committed to the word to-day without explanations. Believers in the doctrine are issuing new and revised editions of it,—much improved editions, too. Very few are willing to confess their belief in the literal, material, fiery hell of the ancients. The absolute deniers of the doctrine are more active and pronounced than ever. And the number of those who design only to use against it the argument of ridicule is rapidly increasing. Colonel Ingersoll's lectures on the subject, from the so-called infidel stand-point, are attracting crowds. They are being sold by thousands on the streets and in the cars. The other day in Boston, at one of the most conspicuous points of Washington Street, a man was standing with the word *Hell* printed in large letters on a placard across his breast. That was the sole

word on it, and it was an advertisement of Ingersoll's lecture which he was selling. If a man had ventured to do such a thing in our Puritan fathers' days, they would probably have sent him to the place in short order from a gibbet on Boston Common. Now, though a good many people might criticise his taste while buying the tract, he was, if molested at all, probably only moved on by the police for obstructing the sidewalk by the crowd that stopped to interpret his "strange device."

Evidently a more rational conception of "future punishment"—if that phrase is to be retained—is obtaining ground. Men can understand, and do understand, by their own reason and experience the law of moral retribution. They understand what delays and wretchedness and shame their mistakes and transgressions entail upon them in their course,—how they are turned aside from their goal and sink in pits by the wayside, almost in utter despair of the future. But they are learning that the suffering and the shame come as natural consequence of the error, and not for vengeance, but for warning: their end is to drive back to the better way. And thousands of people who never listened to a theological argument on the question one way or the other, are yet coming to see that the old dogma of eternal punishment for the moral failure of a few years on this planet, is as derogatory to the wisdom of the ruling power of the universe as it is to the mercy.

W. J. F.

SHALL WE CHARTER LIBERTINISM?

"What is wanted is absolute freedom of the individual,—no gyves and fetters on body or mind; no dictator in Church or State; no good father or kind mother standing guard over the morals or intellects of men and women; but simply a government that shall say, 'Your freedom is abused from the wrong-doing of your neighbors; in return you must do no wrong to your neighbors.'"

Thus writes an earnest and enthusiastic contributor to THE INDEX, deprecating the position its editor has felt compelled to assume in making a distinction between obscenity and morality. "Better license with liberty than no liberty! Infinitely better that the land should be flooded with obscene literature than that a man, or a church, or a society should be empowered to rifle the mails, and establish a paternal protectorate over the medium of thought-exchange in the land,—over the mind and conscience of one individual."

Does the author of the two quotations given above agree with the writer that the duty of each individual member of society is to subordinate his private and personal tastes and disposition within certain duly prescribed limits, out of deference to the "greatest good of the greatest number"? Does he accept the common rule of experience that it is always best of two evils to choose the lesser?

Unless he denies the validity of the utilitarian theory of mutual moral obligation between man and man; unless he would have innocent children destitute of essential safeguards,—he will find it difficult to maintain the position assumed in the above extracts.

Men need to be made to understand that the mistake of the nineteenth century has consisted in confounding the ideas of "liberty" and "happiness." Liberty is not the goal of human society, but only the means to the end it is sought to attain. All depends upon the use that mankind make of their liberty whether it becomes to them a blessing or a curse. Like fire, it may be said to be "a good servant, but a bad master."

So far it would appear as if even universal suffrage itself was only another name for placing the highest wisdom upon the same level with the grossest ignorance, politically; the most humane, beneficent, and philanthropic of humankind side by side with the most brutal, selfish, and unscrupulous members of society; or, as Fitz James Stephen well puts it, "the right to misgovern your immediate neighbors without being accountable for it to any one wiser than yourself."

Suppose, for instance, that some wise and just man should be invested with such supreme authority as to be able to institute laws commanding that all marriages should be postponed until the contracting parties should be able (as in some parts of Switzerland and Germany they are now required to do) to show evidence of their capacity for supporting the children to be brought into the world by them. Suppose that none but tax-payers and free-holders were permitted to vote upon all questions involving the contraction of loans and public indebtedness;

that the suffrage should be restricted to the older and wiser citizens of either sex, none being permitted to vote for our governmental officials who had not attained the age of at least thirty-five,—that every child should be forced to learn some mechanical trade or art or profession, and none but secular schools permitted to train the American youth. Suppose that the immense sums of money now squandered in the multiplication of church edifices, were to be appropriated under the supervision of the national authorities to a better system of moral instruction, without reference to any particular religious creed, simply imparting to the youth of our country those world-wide axiomatic and rudimentary principles which tend to promote "the greatest good of the greatest number." Suppose that the telegraphs and express companies were administered *pro bono publico* under the same organization as our present postal service. Suppose work to be guaranteed to all applicants who were capable of working, and hospitals, asylums, and industrial schools provided for those physically incapable, and then condign punishment meted out to the wilfully indolent—thus doing away with any excuse for "tramps." Suppose "free trade and direct taxation" to be made a part of the national creed, and a system of rewards for good citizenship in the shape of public promotion adopted as a supplement to our present mode of *threatening* punishment for vicious habits, but leaving so many chances of escape through our method of trial by jury.

Most people will admit that some, if not all, of such changes would be for the benefit of the American people, even if in gaining these and similar reforms they resigned some small portion of their present privilege of oppressing one another by muddling through universal suffrage every legislative procedure that well-meaning politicians introduce in our Congress or State legislatures. The danger that threatens this nation to-day is simply Democratic-Republican principles reduced to their lowest terms: the vulgarization of the ballot-box by its being made supreme over all questions,—witness the present silver legislation! Ignorance always can outvote wisdom. The tyranny of a mob-majority being far more to be feared than that of any single individual,—if any process could be invented by which the personage best fitted to administer the details of any government of modern times, could be promptly singled out from the ordinary multitude, granted full powers, and forced to occupy the executive position, the problem of government would be vastly simplified. But merely to tell every American citizen, in the language of the contributor just quoted—"Your freedom is assured from the wrong-doing of your neighbors; in return you must do no wrong to your neighbors," would do no good unless the government should demonstrate to everybody's satisfaction—first, that every good citizen was secure in his vested rights; and next that it had both the power and the will to promptly punish every attempt to infringe upon the laws protecting such rights. Infinitely better that all private correspondence should be submitted to the espionage of a governmental censor duly appointed, than that girls and boys in their teens should be subjected to the demoralizing influences of professional seducers.

Public opinion and individual sentiment unite in approving the instant destruction of rattlesnakes, wolves, sharks, tarantulas, and all other venomous or noxious reptiles, fishes, animals, and vermin; but most of our States pass laws to protect the increase of the more innocent and useful birds and beasts. Yet, on abstract grounds, the right of the first-named to existence is as good as that of the more favored. Just so with human beings; practically, our legislation must be so shaped as to distinguish between the good and the bad, the honest and the dishonest, the decent and the indecent. Anthony Comstock may be an evil; but the evidence shows him to be a necessary one.

A. W. H.

[We think Mr. Kelsey has inadvertently said more than he intended. At least, we feel constrained to say that the above is not our own position on this question, which is precisely the same that we first took. The freedom of the mails must be maintained within the recognized limit of all freedom (the prohibition of infringing upon the rights of others); and no other limit is necessary to exclude really obscene matter from the mails. Censorship of private correspondence would be insufferable for any cause; nor do we see any necessity of resorting to any principle in this matter not already recognized as the *abc* of radicalism.—Ed.]

Communications.

DR. HEDGE'S NEW BOOK.

WAYS OF THE SPIRIT. By Frederick H. Hedge, D.D. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 12 mo. pp. 367.

Whoever takes up this latest book of Dr. Hedge's will experience, according as his "doxy" may be, very distinct and dissimilar sensations. The well-grounded, long-established orthodox reader, prepared to give fullest reason for the "nine points," whether singly or together, will rub his eyes and ponder over a line of statements, so in accord with his most cherished views as to make him at once convinced that Dr. Hedge has seen the error of his ways. But a few pages or paragraphs farther on and the radical element shows its head alert and smiling, and for a season has matters all its own way. Nor is this seeing, if the phrase may be allowed, in the least an indication of feeble purpose or uncertain motive. Far from it. Rather is it the calm toleration of the philosopher, who, looking quietly over the field of human effort, weighs causes and principles, balances results, and gives the compact, clearly-expressed decision in words absolutely void of all partisan heat. To the readers of THE INDEX, therefore, the book must have a special interest, every attempt to give a spiritualized and yet clear-sighted expression to the questions always occurring to the student of events, whether in the written pages of history, or in that subtler history, between the lines which each man makes for himself, being one more step toward that consummation for which we all think and work.

Properly, Dr. Hedge's book divides itself into two parts; the opening chapters, five in number, "History," "Religion," "Historic Christianity," "Historic Atonement," and the "Natural History of Theism," forming the first, and being a well-considered review, somewhat deeply tintured with the German thought, at whose spring Dr. Hedge has drunk to good purpose, of the evolution of better thoughts and life, from the chaos of ignorance, misrule, anarchy, and suffering, through which the world has come. If space allowed, there are many passages of rare insight and beauty which would bear transferring bodily; and his sketch of the influence of the Virgin upon the sad and shadowed lives of the Middle Ages might be read appreciatively by the devoutest Catholic of to-day. Practically, these pages are another gospel of evolution, written from the optimist's point of view; for that Dr. Hedge is an optimist after the most genuine pattern, is proved in the chapter on "Pantheism," which deals with the characteristics of Spinoza's thought, and presents him as almost the ideal philosopher.

Having settled the question not only as to present status, but the method by which it has been reached, naturally the spirit which has moved on the face of these waters finds explanation in the chapter on "Proofs of the Being of God," which is commended to all doubters, not as a piece of special pleading, but rather a statement, so calm and convincing, that it is difficult to see how the atheist, if an atheist really exist, can do anything but avow himself delist at once. Two or three other equally suggestive chapters follow, and the book ends fitly with a noble one, on that which has been the life and source of all inquiry since the world began, the eager, asking, never-satisfied "soul of man." Despite all assertions as to the deeply-rooted scepticism of the nineteenth century, the craving for truth has never been so earnest or ardent, and there are many questions which find at least an approximate answer in these earnest, scholarly pages, which even in this day of many books, the making and reading of which was a weariness even in Solomon's generation, deserve attention from all thoughtful people.

CAMPBELL WHEATON.

MATERIALISM OR SPIRITUALISM?

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—For months I have read THE INDEX and, waited for a spare hour to say a word on some matters in its columns. Articles on "Intuition" were of interest to me, both yours and those of C. D. B. Mills and others. I agree most with Mills; yet it seems to me the argument is incomplete unless one reaches out into the wide realm of psychological science and takes note of the facts of mesmerism, clairvoyance, and spiritualism,—a region into which THE INDEX writers seldom enter. Study these facts, and put with them the last discoveries of Proctor and others in the scientific world, and we find man is a microcosm; that all lower grades of matter and types of life are wrought into the symmetry and beauty of the "human form divine," all mental and spiritual powers, and laws enter into "the spirit in a man that giveth him understanding."

Of course, then, akin to the great macrocosm—the universe of matter and mind,—its laws and forces epitomized in him, his soul in its outreaching sweep of thought touches Nature and discovers and apprehends its truths, kindred to its own essence.

Facts in abundance prove this discovering power in us. How did the law of gravitation burst on Newton's mind? First by thought ripening from a flash of intuition as he sat under the apple-tree. As Buckle well says: "See how small a part the senses had in the discovery! It was the triumph of an idea!" How did Haüy in the *Jardin du Roi*, in Paris, a century ago, discover the law of crystallization? He tells us that he took for his "starting-point ideas of the symmetry of form." Of course their intuitions were verified by experiment; but the discovering power of the soul reached out into new realms, saw new San Salvadors, and touched fair continents first; and scientific experiment authenticated its discoveries, as Columbus and his sailors brought back West Indian fruits and gold to astonished Spain.

A century ago Darwin's grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, in his famed poem, *The Botanic Garden*, charmed cultured London society by what they held a dream of poetic fancy; but we see the fine stanzas of that poem as his prophetic statement of the "Darwinian theory" which his illustrious descendant is verifying by patient and careful study and experiment. How did Andrew Jackson Davis, then an ignorant boy nineteen years old, state in clear terms Tyndall's theory of the potency of matter? The untaught son of a "poor but honest cordwainer" discovered intuitively what the splendid experiments of the great Englishmen verify in later days; only that the young man's statement is most complete, since he not only tells of the potency of matter, but carries us back to the spiritual genesis of that potency in the indwelling soul of things.

Due honor to the soul, to its intuitions and discoveries, and to inductive science with its experiments verifying those discoveries. Both must be recognized for a perfect philosophy; but ignore the soul and its innate powers, and only a fragmentary philosophy with imperfect processes and results remains.

In ethics you grant the authority of the truths of the soul, the great primal ideas of justice, fraternity, etc. Without them "free religion" would be absurd indeed; for we must have intuitive morals,—a standard *with* a higher, holier, and greater than all precedent or authority without.

But the spirit within is finer and more subtly penetrative than the senses. Can man then instinctively reach truth in ethics, and not in the laws and properties of matter?

Leaving this, a word on another, yet kindred topic. A material or a spiritual philosophy, which? Theism or atheism? Immortality or the soul extinct with the death of the body from whence it sprang as a material philosophy teaches?

THE INDEX writers lean largely toward the material side, and I see but faint light in its pages. For instance, I have just read an article from Mrs. Sarah Bridges Stebbins (a familiar name, but the person unknown), closing as follows:—

"It is from self-conceit, self-absorption, self-seeking, that the prevailing idea of immortality arises. If by strong effort of will we can momentarily put these aside, and realize that endless finite existence is not altogether desirable, shall we then grudge to think it less magnificent to change our substance, spirit as well as matter, and to mingle with the universe, be received and dissolved in the one spirit of that universe from whence we sprang? And instead of the unsatisfactory progression of individual and personal immortality, be thus incorporated into the whole, and so at once become infinite and capable of eternity?"

To this I answer in Whittier's words:—

"Not mine the hope of India's son—
Of slumbering in oblivion's rest,
Life's myriads blending into one,
In blank annihilation blest;
Dust-atoms of the infinite,
Sparks scattered from the central light,
And winning back through mortal pain
Their old unconsciousness again."

"No! I have FRIENDS in spirit-land:
Not shadows in a shadowy band;
Not others, but themselves are they.
And still I think of them the same
As when the Master's summons came;
Their change the holy morn-light breaking
Upon the dream-worn sleeper, waking,—
A change from twilight into day."

I go back four thousand years to an old Vedic verse wherein some Hindu *Rishi* or saint breathed his intuition:—

"If thou, O Death! a being art, draw near,
And let me clasp thee: for I hold thee dear,
I shall extort eternal life from thee:
Thou canst but snatch this worn-out shell from me."

Between these I seem to see Socrates drinking the hemlock and cheerfully telling his weeping friends of his near apotheosis; to hear the words of "golden-lipped" Plato, "reasoning well" of immortality; to listen as a grand chorus of rich voices, Pagan and Christian, seers and saints and sages, floats down through the centuries, singing:—

"Man! thou shalt never die!"

and the statement that "the prevailing idea of immortality arises from self-conceit, self-absorption, and self-seeking," drifts away into the mist, leaving no shade to mar the glorious sunlight.

Or look at this question philosophically, as stated by Hudson Tuttle, in his comments on the materialistic class of scientists:—

"What a sham they make of creation! What a turmoil for no result! Infinite ages of progress and evolution, during which elemental matter, by force of inherent laws, sought to individualize itself and incarnate its force in living beings; ages of struggle upwards from low to high, from sensitive to sentient, from sentient to intellectual, from zoöphyte to man! And now, having accomplished this, and given man exquisite susceptibility of thought, of love, of affection, making him the last factor in the series, he is doomed to perish! What is gained by this travail of the ages? It would have been as well had the series stopped with the huge saurians of the primeval slimes, or the mastodon and mammoth of prehistoric times, as with man. As each factor in the series prophesies future forms, so does man read in the same light prophecy-forms beyond. They cannot be in the line of greater physical perfection, for in the days of Greece and Rome man was as perfect physically, as is seen by their sculptures, as to-day. Ages ago this exceeding beauty was attained. It cannot be in the evolution of a being superior to man, for as in each lower animal imperfect organs or structures, or partially employed functions, are improvable and perfected by succeeding forms, in man the archetype is complete, and no partially developed organ indicates the possibility of future change.

Progress having arrived at its limits with the body,

changes its direction, and appears in the advancement of mind. Death (we are told) closes the career of individuality, and we live only in thoughts,—our selfhood is absorbed in the ocean of being. Mankind perfects as a whole, and the sighed-for millennium is coming by-and-by.

Of what avail is it to us if future generations are wise and noble, if we pass into nonentity? Of what avail to them to be wise and noble, if life is only the fleeting hour? Not yet will I believe Nature to be such a sham,—such a cruel failure. The spirit rebels against the supposition of its mortality. The body is its habitation. Shall the coat be claimed to be the entire man? Shall the garments ignore the wearer?

This is the animal side of man. Physically composed of the same elements, and having passed through these innumerable changes, he is an epitome of the universe. As man was foreshadowed in remotest ages as the crowning type in the series of organic life, so man foreshadows superior excellence. Springing out of his physical perfectability, arises a new world of spiritual wants and aspirations, unanswered and unanswerable in mortal life."

If it be said this, too, is speculation, then study spiritual science; examine the facts of clairvoyance, and learn of spiritual senses, finer than the material senses and independent of them or of the bodily organs, look into the facts of spiritual manifestation and learn that Edmund Spenser was right when he said centuries ago, with a poet's wealth of intuition:

"For of the soul, the body form doth take,
For soul is form, and doth the body make."

In England, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, F.R.S., the eminent physiologist, has been writing articles to show that mesmerism, clairvoyance, and spiritualism came from "delusion" and "mental prepossession," and has called out the able replies of Wallace, Crookes, and others there, and Dr. J. R. Buckman in this country. The discussion has brought out a great deal of valuable thought and solid fact on the whole question of a material or a spiritual philosophy, and on important psychological matters; and even the conservative *Boston Journal of Chemistry* severely condemns Carpenter for reckless dogmatism and bad manners. These articles have been published partly in the *Science Monthly*, and fully in the *Banner of Light* at your door; yet I see no mention of so valuable and important publications in THE INDEX. Without the study of these subjects there cannot be the breadth of thought and investigation indispensable to more light. As dogmatic theology decays the world goes either toward a material philosophy, pure induction, atheism, and death as the end of life, or toward a spiritual philosophy, recognizing intuition, deduction and induction, theism and immortality, or a life beyond, as a truth of the soul verified by the experience of the senses. *Where are you? Which way does THE INDEX aim?* I have no time to write much or often, no large claim on your space; but I see plainly enough that the materialistic element is largely represented in your columns, the spiritual element but little. It may be said this is because these do not write for you; but I see hardly a recognition or mention of what is said or done by those who hold to a spiritual philosophy; for instance, of the masterly articles of Rev. James Martineau, of London, criticising Tyndall's "Potency of Matter," or of the great argument of Epes Sargent, of your own city, "Does Matter Do it All?" And this too, while a generous share of INDEX support comes from this school of thinkers, spiritualists, and others.

In closing, let me say that the important work of your Liberal League I have laid before large audiences the past season, and hope again to do so.

Frankly and truly yours,
G. B. STEBBINS.
DETROIT, Mich., Jan. 28, 1878.

"Which way does THE INDEX aim?" Why, THE INDEX as represented by Mr. Stebbins aims at Spiritualism; as represented by others, it aims at Materialism; as represented by us, it aims at neither, but at the great principles of freedom, truth, justice, fraternity, the Rights of Man. With our correspondent's kind permission, we consider these infinitely more important than either of the competing isms, or all other isms combined. His quarrel must be with his fellow-Spiritualists, not with us; for we lean no more to the ism he dislikes than to the ism he is in love with, and publish impartially the best articles we receive. Is it our fault that Spiritualists do not write more for THE INDEX? Everybody knows—Mr. Stebbins himself knows—"where" we "are": we believe in scientific theism and scientific morality, and we hope for continued existence after death, without believing that he or anybody else knows anything about it. To our mind, the controversies on this question of a future life are profitless; we think there are grounds of hope, but none of knowledge; and we turn to the great, vital interests of this world as best worth discussion. But we publish such miscellaneous selections as seem to us most likely to be interesting to thoughtful people, and must now, it seems, give formal warning that they give no sort of guidance as to our own opinions. For these, our readers must look to what we write personally; and they well know we never hesitate to take a definite public position on any question when we have reached one. But we do not know nearly so much as some of our contributors, for which sin we are truly penitent.—ED.]

INTEGRALISM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Let us hope that "A. W. K.," having learnt that Fourier was not a Communist, will study him without "a preconceived theory on the subject," until he discovers that the great master social architect was, what we all ought to be, an INTEGRALIST. He would then be in condition to see that individualism put for the whole of social science, is a one-sided and hence untruthful statement.

Fourier recognized fully the ineradicability of INDIVIDUALISM as well as of COMMUNISM. He did not seek to antagonize, but to reconcile them. He did not believe progress or harmony could be brought about by undervaluing or suppressing any element of human character.

To have insisted on egoism or altruism as the principle which should govern mankind, would have seemed as absurd to him as insisting that we should cut off and cast away one of our legs that we might develop the other, and progress the faster.

Fourier did not ignore or disregard the importance of right conditions. On the contrary, he knew perfectly well the immense influence of surroundings on character. In truth, his whole life-work was devoted to discovering the surroundings or social environment best fitted to give the highest development to individualism—according to his great formula, "attractions are proportioned to destinies,"—while at the same time he provided for the altruistic sentiment fully, according to another favorite formula of unity of interests.

Freedom in and through order was what he worked for and believed in. He did not recognize "the unwelcome fact that the ineradicable imperfections of ordinary human nature" show that the present state of social evolution is the culmination of human society because *there is no such fact* outside of the imagination of certain one-sided and short-sighted pessimists.

One would think a blind man might see that it is a shorter step in evolution from our present civilization to the phase of simple association, than those already made from the primal stage of savagism. To suppose that progress ends with our present attainments is as absurd as if one never having seen a man, but confronted with a boy at his most disagreeable period, should pronounce him a finality and a failure.

There are abundant evidences that the period of guaranteeism is beginning to appear, and that we shall have to pass through it unless, as Fourier hoped, we can make such discoveries of the laws of social science that we can pass by it, and enter upon some form of simple association, which very likely will contain a larger element of communism than would be required in a more advanced state, or in what Fourier calls high harmony.

Meanwhile there is work enough for us to do in the study of social science without worrying ourselves about Fourier's speculations as to the boreal crown, or the disinfection of the ocean. It may be said *en passant*, that many stranger things have happened, and we can afford to wait. Fourier may be mistaken in his cosmogony and in other side issues; but it is certain that a thorough study of his wonderful analysis of human society and of the human passions, and of his prophetic visions of the future harmony of man with himself and with his planet is of the greatest possible value; and that to write of social questions without really knowing what Fourier teaches, is worse than Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out. There are spots on the sun, but it is the centre of our system nevertheless. What is needed is to marry individualism and communism, if any fruitful results of good to mankind are sought. Either alone is sterile. To bring about this marriage is the object of all true socialists. Some socialists not yet integralists think the two will be one, and that one the man; others think the two will be one, and that one the woman. I think the result of the union will be, not absorption of one by the other, but the perfect freedom of both, inspired by love and secured by order, summed up as universal unity in variety. F. S. C.

A PROTEST AGAINST THE "TRIBUNE."

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is surprising to see THE INDEX, a paper whose mission seems to be to make truth, justice, and light triumph over deceit, ignorance, and superstition, reproduce into its columns an article of such a character as that copied from the New York Tribune in its number for Jan. 3, headed: "Plain Truths for Western Readers." That article is full of venom and undeserved abuse. The Western States are as sensitive to honor and good faith as the Eastern States. They only want equal justice and equal rights. They do not conceive that the American system of government was instituted merely for the benefit of Eastern capitalists, or that, because the people of the Western States were "intensely and vigorously loyal" during the rebellion, they should now be intensely and vigorously foolish and submissive to the demands of capital, after it is over. They think that their blood has preserved the Union for the benefit of the whole and every part of it, not for the purpose of making the Western and Southern States a fat pasture for Eastern capitalists to feed upon.

The Tribune is right in saying that "the people of this region are personally not devoid of honesty or common-sense." It is precisely these qualities that have opened their eyes to the injustice of the financial measures that have demonetized silver, nearly doubled the capital of national bankers by sharing with them the inalienable right of government to issue a circulating medium, exempted money invested in the public debt from taxation, and other unjust and

partial measures that have shown them that the once noble and patriotic Republican party had become the mere tool of Wall Street, and caused thousands to leave its ranks. The accusations and reproaches of the Tribune will not hoodwink Western or Southern people; they will demand that the government return to the aims set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States which it seems to have overlooked and ignored in order to make this a partial government that favors capital at the expense of all other property,—at the expense of labor and of all our industries. The Tribune need not make itself unhappy over the ability of West or South to move crops. Only let justice be done and they will take their chances, well knowing that profit and not brotherly love has heretofore been and will continue to be the sole inducement. G. D.

FOND DU LAC, Wis., Jan. 15, 1878.

NEW YORK STATE LIBERAL LEAGUE COUNTY COMMITTEES.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The thirty-one counties of Western New York included in the Freethinkers' Association have each a Liberal League County Committee, consisting of three members; but in the thirty Eastern Counties of the State there are no such committees. Therefore, allow me to request each of the following named persons to associate with himself two other persons to constitute a County Liberal League Committee for his county. And I further request each person hereinafter named to send me the name and address of the persons so appointed:—

Albany County, Thomas Dugan, Albany.
Clinton County, J. Churchill, Champlain.
Columbia County, Charles Groves, Canaan Four Corners.
Dutchess County, John P. Atwater, M.D., Poughkeepsie.
Essex County, Freeman L. Lyon, M.D., Bloomingdale.
Franklin County, J. G. Reynolds, Bombay.
Fulton County, McIntyre Fraser, Johnstown.
Kings County, Dr. A. H. Brockway, 13 Green Street, Brooklyn.
New York County, Wm. H. Boughton, 57 Liberty Street, New York city.

Orange County, R. A. Conkling, Port Jervis.
Otsego County, E. Wilcox, Morris.
Queens County, Samuel Keese, Great Neck.
Rensselaer County, Joseph Knight, Troy.
Rockland County, Gen. Robert Avery, Nyack.
Saratoga County, J. J. Dunlap, M.D., Saratoga.
Ulster County, Aug. Huhne, M.D., Rondout.
Washington County, A. J. Culver, Whitehall.
Westchester County, Nathan H. Ellis, Yonkers.
I shall be thankful to any one who will furnish me the name of an earnest, active liberal from each or either of the following counties: Green, Hamilton, Montgomery, Putnam, Richmond, Schenectady, Schoharie, Suffolk, Sullivan, Warren, and Yates.

The special business of these Committees will be to encourage the organization of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues in their respective counties, and in other ways advance the liberal cause.

H. L. GREEN,

N. Y. State Rep. on the Ex. Com. of the N. L. L.

THE "BIBLE MANUAL" FORCED INTO MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOLS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In Boston, at sundry times, much has been said and written of the injustice of the Bible-reading exercises in the public schools, to the parents who do not accept the book as their guide or authority. It is reserved for the country towns of Massachusetts to carry the matter to the extent of positive insult and persecution.

In the town of Wakefield, where until the last year the school committee has been largely made up of the clergy, in addition to the usual praying and Bible-reading, all the public school scholars who have advanced to a certain class are required to purchase a *Bible Manual*, a large book of about three hundred pages, made up of extracts from the Bible carefully arranged by a member of the Evangelical church, from which book the children are required to recite, and which is made as much a text-book as their grammar or arithmetic.

Is there a remedy for this state of things for the man whose means are such that his children must grow up in ignorance, unless he can avail himself of the public schools? PARENT.

[There is no remedy but in State secularization, which the National Liberal League aims to accomplish. The injustice and tyranny of Orthodoxy will continue to grow, until liberals learn the lesson of self-protection through organization.—Ed.]

A LIBERAL WORKER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

We have, comparatively, so few really earnest, working liberals, that when I come across one I feel like introducing him or her to the liberal public. A few months since I made the acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Dugan, of Albany, N. Y., and I find him one of the most earnest, energetic liberals I ever met.

Largely through his influence some months since, a live "Liberal Association" was formed in the old, conservative, Orthodox city of Albany; and now he has succeeded in getting that association to become auxiliary to the National Liberal League. Mr. Dugan, I learn, is a liberal who believes in liberalism. And I can best inform your readers what he is doing in Albany by quoting from a letter I have just received from him:—

"Enclosed find post-office order for the sum of

\$10 for a charter for a Liberal League. There has been a committee appointed to revise our constitution to conform to the rules of the National Liberal League.

"I tried to have the society engage Brother Underwood, but they did not think it advisable, and therefore I took it upon myself to do so. He lectures here next Sunday evening, February 10. His subject is "Evolution and Darwinism." I have thoroughly advertised him in all the papers, also in five thousand handbills and one hundred and fifty large posters.

"J. Albert Wilson, Esq., gave a splendid lecture on 'Paine' before our society on Paine's birthday, and he donated the proceeds to our Liberal Association.

"I saw Rev. Mr. Schlessinger, of this city, as you wished, and he joined us readily. Mr. Charles M. Cuyler I also saw, and he will assist us all in his power. The others you mention I have not seen yet, but will soon. We have now about sixty members."

Now, Mr. Abbot, is not that pretty good for Albany? And allow me to say that the Mr. Wilson mentioned above is a young lawyer of Albany, one of our Liberal League State Committee, and, I understand, a good speaker. I know him to be an able, earnest liberal, and I hope he may be invited to lecture by our liberal societies. H. L. GREEN.

"REPUBLICAN TAXATION."

Suppose taxes to be assessed not upon "mouths," as Mr. Wright suggests, but upon property: property would re-assess them, as it assesses all its bills, upon labor, as rent, interest, or profits, and so the same class of persons would really pay the taxes as now.

Again: suppose property or capital, and not current income derived from rent, interest, or profits, really did have to pay the taxes; would that be equitable? Would not that be putting a premium on laziness and improvidence, by exempting the lazy and improvident from taxation?

Of course it is worth while to work for taxation of church property, and as a matter of equity, too, for it is a movement in the right direction; but it is only that. The sting of church exemption is in the intention to exempt. Labor's bill is a little less now than it will be when church property is taxed, for such taxation will furnish an excuse for a new exaction for the benefit of capital. The amount of that tax, and a little more, "in order to make sure of covering it" (such being the custom in such cases with "practical" people in making out a bill), will be "put in the bill" which labor will, at last, have to pay.

Income, if incomes were honestly earned, and it were practicable for assessors to ascertain them, would furnish the most equitable basis for taxation, since the amount of the income would be a gauge of ability to bear taxation. The burden would be put upon the strong, where it ought to be put.

JOHN FRANCIS SMITH.

OAK LAWN, R. I.

FRIENDS IN UTAH.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah Ter., January, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—Although I am shut up in the valley of the Rocky Mountains, I do not forget that it is my duty to do what I can to promote the circulation of the INDEX tracts and the permanent influence of THE INDEX newspaper. I should like to have a number of the tract,—"The Impeachment of Christianity." THE INDEX is my intellectual, mental, and spiritual food. To work for so erudite and ably-conducted a journal as you, sir, send forth to all parts of the country, is an honor and a privilege. I do not think that there is any other newspaper or even magazine published either in Europe or America, by which the rights of men, women, and children are so accurately and clearly defined, so ably expounded, and logically established and defended, as they are by THE INDEX and its tracts and other publications sold through your medium. There is a very respectable and reliable man in our city, from whom you have heard. His name is P. Tavley. I have seen him to-day, and he informed me that he is very willing to keep your INDEX and tracts in his store-window, and to do all he can to procure subscribers. I enclose his full address.

Very truly yours, WM. FERGUSON.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Your correspondent "F. S. C." is in error in his statement that "the bills of the Bank of England represent an equal amount of coin and bullion in the vaults."

Prior to 1844, no reserve, in coin or otherwise, was required by law to be kept; but the officers of the bank were guided in the matter solely by their own judgment of the necessities of their business. By the Act of 1844 the bank was allowed to issue circulating notes to the amount of fourteen millions pounds sterling (which has since been increased to fifteen millions pounds), secured by government debt held by the bank; and notes may be issued to any amount beyond the limit above named, provided the excess be secured by the deposit in the issue department of the bank, of an equal amount of coin and bullion. J. M. A.

IT IS RELATED OF Colonel Ingersoll that being sharply asked if he could mention one law of Nature that in his puny wisdom he could change for the better, he affably replied, "Yes; I would make health catching, instead of disease."

Advertisements.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support.

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Yours truly, HENRY S. STEBBINS.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with 'increasing interest.'"

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Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Kesub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

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Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

Any one of the above pamphlets of "PROCEEDINGS" sent to any address for Five cents received in postage stamps; and more at the same rate. Sold also for Five cents at the office.

For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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WM. J. POTTER, Sec. F. E. A.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 427.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

ANOTHER LIBERAL LEAGUE has been formed at Bay City, Michigan, auxiliary to the National League. President, S. M. Green; Secretary, N. H. Webster; Treasurer, J. A. Webster. This makes the thirtieth auxiliary League organized. There will be many more soon. *The movement is growing.*

MR. HARVEY BRYANT, of Deposit, N.Y., who is eighty-three years of age, writes to Mr. Green: "Now is the proper time to organize the free and independent thinkers (we have a few here) into Leagues; and if you will send me instructions and the necessary papers, I will see what can be done here for the liberal cause." What a lesson of unselfish activity is set by this aged veteran, who seeks to plant seeds whose harvest he can scarcely hope to see! For his noble example there is at least one who is grateful.

WITH THE brief legend—"how churches use their exemption,"—an unknown friend encloses this extract from the Boston Globe of February 20: "A short course of lectures and concerts has been arranged for every Wednesday evening, in the People's Church, at the corner of Columbus Avenue and Berkeley Street, beginning with a telephone lecture and exhibition this evening by Prof. William Robinson; to be followed with lectures by Chaplain McCabe, of Chicago, Mark Trafton, Col. Homer B. Sprague, of Brooklyn; readings by Mrs. Emma Manning Huntley and Mrs. H. S. McKechnie, and a concert by Mrs. F. P. Whitney, Mrs. Charles E. Whitney, Mr. J. H. Robinson, Mr. S. N. Dickerman, Mr. Charles L. Capen, and Mr. Arthur B. Whiting." Of course these entertainments are given to raise funds; yet the churches claim to be "unproductive property"!

TO HEAR Ralph Waldo Emerson in public is an opportunity seldom permitted now, and eagerly seized by all who can appreciate it. At the Old South Church, last Monday, he gave a lecture on "The Fortune of the Republic"; and it was worthy of his palmiest days. There is no living American so venerated and loved as Emerson by the forward-looking spirits of his time. The grand simplicity of his character lends weight and dignity to his lightest word; and it was impossible to listen to him without deep emotion, as he once more bore testimony to the supreme value of the moral element in men and nations. His sublime hopefulness and faith in human nature, despite all dark symptoms of actual evil, touched the noblest chords in every listening soul; and the sunlight which streamed on his figure alone through the window illumined him less than the inner light which shone out in every lineament. He has loved the republic; and, while the republic stands, it shall with deathless affection love him.

THE SPRINGFIELD Republican of January 28 had this very characteristic paragraph: "A correspondent desires to protest at some length against the project of putting 'God in the Constitution.' We perfectly sympathize with his opposition, but it hardly seems a vital issue at present. THE INDEX of Boston is doing about all the furious fighting on the 'anti' side, on the part of the non-Christians in behalf of the liberty of conscience." That fairly illustrates the degree of the average public intelligence on this subject, even among the liberally inclined. "Not a vital issue"! Why, at that very moment, before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, an amendment had been for two weeks pending which would put the Bible into the Constitution, and with it all that the Bible teaches about God and Christ! It is too true that THE INDEX is pretty nearly alone in protesting against this infamous measure; but in this lethargy of the public conscience respecting the secularity of the Constitution lies the one great danger to their religious liberties.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, United States Senator

from Massachusetts, is quoted in the January Word as having written thus to Mr. Heywood: "The line of distinction between honest argument intended to convince people that their opinions, laws, or social and domestic arrangements are wrong, however mistaken or even injurious in their results such arguments may be, and writings designed to inflame evil purposes and minister to gross and depraved tastes, is a line which I think our Massachusetts jurors would be pretty sure to see and to keep. I have never heard anything of you which would lead me to believe you would knowingly write anything of the latter class, however strongly I might disapprove some of your opinions." For pointing out this same "line of distinction," and urging the necessity of legally recognizing it, we have been venomously misrepresented and abused by the very men we were prompt to defend in these columns. We have no retort to make; we summon their own consciences, if they have any, to make our defence against themselves.

LEO XIII. takes the place of Pius IX. But it matters little who wears the tiara; Rome has but one interest—her own supremacy, and but one policy—devotion to her own interest. Says the New York Tribune: "The so-called Ultramontane party embraces practically the entire college, and the liberal element is little more than a light and airy fragment of the brain. None of the possible candidates who have been named as liberals have any claim to that title. Ultramontanism, as a distinct school of doctrine or policy in the Roman Catholic Church, long ago ceased to exist; and Roman Catholic liberalism, which never amounted to much at any time, is equally a thing of the past. The most remarkable work of the late Pope was the extinguishment of factions or parties within the Church; and the Roman Catholic body is probably more closely united to-day, both in faith and policy, than it has been at any previous period, since the first ages of its organization. The Syllabus and the Vatican Council made a great storm in the world; but whoever studies the condition of the Church must perceive that they have had an important influence upon its domestic affairs. And they were only the crowning labors of a policy of consolidation which Pius IX. pursued with extraordinary zeal and success throughout his long pontificate."

THE BOSTON Advertiser of February 21 favorably noticed Mrs. Neymann's lecture of the preceding evening at the Parker Memorial Building: "Mrs. Clara Neymann, a German lady, well known in New York and the West as a liberal lecturer, appeared at the Parker Fraternity Hall on Appleton Street last evening before a goodly company of the friends of liberal religion, and gave a lecture, or more properly read an essay, on the topic, 'What is Religion?' The lady is apparently young, and is of prepossessing appearance, while her delivery is clear and sweet, with little or no trace of the German accent in pronunciation. Her paper was a thoughtful discussion of the differences between the adherents of revealed religion, or the dogmatic element, as the lady expressed it, and the liberals. The well-known ground which the latter occupy was clearly defined, the foundation principle of their disagreement with the believers in a revealed religion being not in aiming at different ends, but in different means of attaining those ends. While the latter, according to the lecturer, started with the unknown, by a misuse of the imagination, and from this evolved the explanation of the known and the practical duties of life, the rationalists began with the known, and by the experiences of thousands of years reached safe conclusions in regard to life and duty. Religion, then, according to the liberal stand-point, was an intelligent knowledge of the duties of life and their illustration in daily practice, based on this conviction of their claims from the constitution of things."

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The Plan of Salvation.

READ BEFORE THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB OF BOSTON, DEC. 21, 1877. BY ELIZUR WRIGHT.

My subject is the Plan of Salvation, the core and framework of the popular religion in this part of the world; and I propose to inquire whether it fits the facts; whether it has any true relation to actual things, or is simply a work of human imagination. This plan assumes that the whole universe was created and is governed by a personal immaterial WILL, named God; who, to please himself, created all worlds out of nothing, and of all animals man only in his own image or likeness, to inhabit one of them. It assumes that man was created innocent but sinned; that is, rebelled against his Creator, and was morally lost, resulting in his thorough wickedness, pain, and death, generation after generation, and his eternal suffering of the wrath of his Creator after death in a fiery dungeon called hell.

witness Spinoza and a host of others whose nobility no mortal dares deny. But I forbear on this strain. It is evident enough that the plan of salvation, as I have stated it, does not fit the facts of the universe as science reveals them, and which all intelligent men and women in our day have to believe, in spite of their imaginations.

Facts are stubborn things when once ascertained. The plan of salvation now under our study, professes to be a historical religion founded on facts; and especially on certain exceptional, preternatural, or supernatural facts. The world of human history is full of pretended or alleged facts, and woe to the mind that takes all alleged facts on trust, almost equally with that which takes no alleged fact on trust. If we believe no man, we condemn ourselves to great ignorance; if we believe every man, we condemn ourselves to confusion and error. Do you say we must believe God? And God has spoken to us in a book? But it is not pretended that God speaks to us in any book except through the man who writes the book. So, before we can believe the man, we must apply the same test of truthfulness to him as a man as in any other case. Yes; and all the more strictly, if he says GOD speaks through him; for it is the least credible of all things that the infinite, immortal spirit and first cause in the universe, who through the universe itself speaks to all beings everywhere by all facts, motions, life, should make an exception of speaking to all men through some one man, in the words of only one of a thousand human languages. Under a rational definition of God he speaks, in a certain sense, through every man who writes or speaks, but always according to the genius of the man himself. In this sense, whether they pretended it or not, and certainly the best of them did not, he may well enough be admitted to have spoken through most of the writers of the Old and New Testaments, which contain poems, allegories, and apothegms the world cannot afford to spare, mixed with much that it can.

That God did not speak through the writers of the Old Testament, whatever they may have pretended, any more than he did through Shakespeare, or Milton, or Walt Whitman, is certain enough from the fact that these writers contradict each other; and thus if we take them as speaking by authority of God make God contradict himself. For example, some teach the immortality of the soul; others flatly deny it. God in one place commands a prophet to do what in another place he had forbidden a priest to do; and an act which for either was a violation of the morals of the New Testament. Rev. Thomas Scott, the author of a very popular commentary on the Scriptures, gets over this difficulty by saying: "It is impossible that God should actually command an immoral action; though he might command what, without such a command, would be wrong for a man to do." [See Scott's Family Bible, on Hosea 1, 2 and 3]. Such facts as these, in view of reason, are surely fatal to the special, infallible inspiration either of the author of Leviticus or of the author of the Book of Hosea. And on Scott's assumption that both were specially inspired they are fatal to the morality of God. While the Bible abounds in such facts it requires but one, no matter whether you explain it away by such Jesuitism as that above cited; or as a mere mistranslation, to upset its claim to be a unique and authoritative revelation of the Divine Will. For nothing that could waver, or by human carelessness or fraud be made to waver, in regard to right and wrong, could be worthy of such a source. One such instance is sufficient to remand the Bible to the category of human books, to be submitted before acceptance to the same scrutiny as all other writings, ancient or modern, to be taken only as a part of the light of Nature, for only what it is worth in view of all the rest.

Now, fairly interpreting it, let us see if the Bible itself, received as history, establishes the facts on which the plan of salvation is based.

It is hardly possible for credulity in this age of the world to see history in the Old Testament further back than David and Samuel. Moses is supposed to have left Egypt about the same time that Cadmus invented letters in Greece, and that was long before books were written in Greek. It is very difficult to believe that in thirty-five years of leadership of a turbulent horde in a desert, Moses could have inscribed in the present Hebrew alphabet, if it was then in existence, a work like the Pentateuch. But over and above this difficulty, we meet with another which is utterly insuperable, in the way of believing that Moses wrote the Pentateuch himself. The Pentateuch records as facts not only things which are incredible in themselves, but are doubly incredible if we suppose Moses to have been the author of the record. Moses, as a man of genius, may be supposed to have recorded, whether sincerely or insincerely, miracles of a certain degree of dignity, as his bringing water in the desert by smiting a rock; but he could not possibly have recorded a miracle so silly as that detailed in the same seventeenth chapter of Exodus about the fight with Amalek. The story is simply an insult to himself as well as to God, and betrays a far later origin. We might just as well believe that Romulus and Remus wrote the story of their being suckled by a wolf, as an autobiographical preface to the history of Rome.

In spite of all this, I perfectly agree with Matthew Arnold, that though the Pentateuch as a thaumaturgy is worthless, it has great value in some other respects. My point against it is, that it is not history. Some of the ablest Orthodox theologians now concede that the picture of Adam and Eve in the garden is not a literal historical fact, as all of us old people were taught in our infancy, but an allegory representing the introduction of sin into this world; the general or universal fact which is the occasion of the plan of salvation.

When we come to what may be regarded as more

or less veritable history in the Bible, we shall find three grand characters standing out,—DAVID, JESUS, PAUL.

What I maintain is, that by a fair discussion of the lives of these three personages in the light of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures themselves, and with no other light, it will appear that the plan of salvation was wholly the invention of Paul, and that the Bible history does not implicate either David or Jesus in any conscious knowledge of it, except by *ex post facto* injection. The proof of this injection, or writing history backward, lies in marked traits given them by the narratives, utterly inconsistent with their having any conscious knowledge of such a plan or participation in it; traits that falsify the assumed facts of total native depravity, as well as the efficacy of any such plan of restoration.

This view might be overwhelmingly sustained by citations from the psalms of David, and the brief and graphic sketch of his life, and from the simple narratives of the sayings and doings of Jesus, but it would require a volume. In this sketch, I can but glance at a point or two.

David was a man of by far the highest genius developed in the Old Testament history, or in the times it reveals to us, if perhaps we except the anonymous author of the Book of Job, who to create the character of that patient hero, must have been the Shakespeare of his day. His youth was distinguished by high musical talent, ardent friendship, consummate bravery, and almost unparalleled magnanimity. The last prophet of the Theocracy, after it was converted ostensibly into a monarchy, told the trembling monarch Saul, when he had done something to displease him; "The Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart; and the Lord hath commanded him to be captain over his people, because thou hast not kept that which the Lord hath commanded thee." This was said of the young David, before the victory over Goliath, and of course before the matter of Uriah. He was then, in the opinion of the prophet, a man dear to God, as he was certainly dear to many more besides the prophet. There is no hint in the Old Testament, unless from his own lips, that he was totally depraved, or that without the plan of salvation, with which Paul, in his sermon at Antioch, so emphatically connected him, he would have been punished in hell forever. On the contrary, even Paul admits that he was a particular favorite of God. And surely that God who is simply a self-projection from the human mind never was dearer to man. Witness the thirty-fourth Psalm, composed after his adroit and narrow escape from that rather cowardly priest, Ahimelech, and the spy, Doeg, and the subsequent still narrower escape from Achish, king of Gath. In this wonderful psalm in which he pours out the gratitude of his heart to the ideal object of his worship, in strains that have waked echoes through all succeeding ages, culminating in the words, "The Lord redeemeth the soul of his servants; and none of them that trust in Him shall be desolate," he surely does not admit his total depravity or thank his God for redeeming him from sin and hell, but from the treachery of Doeg, the malice of Achish, and the jealousy of Saul. With all that he says so grandly about the blessedness of "the man that trusteth in God" and keeps his lips from "speaking guile," he really trusted to the instincts of his nature, in both those trying emergencies, by telling a plump lie or two to Ahimelech in the first case, and next speaking and acting guile to Achish in a most humiliating manner. Not to lie to enemies sometimes, in that age of the world, if not in this, was to throw away your life. I am not apologizing for deception in any case, but there are differences. I do not believe that David meant to deceive any body, in attributing his redemption from his truculent and crafty enemies entirely to God; but I cannot say as much for some of those who have cited such passages as the last verse of the thirty-fourth psalm, as a proof of the doctrine of atonement by the blood of Jesus!

In the sense that he was dear to his God's people, who were terribly warlike, and so intensely religious, that they were always inclined to worship more gods than one, and especially whatever god had the most imposing and sensual rites, David was a man after that God's own heart. Though he loved more than one woman, he never loved but one God. That God he exalted by a lyric power never exceeded, and perhaps never to be exceeded, though always as a God of immitigable vengeance and jealousy. He not only purified, but aggrandized the worship of that God to a degree never before equalled, perhaps, by that of any god. And we might possibly believe that he understood "the salvation of God" as Paul afterwards did, and prophetically foreshadowed in his Psalms the redemption of the soul from sin and eternal hell, if he did not substitute for impartial justice certain very one-sided human passions in the character of his God. Witness the sixty-eighth Psalm, where he says, "He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death. But God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such a one as goeth on still in his trespasses. The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan; I will bring my people again from the depths of the sea: that thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and the tongue of thy dogs in the same." This is on a vastly broader scale, but it does not differ much from the spirit of a landed proprietor who sets his dogs on a trespasser crossing his fields. Christian priests have improved upon this by making God pursue, not with temporary but eternal vengeance, not merely trespassers, but absolutely all who do not believe what Peter and Paul preached about Jesus, whether they ever heard of either of them or not.

By virtue of his magnanimity, and genius in many directions, David became a king whom Israel, come weal or woe, could never forget. His Psalms bred a

line of poet-prophets, and made a nation really unconquerable to the present day. The more they have been overwhelmed and oppressed, the more the Psalms of David have revived them. Well would it have been for that noble king if he could always have governed his passions by those laws of truth and justice which he often expresses so sublimely in his Psalms; if he could only have seen God, not as a personal governor attached to particular favorites, but as the principle of truth, justice, order, harmony, beauty, manifesting itself to our affections only in things as we see them, things of grandeur, motion, life, beauty, and the reverse, and calling for all the love of which we are capable only towards those living beings in whose lives these laws show the clearest and shine the brightest.

After the parable of Nathan had convicted him of gratifying the master passion of human nature—the noblest passion when regulated by right and justice,—by an act of unspeakable meanness and cruelty, he composed a penitential psalm, in which, if anywhere, we ought to find his conscious knowledge of the plan of salvation, if he ever had any, or his prophecy of it, if he ever made one. Its expression of penitence and self-abasement is incomparably pathetic. If he had only expressed as much sorrow for his sin against the poor man he so meanly murdered, and whom he could never bring to life, as he did for his sin against that God who he believed had power and some disposition to punish the wicked, there could be no reason to doubt that his repentance was wholly sincere. As it was, he not only bewailed his sin, but his nature; attributing, as male religionists are wont to do, his sin partly to his mother, and furnishing to designing priests of future ages a text from which to preach the fall of man and total depravity. Whatever the text by itself may do, the whole Psalm teaches nothing of the sort; rather that God may blot out sin without sacrifice, or any other consideration than a broken and contrite heart.

Of the triad, Saul, Jonathan, and David, Jonathan appears to the best advantage in history; for whatever faults he may have had are left out of sight. But the heroic magnanimity of David in sparing the life of Saul, when he had him in his power, is one of the noblest things on record, and is almost equal to that of Jonathan in sacrificing his claim to the kingdom to his love for his friend. The faults of David were those of his age; his virtues were far above his age. His genius no age has yet exceeded. The heart that does not delight in the best of his Psalms cannot be a human heart.

Out of the memory of such a hero, poet, and king as David, through ages of misrule grew a longing for another like him to sit on his throne; grew prophecies that a king even more glorious should come; and at last, when a foreign yoke had become almost as heavy as that of a corrupt home priesthood, there arose, or rather there is said to have arisen, out of what remained of sincerity and piety in the national religion, and out of the bosom of the common people, Jesus of Nazareth, whose character, so far as we can discern it through the glamour that has been thrown over his biography, was almost faultless and morally heroic. His career, so far as we have anything like history for it, was exceedingly brief: and but for the strength, sublimity, and fervid humanity of his teaching, he would certainly pass for an enthusiast of weak judgment. Obviously tinctured with some of the notions of the Essenes, the Puritans of that day, one of whose missionaries was probably John the Baptist, he was far less ascetic. Whenever he came in contact with the educated and ruling class, his breadth of view and force of statement struck them with awe; and his hearty denunciation of their shams and frauds will be refreshing to the remotest ages.

Our question is, What does history really make of Jesus? He himself wrote nothing; probably had not the art of writing. Contemporary "profane" history took no notice of him whatever.* It is not pretended that anything which has come down to us was written about him till he had been dead for years, and then not by his own followers, or in his own language or that of his special disciples. They spoke Hebrew. The whole of the New Testament, even the Epistle to the Hebrews, was written in Greek. A whole generation had passed away before the life of Jesus was reduced to writing. Then came a multitude of gospels and epistles read in churches, varying greatly as to facts, character, and teaching. Many of the epistles, and all but four of the gospels, have been laid aside as spurious. The residue were not canonized into the present New Testament till four or five centuries had passed away.

These now canonized Scriptures differ from each other in such a way as to demonstrate as clearly that an *ex post facto* coloring was thrown back over the life of Jesus; as it has been demonstrated that the credible history of the Jews was prefaced, long after it was written, by the myths of the garden, the flood, and the plagues of Egypt. The proof of this *ex post facto* coloring, to call it by the mildest possible name, must be patent to every reader of the four gospels who comes to the task without a settled preconception; and it is too strong to be resisted by any critical reader who does, as hundreds of the best scholars bear witness. I shall cite only two or three out of a multitude of facts to prove this; they alone being conclusive.

First, there is almost nothing in the first three gospels which is capable of being reconciled with the theory that Jesus was anything more than a man. In the fourth gospel he is very distinctly stated to be more than a man, if not God himself. But let this pass. Secondly, the first three gospels place his physical attack on the mercenary people in the

*The passages in Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny referring to Christ, or Christians, do not mention his resurrection, and are now mostly, if not wholly, conceded by the best scholars to be forged interpolations, or pious frauds.

Temple, just before his arrest, where it stands, naturally, as the provocation of it, and pretext for his crucifixion; just as John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry stands as the cause of his arrest by Governor Wise. The fourth gospel places the same act a year or two earlier, where it could have nothing to do with his crucifixion. Obviously, the last writer thought such a fact did not agree well with the idea that Jesus was the Lamb of God sacrificed by his own consent to take away the sin of the world. It agreed well enough with the idea that Jesus was the Messiah, come to establish a temporal kingdom and sit on the throne of David. His disciples, and probably he himself, expected God would stand by him in his righteous attack on the money-changers and hucksters of holy things, and give him the victory. After the bitter disappointment and merciless crucifixion, the disciples still expected, and many of them for a long time, that he would appear from the clouds, and take the throne on this earth. The writer of the fourth gospel, with many others, had given up this expectation; and, having adopted Paul's theory of the atoning sacrifice, thought it necessary to re-color the whole history of Jesus, and re-arrange the facts.

Thirdly, the miracle of the re-urrection of Lazarus, so circumstantially and pathetically detailed in the fourth gospel, is not mentioned at all in the first three. If it really took place, it was by far the most important miracle of the New Testament, with the exception of the resurrection of Jesus himself. As the writers of the earlier gospels were particularly fond of miracles, it is a miracle they did not mention it. As there is no mention of the ascension or subsequent death of Lazarus, if he had been raised from the dead, he would have been a most valuable living witness of the fact. How the earlier biographers of Jesus Christ could have omitted to notice him at all; how John and Paul should say nothing of his subsequent life, as a proof of the omnipotence of their divine Redeemer, is quite unaccountable on the hypothesis of the reality of the fact. For one, I feel obliged to regard the whole story of the resurrection of Lazarus as a pure invention, and a perfectly fraudulent one to be relegated to the category of priest-made miracles, such as fill the sixty or seventy thousand pages of the new edition of the *Acta Sanctorum* now in course of publication at Rome. The priesthood of that Church prudently keep these narratives in Latin, only lugging out now and then one before audiences whose faith is strong enough to swallow them. It is with considerable reason that they do not like to trust the people with such miracles as the resurrection of Lazarus, in the vernacular. But I am digressing.

Whether we are to believe the story of Lazarus or not, its introduction in the fourth gospel only goes to show the tendency to re-color the history, and to warn us against accepting for certain the theory that Jesus was consciously a part of the plan of salvation as taught by Paul.

That such a man as Jesus *did* live, an eloquent teacher of the sublimest morals the world had then attained to, in spite of the utter silence of cotemporary historians, may almost as reasonably be believed as that the wind has blown somewhere when we see the waves rolling. Why he was what he was is as easily accounted for without going beyond the laws of human nature in his case as in the case of Shakespeare or Milton. Indeed, if we accept the ordinary biography of the man Shakespeare, the works attributed to him are more miraculous than the teachings of Jesus. We must remember that Jesus was born under the very zenith of a grand national hallucination of a coming Messiah,—a priest king, who in the language of Daniel was to be "one like the Son of Man"; that is, like the prophet Ezekiel, probably then recently dead, who ninety times in his book calls himself the Son of Man. And Daniel records how in his "night visions" he had seen that this Son of Man "came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the 'ancient of days,' and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." After the Jews returned from their Eastern captivity these prophets became exceedingly dear to them, and their wildest dreams were accepted as inspired prophecies. But in their long captivity the wisest of the Jews had not failed to absorb many precepts of a higher morality than that which could be gathered from their own sacred writings. These the child Jesus, while in the lap of a fond and intelligent mother, could not but drink in, and afterwards muse over, while as a young man he piled the tools of a carpenter. In those days, every fond mother thought her son might become the Messiah, as almost every mother in our country thinks her son may become President. Why not? Jesus, however modest, might have thought his mother right; and especially after his genius had propelled him out of the carpenter's shop, and he had received that decided compliment from John the Baptist. His was the glorious ambition to make the whole world better anyhow; and the first thing he did was to preach in the warm, hyperbolic style of the Orient, his immortal Sermon on the Mount, including that foundation-stone of human morals, the Golden Rule, which came down to the captive Jews in Babylon through Confucius and the Persian sages, and more than paid them for their captivity.

Then he went on to embody his wisdom in parables, like his great prototype Nathan, and utter them to crowds of delighted people. One of the grandest of these parables, and they are almost all grand, he seems to have uttered after he had become fully persuaded in his own mind that he was himself the Messiah. It seems to have been suggested to him by the passage I have already quoted from Daniel.

It is a picture of a final judgment of mankind, under the Messiah as Judge. But there is not the slightest intimation that the scene of this judgment was to be beyond the present life. Those who so interpret it inject a meaning into the words which does not belong to them. The words do show that Jesus, like most of the Jews of his day, believed in a personal devil and conscious existence beyond this life. But the judgment he described, so far as his words go, was to be under the Messiah, who every Jew believed was to be a king of righteousness ruling forever in this world, and of course not in another. As Jesus was an honest preacher, and knew the popular belief, if he believed the scene of this judgment was to be in a future world after death, he would have said so.

But what is far more important and perfectly conclusive against the plan of salvation we are considering, is the fact that the test of the Messiah's salvation was to be not *faith* in anything, but simply a good, benevolent life; not the love of God, but simply the love of man. His plan of salvation, then, was simply the natural plan which had always been in the world, and is taught by all Nature, including human nature.

But did Jesus, in assuming to be the Messiah about to judge the world, assume to be "very God"? This depends on the meaning of the term "Son of Man," which in the old Scriptures is applied to men whom nobody claims to be supernatural, and which is used synonymously with the phrase Son of God. For in Genesis we read that the sons of God took wives of the daughters of men; and these sons of God could not have been even angels, for Jesus himself says angels do not marry. They were probably antediluvian priests, who acted much more rationally than some who call themselves Christian priests.

Jesus without assuming to be God, certainly had unwavering faith in God as an infinite power who would stand by him and place him on the throne of David by his miraculous interposition. He tested this faith in his triumphant entry into Jerusalem, arranged as nearly as possible to suit the ancient prophecies, and his physical attempt to purge the sanctuary. But here he met a tremendous disappointment which was not in the prophecies. God did not intervene. Jesus was a changed man; a sorrowing fugitive from the injustices of a besotted priesthood, acting through a heartless and cruel foreign satrap. He was betrayed by a mercenary scoundrel among his own disciples. He suffered the unspeakable tortures of crucifixion, crying most naturally in the complaining words of David in the twenty-second Psalm: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" These were his exact last words according to both Matthew and Mark; but Luke puts entirely different last words into his mouth; words very unnatural, or rather miraculous under the circumstances. And John makes his last words entirely different from those of Luke, and perfectly consistent with the Pauline idea that he was "very God."

Such a life terminated by such a death was a fit foundation for a new religion, and would have been all the more so if it had not been followed by any pretence of a resurrection or that the victim was a God. The best possible proof of this is the undeniable fact that the best quality of Christians the world has yet seen, those who can best meet the test laid down in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, do not believe the victim was "very God," and hardly believe in a bodily resurrection. With them, as in the case of a modern victim who united in his character the traits of David, Jesus, and Paul, it is the spirit of Jesus that marches on.

I must, for want of time, pass over the alleged miracle of the bodily resurrection and ascension into heaven, the evidence of which lacks the very witnesses who must have been best qualified to testify, and rests upon that of others who may as sincerely have deceived themselves as ever Robert Dale Owen did. That the spirit of Jesus after his death may have manifested itself to his surviving disciples and even to one of his persecutors, as our excellent friends the Swedenborgians and Spiritualists, so called, believe other spirits can, I would be the last man in the world to deny, though I have never been able to see in the Bible or elsewhere any reason to affirm it. It looks to me, after studying the New Testament for years with the strongest possible bias to save the faith in which I was brought up, and not to under the ties that bound me to the dearest of kindred and friends, that the creed of the deification, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus was an invention of just the same kind as had occurred many times before in other countries, and might easily occur again under similar circumstances. If there had been a daily paper printed in Jerusalem, or for that matter in Alexandria, Athens, or Rome, Anno Domini 1, and onward, there would have been no such creed.

A young Pharisee by the name of Saul, of Tarsus, a city where he acquired the Greek language probably before he studied theology at Jerusalem under Gamaliel, and privileged with Roman citizenship, though he does not seem to have understood Latin, started out not long after the death of Jesus, to suppress the new and strange religion that was germinating among his followers. His conversion, the most natural thing in the world, for a man of such ardent zeal and strong imagination, is accepted as miraculous, and as the strongest of the proofs of the resurrection of Jesus. He had been brought up as a believer in the immortality of the soul and in the highest reverence for the Jewish ritual of atonement, or propitiating the Deity by the blood of animals. The idea flashed upon his inventive mind that Jesus was a sacrifice, the culmination of the whole sacrificial system. In short, if this plan of salvation was not a borrowed heathen myth, he invented it as laid down in the Christian creeds from that of the Apo-

stles to that of the Thirty-nine Articles, a part of the Episcopal Prayer-book very little read for the last thirty years; a creed so expanded and particular as to refute itself.

Saul, the man of threatenings and slaughter, converted into Paul, the great apostle of the new religion, soon took command of it, and before any of the gospels had been committed to writing. Utterly intolerant except to those who agreed with him, to whom he was as sweet as the honey-comb, he must have originated the insane policy, so utterly foreign to the teaching of Jesus, of compelling faith on the pain of eternal damnation, and to his *ex post facto* influence we must attribute the fearful words put into the mouth of the risen Jesus, which resulted in the murder of innocents for more than a thousand years. The living Jesus, when he sent forth his disciples, told them to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves; the dead Jesus, whom Paul made through Mark, who he says was profitable to him for the ministry, sent them forth into all the world, and told them that whosoever believed them and was baptized should be saved, and whosoever believed not should be damned. Is it at all to be wondered that zealots with such a commission, going among nations whose thought was comparatively free, and undertaking to compel belief by a doom so irrational and revolting, should have awakened cruel persecution against themselves and their converts? The human heart is naturally the ally of reason and resents encroachment upon it.

It may just here be asked, why the enlightened literary world of Greece and Rome quietly permitted such a system to be palmed upon mankind? Why no one stood up to contradict and refute such a sort of Christianity at the first onset? No doubt many did. Of some we know the names, as Celsus and Porphyry, from the writings of the Christian fathers who undertook to refute them. But all their works were carefully destroyed by the first imperial converts. Before the art of printing it was easy to destroy all works considered heretical; and such has been the policy of the Christian Church in all ages, and such it always will be. Since the invention of printing, to be sure, this policy has narrowed to hearing only one side. This destruction of the cross-questioning of the early infidels has been an irreparable loss to the world, even on the hypothesis of the truth of Christianity. But the adoption by the early Christian bishops of the old Pagan doctrine of deceiving the common people for the benefit of their morals, made matters still worse.

When the Church gained power, its long and bloody experiment of Paul's compulsory process of producing faith, resulted only in producing hypocrites. Not that Paul himself did not produce faith otherwise. He produced it by eloquently confounding facts with the more pleasant fictions of his imagination, and making these fictions the more powerful by mixing in the wisdom of Jesus. Many passages of his writings are admirable, and his points are brought home to the reader with a force never exceeded. As for instance, when he says, Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? and, when in spite of his compulsory process of producing faith, in naming faith, hope, love, he gives love the place of honor as greatest of the three.

By a singular mistranslation of the Greek word for love in the chapter to which I refer, and several other expressions, Paul is made a most exemplary preacher of charity or religious toleration. But a man may preach the most intense love of his own church brethren, and of God as he views him, and be a bitter religious polemic. Such was Paul.

Having invented or picked up out of old religions this plan of salvation, and doubtless sincerely invested his whole soul in it as God's truth, he felt obliged even to lie for it, if necessary, much more to be intolerant towards men, and especially women, for their eternal good, just as thousands and thousands of sincere priests have since. Jesus, full of a sense of justice, was tolerant towards all women and most men; and did not scruple to show his contempt for the Jewish law which punished women unjustly, and placed the claims of a holy day above the rights of a hungry man. Paul with his scheme of salvation, wholly masculine, said, "I suffer not a woman to teach." Here he was mistaken, for women have taught, and often better than he. Not to speak of the miserable results of his compulsory faith, and unjust and false teaching about the rights and capacity of women, reaching all the way down to the time when the scourge of Rabelais whipped a little decency into the clergy without whipping the greed of power out of them, and down to our own time, in which it dominates as a spirit of unspeakable meanness, both religious and political, it is enough to say that Paul's plan of human salvation no more fits the facts of human nature than it does those of the universe outside of it; nor is it supported by anything in the Scriptures or out of them which deserves the name of history. Christianity, if any such religion really exists or ever did exist, has done all the good it has ever done, in spite of Paul's plan of salvation, and its only hope for the future is to slough it off, and return to just what is credible of Jesus; that is, what we can know of him apart from the miraculous and incredible. That abolishes everything like a church, or at least postpones it till after the Day of Judgment, and multiplies Christ by millions.*

The very basic idea of Paul's style of Christianity * Ecclesiasticism as well as asceticism seems to have originated with the Essenes, before the birth of Jesus. The thirteenth chapter of Matthew looks as if he did not mean to save men by a church, but simply to preach good morals, and let saints and sinners live together without any such sharp distinction as ecclesiasticism implies, till his kingdom of heaven on earth came. He seems to have trusted that his preaching of truth would leave the whole lump. The Essenes had thought to save themselves by coming out from the world. To this idea the followers of Jesus, after his death, under the lead of Paul, reverted. In point of common sense, it was going back a great way.

is that the animal and especially the sexual part of human nature is essentially wicked. That the perfection of religious life is to rise wholly above it, not to carry it upward. It worships the end of human life and blasphemes the means. It goes to work not to cultivate and govern, but to exterminate. So among the early saints and champions of Pauline Christianity, ardent as Paul, and probably abler, we find Origen who began his religious career by making himself such a fraction of a man as is described in the gospel according to Matthew xix., 12. It does not seem reasonable to believe that Jesus could have alluded to such insane fanaticism or pious barbarity without condemning it; and hence I refer that execrable text to the same *ex post facto* historians who have deprived Jesus of a natural father and so ridiculously set the Devil to tempting their "very God" in the wilderness.

But if this whole Pauline plan of human salvation turns out to be a work of the human imagination, with no foundation either in the nature of man or the nature of things, without historical support and with nothing whatever under it but the wish to live after death, what then is left worth living for? Can a rational being ask this question? The love of this life is the only foundation for wishing or imagining a future one. This life, if not the only one any mortal has ever seen, is the only one he remembers. The sublimest imagination that ever dwelt in a human brain cannot picture another half as good. It can only patch together a few pieces of this. Milton, Dante, Paul, and the author of the Apocalypse have tried their hands, and a man or woman would tire of the best of their heavens in a week to the point of committing suicide. Life on a straight line, world without end, would soon reconcile any human consciousness to the idea of annihilation. No, a world of war as well as of peace, a world where one can put himself, though ever so humbly, in the line of battle for the true and the right, is better than eternal safety and singing. No; ever-rolling, ever-changing Nature, with her infinite heights and infinite depths, her inexorable laws, her grand joys and sorrows, her blind, irresistible onwardness, ever turning up and ever turning down, her sublime carelessness of races and utter carelessness of individuals, her incessant creation of life out of death, her two kingdoms of animal and vegetable life ever the causes of life and the causes of death to each other, the infinite modifications of the means of growth and motion, tubes, levers, lungs, feet, wings, fins, wheels, infinite varieties of brains, nerves, touch, taste, smell, ears, eyes; ears on which she pours the music of her waters, her birds and her sublime thunders; eyes on which she pictures her own ever-changing, ever-charming, infinite face,—O, she is enough in herself as she is! Why can we not be content when she reveals to us more than we can hold? Will we allow infinite Nature to keep no secrets? What if we cannot see the hereafter of our little infinitesimal selves, any more than we can see what is between us and that hereafter? We are not on that account precluded from hoping and imagining. Are we afraid to go to sleep? Shall we spoil the now, our boat on the bosom of eternity, and like the dog in the fable, be forever dropping the substance to catch the shadow? Till men and women can be emancipated from slavery to Paul's imagination, or any man's imagination, they can enjoy neither any imaginary future of their own nor the real life they are living. He is free whom the truth makes free; and whom it makes free in spite of pain and death, it makes happy.

The only solid foundation for human morals and human happiness is truth. To give out as certain truth what we do not know to be true, is not truth. It is "pious fraud"; and pious fraud is the parent of business fraud, and always has been. This is the vice of Pauline Christianity; and whether it burns unbelievers or only pities them, it is a mischievous thing, and fruitful of falsehood in every department of human life. All truth and honor and virtue only live in spite of it. Would they die, think you, if the Established Church of England and the unestablished Church of the United States, should retract that abominable libel on human nature contained in the ninth of their Thirty-nine "ARTICLES OF RELIGION"? Would they die, think you, if hell were dropped out of the Christian creed, as it is now dropped out of every decent pulpit, and even out of decent theological reviews? Here is the *Princeton Review* of this very January. In combating Darwin and scientific theories of evolution, it says: "If the development theory of the origin of man shall in a little while take its place—as doubtless it will—with other exploded scientific speculations, then they who accept it with its proper logical consequences will, in the life to come, have their portion with those who, in this life, 'know not God and obey not the gospel of his Son.'" Now if Mr. Duffield, the Christian whose name is attached to this review, really believed what he was saying, why did he strip his text so carefully of the sublime emphasis it has in the "holy Scripture" from which he quotes? There it stands as part of a sentence, perhaps too long to be quoted; but the immediate context is as follows:—

"Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on those that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power; when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe (because our testimony among you was believed) in that day."

We see from this that the man Paul was in the habit of breathing out threatening and slaughter against those who did not believe with him, as well after conversion as before. But the man Duffield,

John T., is prudent enough to shrink from it, and not take "vengeance" and "everlasting destruction" into his quotation. This is emasculating the Scriptures with a vengeance, and is a fair sample of the candor of the modern Orthodox pulpit. Do these good men, who are so little truthful, ever stop to think what blasphemy of God it is to attribute "vengeance" to him, or what blasphemy of human nature it is to speak of it as incapable of truth, honor, purity of its own free will? and for their own sweet sakes? Or what a crop of falsehood, making hell upon earth, grows necessarily and inevitably out of a theology which professes to be able to send a man straight to heaven from a well-deserved gallows?

O for the day when Truth shall reign;
When seers shall see, not dream nor feign;
When man shall worship good in man,
And woman be, what woman can,
The soul of providence divine,—
Her home on earth the holiest shrine.

THE DECLINE IN THE BELIEF IN HELL.

It is manifest enough to every intelligent inquirer that belief in hell is rapidly waning, and, where still held by thinking people, so modified as to be hardly recognizable as the same thing that haunted the imaginations of our childhood. A theory of the decline and threatened fall of that ancient empire may not be out of place.

In proportion as conscience becomes influential in society will the imaginations of men, believing in a future state, project into that state the rewards and punishments that, in their estimation, are due to the virtues and vices of mankind. The relative importance an age attaches to a particular virtue or vice is determined by the character and needs of that age. A military and brave people will hold energy and bravery in the highest esteem. An ecclesiastic age puts the religious virtues in the first place; while an industrial and scientific age will place in the first rank those qualities of character essential to scientific and industrial progress.

The maintenance of national or tribal integrity against the incursions of still more barbarous tribes was the chief need of our brave Norse ancestors. Accordingly, they kept the best places in the next world for the souls of those who fell in battle, while those who died in bed went straight to hell,—the parent of our word hell. With them it was a place of intense cold; but as it fell under the control and was adjusted to the needs of a more tropical people it was changed to a place of intense heat, supplemented by corruptive processes, though for a while it alternated between the extremes of heat and cold,—a view that may still be found in Middle Age literature.

With the decay of the Greek and Roman nationalities and civilization, the Church became the leading power, and those qualities of character that conduced to her sway and perpetuation came to be the cardinal virtues. The Church no more than the State could exist without possessing the minds of men with some efficient punitive scheme that embraced the next world as well as this. She introduced also a new morality. In her hierarchy of virtues patriotism and valor had a very subordinate place; while heresy, as being the chief foe to her power, was the highest crime. The ancient virile virtues were refined into asceticism, submissiveness, and piety; the old fidelity became faith, and faith degenerated into a cowardly credulity. Hell, that had been an institution of secular morality devoted to the interests of the State, became and has ever since in Christendom been consecrated to an ecclesiastical morality in the interest of the Church. When it came to be believed that the Church was the chief end of society and the only hope of social order and regeneration (and it was always easy for the clergy to so regard it), hell became the doom of those who denied her dogmas, opposed her power, or threatened her integrity. Its fires were for "unbelief"; and when its pictured fierceness did not suffice to restrain and subdue the rising doubt they were recruited by the fagot.

But now follows an industrial, scientific, and commercial age, and a new morality emerges,—or, at least, a new order in the relative importance of the different virtues. Intellectual honesty, commercial fidelity, intelligence, integrity, and enterprise, came to the front rank of human excellences, and are really so in the thought of the best men to-day, however their confession of faith may seem to contradict it; and the opposite of those excellences are clearly seen to be the chief foes and obstacles to social order and progress. But hell has not kept pace with modern thought; and, being still devoted to mere ecclesiastical shortcomings, it cannot be otherwise than that it should fall into contempt, and the world find no honest secular use but as a "swear word."

When the pulpit sends the great thinkers and benefactors of our time there, the tide of emigration sets that way, and heaven is at a discount. There is a Catholic legend of an old monk who, though eminent for goodness, fell under the papal anathema and was accordingly refused entrance into Paradise. But it soon got noised about the celestial city that the old man was putting out the fires and organizing a very comfortable heaven there, so that in self-defence and to prevent the breaking up of the whole purgatorial economy, St. Peter had to open the gate for him.

The same evolution of thought, the use of a more dispassionate and unsuperstitious analysis and criticism, by which astrology became astronomy, and alchemy became chemistry, is even now purging away the crudeness and cowardice hitherto characterizing religion, and will yet make it glorious with a radiance it hath not yet entered into the heart of man to conceive. In that coming day men will drink copious drafts of the living water, and not parch and perish while worshipping the sticks and dead leaves

that float in the fountains where the world's heroes have slacked their thirst.

Unless hell can be brought into harmony with modern thought and conscience, it must follow the rack and thumb-screw. But revised and adjusted to a true secular morality, made to be the expression by a healthy and enlightened conscience of the ill-condition that necessarily and eternally inheres in, and is consequent on, bad behavior, it may still have a valuable use and become a permanent institution among men. With the fires properly tempered and graded to fit the real character and actual merit or demerit of every particular case, there can be no objection to its location anywhere one may desire it. If I might be allowed to suggest a location, I would name the Treasury Department at Washington as a suitable place. And I would have no "way of escape provided," either here or there, now or hereafter.

A happy day will it be for the Church if a more acute scholarship shall discover, as now seems probable, that substantially such is the real meaning of the sacred text.—E. D. S., in the *Cleveland "Voice."*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"OH! THIS IS PITIFUL."

BY G. H. AVERY.

["On the night of Jan. 25, 1878, Mrs. Townsend, a member of a Christian church, started to death at Lowville, near Fayetteville, in the town of Manlius, Onondaga Co., State of New York, within sound of five church bells."]

In the year of our Lord one thousand
Eight hundred and seventy-eight,
A Christian mother was starving
In a civilized Christian State.

In a valley where crops were plenty,
And more than enough for all,
Starving, deserted, neglected,
She passed from this earthly thrall.

'Tis a cheerless tale, my brothers,
And strikes on the shivering soul
Like the blast of an Arctic vapor
That's iced at the farthest pole.

Come, come, my Christian masters,
This, this is but sorry work,—
As sunless and full of horror
As any deed of the Turk.

Muffle your church-bells, sir parson;
Speak, speak with abated breath;
Within sound of your voice a mother
Is starving by inches to death.

Away with your holy vestments!
Kneel not at your Master's feet;
Your boasted religious a failure,
A ghastly lie, and a cheat.

It leaves the poor to perish;
'Twas made for the rich alone;
It gives them bread in plenty,
It gives to the poor a stone.

Go tell on the banks of the Ganges,
In the marshes of dark Lahore,
How the civilized Western Christian
Is treating its sick and poor.

Print, print it my Christian masters,
And picture the lonely heath,
With the gentle, loving mother
Starving by inches to death.

They are used to it on the Ganges,
'Tis quite a common affair;
Let us pray for the heartless heathen,
They have got no Bible there.

How long, how long shall it happen,
That daughters of toil and care
Shall sob out their souls in anguish,
And die in their dark despair?

Has charity fled to cattle?
Is *Christian* aught but a name?
Must our daughters starve and perish,
Or rot in houses of shame?

In the year of our Lord one thousand
Eight hundred and seventy-eight,
A Christian mother was starving
In a civilized Christian State.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 23.

A. Risk, \$2; C. Cone, \$3.20; H. Apthorp, \$3.20; Mrs. L. S. Huller, \$4; Joel Sharp, \$3; T. C. Leland, \$4; A. C. Erskon, \$3.50; B. M. Smith, \$12.50; Wm. A. Jenkins, \$3; J. E. Wood, 10 cents; Mrs. E. L. Bigelow, \$1; American News Co., \$8.10; W. E. Bush, 25 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$2; John Howes, \$3.20; Frederick Beck, \$3.20; S. R. Kochler, \$3.40; Parker Pillsbury, \$3.20; Hon. Joshua Hill, \$3.20; Geo. A. Bourne, \$3.20; Miller S. Greene, \$3.20; E. D. Stark, \$1; Subscription News Co., \$2; James Eddy, \$3.62; Mrs. A. M. Mosher, \$9.60; S. W. Sample, \$9.60; C. D. B. Mills, \$10; H. H. Howard, 25 cents; M. J. Perry, \$1.70; John Lenert, 50 cents; Theoph. Brown, \$3; Luther Woods, \$3; M. Michaels, \$3.25; J. M. McMillan, 40 cents; Mrs. Augusta B. Kempton, \$3.20; J. W. H. Toohy, \$3.40; Mrs. J. H. Bennett, \$3.20; E. H. Aldrich, \$3.20; C. W. Flint, \$3.20; H. Schmeiman, \$3.20; Richard Motz, \$3.20; E. S. Aldrich, \$3.20; Wm. H. Barnes, \$3.20.

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

The Index.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 28, 1878.

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
COTYLIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHESTY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARE, MRS. ELIZABETH
GADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZABETH WRIGHT, C. D. B.
MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER,
Secretary F. R. A.

IT IS STATED by the New Bedford Standard that Mr. B. R. Tucker has been obliged to discontinue the publication of the *Radical Review*. We hope this is not true, though we fear it may be. Liberals have much to learn in the way of liberality, if they wish their literature to be worthy of their ideas.

IN ADDITION to the very thoughtful pamphlet entitled *Epitome of the Positive Philosophy and Religion* (see our last page), the Positivists of New York city have just begun to publish a weekly Journal called the *Positive Thinker*. This little paragraph in its first number gives a very favorable idea of its spirit: "When we are seeking truth, we are freethinkers; when we have found truth, we are positive thinkers; there is no free thinking within the multiplication table. Theology may get on the track, but it will be so much the worse for theology." The editors are G. L. Henderson and H. B. Brown; the place of publication is 141 Eighth Street, New York; the price is \$1.50 a year.

THE MUNICIPAL SOCIETY of New York city, Dorman B. Eaton presiding, discussed church taxation on the evening of February 18. Jackson S. Schultz said that property was supposed to pay taxes in return for some protection which it obtains—that churches did not pay any taxes, yet claimed more protection and had been the cause of more trouble to the courts than any other class of property. He proposed simply to tax all new churches. Sinclair Toucey was in favor of exempting hospitals only. Others took ground in favor of non-taxation. The matter was referred for further report and discussion. The facts we have exposed about Trinity Church are beginning to tell. Let in the daylight!

KIND WORDS FROM MR. FROTHINGHAM.

NEW YORK, Feb. 23, 1878.

DEAR ABBOT:—

Heartiest thanks for your note, and for the candid and fair statement in THE INDEX. You are quite at liberty, if you desire, to print the passage you have had copied from the lecture.

My purpose was to report rather than to argue. Your attitude commands my profound respect and cordial admiration; and, were I as well satisfied as you are in regard to the call for action, I trust I should have the manliness to stand openly by your side, and give the full strength of my arm to your cause. As it is, I observe the signs of the times, and scan the horizon with all the vigilance I possess, acknowledging always that you may be perfectly right, and often more than half-persuaded that you are. At all events, I am thankful, and I take every opportunity to say I am thankful, that you so faithfully sound an alarm.

By the way, let me add that I am wholly with you on the obscene literature question, believing with you that even an Anthony Comstock may have his uses, and may render to society a much-needed service. What a pity that he will confound issues, and plant his blows in the wrong place! What a pity that all liberals should not see the difference between spiritual liberty and fleshly license!

Faithfully yours,

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

P.S.—You may print this note if you wish to.

THE BIBLE AMENDMENT.

There are many simple-minded liberals, too devoid of guile themselves to see through the ecclesiastical cunning which is plotting to commit the national government to a solemn and authoritative recognition of Christianity as the religion of the whole nation, who think us needlessly suspicious of what can best be described as the "Bible Amendment." This has been already introduced into Congress, and now waits the pleasure of the Senate Judiciary to come up for decisive action. Although published in THE INDEX of January 31, we republish it here, that it may become familiar to our readers (the italics are ours):—

Section 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation shall be appropriated to, or made use of, for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination shall be taught; and no such particular creed or tenet shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets.

This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.

"What is the mischief in that very inoffensive amendment?" ask these cheerful liberals, with charming and childlike simplicity. "Is it not a good thing to forbid sectarian appropriations? That is all this amendment proposes. The words you italicize so superfluously are non-mandatory; they establish nothing; they do not command the Bible to be read; they leave everything as it is. The first part

of the amendment is excellent, and the last part will do no harm; it is foolish to oppose it."

O lamb-like innocence!

Read carefully what is said about this measure by the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman*, the very able and astute organ of the "National Reform Association,"—that is, the "God-in-the-Constitution" or Christian amendment party. We quote from its issue of February 7 (the italics are again ours):—

The Value of the Proposed School Amendment.

We presume that none of our readers are insensible to the importance, from a Christian point of view, of the joint resolution which the Hon. George F. Edmunds has introduced into the Senate of the United States. That all our readers may understand its exact provisions in connection with these remarks, we print once more the full text of the pending amendment:—

[This is given above.]

Taken simply by itself, and in its narrowest interpretation, the last clause of section first simply provides that *this amendment shall not be employed as a weapon against the Bible in the public schools*. It does not require the Bible to be read. It does not prohibit the States from legislating against it. It simply guards against the possible employment of the proposed amendment, in case it should be adopted, to decide the question of the Bible in the public schools.

But, taken in its whole connection, the amendment has a much deeper significance than that. The previous clauses have laid down with great explicitness the principle which Protestant Christians heartily unite in sustaining, that no sect or denomination shall receive any part of the school funds, and that the views of no particular sect shall be taught in schools supported in whole or in part by the public money. "Now," says the secularist, "all religion is sectarian. The Bible is a sectarian book. This government knows no religion. This nation professes none. And under the operation of this amendment we shall exclude all religious worship and instruction from the schools." "No," replies the nation; "if this amendment shall be adopted, the Bible is not sectarian. Its use in the schools is not in conflict with the principles declared in this amendment. We are a Christian people. This government recognizes Christianity as the true religion, and the sacred books of Christianity as of divine origin and authority; and it is not the design of this amendment to furnish a weapon to exclude them from the schools." Thus, comprehensively interpreted, the clause in question is a *virtual repudiation of the secular theory of government*. It will be, if adopted, an *authoritative interpretation of the meaning and design of the whole instrument*. It will recognize the use of the Bible in the schools of the nation as an existing fact, and will place on that fact the sanction of the Constitution.

Clear-sighted secularists perceive this to be the effect and purport of this clause. THE INDEX vehemently opposes the amendment, and says: [here is quoted nearly the whole of our article of January 31, entitled, "Shall the Constitution be Revolutionized?"]

Furthermore, at the annual meeting of the National Reform Association just held at Pittsburgh, February 7, this resolution was adopted by the "God-in-the-Constitution" party there assembled, and ought to be heeded well:—

Resolved, That the Amendment to the United States Constitution, presented by Senator Edmunds of Vermont, affords an opportunity to press the claims of this Association, and will secure such amendments to the Constitution as WILL SETTLE FOREVER ITS CHRISTIAN CHARACTER."

Now the above is all true, as an interpretation of the real and doubtless intended effect of this Bible Amendment. For the second time, mark you,—for the second time an open attempt has been made in the Congress of the United States to Christianize the Constitution and destroy its secularity—the one great guarantee and bulwark of our religious liberties. This second attempt yet trembles between success and failure; and the "liberal" Springfield Republican, echoed by a swarm of liberals as blind as itself, complacently declares that the God-in-the-Constitution question is not a "vital issue"! They pronounce it absurd to see any danger in such attempts,—not seeing that they, with their superhuman obtuseness, are themselves a great and imminent danger. There are times when passivity is perdition; and to-day, when Orthodoxy with its Moodys and Kimballs and Cooks is manifesting everywhere a new and multiplied activity of a most aggressive type,—while the secularity of the Constitution is the object of uninterrupted sapping and mining, and is even openly assailed *without protest* in the halls of Congress,—it does seem as if radicalism had been struck with paralysis. Are we liberals so fatally drugged that the warnings of history and experience themselves are powerless against the stupor of our optimism? Do we imagine that this Bible Amendment would have no practical effect in changing the character of our institutions? Are we Bourbons, forgetting nothing and learning nothing? Take a chapter from recent history, showing how the whole demon

of Orthodoxy can be conjured out of a single phrase, like the genie out of the fisherman's casket in the Arabian Nights:—

Stephen Girard left a magnificent bequest to found a strictly secular college for orphans in Philadelphia. He provided that no clergyman of any religious denomination should pass the walls of his institution; but he also provided that the instructors of the college should "take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality." Why had he not as good a right to found a secular college as Christians have to found Christian colleges? But the famous Girard Will case followed his bequest, and Evangelical Christianity stole his money by as infamous a breach of trust as was ever committed. Said the *Sunday School Times* of October 13, 1877:—

"Girard's will was contested by his heirs, on the ground that a college which excluded Christianity from its bounds could not properly be deemed a public charity. Then followed the famous Girard Will litigation, culminating in the arguments of Daniel Webster and Horace Binney before the United States Supreme Court, and the decision of that court upon the point at issue. In all that litigation it was never so much as suggested that a college within which boys were to be shut up without the possibility of moral and religious instruction would be aught but an unmitigated nuisance. The practical question was, whether Christianity was excluded from this college by the terms of the will. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania had declared that 'Christianity is part of the common law of this State,' and that, 'waiving all questions of hereafter, it [Christianity] is the purest system of morality, the foremost auxiliary and only stable support of all human laws.' Under this decision it was claimed that, to teach 'the purest principles of morality,' the Bible must be taught and Christianity must have its recognition in the proposed college. After a full hearing of the case, the Supreme Court at Washington decided that, with the provisions of the will as they were, there was nothing in the plan of the college 'so derogatory and hostile to the Christian religion as to make a devise for the foundation of such a college void according to the constitution and laws of Pennsylvania.' Accordingly the college was founded. From the beginning it has been under the best Christian influences, and there has been no lack of sound Christian instruction from its lay teachers and visitors. Its chapel is as important a gathering place to its students as a college chapel commonly is."

Thus has this splendid trust been most shamefully and fraudulently perverted to the service of that which the testator desired most sedulously to exclude. But it has all been done legally, under the decision of the courts; and the whole Evangelical Christian religion has been judicially got out of that one simple word "morality"! Is there a liberal so silly as to imagine that it would not be equally, and more easily, got out of this Bible Amendment? We trust not; for the sake of the reputation of liberalism for decent brain-power, we trust not. But while the judicial construction of that "morality" clause in Girard's will was only to pervert a noble trust, the judicial construction of the word "Bible" in this Bible Amendment would be to revolutionize and ruin the institutions of a mighty republic. Where are the protests of liberal preachers, editors, writers, lecturers, meetings, conventions, individuals, against the bare proposition of such a nefarious crime against humanity? Why are they not poured forth at the very suggestion of it? We are glad that, at Paine Hall in this city, on the one hundred and forty-first anniversary of Paine's birthday, the convention called in honor of that sturdy old champion of human liberty did not omit to bear its testimony in these resolutions:—

Resolved, That this convention solemnly protests against the passage of the joint resolution, now pending in the United States Senate, which recommends for adoption by the several States a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution; that we cordially approve so much of the first section as forbids all sectarian appropriations, whether by national, State, or municipal authority; but that we protest against the concluding sentence of the first section, which declares that—"This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested."

Resolved, That the effect of this proviso would be substantially to declare that the Bible is not a sectarian book,—that, as the "Inspired Word of God," it has a divine "right" to be read in the public schools, and is a part of the fundamental law of the land,—and that churches and church property have a "right" to be exempted from taxation, and thereby to tax every citizen for the propagation of the Christian religion.

Resolved, That these declarations, if made overtly or covertly by the Constitution, would make Christianity the ESTABLISHED RELIGION of the United States, the Orthodox Protestant churches the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, and the Bible a binding and supreme AUTHORITY in the courts; that the Church and the State would be thereby united, and the secular character of our republican government de-

stroyed; and that we protest against this revolutionary subversion of our liberties in the name of public justice and the eternal rights of man.

These resolutions, or others as pointed and explicit, ought to be adopted by liberals everywhere, published forthwith in local papers throughout the country, sent to members of Congress, and followed up by every conceivable means of influencing public opinion. The principles they enunciate need to be understood by millions who now know nothing of them. When we think what good could be done at every such crisis as this by a Liberal League in every town, we confess, good friends, that we wonder why the Pentecost of Liberalism is so long delayed.

THE PETITION PRESENTED IN CONGRESS.

On February 18, the petition of the National Liberal League for a Religious Freedom Amendment to the United States Constitution was presented in the Senate by the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, as indicated in the *Boston Advertiser's* report of the proceedings on the following day:—

Mr. Bayard presented a petition of the National Liberal League, signed by 10,860 persons in every State, favoring the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution separating Church and State. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The appended letter of Senator Bayard was subsequently received:—

UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, Feb. 18, 1878.

W. H. HAMLEN, Esq., Secretary of the National Liberal League:

Dear Sir,—The petition so numerous signed was left in my committee-room, and in the pressure of debate and business was not presented until to-day.

I have just presented it to the Senate, and had it referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Whenever that Committee shall report to the Senate, I will send you a copy.

Until they do report, no action will be taken.

Yours respectfully,
T. F. BAYARD.

The *Passaic City*, (N. J.) *Herald* said in its issue of February 9: "The National Liberal League petition for a religious freedom amendment to the Constitution, which was signed by many citizens of Passaic, has been sent to the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, and will be of great help in counteracting the strength of Senator Edmunds' proposed amendment, which favors the retention of the Bible in public schools and the exemption of churches from taxation." Undoubtedly this petition would have been more influential, if it had had more names; yet it will serve at least to bring before the Committee and the Senate the otherwise non-apparent fact that there are two opinions among the people on this momentous subject, and prevent the case from going against liberty and justice by sheer default. Remembering that in August, 1876, every Republican in the Senate voted for Senator Edmunds' Bible Amendment, while every Democrat voted against it, and that the vote then stood 28 to 16 in its favor (thereby falling by only two votes of securing the requisite two-thirds majority), the friends of secular government have so far great reason to congratulate themselves that the relative strength of the Republican party in Congress has been diminished since 1876, and not increased. If the Republicans could command a two-thirds majority, the Bible Amendment would have been forced through Congress, and fairly launched on its evil course. The strength of the Republicans has been broken none too soon; for, after having immortalized their party by abolishing negro slavery, they have proved themselves eager to revolutionize the Constitution into the perpetual charter of a Protestant Evangelical Theocracy, and thereby to create a new and worse slavery than that which they had overthrown. If this Bible Amendment should cease to be considered a strict party measure, however, no man can estimate its chances of success; and who can be confident that this change may not take place? There will be no safety for the secular principle so long as the people do not comprehend it. A tremendous responsibility rests on the liberals of America to educate the people betimes on this subject of transcendent importance, and the National Liberal League is the only practical mode of doing it.

MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, who is seventy-six years old, not long ago wrote to a friend: "Life has been rather dreary to me since I lost my kind, good companion; for I have no children. The friends of old times have nearly all gone hence; and with the present generation I meet only as marbles touch each other; here and there a point comes in contact, but the spheres roll apart. Nevertheless, I have much to be thankful for; and I am thankful. I have a sane mind in a healthy body; and neither of these precious gifts is universal at the present day. I have a few friends who are very kind. And in my view of things I grow more and more unshackled."

Communications.

CLERICAL TREATMENT OF THEOLOGICAL DOUBTS.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

There are cases, no doubt, in which thoughts like the following arise in the mind of a Roman Catholic: Since it seems conformable to justice and reason as well as to Scripture that God will render to every man according to his works,—and since that settlement is not completely made in this world,—the doctrine of purgatory, a retribution after death proportional to unrequited sin, seems just, reasonable, and probable; but, on the other hand, the doctrine of hell, a state in which repentance and reformation shall be of no avail, and in which (it is assumed) the Heavenly Father will cease to feel and act as a father, and the Savior as a savior—this seems not just, nor reasonable, nor probable.

The Roman Catholic to whom such thoughts should occur, would naturally desire to seek a solution of the difficulty by conferring with some wiser person in regard to it. He thinks first of the priest, who is assumed to be both wiser and better than himself, and who, perhaps, also seems candid and friendly. But it will be absolutely useless to ask a solution of such doubts from the priest, who is pledged by his profession and position to frown upon them as sinful. The priest must necessarily enjoin upon his inquirer to stifle and crush such doubts; to shut out the idea of them from his mind, and to receive submissively whatever the infallible Church teaches, without for a moment submitting it to the arbitration of the inquirer's sense of reason or justice.

In like manner, many an Orthodox Protestant must find it difficult to see why the body should be a necessary condition to God's forgiving sins which originate from an act of the mind, and difficult to see, therefore, why probation need end with this life; and he must therefore question the soundness of the theory that God's mercy stops at the moment when the breath leaves the body. It is not only natural, but highly desirable, that he should confer with some wiser friend to seek a solution of these difficulties. But, as in the former case, resort to a clergyman of the Orthodox faith will be a blunder, a proceeding absolutely useless, because such clergymen are pledged by their creed and their office to discountenance all such questionings, and to insist that the infallible Bible must be the arbiter, instead of justice and reason.

Ingenuous youth, however, frequently make mistakes of this sort; and one of them, now in process of education for the Christian ministry, has actually written to the *Congregationalist* for direction in the very case above stated; to the *Congregationalist*, a self-elected *advocatus diaboli*, an enthusiastic maintainer of the actuality and the justice of hell.

Of course the *Congregationalist* insists upon the infallible Bible as absolute arbiter in such matters, just as the Roman priest would upon his infallible Church. But the manner of doing this, the sugaring of the pill with an aspect of candor and liberality, is well worth noticing.

Beginning with an assurance of sincere and hearty sympathy with the difficulties of the inquirer, the editor of the *Congregationalist* tells him that he has mistaken the proper first point of inquiry. He should have considered, not what ought to be, but what is. "What is," that is to say infallible truth, should be looked for in the Bible; and the inquirer is told that unless he receives that book as sent from God to tell men what God thinks it wise to tell them, he is mistaken in imagining he has a call to the Christian ministry. And his duty is, the editor tells him, not only to accept the declarations of the Bible, but to steep himself in its spirit; which means, being interpreted, that if any Bible-writer affirms the reality of hell, the inquirer must not only believe it, but should persuade himself that it is a just, a wise, a beneficent arrangement; something pleasing to God and useful to man.

Next, however, comes a seeming concession, giving to the article, in the eye of the hasty reader, an aspect of candor and liberality. The editor says:—

"We do not, of course, deny that common-sense must come in as a constant factor, and that if the Bible were to seem to reveal anything from which our innate sense of right recoils, justice to all the interests involved must demand a most careful re-endeavor to adjust both to harmony in the conclusion."

Does this seem like granting to reason its right to a potential voice in religion, as in all other matters of human concern? If the youthful inquirer jumps to that conclusion, and writes to the editor that, having made the careful re-endeavor to discern justice and goodness in the Orthodox doctrine of hell, he feels compelled to reject it as horrible, atrocious, and unjustifiable, incompatible with the idea of God, and pernicious in its influence upon men, he will speedily find how little substance there was in the seeming concession; the editor will tell him, *must* tell him, that when accord between common-sense and a Bible declaration proves to be impossible, it is not the latter, but the former, which must give way.

The editor's second suggestion to the inquirer is this:—

"Believing, not only that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners, but that He also taught as one having authority, let him, with microscopic care and with unceasing prayer, go over the entire teaching of our Lord while he was upon the earth, sifting out, classifying, and arranging all faintest allusions and remotest suggestions as well as every explicit averment in regard to the subject under no-

lice; and then and thus make up his mind what our Lord believed and taught upon it."

It is worth while here to review the set of propositions which this editor requires his pupil to assume; to take for granted as certainly true, not only irrespective of evidence, but in many cases against evidence. The pupil must believe—

1. That the whole Bible is God's word, and thus infallibly correct in all its statements, whether of fact or doctrine.

2. That unless the pupil holds this view of the contents and character of the Bible, he has no business to enter upon the work of teaching religion at all.

3. That Jesus of Nazareth was really the Messiah described and intended by the Hebrew prophets.

4. That Jesus is, by divine appointment, not only Christ, but Lord, and that his declarations are authoritative over the reason and conscience of all mankind, present and future.

5. That in the narratives purporting to be written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, we have an absolutely correct account of what Jesus said. And

6. That the Orthodox interpretation of the Greek words translated "hell" and "damnation" in our version must be received as correct, notwithstanding the testimony of competent and trustworthy scholars that such translation grossly misrepresents the meaning of the original.

Instead of swallowing these propositions as if they were axioms, a course which would be absurd as well as misleading, the inquirer should (in my judgment)—

1. Hold fast his idea of reverence for God, declining to think ill of Him on the testimony of any person or any book, ancient or modern:—

2. Open his eyes to the light thrown by modern criticism upon the hypothesis of scriptural infallibility in such books as Dr. Samuel Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, London edition of 1808; and William Rathbone Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, the third London edition, 1874; and *The Religion of Israel*, a translation from the Dutch of J. Knappert, pastor at Leyden, recently published by Roberts Brothers in this city. These books furnish adequate grounds for intelligent judgment in regard to the date and authorship of the several letters and narratives of the New Testament, and the degree of confidence which may fairly be placed in the statements therein made; and such evidence, of course, makes still more manifest the utter groundlessness of clerical assumption in regard to an "infallible inspiration" of the works in question. No wonder, then, that people pledged to maintain such assumption should counsel belief and prayer in place of rational investigation.

DON'T FORGET THE CHILDREN!

DEAR INDEX:—

I was to-day (Sunday) an interested spectator of an Orthodox Sunday-school.

I listened awhile to the singing and other exercises of the older classes, and then, by invitation, went to an adjoining room, where the "infant class" or classes were engaged in recitations. The exercises were at once simple, lively, and interesting, judging partly from the bright faces and ready answers of the little ones. The manner seemed to me admirable. There was singing, accompanied with music on a small organ, and the lisping voices made melody of an intensely Orthodox hymn, which sounded, to radical ears, as read by the lady-superintendent, like a mixture of sensationalism and superstition. But it was simple and picturesque, and so caught the children's fancy, as such things always will. Then the superintendent recited the "Lord's Prayer," the children reciting in concert. She afterward repeated, and caused them to repeat several times, three verses of the "Sermon on the Mount."

More singing followed; then short and simple recitations conducted by the teachers of the different classes.

Another hymn, read by the superintendent, the children repeating in concert, then it was sung by all; after which they all, with bowed heads, repeated "The Lord watch between thee and me when we are absent one from another."

The effect of the whole seemed to me to be admirable as to manner, whatever the matter might be. And as I looked around the pleasant room, whose walls were hung with bright-colored mottoes in tasteful frames, a thrill of pain and longing took possession of me.

I thought of the thousands of radical parents who are either thoughtlessly or helplessly forgetting their children! They themselves are alive to the questions of the hour; but they either do not think, or it is too much trouble, or they do not know how to teach the children the wonderful truths they have learned.

There is little use in agitating reforms if we so carelessly neglect work so obvious; which seems only waiting to be done!

I agree with Sara A. Underwood's suggestion that in default of radical schools we send our children to those of Orthodox churches, lest they grow up bigots or estranged from all their young companions of the day-schools. But, at best, it is only a choice of evils! Children are social beings. They like amusement; and they like it in the company of their mates.

If the children of Orthodox people have books to read, and picnics, festivals, "Christmas trees," sleigh-rides, and what not, the children of radicals will naturally desire to participate. Shall we allow them to do so at the risk of their feeling themselves to be really outsiders,—or shall we deny, and so foster the spirit of bigotry, and possibly resentment towards ourselves?

Cannot radicals see what opportunity is thus given to Orthodox teachers—an opportunity which they are not slow to take—to impress the tender minds

with their doctrines and bind their hearts to the Orthodox faith "as with hooks of steel"?

Even if the children should eventually outgrow such doctrines, do we crave for them the same slow groping and struggle; the same breaking of old ties which some of us have so painfully experienced?

While we would not seek to unduly restrain or influence our children in their tendencies (for there is a limit to parental restraint and authority; a fact which some good people seem to forget), let us, at least, show as much zeal for what we believe to be their best welfare as do many of our Orthodox neighbors.

Let us teach them the truth, as it appears to us, in no dogmatic spirit, but with "charity for all, and malice toward none"; leaving them free to choose for themselves, as *their own consciences*, thus enlightened, may dictate.

And to this end it is to be wished that books be prepared to help parents in such work both at home and in schools.

Since Sunday is observed by the majority as a day of rest and religious teaching, I can see no objection and many reasons why radicals should use it for the same purpose.

There is one serious obstacle, however, which will for a time operate to prevent the formation of such schools in some instances. Radicals do not, as a general thing, dwell in communities, but are scattered. And the timidity and apathy which prevails also hinders their becoming known to each other even if inhabiting the same town. Some one remarks "that the general tendency of freethought at present is toward isolation." This is unfortunate, for isolation is not a good thing. It does not cause the average man or woman to become more generous or sympathetic.

For this reason organization of some sort is to be strongly desired,—a kind of "Broad Church," whose members shall only be loyal to truth, to take the place of the warm companionship which binds together the members of the various sects. It is to be hoped, also, that radicals will not forget to unloose their purse-strings, as well as their hearts, to help on the good cause. Efficient organization, untiring zeal, and unbounded liberality have helped to make the Orthodox churches what they are. Conspicuous among them for these qualities are the Catholics and Methodists. Let radicals ponder these things and "do likewise."

And when we have established such organizations, don't let us forget the children!

Let us gather them into Sunday-schools, poor and rich alike (let us have no "ragged schools"); where, with picture, recitation, festival, song, and story, we shall make glad their young hearts, and fill their young minds with golden truths: to blossom and bear fruit in the coming years when we, perchance, have set sail on the unknown, mysterious voyage.

A RADICAL MOTHER.

ONEIDA, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1878.

CHRISTIANITY AT WEST POINT.

For many of the readers of THE INDEX in the far West, the name "West Point" may call up little more than a shadowy recollection of the existence of a military post on the Hudson, where our government has established a "National Military Academy." But to one who has often visited this beautiful spot—so fair in summer green and so bright in autumn gold—it is something more than a name; it is a matter of national pride. We all remember how Washington loved it, and how Arnold sought to betray it, this—

"Gibraltar rock,
To freedom's column Nature's pedestal!"

The academy established here has been pronounced by eminent soldiers of the Old World "one of the very best military schools." Its corps of professors and tutors, its fine buildings, spacious academic halls, riding-school, barracks, observatory, laboratory, etc., and, above all, its grand campus or "plain," make it worthy of the great Republic. Here she clothes, feeds, houses, educates three hundred of the best of her youth. Nothing is neglected; even to the dancing-master the country pays for all. The Republic expects them to become true gentlemen and true soldiers, graceful in body, noble in character, manly in spirit, *sans peur et sans reproche*, worthy to draw swords in her defence. And therefore it is that, when the other day I read the facts I am about to set down here, I felt the flush of indignation burn on my cheek. I thought of the great Washington, and how his calm soul would have given up its serenity, could he have stood upon the "Plain" and seen young Minnie return his musket to the rack, lay off the gray uniform, and look about him in vain for a white hand to grasp in friendly good-bye.

Young Minnie entered the academy under most favorable auspices. The grammar schools of our city (of one of which young Minnie was a graduate) sent their brightest boys to try for the cadetship; but he was *facile princeps* among them all. More than this, he is well-built, good-looking, with a frank, manly way about him. Hosts of friends rejoiced at his victory, and hastened to provide him with means to procure his outfit. But in one respect he failed; in one thing he was wanting. "What!" you ask; "had he committed any crime? Was he vulgar or ill-bred?" Oh, no. Even his enemies admit that he was honest, refined, and gentlemanly. He would have passed the gates of heaven (if there be one) unquestioned; but the portals of West Point were closed against him! Over those portals he read the sinister words:—

"Black men, leave all hope
When ye enter here!"

This was young Minnie's crime; his skin was black! For what God gave him man condemned

him. Soul, mind, and character were white; warm and generous blood flowed through his veins; but it all profited him nothing. What is imponderable in Nature, in the minds of this "noble three hundred," turned the scales against poor Minnie!

He says: "The treatment I received was enough to sicken the heart and drown the ambition of any one whose feelings were at all sensitive. I was unable to bear the unprovoked insults that were daily offered me. I was subjected constantly to a galling ostracism. With the exception of three or four, the others never spoke of me, save to curse and revile me. To speak to me was an offence," etc.

And so he allowed an examination to go by default and returned to his home. Yet this "noble three hundred" are fed, clothed, housed, educated, paid for and prayed for out of the public treasury. The eight or ten millions of colored citizens do their part in bearing the expense of this national (?) academy. Ay, more; a chaplain, a man of God (so-called), likewise paid for out of the public funds, daily inculcates the principles of humility, benevolence, and forgiveness in the minds of this "noble three hundred"; reads to them the parable of the good Samaritan; repeats the Beatitudes to them; tells them that, to deserve the privilege of "stacking arms" some day on the "heavenly campus," they must "love their neighbors as themselves"; that Jesus went to heaven with a thief, etc. And they, the "noble three hundred," have now given us an earnest of this religious teaching! They are willing to be good Christians, attend chapel, say prayers, etc.; but they must not be asked to "associate with a nigger."

Really, now, we must be reasonable. There was no West Point with a cadet corps in Jerusalem when the New Testament was written! *Proh pudor!* How long must the people's money be lavished to support such a mockery as the West Point chaplaincy?

INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, JAN. 29, 1878.

MATERIALISM AGAIN.

Some time ago I wrote a short article against what I conceive to be the moral defects of materialism, which has provoked some dissenting criticism from several of the contributors to THE INDEX. I did not assail materialists as some of my critics seem to infer, but confined my brief remarks to the abstract system of belief which limits human life to this world. That the idea of an immortal life in which the individuality acquired in this is perpetual and developed, is ennobling and encouraging in all of the vicissitudes of man's present existence, seems to me self-evident. I can conceive that one might disbelieve in a future life of any kind for lack of evidence; but I cannot comprehend how a person enjoying a well-developed consciousness of a noble selfhood in this world should not desire its continuation. Is there not something indescribably revolting to our strongest instincts of being in the thought of annihilation? Does it not chill the deep life-currents of the heart and cloud the bright dreams of hope to think that all this sublime reality of which each human being is an embodiment is doomed to eternal extinction? Does not the belief that man will retain his individual consciousness after death, and continue to drink deeper into the fountain of life, clothe every human being with a dignity and glory that could not invest a transient organism of bone and muscle that must in a few years dissolve into eternal oblivion, and be as though it had never been? Is not friendship more sacred and inviolable when we feel that it is an eternal principle? Is not love more pure and beautiful when confiding hearts feel that they are united by deathless ties? Does not every affection and aspiration of our being expand and strengthen at the thought of a life of activity and development beyond the grave?

My objection to materialism is, that it is defective in moral inspiration; that it paralyzes the loftiest and grandest hopes of human nature, and hence retards the growth of those spiritual aspirations and energies that seek a perfect selfhood.

It is objected that the hope of a future life is a selfish desire that the dreams of the believer who follows faith into other worlds cause him to neglect this life and its duties. Is it selfish to desire to live a long life of useful activity in this world rather than die before mind and body have attained maturity? What is the difference between the nature of that desire which would have life continue sixty years rather than twenty and that which would have it continue forever? The hope of immortality is but the hope of a continued life after death. And I can see no more selfishness in the desire to live in some other State than there is in the desire to live here. Will some of my unselfish friends who champion the philosophy of materialism explain why it is noble and magnanimous to esteem this life, and yet selfish and puerile to hope that there are other stages of progressive action through which we will pass after death?

But why does the belief that human life will continue through the infinite future a conscious reality, that every thought and deed in this world forms a part of an eternal character, tend to weaken individual responsibility? The argument is inherently preposterous. Present duty derives its highest sanctity from the thought that we obey an eternal voice when we follow the dictates of conscience. Is virtue less lovely and attractive because it is eternal? Shall I feel less inclined to devote my life to the welfare of my fellows because I am working for immortal beings whose weal or woe for countless ages depends to some extent on the lives they live here? If I see my brother pursuing a course of life that I think will mar his happiness in the veiled future beyond death, shall I be less concerned for his reformation than if I believed that in a few years it would be the

same to him as though he had lived a pure and upright life?

That there are conceptions of a future life which are mean and contemptible to a noble mind I freely admit. But these unworthy views of the future destiny of man are not to be urged as an objection to the hope of immortality any more than ignoble ideas of this life are to be charged against the higher conceptions which some entertain and exemplify.

I admire the nobility of that sentiment that does not ask a future reward for doing right here and now. I do not believe in that kind of virtue that is not its own present reward. But the belief that goodness is eternal in a conscious life, that each individual human being is an heir to an immortal existence, seems to me to crown humanity with a glory, and virtue with an excellence that the cold, hopeless philosophy of materialism cannot impart.

I have already exceeded the limits contemplated in the beginning of this article, and must omit much that I would like to say on this subject. Now will materialists who may read this believe that I have spoken against their view of life and not against themselves, and that I can "abide" them personally with the same respect I have for all honest thinkers?

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo., Jan. 23, 1878

"MISTAKEN PREMISES."

EDITOR INDEX:—

If "F. S. C." will look at H. D. Macleod's *Economical Philosophy*, Vol. II., p. 477 et seq., perhaps he will think differently about "mistaken premises."

In 1821, the Bank of England was not required to limit its issues to the amount of coin and bullion in the bank. That was not demanded until the passage of the Bank Act of 1844; and even that act so utterly failed to accomplish this limitation, that on April 10, 1846, the bank-notes held by the public were more than twice the amount of the gold in the bank, the latter being less than £10,000,000. As bullion can be drawn out from the Bank of England, not alone by bank-notes, but also by the cheques of those having deposits at the bank, every ounce of gold can be abstracted without diminishing the number of bank-notes in the hands of the public.

Our Resumption Act makes no provision for the re-issue of greenbacks. The Secretary of the United States Treasury, in his recent report, says: "Existing laws do not clearly define whether United States notes when redeemed after Jan. 1, 1879, may be re-issued"; and he furthermore adds that this question "should be settled by distinct provisions of law." Secretary Sherman favors their re-issue (at a maximum of \$300,000,000), and the maintenance of their legal tender quality. Should Congress follow his recommendation in this regard, as well as by restoring the silver dollar, the difficulties of resumption would doubtless be lessened.

If we had the gold with which to redeem notes, it seems highly probable that it would not be largely called for, unless there should be great demand for it in Europe. But if the public know that we have not such gold, the liability to calls on the treasury will be greater, and may seriously embarrass the government by putting the latter in the power of the gold brokers, thus causing forced resumption to cost us in the end more than it is worth.

Are not the five-franc pieces of France "honest"? They are legal tender, and two hundred and fifty million of them are kept in circulation at par in France, side by side with gold, though they are coined at the ratio of 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ of silver to 1 of gold by weight, giving a higher value to silver than we propose in the restoration of the old dollar. In Germany, two hundred million legal tender silver thalers circulate today, side by side with gold, at par.

Why should it, then, seem incredible that our dollar, if restored, would be equally at par?

My previous estimate of our total of paper money must be corrected to \$868,000,000, of which about \$317,000,000 are outstanding National bank-notes.

E. J. L.

WEST MERIDEN, Ct., Feb. 8.

THE CAUSE IN IOWA.

The coming State Convention is the topic of principal interest to live Iowa liberals. We have sent copies of the Call to many of our local papers, and to friends of the cause in different parts of the State; and I think that a fair proportion of these papers will publish the Call. The friends to whom I have written all seem to be willing to work for the success of the meeting. Says Mr. J. W. Frank, of Lysart: "Your letter with Call received. I am very glad to do anything for a cause that I believe to be for the good of all." Mr. M. C. Thomas, of Redfield, writes: "We are talking of starting a Liberal League in this place." Mr. J. E. Frick, of Toledo, writes that the Toledo Times will publish the Call. From other points in the State come cheering reports.

The Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern Railroads will sell return tickets at one-half the usual rates, to all who produce certificates that they have attended the Convention and paid full fare to West Liberty. The Central Railroad of Iowa will make the same reduction to all who paid, when going to the Convention, full fare to Grinnell. This reduction will apply only to those who purchase their return tickets over the Iowa Central, at Grinnell, and over the Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern at West Liberty. This reduction will be of benefit to those who reside either in the northern or southern part of the State, at points reached by these roads. At West Liberty and Grinnell you change cars for Des Moines, going over the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Pennsylvania Railroads.

In my next I hope to be able to announce the arrangements which shall have been made for the ac-

commodation of visitors. I understand that Mr. Strong, the resident member of our committee, is perfecting all necessary arrangements. As to the work to be done at Des Moines, we must organize a State League or Association; and we need to pay particular attention to the formation of the Executive Committee. An earnest, active liberal in each county of the State is wanted,—one who will immediately organize the county sub-committee and go to work. To this end I desire to hear from every liberal in Iowa. The question is to you! "Will you serve upon the Executive Committee?" If you cannot, please send me the name of some one in your county who can. If you desire an answer, please enclose stamp, as the Committee has no fund upon which to draw for expenses. Organize Local Leagues in every town in the State where possible. Make your Leagues auxiliary to the National League. Leagues have been organized at Toledo, Tama County, and at Adel, Dallas County. Let us multiply such associations by the hundred. Some object that organization now is premature; that it will but stimulate the foes of civil and mental freedom to greater activity, and rivet our chains the tighter. We must not flatter ourselves with the fond hope that the agents of reaction are not at work. They work while we sleep. This is evidenced in a hundred different ways. Just look at the pending constitutional amendment; at the closing of the Exposition upon Sunday; and at the present crusade against liberal editors and publishers. The enemies of liberty and equal rights now work in the dark; we will organize and force them to come out into the light that the people may see what their nefarious designs really are. The very argument that organization is premature because it will anger our tyrants and induce them to bind us the more securely, is the most conclusive that could be produced in favor of organization of work. If we cannot organize to secure the removal of certain abuses, without bringing down upon us still more heavily these and added wrongs, then, in the name of justice, let us be up and doing, that we may remove such a foul blot from the escutcheon of our common country and leave our children free. In the evolution of rights we must not forget that we are factors of the great problem. Come to Des Moines all who can, and help us to bear aloft the standard of Truth upon which is inscribed,—

"The greatest of rights is equal rights."

Every freeman to the front,
Fairest ye never, nor parley;
Yourself bear the battle's brunt;
And sure your reward shall be.

If each one of us, individually, does his or her duty all will be well.

E. C. WALKER,

Of the Iowa State Com. N. L. L.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS ABOUT ORGANIZING.

WORCESTER, Jan. 29, 1878.

Mr. J. A. J. WILCOX, Treasurer National Liberal League:—Enclosed find two dollars,—mine and Elizabeth S. Nash's annual subscription to the National Liberal League. Money has been said to be the root of all evil; whether that is so or not, it has come to be the tap root of success in the accomplishment of any great purpose. How to get the funds necessary is a most important consideration. Politicians before important elections are pretty careful to count noses. Can't Liberals take a lesson from them? There are objections urged to the organization of Liberal Leagues such as these: "Numbers small—can't get them together—want a hall—must have lectures—no money—so what is the use?"

Now it is very easy to suppose there might be in every town at least one individual who might take upon himself to find one other person in every school-district who would go through the district, and take the name of every one friendly to the purpose of the League. Let the individuals come together as a self-constituted executive board, and resolve to see every person, man or woman, in their several sections, lay the whole subject before them, and say further to those friendly ones that it is very desirable that a small contribution, one in noway burdensome, should be taken quarterly, say five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, or even one cent. In this way every one would become known, all would grow more and more interested. Here would be initiated an informal organization, one that wouldn't frighten to begin with. Probably a large part of those classed as liberals have no connection with the churches,—no way burdened with church extravagances. They are, so to speak, left out in the cold; no connection or sympathy with any organization for any sort of purpose. Now if these people could be induced to give their names and pay regularly the smallest sum, they would soon warm up, have new life, have an ideal purpose in life. Now who can say there is not here a good opening for missionary work? Yes, but the will—the will—the will!

Respectfully yours, CHARLES NASH.

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West 83d Street, New York, to whom subscriptions and communications should be addressed.

The following table of contents of No. 1 will give an idea of the scope of the work proposed:—

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- Equality of Women.—Elizabeth Oakes Smith.
- Husbands and Wives.—Sara B. Chase, M.D.
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By order of the New York Physiological Society.

S. H. PATERSON, Rec. Sec.

A WEST VIRGINIA LIBERALIST.

WESTON, W. Va., Jan. 30, 1878.

Dr. A. M. Dent, the member of the Executive Committee for West Virginia, is spoken of by the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, the leading newspaper of the Commonwealth as "one of the most profound thinkers and accomplished scholars in the State."

It is due to Dr. Dent, through whose influence the liberal movement in West Virginia is assuming character and shape, that he should be commended for his generous efforts in behalf of religious freedom; and I pay no idle compliment to the liberals of West Virginia when I assert that their leader is one whose ability and standing has given to the freethought a consideration it has not attained in any other State south of Mason and Dixon's line. Our community (or, at least, the intelligent part of it) has devoured the few papers which have reached here from THE INDEX office; and the platform of the Rochester Convention can now secure hundreds of votes in this county. In Wheeling (the largest city in the State) are congregated hosts of liberals; but they are of that class spoken of by Chancellor Haven in reply to Col. Ingersoll: "They have not enough courage to battle for an idea,—no matter how noble it is." At Martinsburgh, Charleston, Parkersburgh, and other large towns ("large" for us), we have lots of liberals; and they seem to have been waiting for a leader, such as Dr. Dent has proven himself to be, to lead them into organization in behalf of intelligent and cultured freethought. We shall hold a meeting here on the 22d of February; and you may expect to hear of others in various portions of the State. West Virginia, "the young child of the storm," freed from human slavery, and built up and refined by public free schools, will take her part in the coming battle for liberty of mind, as she did during the struggle of the war for human rights.

JAB. W. WOFFINDEN.

THE *Scientific American* contained the first announcement of what may be the most wonderful invention of the day. Nothing could be more incredible than the likelihood of once more hearing the voice of the dead; yet the invention of the new instrument is said to render this possible hereafter. It is true that the voices are stilled; but whoever has spoken or whoever may speak into the mouth-piece of the phonograph, and whose words are recorded by it, has the assurance that his speech may be reproduced audibly in his own tones long after he himself has turned to dust. A strip of indented paper travels through a little machine; the sounds of the latter are magnified, and posterity centuries hence hear us as plainly as if we were present. Speech has become, as it were, immortal. The *Scientific American* says: "The possibilities of the future are not much more wonderful than those of the present. The orator in Boston speaks; the indented strip of paper is the tangible result; but this travels under a second machine which may connect with the telephone. Not only is the speaker heard now in San Francisco, for example, but by passing the strip again under the reproducer, he may be heard to-morrow, or next year, or next century. His speech in the first instance is recorded and transmitted simultaneously, and indefinite repetition is possible. The new invention is purely mechanical,—no electricity is involved. It is a simple affair of vibrating plates, thrown into vibration by the human voice. It is crude yet, but the principle has been found, and modifications and improvements are only a matter of time. So also are its possibilities other than those already noted. Will letter-writing be a proceeding of the past? Why not, if by simply talking into a mouth-piece our speech is recorded on paper, and our correspondent can by the same paper hear us speak? Are we to have a new kind of books? There is no reason why the orations of our modern Ciceros should not be recorded and detachably bound so that we can run the indented slips through the machine, and in the quiet of our own apartments listen again, and as often as we will, to the eloquent words. Nor are we restricted to spoken words. Music may be crystallized as well. Imagine an opera or an oratorio, sung by the greatest living vocalists, thus recorded, and capable of being repeated as we desire."

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1878.

WHOLE No. 428.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSSES.

A NEW Liberal League, auxiliary to the National League, has been organized at Campbell Hill, Illinois. President, Dr. Horace Newell; Secretary, A. R. Swartzcope.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will be at Des Moines, Iowa, March 7 and 8, at the State Liberal League Convention; at Newton, Iowa, March 12 to 13; and at Moberly, Missouri, March 15 to 18.

IF RADICALS were as impudent as some Christians, "Bob" Ingersoll would be offset by "Joe" Cook. But we are glad to notice that they are no match for the pious in point of bad manners.

THE MICHIGAN STATE Committee of the National Liberal League has been constituted as follows: Karl Schemann (chairman), Detroit; Mrs. O. Gillett, Parma; E. E. Campny, Burr Oak; A. Skinner, Ceresco; C. Parker, Bay City.

AT A MEETING of the German liberals of Milwaukee at Freie Gemeinde Hall, the following was adopted among the resolutions on the late anniversary of Paine's birthday: "We also express our warmest sympathies for the Liberal Leagues which are being founded in all parts of the United States, and indorse the Religious Freedom Amendment proposed by said Leagues as a substitute for the present first amendment to the National Constitution."

WHAT A PLEASURE there is in waving the Protestant red-rag before the Catholic bull! "True to tradition, France refuses to allow any building to be erected on the grounds of the approaching International Exposition for displaying, selling, or giving away Bibles. Not to be checkmated by an infidel and Roman Catholic government, the London Bible Society has purchased a plot of ground near the Champ de Mars, in Paris, for the use of the Secretary during the Exhibition."

THE METHODISTS report their denomination to be in a very flourishing condition. The statistical returns for the year have been received from eighty-five of the ninety-one annual conferences. Estimating for the six unreported, the returns, as made up, show 11 bishops; 91 conferences; 11,256 traveling preachers; 12,588 local preachers; 1,473,006 lay members in full communion; 200,281 probationers; 16,099 churches; 5,334 parsonages; 19,775 Sunday-schools; 218,494 officers and teachers, and 1,490,283 scholars. The increase of travelling preachers is 184; of full members, 48,012; of churches, 283; and of parsonages, 122. The churches are valued at \$70,133,673, and the parsonages at \$9,065,147. Here are nearly eighty millions of dollars of church property which ought to be taxed.

CANADA has a "Civil Rights Alliance" whose objects are defined to be—"The constitutional resistance of the efforts of any organization to violate the principles of civil liberty; the guidance and protection of persons whose rights of citizenship may be infringed by ecclesiastical or any other agency; the liberation of national funds from the control of any religious establishment; and the abrogation of all public patronage, exemptions, privileges, and powers which controvert the spirit of religious equality." Whether this means defence of the secular principle or merely opposition to Catholicism, we do not know with certainty. The Alliance is located at 182 St. James Street, Montreal, and has a Council composed partly of Protestant Evangelical clergymen. We should be grateful for official documents more fully explaining the objects and constitution of this society.

THERE is great good sense in the New Haven Board of Education, whose majority report on the Bible in the schools thus comments on the statement that "you cannot educate the head without educating the heart": "The presence of the Sheffield Scientific School in our midst is a standing refutation of such an argument. Not one word or breath of official religious influence is uttered there from end to end

of the scholastic year. The success of the intellectual training of that institution, however, has made it famous over the whole country; while the moral character of its students does not suffer by comparison with that of any body of students at a professedly religious foundation. Our common schools are now in precisely the same attitude; and there is no reason to believe that this attitude will interfere with success in the one case more than in the other."

SINCE OUR LAST acknowledgment, signatures to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows: from Mr. Moses Hays, Rochester, N.Y., 108; from Mr. A. C. Festerling, Mosel, Wis., 70; from Mr. J. B. Barry, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, Montgomery Co., O., 31; from Mrs. E. L. Saxon, New Orleans, La., 67; from Mr. E. C. Von Arnim, Brookline, Mass., 13; from Mr. C. F. Woods, Palmyra, Neb., 53; from Mr. Charles Collins, Northumberland, Pa., 32; from Mr. Harry Hoover, Clearfield, Pa., 28; from Mr. N. D. Watkins, Xenia, Ind., 13; from Mr. E. T. Blackmer, National City, Cal., 32; from Mr. Seth N. Allen, Maple Rapids, Mich., 32. Added to the 10,660 signatures presented by Senator Bayard on February 18, these make a total of 11,129 names. It is best to continue the work of collecting signatures as fast as possible; a good use for them will be found.

THE DESIGN of the new silver dollar, already accepted by Secretary Sherman, is described as follows: "The obverse of the coin bears a full cut head of Liberty, crowned with a Phrygian cap decorated with wheat and cotton, the staples of the country; the legend, 'E Pluribus Unum,' thirteen stars, and the date of coinage. On the reverse, surrounded by a wreath of olive, is an eagle, with outspread wings, bearing in his talons a branch of olive and a bundle of arrows. The inscriptions on this side are, 'United States of America' and 'One Dollar'; also the motto, 'In God we Trust.'" It is positively melancholy to see how insensible the American people are to the multiplying encroachments of the ecclesiastical spirit on the secularity of the government. They are establishing a great and formidable mass of precedents, each slight in itself, but in their totality of tremendous strength, for the overthrow of the secular principle. Fraud and hypocrisy go hand in hand; we cheat our creditors, and "trust in God"! Thus we are sowing seeds of evil augury whose harvest shall be a bitter one.

HERE is a beautiful instance of the "Christian morality" which claims the right to be legally recognized in this country. Rev. J. M. Buckley, a sensational Methodist preacher, has employed detectives and informers in working up liquor cases at Stamford, Connecticut, and, being sharply called to account for using disgraceful means to secure convictions, defended himself in open court in a very extraordinary manner, as reported in the New York Tribune: "I am here," said he, "because there are men in Stamford mean enough to break the laws, and not sharp enough to avoid being caught. I admit all the facts in regard to the employment of deception and the detectives. The law of the matter is, that it is not a crime to buy liquor. I wish it was. I wish the gentleman would carry this case up to the highest court, and get such a decision. Then rum-selling in Stamford would soon stop." Mr. Buckley reviewed the history of the temperance movement in Stamford, and told of the action of the executive committee, which had chosen him to act as its agent. He defended his use of detectives and deception, and said he could cite no less than twenty-five cases from the Old Testament, and five from the New, in which God sanctioned the use of spies and deception, not only to detect, but also to punish evil-doers. He repeated, at length, the narrative in the first book of Kings, where "the Lord said, who will deceive Ahab?" and applied it to the Stamford case by a paraphrase."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

The Soul of Culture.

SAMUEL JOHNSON AT HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, JANUARY 13, 1878.

ABSTRACT BY SIDNEY H. MORSE.

Mr. Johnson began by saying that the habit of associating culture with conceit was a survival of barbarism to be met with even in New England. A crude practicalism and a democratic jealousy are found to unite in disparagement of the good word. A bad feature of the utilitarian theory this coarse suspicion illustrates is, that it discounts disinterested motives out of study. If we would not drop these motives altogether, the fascination in things practical and tangible must find its limits. The passion for physical science takes up a vulgar cry against classical studies, ignorant of their special fitness as literary material, for educating in aesthetic feeling, clear expression, and ethical loyalty. Our school system should court these helps to a disinterested ideal of motive and expression.

But the utilitarian idea of culture, Mr. Johnson did not regard as so demoralizing as the theological, which treats religion as a work of grace through revelation as opposed to Nature. Human nature is here defined by its rudest and most primitive stage, denying all basis for culture in the mind or heart. The "new creature in Christ Jesus" substituted for the natural man is a *monstrum*; not product of discipline and growth, but a miraculous creation out of nothing. What term was ever so mystified as this homely and holy word Nature? A recent writer wove into his speculation at least three incongruous definitions of it: at one moment denouncing Nature as absolute evil, the next indorsing it as vehicle of spirit, and then in a breath denying that it had existence, and constructing culture out of the vacuum. The mental confusion produced by contradictions gathered about this term in the Christian consciousness, recalls what an anxious pastor said to his people in warning them against a heretical preacher: "My friends, he is an atheist, and I am sure he is a deist; and, if I am not greatly mistaken, he is a pantheist besides." In other words, this truly dreadful man must have believed that there is a God outside the world; that only the world itself is God; and that there is no God either out of the world or in it.

But self-contradictions in matters of belief are disappearing. The facts of experience, the laws of being must be reconciled in a *philosophy of life*. Nature and culture must not be separated, whatever becomes of Christian dogmas.

What man is physically, intellectually, morally, and spiritually competent to, is in his nature. His possibilities of growth must all be included. And culture is the process by which these possibilities are made actual. Religious culture is simply the way of bringing out the possibilities of man's religious nature. If he has no possibilities but for evil, then culture is a delusion, and man is eternally a savage. Culture is that which saves man when theologians have doomed him to this self-contempt. Culture knows no such thing as a fallen nature, but only an immature, yet capable, nature. Culture recognizes perversions, vices, sins; but simply as incidents to progress, as good in the crude ore, never as grounds for denying the spiritual faculties of man. Culture is not destructive of any powers; it is educational of all. It substitutes their free evolution for supernatural exclusion, prescription, suppression. It means sciences and arts, mastery of the inward and outward world, through their natural harmonies. These materials are the magnificent body of culture. What is its soul? Not a sphere apart from these; but their soul: in and of them forever; not imminent over them, but immanent within them.

In short, the purpose and end of culture is none other than the formation and support of a *spiritual climate*; by perpetual transmutation of knowledge, taste, aspiration, into a pure and steadfast accord between the personal soul and its experiences; of such quality that life is transparent atmosphere for breathing and seeing; and duty and destiny, work and circumstance, all come forcible and clear. Culture is the training which keeps in view this ideal purpose of life as a whole. Its harvest songs make the ages glad; and we know them by this: they are always jubilant with thanksgivings to spiritual necessity and law. What a text for culture the great Stoic's absolute trust in Nature, "counting all as fruit, which its seasons bring," and that phrase of Ruskin's, "the duty of delight!"

Through the warp of the ages run these threads of vital gladness; a healthful instinct for inner motions that shape all ways to good,—a serene enthusiasm in doing and suffering, to which they attain who know their choice noble and their task befitting. So soon as one's confidence is no longer in the perfection of his own insight or virtue, but in the worth of his purpose, he finds sure deliverance from all burdens. This is the soul of all culture; the "sweetness and light" that all tasks and disciplines should serve to feed.

It is to-day just the solemn lesson of civilization itself that there is nothing in practical capacity, nothing in educated taste, nothing in personal command, nothing in large observation and knowledge of men, nothing in political or financial experience, that can be relied on to make one other than a savage. Through all these ostensible cultures, do you not recognize the war-whoop, the scalping-knife, the scent of the jackal for human prey? Is this the foremost of nations that is stamping out weaker races under Tartar hoofs, and reaching away down behind Sitting Bull and Chief Joseph to find its civilized standard for the popular politician,—"never to forget a friend nor forgive an

enemy"? Yet surely the phrase aptly enough describes the instinctive expectation of the American partisan from his political representative. In America, so stimulative is competition, there is such a recognized machinery in every pursuit, that 'tis death to be a novice, or to lack the gift or the tools. Yet in all this manufacturing, where is the secret of light caught, or the mystery of sweetness solved? Put the aim of culture as you will, say it is to be happy, or helpful, or civilized, or religious, there is forever one quality, the lack of which makes it mere quackery to pretend success. It is just a poet's ideal,—the ability "no longer forward or behind to look in hope or fear."

Will the free school save us if we do not find textbooks to teach that resource, thrift, and mastery are not in getting things by mass, but in just and happy relations with ourselves? The best capital, for rich or poor, we say is health and industry; but here is the very capital of all capital. The old books on alchemy tell us it was required of those who sought the philosopher's stone that they should do so without covetous desire to be rich. And if there is an alchemy that turns all things to success, 'tis certainly not in any form of accumulating; for the plain reason that after all accumulations, the instinct of getting remains unsatisfied. We prate of our "interests" as if we knew certainly that if we could get the better of our neighbors in securing what all are pursuing, we would indisputably be gainers. Who knows but we should be losers of the best we have now? Only care and cunning can minister to unlimited desire; and these slaves turn all the master's spoils to rubbish by mastering him.

That is not culture which flatters us with the hope or wish to comprehend all things in life or death. Thank God for limits; that there shall never be wanting to man an all-embracing, unfathomed order and law, far above all his dreams of appropriation, not to be profaned by the vices of his civilized life.

Let us put away our measurement of values by mass, by count, by heaps of things learned or owned. There are painters who toil to get out every line Nature has put into a thistle or a fern; and the feeling of art is lost in mere tricks and devices of accumulation. The boys in our schools know so many things that they correct and silence their fathers. But one thing was never taught the little pedants, worth more than all the cramming, were it but as schooling in manners, the test of civilization; namely, to know why Socrates was a wise man. The answer should be read on the school-doors, and laid up in the young heads, with ample room to grow and bear fruit. Only Socrates knew how little he knew.

So with accumulations of skill. Who is shrewd enough to stave off the money crash, or to map the winds of trade? The more the cunning of the money-kings, the more they need to keep head where it has brought them, with perilous dead-reckoning, as they make off with the spoils of cities and States.

Then, as to knowledge of men, they who make largest pretensions to skill in explaining character, and reducing human nature to a science, are the quacks of the day. We repel these anthropological weighers and gaugers as we do the meddlesome professor of Christianity, who proposes to take our salvation into his hands.

The shallowest of arts are those which are run by inspection of persons. The wise man is he who, without pretending to fathom others or meet their bounds, knows how to keep an attitude of expectation and sympathy.

In fine, the product of culture is invisible; it is a noble aim, and the first principle in real education is this. As mere quantity, all accumulations, of whatsoever sort, are of small account, and become culture only in proportion as they serve a personal quality beyond themselves. A man is worth just so much as the aim he is busied about is worth. We become civilized, not by the mere law of the ballot, not by "standing up to be counted" in politics or religion, but by subordinating mass-power to special function and ideal aim.

The best skill that books or men can help us towards, is the power of genial sympathy to front the facts of life; not representing them to ourselves as they might be, nor as they are desired to be; but taking them calmly, willingly in hand, as they are. To accept conditions and pay their price for one's gains, asking no royal road, nor trick of speed, this I call the grace of the cultivated, the art of the master in life. The speaker illustrated this affirmative and helpful spirit of real culture, as well as its opposite, by examples from the lives and writings of men of genius.

If this is the culture that gives us our real men and women, the deficiency of it in what pass for special cultures is apparent. In the theological, for instance, how little of light or sweetness can enter! Here at the threshold what an Inferno of hate and gloom! What melancholy spleen in the premise of "sin" which these creeds of redemption, probation, and spiritual progress all start from! Are these our roofs of civilization, these *débris*, swept down from ages in which man's right and opportunity to make the world his homestead were unknown, and cutting away the very conditions of freedom and delight; beliefs whose God is an autocrat, and whose Savior never smiles! 'Tis time this school was dismissed. Let the laugh of happy children be heard in the purple of eternal life. Let them out of these catacombs of ecclesiastical dogma. Would we sit in tertiary caves amidst prehistoric bones, when day is breaking on the hills? If we could shut light within the covers of a book, or hide sweetness in one human Lord, would not humanity be stunted of these gifts? Thoughtfully consider the monarch-God whom the Hebrew handed down to Christianity, and you will not think it strange to hear his fullest prophet and most loving Son saying, "A word spoken against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven either

in this age or in that which is to come." Hence a hard inhospitality in its lofty invitations to outside faiths to forsake their immemorial beliefs and come into the only fold; hence so little light in its eyes for heathen ages, or sweetness in its speech to unbelievers at home; so much persuasion of this sort, "Take my dogma, or thou diest by my hand." Only science and free inquiry can exorcise this evil spirit in Christianity; the secular powers which it rejects as long as it can. For how many ages, in the name of the Crucified, did it hold the whole Hebrew race nailed to the martyr's cross! In Catholic France it but recently refused to receive their contributions in relief of persecuted Christians in the East, because the Jew was a "deicide" or murderer of the Almighty. In Protestant America, its Missionary Board has some natural tenderness for the Chinese immigrants; but its California churches vote him off the continent, and would abolish the very treaty by which but just now China acceded to its demands for national fraternization. In the East, it is repeating, after seven centuries, the old crusade against the infidel, inspired by its arrogant pretence that Europe belongs to Christianity, and the Turk is an interloper and "sick man." The Russian minister in Turkey declared that his master would never allow Protestantism to set foot in that country. The Greek Church of Russia recognizes no Christianity outside itself. Its Armenian branch in Turkey excommunicates all converts to Protestantism, and outlaws them as social lepers. Russian Christianity thrusts forth the cross to cover Panslavic thirst for conquest. By all good authority, Turkish oppressions are in no small degree the fictions of English plotters and Levantine false witnesses, bent on the ruin of the empire. So far as they now exist, they are against the actual laws, and fall on Moslem and Christian alike. Turkish atrocities are natural results of panic stirred up by paid bandits of the foreigner, and quite equalled under similar circumstances on the other side. If ever a war was without excuse, I believe that this is, and civilized Europe should have stopped the horrible carnage, and remanded this worse than Tartar raider back on his bloody tracks. Yet one is often asked if the interests of culture should not put Europe on the side of Russia,—culture in this colossal force of conquest, still inspired by the savage will of Peter and the craft of Catharine II.? Shall America be *claqueur* to the raid of such a barbarism on a weakened state striving to redeem its past, and which has actually made more progress in religious liberty in one-half century than any other nation in Europe, which has appointed no less than eighty persons of the Christian faith to prominent offices, and permitted the schools and churches of all sects to sprinkle over its domains from end to end? The penny-a-liners of the British press which our dailies retail, do not tell us what the historians of the Empire had recorded; nor what Dr. Hamlin reports out of his thirty-five years' observation of the reforms of later Sultans in civil service and in educational and religious policy; nor how incessantly these efforts to reconcile a dozen conflicting sects and races have been thwarted by Russian intrigue. It is something that the Turk has shown us how fatalism may be a living faith, and become respectable by its valor against odds. It is not mere politic prudence which has dictated the policy of England. Behind this lies a theological culture, which cherishes petty contempt for the infidel, and which has permitted her Gladstones and Freemans with their arrogant perversions of history to hold her hands from defending an ally from the apparent purpose of a colossal empire to divide the soil and destroy the race. And this evangelicism which wants to drive the Turk out of Europe would be equally pleased to exclude the unbelieving Jew and radical from the polls of America. So runs that deeper consistency of dogmatic temperament which we do not always observe.

The lecturer proceeded to criticize the theological fetchism of the more liberal sects of Christendom, especially in their prostration before the name of Christ; and to describe that religious culture by which science and humanity are transforming theology from a savage and a slave into a power of civilization.

The absence of culture in the ethics of citizenship in this country was next treated. After speaking of the educational methods by which political corruption and legislative dishonesty should be met, the speaker said that this was indeed a case for the infusion of sweetness and light, but not for the mock image of these; not for a superficial complaisance, glossing unwelcome facts, and making light of past penalties that should have ploughed deep into the nation's soul. What shall we say of the Southern proposal to have the free black left in the hands of his former Caucasian masters, to be "nursed into as useful and happy a condition as his nature will allow"? What of the President's announcement to the colored citizens at Atlanta, that "their interests will be safest if left in the hands of the intelligent Southern whites"? What of the fact that the local governments are already passed over to men who would never by any possibility make that appeal to the executive for aid in protection of negroes, even at national elections, to which alone he is bound by the constitution to respond? What is short of this so-called policy of conciliation which the whole reactionary element, with few exceptions, applauds, while using these concessions to strengthen itself for coming victory,—this special conciliation of classes from whose possession the negro had to be wrested that the State itself might live? Has not this argument of "more magnanimity" been pressed beyond the moral limit? The reconstructed rebel is invited to make light of his rebellion and to return to special favors from the government he sought to destroy. This is no mere question of withdrawing the troops to whose protection of the polls the President owes his own election; no mere question of

official discouragement, or worse, to men whose claims rest on the same basis as his own; no mere question of the success or failure of the "Grant policy" so persistently denounced and thwarted by influential men in both parties that every bull-dozer might well hope the Caucasian-nurse theory would even at the North soon get the upper hand; no mere question of political truck and dicker in the management of the last election. It is not a question of dealing with a fallen foe. The foe is not fallen; he is at last master of South, and master of Congress, and the Executive concedes the superintendence he desires. I fall to see the repentance that is claimed for the prodigal, or the humane wisdom of his father. Do not accept assertions of success in a policy which can only be tested by a national election or by some revival of courage in the now disheartened freedmen. I must still emphasize, as at the outset, the suicidal influence of this failure to hold a steady hand; this shift of policy; this tone of apology; this attempt to cover our tracks by borrowing measures from the reactionist, and even by taking up his cries of "carpet-bagger" and "bloody shirt," with all the greatly overstrained charges they stand for; this strange confidence in promises the makers have not the ability, if they had the will, to perform. I am not concerned to spend breath upon disproving the charge that an old abolitionist cannot escape his prejudices, nor entertain the "new idea," because I am contending against ideas and prejudices far older than the men who now repeat them,—the instincts and traditions of slavery; the inveterate will that the black shall not have social and political equality with the white; the old, old method so often tried, and always punished, of finishing up duties to the weak by blind concession to the strong; of restraining offences by gratifying the purpose of the offender. If this was the intelligent purpose of the loyal masses, then we have lost the power to profit by experience or to respect the idea of a republic. For one, I cannot believe it.

My purpose is to illustrate not inhumanity in the people, but the abuse of political culture. Let us not rest this question upon personalities; on blind charges of private motive or repute on the one side or the other. That the discussion runs to this strain is but proof of the lack I speak of. Our public vices are its exponent. The excuse for this policy that it was the only course left open by the increase of reactionary feeling against the government, splits on the fact that it was urged intensely, as long ago as the Greeley movement, as a matter of once of magnanimity and pure right. If, then, it did not originate in necessity, it is itself responsible for bringing about its present necessity, if this exists. If the State is gravitating back towards the hands from which it has barely escaped with life, the fact is not to be ascribed to necessity, but to the delusion, industriously spread, of a new and changed feeling at the South. And the extent of this delusion is explicable enough. So demoralizing are hard times, fluctuating currency, disturbed business interests, incessant recurrence of issues never fairly met, that men are ready to believe any horoscope that promises rest to that irritating question on which we have done least that is wise and just. "Only give us a settlement," they say, "and we will not be difficult about the proofs."

But why adhere to protest after the thing is settled, when to meddle is to mar? It at least serves to point a warning against the political vices of worshipping a *de facto* wrong as if it were *de jure*, and of expecting a better thing from encouraging a worse. I do not believe in this settling of things past redemption. What, then, would I propose? Straighten up the spine. Stop creeping at the feet of an imagined necessity which must work ruin. Pick up as fast as possible the dropped threads of duty to the weak and to the upholders of the weak. The light and sweetness we need in our political culture is the light of moral forethought and the sweetness of trust in principles. Let the destiny that has dealt with us according to our deeds make us wise and strong. Even as the Roman sybil brought her rejected Books of Warning to the complacent Senate again and again, lessening their number and raising their price every successive time. So is it with our opportunities, whose law should be the beginning of our culture.

We move in cycles, because we are ourselves the same. The old troubles front us; the old diseases reappear; alas! the old foolish prescriptions come round again to meet them. But new trials are new tracks of a spiritual law. The voice that must be heard will say, "This is the way, walk ye in it," whether we "turn to the right hand or the left." There can be no light nor sweetness in the American state till we learn to deal justly, and walk humbly, and follow, in dealing with weaker races—Negro, Indian, or Mongolian,—the principles we proclaim for ourselves.

"TEN DOLLARS fine for driving over this bridge faster than a walk." "What does that mean?" asked a little Indianapolis boy, who was riding with his father. Father explains: "If we whip up and go fast, the policeman will stop us and take us to the Mayor and he will not let us go till we pay \$10." Silence in the carriage. Meditating boy speaks: "Papa! if it warn't for the policemen and for God, what lots of fun we could have, couldn't we?"

THE LOUISVILLE *Courier-Journal* having made the ungracious squib that the man who was caught in the act was a member of the legislature, an exchange takes away the sting of the remark by suggesting that the man might only have been caught in the act of trying to pass an act to amend an act entitled an act to amend an act amendatory to an act.

OUR DUTY. [FOR THE INDEX.]

BY HUGO ANDRIESEN.

There is a certain class of liberal-minded men who, having read quite a number of excellent, progressive works, having even made general history a study, a class of men, partially emancipated, who have exchanged their former narrow views for more liberal and broader, and who really cannot be confounded any longer with narrow-minded bigots and priest-ridden, unprogressive men,—it is this class of men who yet will oppose all movements, all efforts having in view the total secularization of the State, the abrogation of sectarian sabbatarian laws, and similar measures which the true radical advocates as necessary for the salvation of this country. These good people may now and then grant that church-taxation, for instance, would be right enough, and they would perhaps not even oppose the expulsion of the Bible from our public schools, provided that, by adopting such a measure, they could be convinced that harmony will be restored; that the greatest good for the greatest number will be the result.

But you approach them with such sweeping propositions as contained in the "Demands of Liberalism," in the "Platform of the National Liberal League," etc., and you will find them opposed to any such agitation or discussion. What good will it do, these me? they say. Do we not enjoy religious liberty? These good people will get angry when attacked by arguments; and will stigmatize all such attempts as revolutionary, unconstitutional, dangerous, fanatical. They love, it is true, our republican institutions; and a good many of them sincerely believe that we have arrived at very nearly a perfect form of representative government.

Now, let us see whether these good people are right or wrong; let us examine for a moment whether these "rocks ahead," so often, so emphatically, so earnestly pointed out by men like Mr. Abbot, Col. Ingersoll, and others, are only imaginary dangers; whether they are only the phantoms of the excited brain of the reformer, mere Quixotean windmills, or not! If this class of people would study the history of Europe, if they would carefully read the lessons taught by such standard works as Buckle's *History of Civilization*, or Taine's *English Literature*, or Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, and similar works of this type, they would perhaps come to the conclusion that Jefferson's dictum, "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty," has some meaning; that it is especially applicable to the affairs of this country.

We will not attempt to point out the lesson which German and French comparative history teaches; nor will we, although the temptation is a strong one, go into details in regard to the great *Kultur Kampf* which is being fought in Germany at present under the bold championship of a Bismarck and a Falk. Let us go to England, which is nearer home, and we shall see how rationalism, common-sense, religious toleration, political equality, had to struggle for ages in order to bestow on the English people at least that type of advanced civilization which that country exhibits to-day.

What a mighty struggle it has been! And how fierce the battle is being fought to this very day! The opposition of long-faced, sour, and morose theological ascetics was always bitter; reactionary periods left their impress; puritanical ascendancy and sectarian fanaticism could not but impede the march of progressive ideas, the establishment of a more enlightened form of government. We are only too prone to forget the immensity of that struggle!

Think of the rigor and rigidity of the times of the Puritans! "The Puritan condemns the stage, the assemblies, the world's pomps and gatherings, the court's gallantry and elegance, the poetical and symbolical festivities of the country, the May-days, the merry feasts, bell-rings, —all the outlets by which sensual or instinctive nature had essayed to relieve itself. He gives them up—abandons recreations and ornaments; crops his hair; wears a simple, sombre-hued coat; speaks through his nose; walks stiffly, with his eyes in the air, absorbed, indifferent to visible things." Here is Taine's pen-picture of the Puritan. The natural man was abolished; conscience became diseased. The parliamentary soldiers came in great number to listen to sermons; spoke of religion, prayed, and sang hymns together, when on duty. In 1844, Parliament forbade the sale of commodities on Sunday; and ordained "that no person shall travel, or carry a burden, or do any worldly labor, upon penalty of ten shillings for the traveller and five shillings for every burden. That no person shall on the Lord's day use, or be present at, any wrestling, shooting, fowling, ringing of bells for pleasure, markets, wakes, church-ales, dancing, games or sports whatsoever, upon penalty of five shillings to every one above fourteen years of age. And if children are found offending in the premises, their parents or guardians to forfeit twelve pence for every offence. If the several fines above mentioned cannot be levied, the offending party shall be set in the stocks for the space of three hours." When the Independents were in power, the severity was still more harsh. Officers of the army condemned blasphemers to have their tongues bored with a red-hot iron! After the Restoration, two thousand ministers opposed to the new Liturgy resigned their curés; many were thrown into prisons, and perished miserably; others starved to death with their families. What a conception of life—the natural expression of the heart's emotions proscribed as impious and profane; reason mistrusted!

"Man, confessedly perverse and condemned, believed himself pent in a prison-house of perdition and vice, into which no effort and no chance could dart a ray of light, except a hand from above should come by free grace to rend the sealed stone of the tomb.

Men lived the life of the condemned amid torments and anguish, oppressed by a gloomy despair, haunted by spectres."

"The typical Puritan," Taine continues, "walked slowly along the streets, his eyes raised toward heaven, with elongated features, yellow and haggard, with cropped hair, clad in brown or black, unadorned, clothed only to cover his nakedness. If a man had round cheeks, he passed for lukewarm. The whole body, the exterior, the very tone of his voice,—all must wear the sign of penitence and divine grace. Man spoke slowly, with a solemn, somewhat nasal tone of voice, as if to destroy the vivacity of conversation and the melody of the natural voice. His speech stuffed with scriptural quotations; his style borrowed from the prophets; his name and the names of his children drawn from the Bible, bore witness that his thoughts were confined to the terrible world of the seers and ministers of divine vengeance. From within the contagion spread onwards. The fears of conscience were converted into laws of the State. Personal asceticism grew into public tyranny." Such is the picture drawn by the great French writer of the times of the Puritans! The only pleasure which these fanatics permitted was the "singing of psalms through the nose, the edification of long sermons, the excitement of acrimonious controversies, the eager and sombre joy of a victory gained over the enemy of mankind, and of the tyranny exercised against the demon's supposed abettors." In Scotland this tyrannical intolerance, this persecuting spirit reached, as is well-known, the utmost limits of ferocity and cruelty, for which see Lecky's *History of Rationalism* in regard to the trials of witches and heretics.

"It seemed as though a black cloud had weighed down the life of man, drowning all light, wiping out all beauty, extinguishing all joy, pierced here and there by the glitter of the sword and by the flickering of torches, beneath which one might perceive the indistinct forms of gloomy despots, of bilious sectarians, of silent victims."

Even in the eighteenth century the most popular divines of Scotland (according to C. L. Lewis in his memoirs) affirmed that Satan "frequently appears clothed in a corporeal substance"; and the Rev. Lyon insisted that "husbands shall not kiss their wives, and no mother shall kiss her child on the Sabbath-day!"

Now, the good people referred to in the beginning of this paper will coolly tell you: "Oh, but all this has nothing to do with our case! You quote from the Middle Ages; you surely know that mankind has made progress since; and that even in England this narrow spirit of persecuting bigotry has disappeared! Hear what Monsieur Taine will tell you!"

"Hear, close by us, is poor Max Müller, who, in order to acclimatize the study of Sanscrit, was compelled to discover in the Vedas the worship of a moral God; that is to say, the religion of Paley and Addison. Some time ago, in London, I read a proclamation of the Queen, forbidding people to play cards even in their own houses, on Sundays. It seems that, if I were robbed, I could not bring my thief to justice without taking a preliminary religious oath; for the judge has been known to send a complainant away who refused to take the oath, deny him justice, and insult him into the bargain! Every year when we read the Queen's speech in your papers, we find there the compulsory mention of Divine Providence, which comes in mechanically like the apostrophe to the immortal gods on the fourth page of a rhetorical declamation; and you remember that once, the pious phrase having been omitted, a second communication was made to Parliament for the express purpose of supplying it!"

The old ecclesiastical edifice totters, the walls and ramparts of superstition crack and open, and the whole structure of theological bigotry will finally tumble down. Conservatives contribute to this inevitable result as well as revolutionists. Narrow-minded orthodoxy gives way to rationalism, and reason will triumph! We have no doubts whatever in regard to the final result; but it cannot be accomplished by folding our hands, by indifference, by adopting the lazy "*laissez faire, laissez aller*" doctrine! Too many of our freethinkers are either too indifferent or too timid. Let Macaulay's noble words cheer and encourage them:—

"The second great eruption is not yet over. The marks of its ravages are still all around us. The ashes are still hot beneath our feet. In some directions, the deluge of fire still continues to spread. Yet experience surely entitles us to believe that this explosion, like that which preceded it (the Reformation), will fertilize the soil which it has devastated. Already, in those parts which have suffered most severely, rich cultivation and secure dwellings have begun to appear amidst the waste. The more we read of the history of past ages, the more we observe the signs of our own times, the more do we feel our hearts filled and swelled up by a good hope for the future destinies of the human race."

Action, organized, concerted action, firm determination, a heroic devotion to the sacred cause of human progress, of liberty, of light, of true civilization, this is what the times demand of us! Nothing is more harmful, more dangerous, than this state of lethargy into which so many so-called freethinkers and liberals are sinking! "Freethinkers" they may be, but free-actors, free-speakers, never! See of what sacrifices, of what zeal and energy the Orthodox sectarian is capable! Observe how these people who are trying to re-inaugurate the times of the Puritans, the dark gloom of the Middle Ages, in this country,—see how devoted they are to their cause! They contribute money, they circulate petitions, they publish newspapers, they preach sermons, they distribute tracts, they hold meetings and conventions, they persist; they never become lukewarm, timid, and in-

different! Shall we liberals be compelled to admit the fact that we lack conviction, enthusiasm, heroism—in our cause? Shall we, who ought to know the terrible consequences of the proposed union of Church and State,—shall we, who daily observe the mischievous conflict already begun and soon to break out into a most tremendous religious war, unless prevented by such wise measures as advocated by the National Liberal League,—shall we remain passive, neutral, and not make a manly effort to save this country while we can? Friends, it is better to be moving on than to be standing still! Let us do our duty, and future generations will thank us!

MR. UNDERWOOD ON THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

On Sunday evening, Mr. B. F. Underwood, of Boston, delivered a lecture on the purposes of the National Liberal League. Mr. Underwood referred to the grand work last year of reviewing the achievements of this nation. Thousands come here to view the proofs of our expansion and growth. Commencing with thirteen colonies of comparatively small extent, we have increased until our country now reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Then we had three million people. Now we have forty million. We have a varied climate, and, on the whole, a country not surpassed by any on the globe. We have made greater improvements than any other nation in the agricultural and mechanical world. We have also done something in science and art, and in education and the common school system. We have passed every nation on the earth. We have, too, the first and most liberal government ever known, in modern or ancient times. We look back upon the ancient Republics of Greece and Rome, and wonder that they came so near the idea of what a government should be; yet those Republics were so full of turmoil and confusion. We are only one hundred years old, and it is too soon for us to boast of our success, especially as we have already passed through a terrible civil war. But, on the whole, we have cause for congratulation that for one hundred years we have sustained a government based upon the sovereignty of the people.

Many also boast that we have absolute religious liberty and complete separation of Church and State. And yet we have not these things. When we had four million slaves in our country, we used to boast of our freedom and hall our flag as the starry emblem of the free. There was a band whom we called fanatics, who contended that we were not free. There are also to-day men who claim that there is no complete separation of Church and State. The history of the world proves that there has been most liberty where there has been the widest separation of Church and State; and of the desirableness of this separation there is no need of saying much.

He referred to the cruel persecutions of Rome against the Christians, and then, under Constantine and Theodosius and others, of the cruel persecutions which were commenced against the Pagans; and he gave a vivid description of those scenes.

Then came a terrible age of darkness, when not a ray of learning was allowed to shine upon the paths of men,—when the learning of the past ages was laid away in the monasteries.

Then he looked into modern times. Examine the condition of France during the union of Church and State, and we shall find a most melancholy state of affairs. During the reign of Louis XV. a man who earned \$16 gave \$15 to the Church. Licentiousness was rampant, and it was about time the revolution came. The rogues of the Church and rogues of the State had combined to rob the people. So in England the people have been robbed of their rights by this union. No reform ever originated in the Church, but always among dissenters and heretics. The people of Ireland were robbed of their rights, and an unjust tax was levied upon them, because it was argued that, if they were not compelled to pay to help support the Established Church, they would become too strong for the government. He recited the melancholy conditions of Mexico and Spain; also, in proof of the fact, that the union of Church and State had always hampered the cause of reform. What we want to do in this country is to avoid such a union, so that no religion shall be supported by the government.

There is one class of religious people who are so wedded to their peculiar belief, that in a trial of strength between their belief and justice, they would rather see their belief triumph and justice be vanquished. These people, however, would be insulted if you told them that they were not in favor of religious liberty. They look at their faith and dogmas as first, and all other questions of secondary interest. There are some people who are wedded to the religion of the past, but who are not led by conscientious principles. They are used to it, and think it a kind of sacrilege to tear it up by the roots.

Then there is that class of politicians known as demagogues, who go with the tide, who oppose the right when it is unpopular, and advocate the wrong when it is popular. So when a wrong is inaugurated they are ready to put themselves at the head of it and push it forward, if it is popular. These men manage to get themselves into high places; and this is the principal reason that there is so much fraud in governmental places.

Then how important it is that we should ever oppose anything looking towards a union of Church and State. These men who push themselves upon the people are ready to trample the liberty of the people under their feet, in order to accomplish their ends.

There is a class of people who are ready and willing to put our government under the yoke of religious tyranny,—ready to make us Presbyterians in-

stead of freemen. There are others who, in their impotence, endeavor to drive men into orthodoxy. To the man bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be bold, they say they will ostracise him if he does not change his doctrines. Had they the power, they would suppress all religious freedom.

But is our country free from religious despotism? Our fathers attempted to make it entirely free. But, notwithstanding this, there has been a tacit acknowledgment of the union of Church and State. The President and Governor made an acknowledgment of this union when they issued their Thanksgiving proclamation. Jefferson refused to issue such a proclamation, saying that he considered it wrong for the Chief Executive to interfere with the religious beliefs of the people; and for this he has been roundly abused and stigmatized. The different States acknowledge the Christian religion in their constitutions and in any other way. Think of these executives making a tacit acknowledgment of the religion, just to please a majority of the people! The people, however, say, "O, that's nothing; he only names the day that we may all meet at one time to give thanks." It only shows how the people are wedded to the old institutions of religion in the past. So our congressional halls are turned into prayer-meetings, and the chaplain is expected to pray for all sorts of things. The speaker didn't object to people praying when they wanted to; but he objected to the taxation of freethinkers for chaplains to make these prayers, for the principle of the thing. Then if a man is honest enough to acknowledge himself a freethinker, he is excluded from the witness-stand; while he who is dishonest enough to disguise his real belief, is allowed to testify. What right have they in court to ask a man what his religious views are? It is an insult. Although it is claimed that there is no union of Church and State, yet here is a direct acknowledgment of such a union existing.

He objected to endowing colleges for the education of Christian ministers, taxing freethinkers for that purpose. He didn't deny the right of any man to become a minister if he chose to; although it might be said that was about the worst use a man could put himself to. That was a mere matter of opinion. But the Christian people in their union of Church and State are getting into trouble. The Catholics are already demanding a division of the school fund; and they are right. They don't believe King James' version of the Bible, and are misused when their children are forced to hear it read in school. Suppose the infidels had a majority; would there be any justice in forcing the children to listen to *Palme's Age of Reason*? The school-books, too, are filled with religious readings. We only ask that these things be taken from the public schools. There is the Sunday-school and home influence, where you may instruct your children without infringing on the rights of anybody.

He drew a picture of the magnificent cathedrals and churches, and their exemption from taxation; while the men who are so poor as only to own the hovel they live in, are compelled to pay on that hovel a tax to support the magnificent churches. If they have a right to do this, they have a right to go further, and bind me hand and foot on the subject of religion. Churches are supported in this way just because the Christian has the majority. The speaker didn't see how an honest Christian could look a freethinker in the face after making him pay taxes for this purpose. He might as well compel the freethinkers to pay money to support the minister. Suppose that the freethinkers had the power and compelled the Christians to help support the temples of the freethinkers; wouldn't they rebel against the injustice?

He then referred to the Sunday laws. He favored a day of rest and recreation; and people had a right also to meet in churches and sing psalms and hear prayers; and he would oppose anybody that interfered with them. So, on the other hand, if others resolved to play billiards, or catch trout, or listen to music, etc., the Church has no right to interfere with them. Neither party has any right to disturb the comfort or enjoyment of others.

He referred to the existence of the National Reform party, organized to perpetuate the above wrongs, putting God in the Constitution, and other evangelical movements of this kind.

He took up the Catholic question. In 1789, they had one sixty-fifth of the people of this country, and they had been increasing until they now had one-sixth; and Father Hecker says in 1900 they will have a majority. Suppose in 1850, Catholic influences prevail and permeate every department of State; if the Protestants should object, the Catholic could reply: "You commenced it. You forced your Bible into our schools, and imposed your dogmas upon us, and we'll continue it." And they would go on and make this country as Spain and Italy are, under the control of Catholicism; and then farewell to liberty. The way to avoid this, is to liberalize the government, and let all men think and act as they please on the question of religion.

He answered the statement, so often made, that there could be no morality without it is conjoined to religion.

The first Liberal League was organized five years ago by Mr. Abbot and other co-workers, for the purposes foreshadowed. It is now proposed that Leagues be established all over the United States, to labor for the objects before named. Not to build up any sect, nor tear down any Church, nor to take away the rights of any Christian, but to make the government free to all, so that the infidel and the spiritualist can worship as they please, and that they shall not be taxed for the support of those things which they do not approve of in conscience. We have a right not only to ask all liberals to help us, but also to ask all Christians who love truth and justice and fairness to help us. So when the time

of election comes, we have a right to ask if men are in favor of separating Church and State; of taking the Bible from the school; the chaplain from governmental places; and opposed to taxation.

He referred to the answers of Hayes and Tilden on these questions, which were equivocal. But honest old Peter Cooper answered frankly that he was in favor of a complete separation of the Church and State, and therefore was deserving of honor, no matter what may be said of his rag-baby theory.

The speaker asked the support of all men and women in the land, on the ground of justice, and hoped the Liberal League in Lincoln would endeavor to stir up a sentiment here in favor of this question, and be represented.—*Lincoln (Nebraska) State Journal*.

"LESSING, THE EMANCIPATOR."

Cast in the same heroic and gladiatorial mould, there are two men whose names always stir the soul of Germany as with the blast of a trumpet,—Luther and Lessing. Theirs was the mighty role of national emancipators. Dowered alike with enormous vitality of intellect and passion, they literally galvanized the dead corpse of their respective epochs and started it to its feet in the resurrection of a new life. First and foremost, there manifests itself in them the kindred unconquerable resolve that they will breathe the fresh, oxygenated air of heaven into their own capacious lungs, and not the mere library dust, damp, and mildew of tradition. Next, that, divinely intoxicated with this, a burning benevolence and mighty wrath urge them to wrench away at the gratings and batter at the walls of the prison-cells in which their fellow-creatures dwindle and pine on dead, foul air and a diet of spiritual bran and water. Luther's fight was for the range and freedom of the individual conscience and its justification in its own God-inspired faith and joyful communion with the grand life of the Bible. Lessing, born two centuries later, and with the outfit of a far more comprehensive education and range of human interests, found his foe ready at hand in a different shape. Dreary pedantry, soulless literalism, servile imitation, and provincial vulgarity had sunk the genius of the nation to the lowest ebb. In the view of the leaders in religion, philosophy, and literature, Jesus had appeared in the world to lay down the foundations of narrow Lutheran dogmatism, Homer had sung his songs, and Sophocles created his tragedies to found a vocation for dry pedants and empty word-mongers. There was no soul response to anything profound, beautiful, tragic, or mirth-inspiring in thought, art, or piety. "Luther! Great misunderstood man! thou hast freed us from the yoke of tradition; who will deliver us from the more intolerable yoke of the letter?" was the cry of Lessing.

"Life! Life more abundantly!" Here lay the insatiable yearning of this great man's mind. Like some stout athlete stretching his enormous muscles to fill himself full with the sense of the electric batteries of power with which they are charged, so we ever behold him seeking after a rejoicing consciousness of a trip-hammer force in the domain of the intellect, of a loyalty in the breast to truth, that contemptuously spurns every worldly bribe, and of a free, spontaneous revel in the beauty and sublimity of the works of the master-minds of the world that means the communion of like with like. "This is what all things exist for," was his thought. "Not through the possession, but through the investigation of truth does man develop those energies in which alone consists his ever-growing perfection. Possession makes the mind stagnant, indolent, proud. If God held inclosed in His right hand all truth, and in His left simply the ever-moving impulse toward truth, although with the condition that I should eternally err, and said to me, 'Choose!' I should humbly bow before his left hand, and say, 'Father, give! Pure truth is for Thee alone!'"

Revolted at the mental and spiritual stagnation all around him, Lessing stripped himself for the career of an agitator in the realms of literature, art, philosophy, and religion. The weapons of his warfare were solid learning, masterly common-sense, blazing, blasting wit, and an almost unerring perception of truth, beauty, and right. Behind and underlying all this was the old Berserker wrath and revel in annihilating combat. As Heine said, he delighted in breaking a skull or a numskull and then lifting it up to show the world how hollow it was. In Lessing, the age beheld the advent of a new type of character upon the scene,—the Critic. Not that there were not critics before his day, but he gave to the name and function a new signification, at once awful and glorious. In his hand criticism meant an Ithuriel's spear, at whose touch every deceiving rebel angel was compelled perforce to shrink into a squatting toad. Loud was the outcry and furious the rage as he dashed the pitiful idols of the day to pieces; but in his own mind there was no hesitation as to the imperative right and duty of this annihilating warfare against men and opinions that were corrupting the taste and spirit of the nation. "The gain stretches through all ages, the loss limits itself to the moment; the gain is to the advantage of all good men who love enlightenment and conviction; the loss affects only a few who do not deserve to be considered either because of their understanding or because of their morals." Therefore, he let loose, without questioning, the thunder, lightning, hail, and storm-blast of his elemental powers of logic, wit, and denunciation. "O, ye fools!" he cried, "who would gladly banish the hurricane from Nature, because here it buries one ship in the sands and there dashes another against a rocky coast. O, ye hypocrites! for we know you. It is not about these unfortunate ships you care, otherwise you would have insured them; your thoughts are confined to your

own little gardens, your own little conveniences and pleasures. The wicked hurricane! Here it has unroofed a summer-house of yours, there rudely shaken loaded trees, there upset your precious orangery in seven earthen pots. What do you care how much good the hurricane otherwise effects in Nature?"

It is a subject for real congratulation that a Boston publisher has put the admirably-executed life of Lessing, by James Sime, before the public. The list of names of the really great thinkers in the world's history, whose works are fitted at once to delight and instruct the averagely-equipped reader, may be counted on the fingers. Too often the style of men of profound intellect is dry, technical, and repulsive. But Lessing appeals to pit, boxes, and gallery at once, and that, too, while maintaining a grand manner all the while. He never wrote a dull or obscure sentence. His words, like Luther's, were half-battles. His appeal was to clear-headed, right-hearted men. Like Socrates, he delighted in burying cloudy philosophers and arrogant sophists under an avalanche of solid, every-day rocks and gravel and pine stumps. The deeper his thought, the clearer, homelier, wittier his expression. With perfect truth did he say, half-apologetically, of his style, "It often plays the more wantonly, the more earnestly I have sought to become master of the theme by cold reflection." No wonder his work told so on the mental life of his nation. After so stimulating an experience of the brace and exhilaration of fresh air, biting wit, masterly statement, and converse with fundamental principles, men could not and would not go back to the old dust, confusion, and stupidity. Head and heart alike cried out for something charged with life. The way was thrown open and the audience prepared for the Goethes, Schillers, and Kants who succeeded. Therefore, welcome to Lessing, in this fitting shape, before American readers. His presence and spirit are needed here. There is meat and drink in him for every American youth who aspires to do something to purify the literary, political, religious atmosphere of the land. The great emancipator needs to incarnate himself afresh in the personalities of all who would be liberators of the people from the bigotries, vulgarities, sophistries, and servile imitations that take all spice, originality, and solid principle out of society. For, though, in a certain sense, only a pioneer to break the path for greater creative geniuses than himself in the realms of poetry and philosophy, Lessing has yet never had to step down from the lofty pedestal on which he stands. He remains one of the monumental men whom no tolerably-educated man or woman can afford to be ignorant of. "To advance!" said a great German of to-day; "it means to go back to Lessing."—*Sunday Herald*.

Poetry.

UNKIND WORDS.

If I had known in the morning
How wearily all the day
The words unkind
Would trouble your mind
That I said when you went away,
I had been more careful, darling,
Nor given you needless pain;
But we vex our own
With look and tone,
We might never take back again.

For though in the quiet evening
You give me a kiss of peace,
Yet it well might be
That never for me
The pain of the heart should cease!
How many go forth in the morning
Who never come home at night!
And hearts have been broken
For harsh words spoken,
That sorrow can no'er set right.

We have careful thought for the stranger,
And smiles for the sometime guest;
But oft for our own
The bitter tone,
Though we love our own the best.
Ah, lips with the curve impatient!
Ah, brow with the shade of scorn!
'Twere a cruel fate
Were the night too late
To undo the work of morn.

—*Australian Star*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 3.

Dr. James Hogeboom, \$3.20; Thos. L. Nelson, \$3.20; E. G. Curtis, 50 cents; S. C. Gale, \$3.25; Mahlon Kirk, \$9.54; E. G. Davis, \$1.50; D. Ferguson, \$3.20; C. A. Greenleaf, \$10; Rev. A. M. Knapp, \$3.75; Dr. N. T. Clevenger, \$3; Henry Schoepky, 85 cents; H. W. Wilde, 20 cents; Eben Turk, \$3.20; O. H. Dana, \$1.60; Elizur Wright, \$4.20; Rev. C. G. Ames, \$3.20; W. F. Freeman, \$3.20; F. J. Humphrey, \$5; George Kempton, \$1.60; W. C. Flak, \$3.20; L. Luke, \$3.20; Maynard A. Cheney, \$3.20; Subscription News Co., \$2.90; C. R. Woodward, \$4; Geo. W. McKenzie, \$3; M. J. Hawksworth, \$1.25; A. G. Fisher, \$3.71; Joseph McKachnie, \$3.20; Wm. H. Morris, 94 cents; C. M. Lungren, \$3.20; Mrs. K. Harrington, \$3.20; L. T. Ives, \$3.20; Joseph Warbase, \$3.20; N. Littlefield, \$3.20.

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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

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

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

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER,
Secretary F.R.A.

SUPPOSE THAT an innocent man, on being arrested and ironed, should look complacently on his handcuffs, and remark to the policeman with a fraternal nod: "Oh, I don't in the least object to wearing them. They don't weigh a pound. If they weighed a ton, I should be deprived of my liberty. I make no protest against trifles like these!" What would be the estimate put on the intelligence or spirit of such a man as that? Exactly the same estimate which should be put on the intelligence and spirit of liberals who see nothing to object to in the non-taxation of churches, Bible-reading in public schools, and the other fetters which the Church puts on the State.

THE AGITATION of the State Secularization question by the Milwaukee Liberal League, followed by the action of the Common Council in passing the Shaughnessy resolutions (see THE INDEX of February 7), has culminated thus far in the introduction into the Wisconsin State Legislature of the following bill:—

Section 1. The public reading of the Bible, the public offering of prayers, the public reading of religious or sectarian works, the public singing of psalms or hymns, and the public performance of any religious or sectarian service or ceremony, is hereby prohibited in all universities, normal and other schools belonging to or supported by the State of Wisconsin; and any teacher or officer or other person who shall engage in any such forbidden employment shall be punished by a fine of \$50.

Section 2. No teacher, pupil, or other attendant at any of the State institutions mentioned in this act, shall be required or compelled as part of the course of instruction, or otherwise, to engage in the reading of the Bible or other religious or sectarian work. Any teacher or officer of such institution, who shall so require or compel, shall be punished by a fine of \$75.

Section 3. This act shall take effect and be in full force from and after its passage and publication.

"RUN BY CAPITAL."

It is impossible not to receive such kindly expostulations as these with the utmost respect, and with cordial reciprocation of the fraternal sympathy of the writer, who lives in Minnesota: "I wish I had more means to serve your efforts, for I am one of your warmest sympathizers. There is only one thing that I cannot agree with you on now—the silver question. It hurts me to see you say anything on that point, for I know you are honest and speak from honest motives; but I hear from all sides that Mr. Abbot is also allowing himself to be run by capital. I am so much devoted to you, having followed you from the first issue of THE INDEX, that I can't help taking any derogatory remarks about you as a personal matter. There is no question but that the dishonesty on the silver question was in the act of demonetizing, and not in remonetizing it; and I do hope that Mr. Abbot will not be found on the wrong side of this question, which has become the all-absorbing one of the day. Too long has all the legislation of the government been in the interest of capital, and consequently a fraud on the people. I know the atmosphere of Boston is a bad place for any views different from those you have given; but the pure and free air of the country and contact with its occupants would, I am sure, remove all magnetic influence in favor of demonetization. Now, as THE INDEX has become the spokesman of the great reform movement of the age, no espouser of the same cause can fail to be very jealous of the position it takes on all questions; and I feel a heart-pang whenever it speaks a backward word. Hence I hope you will excuse my frankness, and perhaps the emptiness of my remarks."

We assure this most charitable critic that his strictures are received in the same kindly spirit in which they are made. He, at least, will believe that we tell no lies when we say that our views, whether correct or incorrect, are the product of our own thinking on the facts as we understand them, and that (it is difficult to say it without laughing!) we positively are not "run by capital"! That people may differ honestly on this silver question is simply a fact of personal observation; we will not retort on the gentlemen who think we are "run by capital" by insinuating that they are "run by silver-speculators." It is our honest belief, however, that the poor and the laboring classes of the people will suffer the most from the mischievous effects of forcing a depreciated silver dollar into circulation. This item from the Boston Advertiser of February 5 will show what we mean: "It is said that a large manufacturing company of this city paid all the hands in its factory upon Saturday in trade silver dollars. The dollars were purchased by the company for ninety-five cents each; and, as the amount of the pay-roll is about \$1500, \$75 was made by the operation."

Moreover, it is pitiable to see good and upright persons beguiled by sophistry into the notion that the world's faith in the honesty of the United States can be shaken with impunity to ourselves. That is what is meant by impairing the public credit; and that is what must follow the restoration of the old silver dollar as an unlimited legal tender.

These are our own opinions; we borrow them from nobody; they may not be worth much; but they are ours. It is quite a blunder to suspect the secret manipulations of "capital" as their real origin; but if any one takes comfort in such a supposition, it would be cruel to deprive him of it.

Putting the editor out of the case, however, we wish that THE INDEX itself were indeed "run by capital"! We could make it a powerful engine for good if it were. But capital does not harness itself to such a cause as ours. We wonder that anybody should be so stupid as not to know that!

Later.—The silver bill has become a law. No matter how many honest people may imagine it honest, our unalterable conviction is that this measure is partial repudiation of the nation's plighted faith. President Hayes' manly and disregarded veto expresses the grounds of this conviction far better and more succinctly than we could express them, and we cannot do better than to append it here:—

To the House of Representatives:—

After a very careful consideration of the House bill 1098, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar, and to restore its legal-tender character," I feel compelled to return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objection to its passage. Holding the opinion, which I expressed in my annual message, "that neither the interests of the government, nor of the people of the United States, would be promoted by disparaging silver as one of the two precious metals which furnish the coinage of the world, and that legislation,

which looks to maintaining the volume of intrinsic money to as full a measure of both metals as their relative commercial values will permit, would be neither unjust nor inexpedient," it has been my earnest desire to concur with Congress in the adoption of such measures to increase the silver coinage of the country as would not impair the obligation of contracts, either public or private, nor injuriously affect the public credit. It is only upon the conviction that this bill does not meet these essential requirements that I feel it my duty to withhold from it my approval. My present official duty as to this bill permits only an attention to the specific objections to its passage, which seem to me so important as to justify me in asking from the wisdom and duty of Congress that further consideration of the bill, for which the Constitution has in such cases provided. The bill provides for the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of 412½ grains each, of standard silver, to be a legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contracts. It is well-known that the market value of that number of grains of standard silver during the past year, has been from ninety to ninety-two cents, as compared with the standard gold dollar. Thus, the silver dollar authorized by this bill is worth from eight to ten per cent. less than it purports to be worth, and is made a legal tender for debts contracted when the law did not recognize such coins as lawful money. The right to pay duties in silver, or in certificates of silver deposits, will, when they are issued in a sufficient amount to circulate, put an end to the receipt of revenues in gold, and thus compel the payment of silver for both the principal and interest of the public debt; \$1,143,493,400 of the bonded debt, now outstanding, was issued prior to February, 1873, when the silver dollar was unknown in circulation in this country, and as only a convenient form of silver bullion for exportation; \$583,440,350 of the funded debt has been issued since February, 1873, when gold alone was the coin for which the bonds were sold, and gold alone was the coin in which both parties to the contract understood that the bonds could be paid. These bonds entered into the markets of the world. They were paid for in gold, when silver had greatly depreciated, and when no one would have bought them if it had been understood that they would be paid in silver. The sum of \$225,000,000 of these bonds has been sold during my administration for gold coin; and the United States received the benefit of these sales by a reduction of the rate of interest to four per cent. During the progress of these sales, a doubt was suggested as to the coin in which the payment of these bonds would be made. The public announcement was thereupon authorized that it "was not to be anticipated that any further legislation of Congress, or any action of any department of the government, would sanction or tolerate the redemption of the principal of these bonds, or the payments of the interest thereon, in coin of less value than the coin authorized by law at the time of the issue of the bonds, being the coin exacted by the government in exchange for the same." In view of these facts, it will be justly regarded as a grave breach of the public faith to undertake to pay these bonds, principal and interest, in silver coin worth in the market less than the coin received for them. It is said that the silver dollar, made a legal tender by this bill, will, under its operation, be equivalent in value to the gold dollar. Many supporters of the bill believe this would not justify an attempt to pay debts, either public or private, in coin of an inferior value to the money of the world. The capital defect of the bill is, that it contains no provision protecting from its operation preëxisting debts, in case the coinage which it creates shall continue to be of less value than that which was the sole legal tender when they were contracted. If it is now proposed for the purpose of taking advantage of the depreciation of silver in the payment of debts in coin, and make legal tender a silver dollar of less commercial value than any dollar, whether of gold or of paper, which is now the lawful money in this country, such a measure, it will hardly be questioned, will, in the judgment of mankind, be an act of bad faith. As to all debts heretofore contracted, the silver dollar should be made a legal tender only at its market value. The standard of value should not be changed without the consent of both parties to the contract. National promises should be kept with unflinching fidelity. There is no power to compel a nation to pay its just debts. Its credit depends on its honor. The nation owes what it has led, or allowed, its creditors to expect. I cannot approve a bill, which, in my judgment, authorizes the violation of sacred obligations. The obligation of the public faith transcends all questions of profit or public advantage. Its unquestionable maintenance is the dictate, as well of the highest expediency as of the most necessary duty, and should ever be carefully guarded by the Executive, by Congress, and by the people. It is my firm conviction that, if the country is to be benefited by a silver coinage, it can be done only by the issue of silver dollars of full value, which will defraud no man. A currency worth less than it purports to be worth will, in the end, defraud not only the creditors, but all who are engaged in legitimate business, and none more surely than those who are dependent on their daily labor for their daily bread.

R. B. HAYES.
EXECUTIVE MANSION, Feb. 28, 1878.

A JUST CHRISTIAN.

It is with peculiar gratification that we notice all indications of sympathy with the Liberal League on the part of Christians. The movement is a positive one, on behalf of justice, freedom, and equal rights; and it welcomes all, regardless of their private views, who are practically in favor of these prin-

ciples. It is true that, individually, we believe Christianity to be incompatible with either justice, freedom, or equal rights in religion; and this belief has made us openly anti-Christian. But if the Christian Church itself, as represented by the majority of its own adherents, should ever freely carry out the principles of the Liberal League, and relinquish the political superiority which it now claims over unbelievers in its creed, we should find our anti-Christianity irresistibly disarmed, confounded, and turned into genuine respect; and we should be heartily glad of this, for we take no pleasure in opposition for its own sake. In very truth, the churches could in no possible way do so much to retain the public moral influence that is slipping away from them, as they would by showing themselves morally magnanimous enough to do right without compulsion,—to relinquish their wrongful privileges voluntarily, and not to wait till these are (as they will be) wrested from their usurping hands.

We cannot but think, therefore, that such articles as the subjoined, written by a "Christian Layman" and copied from the Milwaukee *Sentinel* of January 23, should do more to preserve the moral influence of Christianity than all the arguments or exhortations of all the ministers in the land. The Liberal League declares itself to be neither Christian nor "infidel," theistic nor atheistic; it is strictly a citizen-party, for the vindication of now disregarded equal rights; and yet so thoroughly persuaded are the churches of their own divine right to govern that he who proposes to recognize the equal citizen-rights of Christians and "infidels" is straightway set down as an atheist! To all who hold this absurd notion we commend the article just referred to, as follows:—

The Aims of the Liberal League.

It is truly amazing to contemplate the ignorance manifested by Rev. J. B. Stewart in his remarks upon the question of the Bible in public schools, and his comments upon the objects and purposes which is the aim of the Liberal League to accomplish, touching the relation of religion and the State. His mind seems to be possessed of the delusion (which in primitive times would have been called a devil) that the patrons of the Liberal League are bent on crushing out religion and establishing the reign of atheism in the land. I would say for the information of the reverend gentleman (and being a member of the League I know whereof I speak), that his hasty inference is unfounded in fact; and, further, that for a gentleman of his standing and position in the community to make such reckless and ill-advised assertions concerning the aims of the Liberal League is to say the least unpardonable. The fact that many of the most intelligent and devout Christians of the land are in entire sympathy with the objects of the League, and are lending it their active services, should be sufficient to disabuse the mind of Mr. Stewart of such a foolish delusion. The Liberal League aims at the entire separation of Church and State, not only in theory but in fact. It aims to realize for the Church the truth embodied in the saying of Jesus, "My kingdom is not of this world," and would therefore relegate the teaching of religion and the Bible to the Church and the home, to the end that the religious rights of all may secure equal favor and protection from the State. If Mr. Stewart will read the work of Samuel T. Spear, D.D. (a gentleman of his own sect), on the relations of religion and the State, he will probably be convinced of his foolish and superficial charge of atheism against the Liberal League.

A CHRISTIAN LAYMAN.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COMMUNISM.

Since self-satisfied socialists need to be treated with the utmost tenderness, lest in bearing unwilling witness to their own stultification they part with the least slender modicum of conventional courtesy, we will confine ourselves throughout the present article to the collation of testimony from an authority selected by one of their own number; and, since the honored name of Herbert Spencer has been introduced into this discussion by one of the more ardent admirers of communism, as an author whose prolonged researches amid the widely-diffused phenomena serving to make up the data for the scientific study of Sociology have caused him to be generally recognized as standing first among living authorities upon this and kindred subjects, we will proceed to a series of random quotations from his writings.

It has become essential, however, to restate and define the real question at issue, since a disposition to evade the points originally proposed is already to be observed. The rival systems whose respective merits are being compared are "Individualism" and "Communism." As defined by the writer, individualism is here to be understood as the right of individuals "to the exclusive possession of more than the air they breathe, the food they eat, the clothes they wear, and the ground they stand upon." *Per contra*, communism is the denial of that right; and any combination of persons, whether as railway rioters in

St. Louis, or as "Communards" in Paris, having for its general object the division of the property of the wealthier classes among the proletarians—whether by actual brutal spoliation, or by the more insidious and not less dangerous application of socialistic principles to the distribution of the results of labor—is to be understood as one of the myriad forms of modern communism, however unwilling certain partial theorists may be to admit the fact.

The present controversy may be said to have grown out of an editorial contributed to THE INDEX of August 9, 1877, by the Hon. Elizer Wright, entitled "Individualism vs. Communism," in which the dispassionate author, writing with reference to the then recent and entirely unwise and inexcusable "strike," used the following language:—

"Communism, as illustrated in the recent destructive strikes, is simply despotism multiplied, because it does not respect the right of the individual laborer to decide for himself the question for what wages he will work. It started with an organization like a church, in which the individual was made to surrender his rights of conscience and intellect to the mass; and this has resulted, as it always must, in allowing the mass to be controlled by individuals with the least conscience, if not the dullest intellects," etc., etc.

Now let us see what Herbert Spencer has to say upon this point. The writer quotes from *The Study of Sociology* [International Scientific Series, Appleton & Co., New York, 1874], page 252:—

"When, among skilled laborers, we find a certain rate per hour demanded, because less 'did not suffice for their natural wants,' though the unskilled laborers working under them were receiving little more than half the rate per hour, and were kept out of the skilled class by stringent rules, we do not discover a moral sense so much above that shown by employers as to promise success for industrial combinations superior to our present ones. While workmen think themselves justified in combining to sell their labor only on certain terms, but think masters not justified in combining to buy it only on certain terms, they show a conception of equity not high enough to make practicable a form of coöperation requiring that each shall recognize the claims of others as fully as his own.

"One pervading misconception of justice betrayed by them would alone suffice to cause failure—the misconception; namely, that justice requires an equal sharing of benefits among producers, instead of requiring, as it does, equal freedom to make the best of their faculties. The general policy of trades-unionism, tending everywhere to restrain the superior from profiting by his superiority lest the inferior should be disadvantaged, is a policy which, acted out in any industrial combinations, must make them incapable of competing with combinations based on the principle that benefit gained shall be proportioned to faculty put forth. Thus, as acting on the employed in general, the class-bias obscures the truth, otherwise not easy to see, that the existing type of industrial organization, like the existing type of political organization, is about as good as existing human nature allows. The evils there are in it are nothing but the evils brought round on men by their own imperfections. The relation of master and workman has to be tolerated; because, for the time being, no other will answer as well."

"The processes of production, distribution, and exchange, as they now go on, are processes determined by certain fundamental traits in human nature; and political economy is nothing more than a statement of the laws of these processes as inevitably resulting from such traits. These generalizations which they think of as cold and hard and acceptable only by the unsympathetic, are nothing but statements of certain modes of action arising out of human nature, which are no less beneficent than necessary." (Page 151.)

"The evolution of a governmental structure having some strength and permanence is the condition under which alone any considerable growth of a society can take place. A differentiation of the originally homogeneous mass of units into a coördinating part and a coördinated part, is the indispensable initial step." (Page 60.)

"Out of the original coördinating agent having undivided functions, there eventually develop several coördinating agencies which divide these functions among them. Each of these agencies, too, follows the same law. Originally simple, it step by step subdivides into many parts, and becomes an organization, administrative, judicial, ecclesiastical, or military, having graduated classes within itself, and a more or less distinct form of government within itself." (Page 62.)

"It is manifest that even in a civilized society, if the sentiment of subordination becomes enfeebled, without self-control gaining in strength proportionately, there arises a danger of social dissolution,—a truth of which France supplies an illustration. And it will be long before social discipline has so far modified human character, that reverence for law, as rooted in the moral order of things, will serve in place of reverence for the power which enforces law." (Page 174.)

"And so it may be held that at the present time, though the form of industrial government entails serious evils, those evils, much less than the evils of past times, are as small as the average human nature allows; are not due to any special injustice of the employing class, and can be remedied only as fast as men in general advance. Our existing industrial system is a product of existing human nature, and

can be improved only as fast as human nature improves." (Pages 253-254.)

"Analyze the programme of the communalists, observe what is hoped for by the adherents of the social and democratic republic, or study the ideas of legislative action which our own trades-unionists entertain, and you find the implied belief to be, that a government, organized after an approved pattern, will be able to remedy all the evils complained of, and to secure each proposed benefit. The notion of the divine right of a person has given place to the notion of the divine right of a representative assembly. While it is held to be a self-evident falsity that the single will of a despot can justly override the wills of a people, it is held to be a self-evident truth that the wills of one-half of a people plus some small fraction may with perfect justice override the wills of the other half, minus this small fraction,—may override them in respect of any matter whatever. Unlimited authority of a majority has been substituted for unlimited authority of an individual. So unquestioning is the belief in this unlimited authority of a majority that even the tacit suggestion of a doubt produces astonishment." (Pages 172, 173.)

"If there is no natural causation throughout the actions of incorporated humanity, government and legislation are absurd. If there is natural causation, then the combination of forces by which every combination of effects is produced produces that combination of effects in conformity with the laws of the forces." (Pages 46, 47.)

"That men rise into the state of social aggregation only on condition that they lapse into relations of inequality in respect of power, and are made to cooperate as a whole only by the agency of a structure securing obedience, is none the less a fact in science because it is a trite fact." (Page 60.)

"Were not their judgments warped by the class-bias, working-men might be more pious to the truth that better forms of industrial organization would grow up and extinguish the forms which they regard as oppressive, were such better forms practicable. And they might see that the impracticability of better forms results from the imperfections of existing human nature, moral and intellectual. That such better industrial organizations do not replace them implies that the natures of working-men themselves are not good enough; or, at least, that there are not many of them good enough. Happily, to some extent, organizations of a superior type are becoming possible; here and there they have achieved encouraging successes. But, speaking generally, the masses are neither sufficiently provident, nor sufficiently conscientious, nor sufficiently intelligent." (Page 250.)

Here endeth the first lesson! A. W. K.

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

MR. EDITOR:—

I thought I was pretty well informed in regard to the purposes and principles of the Liberal League. I must now confess that its scope, according to the "articles" quoted from the "Form of Constitution for Local Auxillary Leagues," in your issue of Feb. 7, is more comprehensive than I had hitherto supposed. I therefore stand corrected. Nevertheless I think I but represented the popular impression, even among those in sympathy and coöperation with the Liberal League movement, in regarding its objects mainly political; and hence, that those objects specified in the "Form" referred to, appended to my last communication upon this subject,—objects upon which comparatively little emphasis has been laid, to say the least,—were not included in its original intention. But, be this as it may, if the Liberal League is sufficiently broad to embrace, in addition to its efforts for the secularization of the State, a Church of Rationalism (I use this latter expression not in any arbitrary way, as a name necessarily to be adopted, but as most fully suggestive of my conception of the pressing need of the hour with reference to organization among radicals), then it will do much to give to it a solid, abiding, and influential character, and a practical bearing upon the ordinary circumstances and duties of life.

Let the Liberal League, then, wherever it is formed, in addition to the objects for which it is regarded to more distinctively stand, assume also the functions and nature of a Church of Rationalism. Although representing somewhat different spheres, they can harmoniously coöperate, and be a mutual help and support to each other.

D. H. C.

[The Liberal League movement, in its national objects, is mainly political; but, in its local objects, it is both political, social, and moral. We do not like the word "church" at all, as descriptive of it in either aspect; but that is merely a matter of taste. The Constitution of the National Liberal League, no less than the recommended form of Constitution for Local Leagues, contemplates the development of society in general in accordance with "natural morality," as originally intimated in the Demands of Liberalism; as is shown by the sixth section of Article III, which reads: "In all other proper and practicable ways, to promote the final emancipation of the State from the control of the Church, and to foster the development of that natural intelligence and mo-

rally which constitutes the necessary and all-sufficient basis of secular government."

We thank Mr. Clark for his candid and highly honorable "Acknowledgment," which, we hope, will serve to call attention to the breadth and depth of the Liberal League movement in all its aspects.—Ed.]

Communications.

NO GOVERNMENT PROTECTION FOR CHILDREN.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

It is very seldom that I have differed in opinion with you on any question discussed in the columns of THE INDEX. Your judgment has been to me what the magnetic needle is to the mariner on the ocean—the means by which his ship is guided through the waves to her destined port. But, when a vessel sails into some latitudes, the needle dips from its horizontal line by some occult law of Nature, and so varies that the sailor in his reckonings has to watch for the polar star which never varies. This polar star in the world of mind is the divine human reason.

In THE INDEX of the 31st January, when discussing the obscenity subject, you speak of the government owing protection to children. In what you say on this point, you seem to go over to the ground of the God-in-the-Constitution party; and I expect to hear in the *Christian Statesman* a crow of exultation that Mr. Abbot shows some sign of coming to his senses on the proper functions of civil government as an ordinance of God. You "insist on the right of the children to be protected" in their rights.

The European doctrine, as exemplified in European history, is, that the priesthood, as commissioned ambassadors of Jesus Christ, are charged with looking after the well-being of the people, and especially the education of the children; since parent-, being generally so ignorant, are unfit to perform this duty; and that the civil magistrate is merely the divinely-appointed agent to carry out the decrees of the Church in this department. The masses are regarded as infantile and imbecile; and government, as Mr. Buckle has so well pointed out, is paternal and protective. That is, the State undertakes to prescribe the people's diet and clothing by enacting sumptuary laws; and regulates their religious duties by dictating to them systems of faith and modes of worship. In France, when hard times come, the mechanics and laborers look to the government to find them in work. Thus the people, under the baneful protective ideas, are kept in a continual state of childhood and dependence, leaning upon the government instead of themselves.

The American doctrine is as opposite to this as light is to darkness. All our government proposes to do for a citizen in the way of protection is, to stand him on his own legs that he may fight the battle of life, and see to it that no others encroach on his rights as a human being, and hinder him from the pursuit of his own happiness. This brings out his manhood, makes him self-reliant, and successful in life. Paternally, our government knows nothing about children at all. The provisions made by law in all the States for educating children is simply a measure of self-protection like the organization and support by the National Congress of an army and navy. A Republic, or representative government, in which all the people, except idiots, criminals, and women, vote, and make their own laws, could not exist two generations unless the voters are educated. Popular ignorance, in a despotic government like Russia, where voting is unknown, is no harm, but a good thing; but it would be ruin and death to a government like ours. Hence you advocate compulsory education, not because it is the duty of a State benevolently to look after and protect the children, like a nurse or Sunday-school teacher, but out of pure selfishness, because it is necessary to the existence of the Republic.

When you insist that the State shall protect the moral rights of children, that is just what the Catholic Church says; and, therefore, she would make the schools of the Republic primarily religious institutions, and place them under the guidance of priests and nuns. But the American idea is, that whereas ignorance produces crime, poverty, and misery, and thus makes unending trouble and expense in courts of law, jails, penitentiaries, and institutions of charity, it is good policy to diffuse knowledge among the people, and thus dry up these sources of evil. The parents are, however, the natural, legal, and responsible guardians of their children; and it is their province to educate them in morals. If it be true that the character of the man is formed when the child is six years old, it is easy to see that it is home education which must do it.

The great vice of Sunday-schools is, that under the guise of piety and the future "welfare of our beloved Zion," irresponsible, and often ignorant, but zealous young people as teachers usurp the prerogatives of the parents, and inculcate superstitious ideas upon the receptive minds of children. There is no country on earth where parents ought to do so much in the way of moral instruction to their children, and where they do so little. A mother who has eight or ten children, as thousands have, after tolling and molling all the week in their service, is too glad, when Sunday comes, to pack them off to Sunday-school that she may enjoy a few hours of rest and repose. If their tender and credulous minds are poisoned with false views about God, the devil, and total depravity, which cling to them in after years like the shirt of Nessus, they themselves or their circumstances are to blame.

In regard to the mischief which obscene literature

does among the young, if the parents do not perform their duty to their children in the premises they must be victimized; for it is a maxim, not only in political economy but morals, that wherever there is a demand there will be a supply. And if parents are so careless as to allow their children to form obscene tastes, and to fall into obscene practices, all the laws that Congress may enact will not remedy the evil. The government cannot, without stepping aside from its proper functions, meddle with such matters. It cannot lift the latch of a man's dwelling, and send its agents in to see whether the mother of a family washes her children's faces every morning, feeds them with proper food, and makes them say their catechism and prayers regularly. It trusts the parental instinct for the proper care and training of children so young.

We see what a fool our government has made of itself by enacting the obscenity laws now in force, whereby innocent men are loaded with fines and dragged to prison as felons, and in the execution of which a man has been appointed to act as Inquisitor-General, who don't know the difference between physiology and obscenity, and whose religion allows him to lie like a pirate for the good of the Church.

My dear Mr. Abbot, to put children beyond the reach of the scoundrels who deal in obscene literature, and to preserve their morals, several things must be done. Parents must understand the whole subject of love, sexuality, and the laws of heredity, so that children may be properly begotten and born. Ninety-nine out of every hundred persons, taking them as they run, are the offspring of blind, selfish lust, instead of holy, considerate love. Not one in an hundred was ever sent for. They came without any desire or intention on the part of their parents; and when we see how physical and moral family traits are inherited, how impressions on the æsthetic taste, the intellectual powers, the physical looks, and the moral bent of children are made during their anti-natal existence, and by causes aside from, but cooperating with, the laws of strain, or heredity, we cannot wonder at the character of the present generation of human beings. We have all been taught to regard sexuality as ignoble, base,—the weakness and disgrace of human nature allying us with the brutes, and a matter to be constantly ashamed of and suppressed. The sexual instinct, made irrepresible by the Creator, is spoken of as the vile, lower passion of our nature, even setting above it pride, ambition, and that meanest of all, avarice, or the hell-fire greed.

But better views must be taken of the whole subject, if we would save ourselves and our children. What is sex? It is that which alone distinguishes man from woman. It is that which gives man his courage, his strength, his high and chivalrous sense of honor, his manliness, his generosity, his energy of character blended with gentleness. It is that which gives woman her softness, her modesty, her considerateness, her faculty for heroic and adorable attachment as wife and mother. It is the creative power of sex which allies the genus man to the Creator God, and is the noblest attribute of his nature, for it includes and modifies all the rest. It was this conception which led the Hindus to place in their temples, as emblems of the Creative Power and perpetuator of life, the chaste representation of the human organs of reproduction, which our ignorant and prejudiced missionaries misunderstood, and sent the fact home as proof of the utter licentiousness of the heathen, and their crying need of the gospel. Instead of branding sex and sexual love in all its beautiful manifestations, as ignominious and base, it should be lifted from the low level where a meretricious Church has placed it, and be regarded as the holiest, most mysterious, and sublime capability of human nature. Then the purest woman in the world would converse as freely on this subject as she now does upon sex in botany.

Did ever a holier man walk the earth than Theodore Parker was? Yet his adoration of sex was so great that he invested the being he worshipped so devoutly with maternal as well as paternal attributes, and called him "our Father and Mother God." And the Shakers, who, on the resurrection plane are celibates, would rejoice, I suspect, to see the dwellers upon the lower plane of this world conducting their loves on the elevated principles I have just laid down, because it would be the way to bring into the world healthy and good children, and abolish in great measure the necessity for legal divorce. They, too, exalt sex; for in their theology Ann Lee is an *Avatar* the same as Jesus of Nazareth, or Sakyamuni.

But look at the way in which children are treated. Believing their parents naturally and implicitly, when they become old enough to observe, and to ask questions on the subject of sex, they are told a tissue of lies, accompanied with certain looks and tones of voice, which, instead of satisfying, only stimulates the spirit of inquiry on the subject; and they are left to find out the facts from the polemic and obscene lips of low people, and to feel a secret disrespect for their parents on account of their having lied to them so abominably. The whole subject of sex, as one of scientific discussion, is put under the ban of prohibition; and the baneful consequences are seen in the present condition of society. Vices that destroy the intellect, the body, and the affections are practised by youth because they were never informed and warned by their parents on the subject. These are they whose hereditary taint and false imagination create the demand for obscene books and pictures; but who, if they had been properly born, and enlightened by their natural guardians, would have loathed and abhorred such things.

It is plain to me, then, that if we wish to destroy obscene literature by the only effectual way of destroying the demand for it, children must be taught by their parents at home *all about sex*, as a topic in

physiology. If you trust the matter to Congress, and allow the Postmaster-General to employ an agent to prevent obscene books from passing through the mails, he might appoint a man like Mr. Train, who would forbid the circulation of the Bible as an obscene book. Mr. Train was actually imprisoned for months in New York because he published an expurgated edition of the Bible. That is to say, he gave superstition, and prudery a dose of their own medicine, by compiling the obscene passages in the Bible, and publishing them to the world. Suppose that the discretionary Inspector of Mails, instead of Mr. Train, were a devout Catholic, he would see nothing wrong in allowing the mails to be flooded with all those works on the confessional; which, although written by celibate priests, reveal crimes and vices against chastity which are so novel and so bad that no laymen on earth would ever have dreamed of them in a sleep of a thousand years. Or, if the Postmaster-General were a tool of the Church, either knowingly or ignorantly, he might appoint, as he has, an Inquisitor-General, who lives, moves, and has his being in the service of what is called Evangelical religion; and who would forbid the circulation through the mails of such treatises on physiology as the British government are making text-books in the public schools of England, because they contain the wholesomest kind of knowledge for the common people.

The difficulty and the danger of legislating on any moral or religious subject is, that we have yet no universally-recognized infallible standard of morals, and no bench of judges whose decisions would command general respect. One of our judges has declared that a certain medico-physiological work, the name of which I forget, is a good thing, and ought to be in every family as a book of instruction; while another judge—Clark for instance—might see in it, what Comstock saw in my tract on marasmus, a violation of the law against obscenity, and dangerous to the public morals.

I do not wonder that men who have children at the critical age of puberty feel deeply on this subject. If a villain were found poisoning the mind of a child by obscene pictures and books, he should, in justice, be put to death on the spot; for his act is worse than murder. When you kill a child, there is an end; but, when you destroy his health of mind and body, to live is worse than to die. The sexual instinct, while I claim that it is as holy as any other, requires, when it begins to develop itself, careful training, else it leads to ruin. Who ought to instruct and guide both sons and daughters at this crisis of their lives and destiny but their parents, and especially their mothers? Who could talk so freely and confidentially to a son as the mother who bore and nursed him, and who loves him better than her own life? Who could point out the way of safety to a daughter so well as her mother, who has travelled it herself? Human life is, in this respect, an Indian gauntlet after all; and every son and daughter has to run it, and take the chance of being tomahawked. It is possible to run it without receiving a blow, either to the character or reputation. If so, it will be because of home training for the ordeal. And Science, in her heavenly beneficence, offers her valuable services to parents in those treatises on physiology bearing on the subject, which are now so cheap and accessible to all.

These are some of the reasons which lead me to believe that in a war upon obscene literature we must depend on home training for success infinitely more than on the legislation of Congress.

A. B. BRADFORD.

ENON VALLEY, Penn., Feb. 10, 1878.

THE RACE PROBLEM.

The proletariat may be blind, as hunger and despair is apt to make men, yet they are not so blind as our Orthodox moralists, who think to stop a torrent with their tiresome platitudes. This country should not, as she now does, press blindly on—trusting in Providence, which is the wisdom of fools. She should consider what is likely to come to those four irreconcilable races which, with their knuckles on each other's throats, are now contending for dear life on this continent, which they will soon devour like a flight of locusts. There is a war to the teeth going on between mean livers and high livers; cheap labor and dear labor. And now Ireland pours in her thousands of cheap livers from the Atlantic, and China from the Pacific; and these last are as cups of water from the ocean, the source of supply being inexhaustible. They talk of the virgin prairies. It is naught. Why the whole expanse from Missouri to Minnesota and from Illinois to Colorado could be packed thick with men in a few decades, so far as numbers go; but then the prairies cannot be colonized all at once, unless by government aid. Only some men can get there, and only some can live when they are there; and it is as good to die in the streets as in the wilderness. And, in addition to all this, men are not like sheep, to be driven to the most convenient pasture.

When I visited the West in 1873, immigrants from Europe and the Atlantic sea-board were pouring into the valleys of the Platte and the best rivers of Kansas and Nebraska in a continuous stream. Many of these unfortunates spent nearly all their money on the journey, and then came the plague of grasshoppers. And so there they were, stranded upon the desert, and no Moses to call down manna from the clouds; some buffalo bones, bleaching upon the hill-sides, to mock their hungry stomachs; wheat and corn thirty or forty per cent. above the St. Louis quotations, and teams travelling a hundred miles to fetch it. And yet, in the generous fancies of social optimists, the naked prairie is a well-lined larder all ready for Falstaff and his comrades to carouse in.

"Go West, young man!" was Horace Greeley's counsel. But how if the young man have neither dollars, skill, nor muscle? For him there is only the workhouse and the grave. He may drown his miseries in the East river. The untuned sod is like many other specifics,—a harmless medicine for those who are not sick. Now, consider the situation of a man who is born into the world to find all the wealth monopolized and no demand for labor. Must he hang himself? Free trade in labor, lands, and goods cannot be accepted for the last word in the doctrine of economy. It is of no use to tell the laborer that he may help himself, but must not hinder others. You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live. This is what the superabounding pauperism of Asia and Europe is now doing,—taking the bread out of the mouths of better men.

The worst fault of the mean immigrants is having been born. Small blame to them for that, perhaps. But is it too much to ask the native American to forego his sustenance for the sake of these? The inordinate influx of cheap labor must in some way be checked. That is the first necessity; and then Malthusianism, or some device for restraining human increase.

A nation's aim should be to produce, not the most merchandise, nor yet the most bread, nor even the most people, but the greatest totality of human excellence. But we are always told that all men must, as a thing of course, be given the same chance. I ask, Upon what principle? We do not allow the lower animals an even chance with ourselves. The rule is, to prefer the better to the worse, leaving mercy in abeyance. But men are men! Most likely. What then? That men are men is nothing; but the idea is, that men are equal. But men are not equal. The zealots of equality often use arguments which virtually amount to this, that men are entitled to be equal before the law because they are equal in fact; but, when pressed with the palpable prevailing inequality of talent, virtue, and capacity, they shift their ground, and confine themselves to asserting equality before the law. But it is evident that men cannot be born equal or unequal before the law, because the law is of their own making. The doctrine of equality, as proclaimed in this country and in France, was originally this, simply and shortly, no more, no less, that men are born free and equal. Never was a false doctrine taught. As little are men born equal as they are born free; and it were difficult to picture a situation more remote from freedom than a newborn babe's, who cannot stir a finger at his will, but lives under a government many times more absolute than the Russian Czar's. 'Tis not so much injustice that breeds inequality as inequality which begets injustice. The former is the very work of Nature. A cretin can by no means become a philosopher with any opportunities, nor will a born fool grow wise. Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? The differences between men are constitutional and ineradicable; and they are immense, and imperatively demand a diversity of treatment. So that, after all, equality means—no one knows what; unless it means that each has the same right to his due, which is a foolish truism.

It is a delusion to suppose the doctrine of equality is a political safeguard. Not at all. In any case the security of the weak depends exclusively on the strength and coherence of the party of justice; and, in pleading the cause of the oppressed, we gain nothing by maintaining (what is not always true) that they are the equals of their oppressors.

At any rate, whatever be the consequences, positive inequalities exist; and they must and will be recognized; and it is true that the different races are unequal. I am not forgetting records. The horrors of the middle passage; the drunken rage which in England applauded the barbarities in Hindostan and in Jamaica; the careers of Warren Hastings in the Old World, and of Pizarro in the New; the histories of the evangelizing (God save the mark!) of British India and Mexico and Peru; the kind protection afforded by white Christians to the Tasmanians, and Maoris of New Zealand, and the Negroes of the gold coast,—all point with ghastly plainness to the same hideous moral. Certainly the benighted heathen owe us something. Wherever we have gone among them, we have murdered their young men, debauched their young women, robbed and swindled the old people, and taught the children how to worship God, and get drunk; yet, for all this, it still is true that the Caucasian is a superior man, though less completely so than he imagines. The deity, we know, is red, black, white, and yellow; but where the pale skin plants his foot, the gods of the nations bow. Such is the truth, make of it what we may.

How or when this problem will finally be solved, or whether it ever will be, no one can foresee; but of one thing we may be extremely sure indeed: it is not settled now. We need a theory to cover the facts, and not a doctrine very beautiful, if it were only true. Democracy has been tried for the first time in America. It has not failed, but it has not yet succeeded. Mr. Gayarré says, in the *North American Review*, that power, like love, cannot be shared. Mr. Gayarré must abate somewhat of his patrician pride; but he mistakes the dilemma. That which cannot be shared is bread. One dinner will not dine two men. One acre cannot grow two crops. In fine, the race problem is one issue of the population problem. What is to come of it? The sky is dark. What does the gloom portend? We take down our Gibbon or our Shakspeare from the shelf to read of war and tragedy. We had better take down our Malthus or our Darwin. The war of wars and the tragedy of tragedies is the struggle for existence.

There is annually being born into a world, already occupied, a surplusage of people whom no one wants to see. At Nature's banquet, there are no plates laid for them. Malthus says, they must take themselves

away; but that is not apparent. Malthus does not correctly describe the situation. He sees, indeed, and shows, with admirable clearness, that excess of population breeds of necessity famine, disease, and vice; but he fails to see, or else he blinks the truth, that it also needs must lead (as it repeatedly has done in the past) to violence and bloodshed.

It must have this effect, for only think of it,—think of being introduced upon this earth, so full of joys which most men love sufficiently well to fight for, and calmly told that your whole duty is to take yourself away. You will not do it,—not if you can help it. No! If there be anything sure, it is that negative. A man being told to take himself away can know no other code of morals than that of Ishmael. Incendiarism for him is changed into a virtue. Remember the poor pariah is not singular in this; that his conscience consents to go into committee with his belly, or with something else as little dignified and less imperious. L'Année terrible is within the recollection of very young men, when the bourgeoisie of Versailles called for blood and more blood; and Thiers promised, in villainous good faith, "You shall have blood,—plenty of blood." The Scotch bard sings:—

I doubt na, whiles, but thou may thrive;
What, then? poor beastie! thou maun live.

Whether for man or mouse, or any creature, great or small, or wise or foolish, this is Nature's protest irrefragable,—this prime necessity of self-defence.

Given an exuberant population and famines, bread riots and appeals to the military succeed infallibly. The Chinese resort to infanticide to avert these horrors; and almost everywhere, except in modern Christendom, some attempt—perhaps clumsy, perhaps immoral, perhaps atrocious,—but still some attempt has been made to deal with this momentous question, but we simply shirk it. Man runs up his prodigal account. Fate is his remorseless creditor; and Nature, the magistrate, distrains upon humanity to pay with compound interest the accumulating debt. A weak and superstitious sentimentalism fears to face the issue, and a sinister material interest also deliberately prefers to see the proletariat numerous, and hence poor, and consequently ignorant and dependent. The former is the product of Christian culture. The hero of the gospels, while he often vents an indiscriminating abuse upon rich men (which is neither politic nor just), yet indirectly plays into the hands of social tyranny.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

COMMUNISM OR INDIVIDUALISM?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I was surprised to read in THE INDEX of Feb. 7, a communication from Mr. Leland, in which he expressed himself in what I cannot but call an arrogant and unscientific tone towards those who do not agree with him as to evolution in human society, and especially your editorial contributor, "A. W. K." Now I am no believer in evolution in human society,—that is, in the extreme form in which it is held by Mr. Leland. It seems to me that Mr. Cairnes' article, which you published two or three years ago, was convincing. Mr. Leland, as a student of philosophy, sees reasons to think this theory necessarily true. I, as a student of history, see no reason to think it true in fact; and it all lies in a nutshell,—in human history we have the powerful element of what we call free-will. The greatest facts of human history are indissolubly associated with great men.

But if I did hold this theory, I should arrive at precisely the opposite conclusion to Mr. Leland,—that is, that the movement of society is not towards communism, but towards individualism. If the concrete study of early customs, institutions, and laws, as pursued by Maine, Morgan, Coulanges, and others, has taught us anything; if it is that society in its early phases is highly organized, and that the movement of civilization is one of disintegration; so that at the present day we have arrived at almost absolute individualism. Land in early stages of society, as soon as it becomes an object of property at all, is universally owned in common. And so far from the early house being the wigwam, Mr. Morgan holds that the communal abode was characteristic of early society. (See his article in the *North American* on "Montezuma's Dinner.") W. F. ALLEN.

AGGRESSIVE TRUTHFULNESS.

DEAR INDEX:—

The *Boston Sunday Herald* of 17th February has an article upon Col. Ingersoll and his popularity as a lecturer, which concludes with the following significant statement:—

"He has received three thousand invitations to lecture this winter from every State in the Union, except five or six Southern States. He is forty-four years of age. The largest fee ever paid for one lecture was received by him on his farewell lecture at San Francisco. He spoke on "shares," and his moiety amounted to nearly \$2,300."

There is not the least doubt that Col. Ingersoll is a remarkably entertaining and eloquent orator; but I do not attribute his wonderful success altogether to those peculiar charms. The subjects he discusses, and the ability and boldness with which he handles them, are, after all, the chief attraction. That the large audiences which everywhere assemble to listen to his discourses care quite as much for the matter they contain as for the manner of their delivery is attested by the applause with which their more salient points are uniformly greeted.

The fact is, the sentiments he utters are far more prevalent among the masses of our intelligent countrymen than is generally supposed; but the anti-

Christian theology element, though very large, being unorganized, and, in general, unaggressive, is treated with contempt by organized evangelism.

This will not always be so. A score or two of able and fearless lecturers—of the Ingersoll type—kept constantly in the field, would so popularize the freethought tendencies of the age as speedily to convince even the dullest comprehension that the days of dogmatic theology are numbered.

As an auxiliary to the free religious press, the lecture-room affords a fine field for the spread of radical ideas, where their honest, able, and fearless advocacy will surely meet with a candid response. Neither abstruse philosophy nor misty metaphysics nor thread-bare platitudes are the need of the hour; but bold, vigorous, clean-cut, factitive utterance,—such as the average every-day intellect can comprehend, is in demand,—will receive attention and command respect. If the Christian theology is founded on superstition—as I, for one, believe it is,—then let it be treated as it should be,—aggressively.

Though I might dissent from many of Col. Ingersoll's assumptions, yet the evident honesty of his convictions and the imperiousness with which he utters them, compel my admiration, and receive my homage.

"A faint heart never won a fair lady" is evidently the Colonel's motto; and the axiom is as applicable to the theological iconoclast as it ever was to warrior or statesman or lover. Then mount the platform, brave champions of freethought, and if you cannot rival, in wit and eloquence, your illustrious exemplar, you may, at least, in zeal, honesty, and manly utterance. DANIEL CONEY.

WOBURN, MASS., FEB. 18, 1878.

A NEW PUBLICATION.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL: A Manual, translated from the Dutch of J. Knappert, Pastor at Leiden, by Richard A. Armstrong.—Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1878.

This little book is a presentation, in brief space and popular form, of the critical conclusions reached in Prof. Kuenen's elaborate work, entitled *A History of the Religion of Israel*, an English version of which has been published by Messrs. Williams & Norgate, in the Theological Translation Fund Library.

The translator of Knappert's book tells us that, in his judgment, its general position is absolutely unassailable, and that the immense majority of its statements are such as are every year becoming more indisputable. He thinks it needful, therefore, that facts of this sort should be made accessible to that vast number of the generation, now passing into manhood and womanhood, who have been taught a blind and unreasoning faith in the supernatural inspiration of the Scriptures. The present age of radical inquiry has its dangers; and one of these is, that young people, if suddenly and bluntly made aware that Abraham, Moses, David, and the rest did not say, do, or write what has been ascribed to them, will fling away all care for the venerable religion of Israel, and all hope that it can nourish their own religious life. The author of this book has done his work in a reverent not less that a critical spirit; showing that, whatever the errors of Old Testament legislators and prophets, they truly prepared the way for the better faith which Jesus taught.

First showing why it is impossible for any one to form a just conception of Israel's religion without knowing its history, our author proceeds to point out the sources from which we get our knowledge of it, and then treats of the successive periods of Hebrew history, thus attaining a correct idea of the state of the Jews in the age immediately preceding the Christian era. He then tells us what is known of the collection into one volume of the books now known as "The Old Testament," skillfully separating ascertained fact from tradition; and, in an Appendix to the book, the prominent statements and thoughts in it are suggestively summed up in the form of a catechism, a portion of one prepared by the pastors, and used in the congregations or Sunday-schools of the Reformed Church of Holland. If one may judge by the present work, the intelligence of those pastors and those churches far exceeds that of any sect in our own country; and we may very advantageously seek for more of their writings.

C. K. W.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN AT PROVIDENCE.

Mrs. Neymann spoke a second time before the Providence Free Religious Association, Feb. 24, before one of the largest audiences of the season. Her subject was, "What is Religion?" It was well and carefully treated; her essay fully sustaining the favorable judgment her first appearance in Providence secured. She traced the (to her) untenable grounds of those theories of life and duty which rest on supposed "revelation," and advocated those principles of action which may be gained by careful study of actual life and just appreciation of the nature of things.

We gladly welcome to the public platform of religious reform a woman of such single-eyed devotion to truth, and of such an earnest and reverent spirit as Mrs. Neymann. On Tuesday, Feb. 26, Mrs. Neymann, at the request of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, addressed the Committee of the Legislature, to whom had been presented a number of petitions for the extension of the franchise to the women of the State. On this occasion, Mrs. Neymann spoke also with great acceptance. G.

[Mrs. Neymann is announced to speak next Sunday in this city at Paine Memorial Hall. Her subjects are "German Scepticism" in the morning, and "Woman's Work in Germany, England, and Switzerland" in the evening.—Ed.]

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Prof. MAX MULLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. B. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Galthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"); with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,—together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion." Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1878.

WHOLE No. 429.

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PLATFORM

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ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 8, 1876.

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

GLIMPSSES.

ANOTHER NEW auxiliary Liberal League has been organized at Wausau, Wisconsin. President, Mr. R. P. Munson; Secretary, Mr. V. A. Alderson; Treasurer, Mr. H. J. Lohmar; Councilors, Messrs. A. C. Clark, D. L. Plumer, W. J. Scriver, P. Berg. The roll of members includes eighty names.

COLONEL INGERSOLL has just given two of his sparkling lectures in Boston. But this short lecture of his outsparkles the others: "Colonel Ingersoll was asked how he liked New England. He said there were four New England products that he liked, and four he didn't. He liked Longfellow, Whitier, Emerson, and the elms. He despised her rocks, religion, Joseph Cook, and catarrh."

THE RUPTURE among the Free Masons on account of their dogmatic theism has become irreconcilable. The Grand Lodge of Free Masons of England, Lord Carnarvon presiding, unanimously passed a resolution refusing to recognize as a Free Mason any person initiated in a lodge where the belief in God is denied or ignored. This refers to the action of the Grand Orient of France, which recently eliminated an article expressing belief in God from its ritual.

THE FIRST Liberal League of Boston held its fifth annual meeting in this city on March 5. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Rev. M. J. Savage; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Elizur Wright, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, Rev. J. L. Dudley, D.D., Mr. Horace Seaver, Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska, Dr. Mary J. Safford Blake, Mrs. Theodore Parker, Miss Matilda Goddard, Mrs. J. W. Smith; Secretary, Miss J. P. Titcomb; Treasurer, Mr. Wm. H. Hamlen; Councilors, Messrs. J. L. Stoddard, Harry Wheeler, and F. E. Abbot, and Mrs. A. M. Mosher.

It is a very significant straw, this eagerness to get into every official formula a recognition that the State is "Christian." Says the Boston *Daily Advertiser*: "The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, president of the Latin School Association, recommends the following as an inscription to be placed over the entrance of the new Latin schoolhouse on Warren Avenue: '*Sic ingrederis, ut te ipso quotidie doctior; sic egredere, ut in dies patrie Christianaeque reipublicae utilior evadas. Ita demum Gymnasium a te feliciter ornatum existimabitur.*' The above is hereby translated, as follows, by Mr. Winthrop: 'So enter here that you daily may add something to your own learning; so go forth that you may be more and more useful to your Christian Commonwealth and country. Thus, at last, you shall be esteemed as having been happily an ornament to this school.'"

SAYS THE New York *Tribune*: "Under the title of offences against morality and decency, the Maine Legislature reenacted some years ago this statute: 'Whoever blasphemes the holy name of God by denying, cursing, or continually reproaching God, his creation, government, final judgment of the world, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, or the Holy Scriptures as contained in the canonical books of the Old or New Testament, or by exposing them to contempt and ridicule, shall be punished by imprisonment, not more than two years, or by fine not exceeding \$200.' The Democratic papers are now quoting the statute for the information of Colonel Ingersoll, who is to deliver lectures in Portland and elsewhere." These "dead letter laws" are like the claws of a sleeping tiger. They are quite harmless while the tiger sleeps; but tigers wake at last, and then—look out for the claws!

THE ITHACA Liberal League recently listened to an essay on the school question by Mr. H. B. Morris, who opposed total secularization as "extreme." Professor Johonnot, in a criticism of this essay in the *Ithaca* of February 22, had this admirable sentence: "The essayist asks if it would not be better for the League not to announce a programme which is cer-

tain to summon the quiet, resolute, and efficient enmity of the vast numbers who would not deny that some moderate action may be needed to deal out perfect justice and fairness.' Answering for the Secularists and not for the League, I reply that this perfect justice is all that they demand; and if making this demand leads to a combined action against them, it will be because bigotry is a more potent force in society than the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. If, seeking truth and asking justice, we do array majorities against us, we will wait in patience, knowing that the stars in their courses fight our battles for us."

WOULD THAT CONGRESS had the sense to do what the Cincinnati *Commercial* suggests in this paragraph! "We cannot say the art of the new silver dollar 'makes us feel to rejoice.' The eagle, we understand, was drawn by an Englishman. We should think so, too, from appearances. It doesn't seem to resemble the bird of our country. In fact, we are afraid the thing is a British grouse. There is also an absurd prominence given the 'In God We Trust,' which is a new thing in our coinage. The words should be 'One hundred cents.' We have opposed additional silver legislation, but we would be glad to see Congress quietly order the mint to reproduce the Washington silver dollar without any 'improvement,' with the words on the edge, 'One hundred cents—one dollar or unit.' The old coins were far superior in design and finish to the new ones. We should think Congress might order the precise reproduction of the old dollar, except as to the amount of alloy used, and the date, without much fuss or delay. It is so obviously the right thing to do that it shouldn't be hard to do." But notice how the *Commercial* gives every reason but the right one for dropping that "In God We Trust." How shy everybody is of demanding boldly the faithful application of the secular principle! Absurdity, taste, artistic finish—everything but honest defence of that great principle! Is there no keenness of intellectual vision, or is there no moral courage? If the separation of Church and State in this country has no protection but mere taste, with its countless and whimsical diversities, will sensible liberals still hold that "there is no danger"?

THE PHILADELPHIA *Christian Statesman* of February 28 contained the following paragraph: "One of the most useful organizations in the country at the present day is the American Railway Literary Union. It has secured the active coöperation of the managers of twenty-five thousand miles of American railways in a combined effort to exclude all immoral literature from their trains. It is known to careful observers that a large proportion of the immoral publications which are prohibited by statute from transmission through the mails has heretofore been disposed of on railway trains. The Union requests all persons who observe any immoral publications offered for sale in any railroad stations or cars, to communicate specific information to the Rev. Yates Hickey, 328 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. In most cases, the Union knows at once what officer to inform to have such abuses summarily corrected. This is an acquaintance and an influence which has been gained by long years of persistent and well-directed effort, and the Christian public should be prompt to avail themselves of it." The true character of this organization, which aims to suppress both obscene and free-thought literature under the head "immoral," was fully exposed in THE INDEX of December 3, 1874, with direct and overwhelming evidence of it. Whoever publishes a single indecent word or prurient sentence in any liberal publication plays directly into the hands of these crafty plotters against a free press, and renders himself an accomplice in their conspiracy against it. Liberalism can make no headway against Christian superstition except by proving itself practically its moral superior.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE. OFFICERS.

- Francis E. Abbot, President; Vice-President: Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, Hon. Nathaniel Holmes, Hon. Henry Booth, Hon. George W. Julian, Hon. Elizabeth Wright, Mr. O. B. Frothingham, Mr. W. M. Potter, Mr. R. P. Halliwell, Mr. James Parton, Mr. F. Schuerman-Pott, Hon. Abraham Payne, Rev. M. J. Savage, Rabbi E. Felsenthal, Rev. W. H. Spencer, Mr. Samuel L. Hill, Mr. E. W. Meddough, Mr. Karl Heinzen, Mr. Roscoe BeaVER, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Mr. D. M. Bennett, Mr. Moritz Ellinger, Mr. B. F. Underwood, Rev. Robert Collyer, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, Dr. T. L. Brown, Hon. F. S. McCormick, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, Mrs. Amy Post, Mrs. Elizabeth Oady Stanton, Miss Lizzie Holley, Secretary: W. H. Hamlen, Assistant Secretary: Miss Jane P. Titcomb, Treasurer: J. A. J. Wilcox, Board of Directors: F. E. Abbot, W. H. Hamlen, J. A. J. Wilcox, H. L. Green, D. G. Orandon, Executive Committee: Alabama: J. H. Halley, Selma; Arkansas: John Ahrens, Monticello; California: J. L. Hator, San Francisco; Colorado: David T. Beals, Granada; Connecticut: George W. Baldwin, Bridgeport; Delaware: Joseph D. Goblet, Greenville; Florida: T. D. Giddings, Enterprise; Georgia: Dr. A. A. Bell, Madison; Illinois: Dr. A. G. Humphrey, Galesburg; Indiana: L. C. Underwood, Indianapolis; Iowa: J. C. Nicksner, Adel; Kansas: John F. Roberts, Fort Scott; Kentucky: S. B. Clark, Wilmore; Louisiana: Emerson Bentley, New Orleans; Maine: Dr. W. E. Brown, Bangor; Maryland: J. S. Russell, New Market; Massachusetts: W. H. Sayward, Boston; Michigan: Karl Schmemmann, Detroit; Minnesota: J. B. Bassett, Minneapolis; Missouri: E. F. Fisher, St. Louis; Nevada: W. B. Billingsley, Lincoln; New Hampshire: V. G. Barrett, White Rock; New York: William Little, Manchester; North Carolina: H. L. Green, Salomance; Ohio: E. D. Stark, Cleveland; Oregon: Samuel Colt, Humboldt Basin; Pennsylvania: G. W. Baldwin, Lancaster; Rhode Island: George Lewis, Providence; South Carolina: F. W. Fuller, Columbia; Tennessee: Dr. E. H. Price, Chattanooga; Texas: Dr. A. Durban, Greenville; Vermont: B. L. Houghton, North Bennington; Virginia: L. Spaulding, Norfolk; West Virginia: Dr. A. M. Dent, Weston; Wisconsin: Robert C. Spencer, Milwaukee; D. G. Orandon, Chairman; Mrs. Sarah B. Otis; Harlan P. Hyde.

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

- To which Charters have been issued by the National Liberal League. LINCOLN, NEBRASKA.—President, D. A. Cline; Secretary, D. A. S. von Mansfeld. Issued to L. W. Billingsley, D. A. Cline, A. S. von Mansfeld, Julius Phibster, Joseph Wittman, W. E. Copeland, Benj. F. Fisher, Sidney Lyons, L. Meyer, G. E. Church, and others. JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS.—[Officers not reported.] Issued to A. W. Cadman, Mrs. D. M. Cadman, S. W. Sample, David Prince, E. A. Nance, C. H. Dunbrack, W. Hackman, Jennie W. Meek, Emma Meek, Hattie E. Hammond, and others. PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.—President, Carrie B. Kilgore; Secretary, Joseph Bohrer. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Philadelphia Liberal League. MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.—President, Lauriston Damon; Secretary, Anton Braasch. Issued to Anton Braasch, Fred. Claussen, J. Runge, Jr., Louis Zander, S. Damon, Ford. Heyroth, Louis Heyroth, Fred. Zander, Fred. Halberg, Ernst Clusen, and Fred. Braasch. CHELSEA, MASSACHUSETTS.—President, D. Goddard Crandon; Secretary, J. H. W. Toohy. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Chelsea Liberal League. STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA.—[Officers not reported.] Issued to Chas. Haas, G. O. Hyatt, F. C. Lawrence, A. T. Hudson, Chas. Williams, W. F. Freeman, J. Grundike, J. Harrison, T. C. Mallon, A. F. Lothead, and others. DENVER, COLORADO.—President, Orson Brooks; Secretary, J. H. Cotton. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Liberal League of Denver. FAIRBANKS, ALASKA.—President, John S. Verity; Secretary, Robert Cooper. Issued to Horace Seaver, J. P. Mendum, Elizur Wright, B. F. Underwood, David Kirkwood, James Harris, G. H. Foster, H. P. Hyde, Robert Cooper, S. R. Urbino, John S. Verity. PALMYRA, NEW YORK.—President, J. M. Jones; Secretary, C. C. Everson. Issued to J. M. Jones, C. C. Everson, Henry M. North, A. B. Sherman, Joseph Fritts, L. B. Keeler, J. J. White, R. H. Sherman, Henry Gardner, Samuel Cosad, and others. BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.—President, Rev. M. J. Savage; Secretary, Miss J. P. Titcomb. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Boston, Mass. NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO.—President, George Riker; Secretary, C. M. Rittenhouse. Issued to C. M. Rittenhouse, George Riker, J. C. Price, Daniel Korns, P. W. Himes, John Arn, Phillip Gintz, A. H. Brown, Jacob Miller, L. A. Cornet.

- TITUSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.—President, William Barnard; Secretary, M. Hayes. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Titusville Liberal League. HUDON, MICHIGAN.—President, Dr. Levi R. Peirson; Secretary, Dr. O. Baker. Issued to Dr. Levi R. Peirson, A. D. Armstrong, James S. Sedgwick, C. Beach, W. B. Norris, R. H. Armstrong, V. S. Johnson, E. M. Brown, G. L. Harceron, Philip Swain. CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, H. L. Green; Corresponding Secretary, John Hammond. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Cattaraugus County Liberal League. NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.—[Officers not yet reported.] Issued to R. M. Sherman, W. W. Stow, F. A. Hermande, T. F. Hamilton, D. M. Hamilton, W. F. Hopson, E. E. Whiting, E. E. Seaman, A. C. Harrison, R. F. P. Sheard, and others. ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI.—President, P. V. Wise; Secretary, H. Bruning. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the St. Joseph Liberal League. NEW YORK, NEW YORK.—President, Hugh B. Brown; Secretary, A. L. Rawson. Issued to T. B. Wakeman, Henry Evans, A. L. Rawson, Hugh B. Brown, E. Langerfeld, D. S. Plumb, O. E. Browning, Mrs. Elva Erving, Miss E. W. McAdams, Mrs. O. E. Langerfeld, on behalf of the Society of Humanity. ROOSTER, NEW YORK.—President, Mrs. Amy Post; Secretary, Willet E. Post. Issued to Benj. Gregg, Mrs. Amy Post, Willet E. Post, Emily G. Beebe, Dr. Sherman, Mrs. Barker, Clement Austin, Wm. H. Gibbs, Dr. C. D. Dake, and others. TOMPKINS COUNTY, NEW YORK.—President, Dr. John Winslow; Secretary, Myron E. Bishop. Issued to C. W. Ames, Wm. A. Anthony, Geo. Arnold, M. E. Bishop, H. Boel, W. Dennis, Isaac Flag, B. W. Franklin, C. Gardner, W. Hutchins, and others. NEW YORK, NEW YORK.—President, A. L. Rawson; Secretary, Porter C. Bliss. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Manhattan Liberal Club. CLEVELAND, OHIO.—President, E. D. Stark; Secretary, Mrs. M. B. Ambler. Issued to E. D. Stark, Mrs. Louisa Southworth, E. White, W. A. Madison, S. E. Adams, Daniel R. Tilden, W. Galen Smith, Walter F. Johnson, Thomas Jones, and Mrs. M. B. Ambler. MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.—President, Robert C. Spencer; Secretary, William A. Boyd. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the First Liberal League of Milwaukee. JEFFERSON LIBERAL LEAGUE, ROOSTER, NEW YORK.—President, Moses Hays; Secretaries, Fred. Hebard and J. B. Pike. Issued to L. Garson, N. O. Tiffany, Adolph Roth, J. W. Roberts, R. F. Smith, Julius Kothulitz, A. C. Allen, C. B. Strong, De L. Critenden, and F. Bush. MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.—President, S. C. Gale; Secretary, Frank J. Mead. Issued to the President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer, on behalf of the First Liberal League of Minneapolis. FLORENCE, IOWA.—President, Byron McQuin; Secretary, E. C. Walker. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Liberal League of Florence, Iowa. WEST MERIDEN, CONNECTICUT.—President, N. F. Griswold; Secretary, Miss Emily J. Leonard. Issued to W. W. Lee, Edwin Dayton, E. L. Roys, C. C. Munn, N. W. Pomeroy, N. F. Griswold, Mrs. F. Lomis, Mariou L. Pomeroy, Joseph Frankowski, Mrs. J. Frankowski, and Emily J. Leonard. MONTGOMERY COUNTY, OHIO.—President, A. McGill; Secretary, J. B. Barry. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the National Military Home Liberal League. MANTOWOC, WISCONSIN.—President, John A. Smith; Secretary, George B. Byron. Issued to J. A. Smith, L. Mendlik, G. R. Byron, F. Heineman, F. Rausch, F. Kostomolatsky, F. Strn, F. Kolinsky, J. Mendlik, L. Oberland, and others. ALBANY, NEW YORK.—President, Thomas J. Hennessey; Secretary, Thomas Dugan. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Albany Liberal Association. BAY CITY, MICHIGAN.—President, S. M. Green; Secretary, N. H. Webster. Issued to S. M. Green, N. H. Webster, J. A. Webster, G. H. Brooks, J. Brooks, O. Baker, J. Allen, M. H. Garrals, W. Ellsworth, M. E. Root, and others. CAMPBELL HILL, ILLINOIS.—President, Horace Newell, M. D.; Secretary, A. B. Swartscoope. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Campbell Hill Liberal League. WAUSAU, WISCONSIN.—President, E. P. Munson; Secretary, V. A. Alderson. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Wausau Liberal League.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

[For THE INDEX.] The Assaultants of Christianity. CONCLUDING PORTION OF THE OPENING LECTURE IN THE TENTH COURSE OF "SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES" IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, JANUARY 6, 1878. BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

The science of comparative religion has invalidated the claim of Christianity to be a solitary, exclusive, and preëminent revelation. The new methods of criticism have reduced the Bible to the level of human literature, and effectually destroyed its authority over the human reason. The studies in race and language have removed the prejudices in favor of sacred tongues and chosen peoples. The rational researches into history have exploded the fiction of a providential Church. The discoveries in natural science have banished the superstitions that were born of the dark, have resolved mysteries and marvels into ignorance, and started a wide-spread unbelief in dogmas that had been held for centuries. Theology with its insoluble problems yields to philosophy, which deals with the principles of reason. Catholic Christendom is fast becoming the peculiarity of the lower classes, who are credulous, and of the upper classes, who are sentimental. Protestant Christendom is pulverized into sects. With us there is no State Church. The press is free. Discussion is free. There is no barrier to the profession of opinions. No disability or opprobrium attaches to unorthodox beliefs. The attempts made here and there to persecute or intimidate are the feeblest possible imitation of the stake and gibbet of the olden time, and would cease at any rate in the civilized portions of the continent, were the friends of liberty to present a bold front, or manfully rally to crush the foe. Theological hate has not disappeared, but it is disappearing from extensive surfaces of society, and, where thought is alive, is greatly mitigated. There is at present scarcely more than enough of it to redden the world of religious opinion from stagnation. In this condition of things, active hostility to Christianity is suspended. Many (earnest friends, too,) of soul freedom think that the time for it has gone by,—that the armor can be put off, and the weapons laid down. They look on the works of Voltaire and Paine as visitors to the Tower of London look at the strange implements of olden warfare, the long lances, the clumsy match-locks, the queer culverine, the heavy hauberks and corselets,—very potent once, but quite useless now. The days of bloody battle are, in their judgment, ended; and full reliance may be placed on science, literature, and the arts of peace to remove or decorate the ruins. All, however, cannot take this easy view.

ABBOT. There are some—open eyed, discerning, watchful, eager of soul—who are profoundly impressed with the belief that the old system is taking advantage of the quiet confidence that prevails in the beleaguers' camp, to rebuild the walls, restock the arsenals, collect and organize the forces, and prepare, not only for a vigorous resistance to attack, but for a renewed offensive campaign. They are jealous of the spread of the Young Men's Christian Associations, which are centres of activity in the chief towns and villages of the country. They look with eyes of suspicion on the movements of the Evangelical Alliance, and the plans for Christian union which, under pretext of simplifying Christianity and promoting spiritual fellowship, are closing up the lines of orthodoxy, and creating a solid phalanx for the more successful prosecution of hostilities against rationalism. They watch the movements of the ruffians in the West, and the sneaks in the East, who in the name of Christianity bully and wheedle men out of their liberty. They see the old claim to special authority and privilege coming up again, in the demand that churches shall not be taxed, that the State shall aid sectarian charities, that a recognition of Christ shall be made in the Constitution of the United States. In THE INDEX of January 6, 1872, appeared an open "Impeachment of Christianity," which proved to be the summons to a new crusade against the ancient foe. The editor, Francis Ellingwood Abbot, flung down the gauntlet with a force that rung. The allegations were five in number; and they were made in the name of human nature, and before the bar of mankind. The challenger says:—"1. I impeach Christianity in the name of human intelligence."—"2. I impeach Christianity in the name of human virtue."—"3. I impeach Christianity in the name of the human heart."—"4. I impeach Christianity in the name of human freedom."—"5. I impeach Christianity in the name of humanitarian religion." The challenger meant active and energetic war. His thought was keen, his language was clear. He knew the force of his words; and, from the hour he spoke them, he devoted himself to their vindication. The spirit of the attack is essentially the same as before. It is the spirit of intelligence and freedom, roused to earnest zeal against credulity and limitation. The spirit is the same; the object of assault is the same; but the method is new. Mr. Abbot is neither a Paine nor a Voltaire, neither a Porphyry nor a Celsus. He undertakes no detailed criticism of Bible or creed. He leaves to history the easy task of disproving the claims of the Church, and to science the trifling achievement of demolishing the dogma. He is quite willing that people shall believe what they may or can, provided they will not impose their beliefs on others. With such liberty as is enjoyed in

America, both Voltaire and Paine would probably have been content. The new conscience is more sensitive than the old. The real princess feels the pea through the twenty mattresses and feather beds, and cannot sleep.

Abbot touches the soul of the system; Paine and Voltaire smote its body. They attacked the Church and creed of their day, the institutions as practised, the dogmas as received; he goes behind all this, to the genius of the faith, and shows how from the beginning it has been exclusive, dictatorial, overbearing, inhuman.

Voltaire vindicated Jesus from the charges brought against his followers. Abbot traces Christianity directly to the Christ; he finds nothing in the fruit that was not implied and involved in the seed. Christianity in his view is no corruption, but a logical development. The Church merely organizes and applies the principles announced in the New Testament.

Celsus touched the soul of the faith, but he touched it intellectually, as a philosopher; Abbot touches it humanly, as a man. Celsus took up arms in defence of an aristocracy of culture; Abbot takes up arms in defence of human rights. Voltaire allowed many an abuse to stand unchallenged; Abbot is sensitive to the least infringement of rational liberty. Paine stirred up the passions of the common-sense crowd; Abbot appeals to the best reason of thoughtful men. Paine at times seemed capable of being a demagogue; Abbot is always content to be a democrat.

A remarkable difference of temper accompanies this difference of method. Celsus was haughty and derisive; Voltaire was bitter, angry, and sarcastic; Paine was coarse and vituperative; Abbot is calm and earnest,—with more breadth of vision, consequently with more steadiness of determination. He is not captious; he never wrangles; he wastes no words on incidental points. Questions of biblical criticism, of dogmatic controversy, of theological definition, do not interest him. The dividing lines between the sects of Protestantism are in his view of trifling significance. The controversies as between Unitarian and Trinitarian, Calvinists and Universalists, touch on surface matters. The distinction between Unitarians of the old school and of the new is a distinction without a considerable difference. Even the gulf between Protestantism and Romanism may be regarded as rather apparent than real. Christianity, according to Mr. Abbot, culminated in Romanism, and has been declining from the period of the Reformation, and earlier. Each departure from the Orthodox creed is a new step in degeneracy. Liberal Christianity—a contradiction in terms—announces itself by its very name as a Christianity that is losing the Christ,—is becoming diluted and attenuated. In Liberal Unitarianism, the faith disappears; the name of Christianity alone remains.

But, as long as ever the name remains, the genius of limitation, dogmatism, arrogance, intellectual oppression, and moral tyranny exists, and are perceptibly felt. The new assailant, therefore, classes all Christians together, and, admitting their honesty, dropping candidly the old accusation of hypocrisy and indifference, taking the religion literally and the professors of it at their word, he charges upon all alike a disposition to overbear human nature. *Christianity is despotism*; wherever found, by whatever term defined, it is the enemy of the human mind, the foe of republican institutions, the chief barrier to rational civilization. Its worship of the Bible, its allegiance to the Christ, its claim to providential direction and succor, its pretensions to superhuman authority and miraculous destiny, rank it with the agencies that fetter thought and impede the progress of mankind. Foremost and primarily it is the foe of freedom; and, as freedom is the condition of growth, its overthrow is essential to the emancipation of man.

In the name of democratic liberty, therefore, this latter-day champion calls the friends of man to a new and final assault,—not on the Christian theology, not on the rites and mysteries as such, not on the Church of any particular time or place, not on any local or temporary enormities; but on the dogmatic system, the parent of all enormities, which in obedience to its own first principle imposes restrictions on human nature as far as it can or dares—restrictions such as in France awakened the wrath of Voltaire, such as in England embarrass the movements of men of science, such as in America hamper public education, pervert law, twist usage, confirm prejudice, and maintain intolerance.

Should Christianity succeed in making head in America, the genius of American institutions must, in Mr. Abbot's view, be fatally compromised; and to prevent its thus succeeding is the object of an opposition as determined as was ever organized, more radical than Voltaire contemplated, and more earnest than Celsus proposed.

In the judgment of this lecturer, Mr. Abbot's conception of the Christian system is substantially just. His criticism is warranted by history. His definitions are correct in the light of fair interpretation. Whether or no his apprehensions of the future are wise will be a matter of opinion. That it can be a matter of opinion among earnest men would seem to indicate some vagueness in the portents. But, be our opinion one or another on this point, it cannot be doubted that they who entertain the fear are excusable for any degree of indignation, and are worthy of praise for any degree of enthusiasm, zeal, and consecration. If it be true that Christianity is in essence hostile to the natural intelligence and will of man (and that it is thus hostile more than suspected by its assailants of other ages), it surely ought to be assailed as an enemy of the human race by all that believe man to be the arbiter of his earthly destiny. There can be no option here. The interests of reason are paramount. The primacy of mind must not be questioned. They who regard

the cause of Christianity as identical with that of reason cannot do otherwise than defend Christianity to the last man and the last gasp. Not to do so would be dishonor. They who hold that the cause of reason is not put in jeopardy or embarrassed by Christianity; that Christianity, though essentially unreasonable, is at this stage of knowledge and experience too weak, too much divided, too far attenuated to be feared by the mature intellect, are right in pursuing the quiet ways of culture, leaving the outworn system to fall away of itself. But they who believe that Christianity is opposed to reason, and is still strong enough to check its progress and thwart its aim, must agitate, speak, write, prophesy, edit papers, organize Leagues, leave no means untried to destroy its influence. It is not for them to celebrate its past achievements, to detail its services, to magnify its glories, to exalt its beauties. This properly falls to the duty of its champions. The assailant picks at the assailable points, marks the defective places in the line of wall, directs his aim at the arsenals that are its strength and the towers that are its pride, and does not hesitate to demolish its beauties if he can humble its renown. All we ask of him is fidelity to the laws of war. He must not be a sneak; he must not employ spies or dissemble with "quaker guns." The issue is too grave for sarcasm or dissembling. Candor, honor, sincerity, an indomitable love of truth, an invincible enthusiasm for humanity, are the qualities to be enlisted for this warfare. That these qualities are enlisted now; that ridicule, scorn, vituperation, vulgar abuse, ignorant pretentiousness have been outgrown with the methods of by-gone days is the sure sign that the assault has reached the highest dignity and has the best omen of success. When the dogmatic spirit shall be cast out; when the exclusive claims to authority and supremacy shall be disallowed and disavowed; when aspiration, spirituality, equity, kindness, human love, shall alone remain as the animating principles of the Christian faith; when the champions of the Church shall strike hands with the friends of reason,—then, but not till then, will the assailants drop their weapons.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE ETHICS AND THE ECONOMY OF DEMONETIZATION.

BY GEN. A. J. WARNER.

But for the immense importance of the silver issue, I should not propose further criticism upon the views of "F. S. C." and others as expressed in THE INDEX. I trust, however, the interests at stake, the moral principles involved, and the apparent inclinations of the editor will justify some further discussion of the question.

The value of money depends, not upon what it is made of, nor alone on the cost of making or producing it, but upon quantity as compared with use. This is the most important principle in monetary science. When, however, the precious metals are declared to be money, or money metals, and there left, the quantity, and consequently the value, is naturally limited and regulated. To the extent, then, cost of producing the precious metals affects quantity, to that extent it affects value and no farther.

Any other cause that affects quantity likewise affects value. Hence, if we accept the estimate of Ernest Seyd, that there is in the world weight enough of the two metals to make say, \$8,000,000,000 with the ratio of sixteen to one, then the value of this \$8,000,000,000 is determined by the proportion between this quantity of money and the total quantity of commodities and transactions. Now suppose one-half of this sum of \$8,000,000,000, the silver part, to be demonetized—removed from the coinage of the world—leaving but \$4,000,000,000 as the total volume. The quantity of commodities remaining unchanged, the proportion between the volume of money and the quantity of commodities and trade of the world would be changed one-half. That is, the four thousand million would have the full value the eight thousand had; and, of course, the value of each single unit would be changed in the same proportion. In fact, for reasons I cannot give here, the ratio of increase in the value of money would be much greater, for a time at least, than the decrease of volume.

We see, then, that to lessen the quantity of money increases its value without reference to cost of producing the precious metals. In like manner to add to the volume of money by the issue of inconvertible paper, to the extent such paper takes the place of and supplements coin, to that extent it increases the volume of actual money, and lessens the value of the whole, and of each unit of the whole; and this, too, without reference to any principle of labor-cost. Consequently, as price is the value of commodities expressed in money, price may be changed by increasing or decreasing the volume of money without reference to labor-cost; just as the number of yards in a piece of cloth will vary with any variation in the length of the stick called a yard measure. Make the yard-stick forty inches, and the number of yards will be less. Make it thirty inches, and the number of yards will be more; so, with a world-currency of \$8,000,000,000, prices will be one thing; with a world-currency of \$4,000,000,000 [commodities remaining the same], prices will be a very different thing.

Of course, the rate at which commodities will exchange among themselves, one thing with another, does not vary. But we are dealing with price. Two bushels of wheat would have the value of four bushels of corn whether wheat was \$1 a bushel, and corn 50 cents, or corn \$1 and wheat \$2; but price, nevertheless, and therefore debt-paying, would, in the one case, be double what it would in the other.

These principles I believe to be correct, and in accordance with established conclusions of economic science; and hence "F. S. C." is not yet altogether

right when he says: "I meant that the average price depends on the average cost." It is true that "the exchangeable value of merchandise (commodity with commodity) is regulated by its labor-cost"; but price has reference always to a given relation between the measure, money, and the things to be measured.

With a fixed ratio between quantity of money and the commodities and transactions it is used to represent, then "F. S. C.'s" proposition, that price depends on the average cost of production, would be true; but with every change in the relation of money to commodities, prices change. In other words, every arbitrary alteration in volume of money affects prices, regardless of cost of production. Aye, and here is the root of untold evil!

But first let me quote from John Locke to show that the principles above stated are as old as the science of political economy. Locke says: "For the value of money in general is the quantity of all the money in the world in proportion to all the trade. But the value of money in any one country is the present quantity of the current money in that country, in proportion to the present trade." And again, "Money, whilst the same quantity of it is passing up and down the kingdom in trade, is really the standing measure of the falling and rising value of other things in reference to one another; and the alteration of price is truly in them only. But if you increase, or lessen, the quantity of money current in traffic in any place, then the alteration of value is in the money." Accordingly, the value of a dollar in a volume of eight thousand millions of like units is one thing, and quite another as a unit in a volume of only four thousand millions. The value of a dollar of 23.22 grains of gold, likewise, is one thing as a part of a volume of four thousand millions of gold, with a like volume of silver also, as money, and quite another without the silver. The effect on the value of the whole and on each unit would be the same, whether the volume of eight thousand millions was composed entirely of gold, and half of it destroyed, or whether half of it was silver and that part demonetized.

Any legislation, or other cause, that lessens quantity of money, commodities remaining the same, increases its value. Nor does it make any difference whether coin of both metals circulate together in all countries or not. The fact that silver, being undervalued by the change in the ratio in 1834, did not circulate in this country, had no appreciable effect on the value of money as a whole, or on the value of the gold unit. If silver did not circulate here, it did in France, Germany, and other countries where it was rated higher,—relatively to gold, and relieved thereby the gold which circulated here.

But now, when it is proposed to remove silver altogether, not only from the United States, but at least from all European countries, and distribute the gold that formerly circulated exclusively in two or three countries, over all,—that is, reduce the total volume from both gold and silver to gold alone, then a direct and sweeping change is made in the value of the monetary standard, which changes prices of commodities; which changes the relation of money to property, and of property to debt, and thereby not only "impairs the obligation of contracts," but violates the faith pledged in all transactions made according to one standard to be performed by another. You exact, as Mr. Attwood said in Parliament, that for every sum pledged a greater sum shall be paid.

You change the gold standard when you demonetize silver. You change the value of gold metal when you declare that silver shall no longer be a money metal. The dollar of 23.22 grains of gold is no longer the unit it was before silver demonetization began. It is a different measure, an enlarged standard; and yet for all debts the same number of dollars are required. Now I ask on what moral principle it can be justified? They who so readily charge a dishonest purpose to those who oppose and denounce such a policy as wrong are bound to show where equity lies. I charge, that to alter the value of money, and compel the fulfilment of contracts according to a larger measure than was agreed, is a crime.

And I assert as a truth of economic science, that to remove silver from the coinage of the world and limit metallic money to gold alone, as much alters the value of gold, as much changes the money standard, as if, having had but the one metal, gold, half of that were destroyed.

If it be answered that silver will continue to be money in Asia, nevertheless, the principle above stated holds good; and if we confine its operation to Europe and the United States, what will be the result? According to Mr. Seyd, before quoted, there were in 1876 in use in Europe, including the small sum held in the United States, about \$3,750,000,000 of coin and bullion. Of this, about two-fifths, or \$1,500,000,000, was silver, and three-fifths, or \$2,250,000,000, gold. Now suppose the policy inaugurated in Germany is carried out, and the silver part demonetized. It is not probable that Asia, while she may absorb the silver, will give up her gold. The consequence is, the volume of metallic money for Europe and the United States would be changed from \$3,750,000,000 to \$2,250,000,000. Two-fifths added to the value of each unit as effectively as if two-fifths more metal were put into each coin, and the number of units thereby reduced.

I have assumed in this reasoning that the annual production of gold would no more than supply the new demands of increased population and business. If it did, or if it fell short of such supply, then, of course, the surplus or lack would be modifying conditions. I do not overlook, either, other causes, such as the issue of inconvertible paper, or of credit currency; but to this kind of currency I refer again. The point I wish to impress here is, that silver demonetization increases the value of gold; that the exchangeable value of 23.22 grains of gold de-

pends largely upon whether silver is coordinately money with gold, or not. No political economist of reputation would undertake to dispute this fact. Silver demonetization must enhance the value of the gold unit as directly as if more metal were added to the unit; more of labor, more of property, more of everything, must, thereafter, be given for a dollar than before.

Take another view. Before silver demonetization was begun in Europe, national debts aggregated more than \$20,000,000,000. The public indebtedness of the United States, national, State, and municipal, aggregated about \$5,000,000,000; corporate and private debts existed in amount proportionally large. These debts were created on a basis, not of gold and silver only, but gold and silver supplemented by *inconvertible paper money*, amounting in different countries to more than \$2,500,000,000, coin value. That is, these debts were created according to a scale, not of \$5,000,000,000, but of more than \$10,000,000,000; and now it is proposed that they should be paid with this scale changed to four or five thousand millions! That the labor, the commodities, that shall go to pay these debts, shall be given according to a measure made double the value of that by which they were created. Do you say the promise was to pay dollars, gold dollars of 23.22 grains? Suppose that granted,—which, however, is not true,—I ask, was it to pay such dollars enhanced in value by the demonetization of all other dollars? Was it to pay units of 23.22 grains of gold with the further stipulation that the number of money units should be reduced from ten thousand millions to four thousand millions, by the destruction of paper dollars and the demonetization of silver? Or was it with the promise that the dollars of metallic money should be reduced from eight thousand millions to four thousand, or from \$3,750,000,000 for Europe and the United States to \$2,250,000,000? No, most emphatically, no! And to ask it is to ask confiscation. To propose to alter the value of money by thus reducing its volume is to propose indirectly and fraudulently to impair the obligation of contracts, and wrongfully take from one and give to another.

Then, when to the wrong contemplated by such legislation upon debtors and tax-payers is added the ruinous effect upon the productive industries of the country and the world—the effect on labor, on life, on human welfare, of a reduction in the quantity, and consequent increase in the value of money, to go on through a series of years,—the enormity of the contemplated act ought to characterize it as a crime against the world.

And, apparently influenced by such catch-words as "honest money," "a dollar worth ninety cents," conscientious men, moral teachers, men who would scorn to harm any one, have o'erleapt the beam, and vaulted in the other scale, and are now lending their influence to as great a wrong as ever threatened the human race. A thousand years of the false theology against which THE INDEX so earnestly contends could not cause so much wrong, loss, and suffering as the policy of silver demonetization and gold redemption of paper, if carried out according to the Beecher and New England ideas of ethics, as applied to political economy, must cause in a single generation.

These are not mere sentiments. They are not my views simply. Warnings against silver demonetization, with prediction of the consequences, have been uttered by the ablest living economists and statesmen,—Disraeli, Cernuschi, Seyd, Laveleye, Wolowski, Fauchet, and others. But facts are better than theory, or the opinions even of the ablest thinkers; experience is better than hypothesis. Let us appeal to history and experience. We have an almost parallel case, as far as it goes, at hand. Between the passage of Pitt's Bank restriction act in 1797 and 1816, the coin expelled from England by issues of inconvertible paper money was, according to the statement of the Bank-directors to the Secret Committee of 1819, not less than £30,000,000 sterling, or about \$150,000,000. During the same period, according to Storch, a sum equal to \$75,000,000 was added to the metallic circulation of Europe by the substitution of paper money in Russia, and about \$100,000,000 by emissions of government paper money in Austria. Other States also issued smaller amounts of paper to the displacement of coin.

It is clearly shown by Storch and Leckie that the coin displaced by these issues of paper did not go out of Europe, but was added to the metallic circulation of France and other States that retained a purely metallic currency.

Leckie shows that these issues of paper and the redistribution of metallic money operated to raise the circulation of Europe from sixty to seventy per cent. coin valuation. The effect on prices was precisely the same as the sudden creation and addition of so much coin would have had. Prices, rated in metallic money rose, as the volume of money increased. In the countries that had issued paper money in excess, prices rose above the metallic level. The evidence of these facts is abundant, and contained in almost every writer who has treated of the financial condition of Europe during this period. But perhaps no writer has as well put causes and effects together as Mr. Leckie. It was an era of great industrial prosperity, every industry being stimulated to the highest activity by rising prices. The war ended, and then began the withdrawal of the paper issues and the redistribution of the metallic money, reducing the volume in the various countries to somewhere near the level existing before the war; that is, a new alteration in the value of money by depreciation, of from forty-five to fifty per cent! Prices fell, debtors were ruined, industries were prostrated, and the people underwent suffering and misery to the extreme of starvation.

Leckie says, "The most important circumstances which have affected the value of money in Europe

during the last thirty years may, nevertheless, be stated from authentic documents, in a form approaching so nearly to a demonstration as to satisfy any reasonable mind that the great distress which has been experienced of late years, both in Europe and America, is chiefly to be ascribed to the changes which have taken place in the value of money." But, mark: Europe did not attempt to aggravate the difficulty and distress, by, at the same time, abolishing half the precious metals. They were not fools enough to undertake that. That beautiful experiment was left for another generation—a generation that may be very conscientious, but whose conscience, in this respect, manifestly stands divorced from understanding.

Now take the period from 1861 to 1878. From 1861 to 1878 there was issued in the United States and by different States in Europe inconvertible paper equivalent to about \$2,500,000,000 of coin. This paper expelled metallic money from the countries issuing it, which went to swell the metallic circulation in other countries, and otherwise to add to the currency of the world. The circulating medium of the world was, therefore, in effect increased beyond the production of the precious metals by at least thirty per cent. The chief influence, however, of this increase has been felt in Europe and the United States, where it can hardly have been less than forty or fifty per cent; that is, the *metallic level* of prices was changed to that extent independently of the paper inflation above this in the United States. It was according to this supplemented and expanded metallic scale that prices were rated in Europe during this period; our war material and supplies were paid for by it. Coin debts were created according to this measure, and prices and business generally adjusted to it.

Then began the process of withdrawing the inconvertible paper, and the redistribution of metallic money with all the consequences that follow the appreciation of money. It would seem to be enough for us, with an extended volume of inconvertible paper, to aim at restoring the old metallic level. But, no; wiser (in our own conceit) than other generations, and having become overwhelmed with debt, we have proposed not to restore the old metallic level, but to join in a scheme to abolish, at the same time, half the precious metals, and thereby establish a *new and dearer metallic standard!* Would the Sandwich Islanders have undertaken such folly? No; I think we may safely conclude that we are the only people on earth that would do it.

But "F. S. C." reminds us that paper, in commercial countries, takes the place of coin. But has the quantity of coin nothing to do with the quantity of paper that can be maintained on a level with coin? Suppose gold to be the only money—the only world currency; and suppose first that we had no other currency: what proportion of the world currency, gold, would fall to us in the maintenance of the level of prices throughout the world? Probably not more than three or four hundred millions. Then with, say, \$400,000,000 of the world currency as our share, how much paper could be maintained at par with gold? By no possibility could a volume of paper larger than our share of the world currency be maintained at par with it. Nor is there but one way to maintain a paper currency on a level with gold, or world currency, and that is by *sufficiently limiting its volume*. This may be done by making it convertible into gold—if that is the only world currency—or by arbitrarily limiting the quantity. An inconvertible paper currency can be maintained at par with the currency of the world by limiting the volume; and a much larger volume of inconvertible paper will circulate at par than of convertible or purely credit currency. But the *maximum* volume of either that will circulate at par with world currency is measured by the volume of world currency that would naturally fall to us in the maintenance of prices. Hence to attempt specie resumption, and expect to keep in circulation, convertible into gold only, more paper than we would naturally have of gold, is a delusion. If we would not have as our share six hundred millions of gold, then to expect six hundred millions of paper to be kept at par in coin, no matter whether we start with fifty or five hundred millions of gold in the treasury, is to expect the age of wonders to return.

But, if the world currency includes both the precious metals, then the quantity that would fall to us would be twice as large; and twice as large a volume of paper could be maintained at par with coin. Generally, then, not only is the volume of convertible paper that can be kept in circulation limited by the precious metals, but the volume of safe credit itself is likewise limited more or less directly by the same conditions.

The delusion that the owner of bullion, under a state of free coinage, would make a profit, I think was sufficiently exploded in my former communication. The coining of money, where it is free, is nothing more than a public certification of weight and fineness; and an ounce of silver coin is worth no more coined than uncoined, since it would cost nothing to have it coined. To talk otherwise is to assert that an ounce of silver is more than an ounce. No one will give more gold, more of commodities, more labor, or more of anything for a given weight of coins than for the same weight of silver in a bar, provided it costs nothing to have the silver in the bar coined; and to claim that there will be any difference in the market between a bar of standard silver and the same weight coined (with free coinage) is to set up an absurdity. There is no profit to be derived by the producer of silver, or the owner of silver bullion in remonetization with free coinage, not shared in by all. The working-class lose nothing. On the contrary, their gain indirectly by stopping the constant increase in the value of money itself is incalculable.

Again, the talk about 412½ grains of silver being ninety cent dollar is nonsense. It may be fitted to the comprehension of a "country parson," but there is no sense in the talk about such a dollar. A cent is the hundredth part of a dollar; and a hundredth of 412½ grains of silver is as much as the hundredth part of 258.10 grains of gold. There are as many quarters to an apple as to an orange. To restore silver is to continue an old unit of value. It is true it may not be the same thing as the gold unit. Government does not undertake to give to 412½ grains of silver the same purchasing power as 25.8 grains of gold. No one government can do that. Nothing short of the concurrence of a preponderance of nations in a common ratio can secure it. Our contracts have been for weight of metal, with both metals as money.

If the demonetization of silver has increased the value of gold, that does not give those who manipulated the fraud a right to demand gold where the contract is coin. Never was a truer thing spoken than when Ewing said, "There is a faith due to the people as well as to the creditor." Let both be kept. I cannot discuss this point, however, without reminding those who talk about ninety cents on the dollar that 412½ grains of silver will buy more of anything in Boston or anywhere else in this country than it would four years ago. The reason for this I have given. And, in any light we may view the coin dollar, the creditor gets greater value than he gave.

While I have my pen in hand, let me say for Miss Leonard that she is right, and "F. S. C." wrong. Bank of England notes during the period referred to—from 1797 to 1816—were issued without reference to coin or bullion in the bank. In fact, nearly all the coin, so says the *Bullion Report*, left the country as its place was supplied by inconvertible paper. Nor are Bank of England notes now limited to, or do they "represent an equal amount of coin and bullion in the vaults." Since Peel's Act of 1844, Bank of England notes issued in excess of fourteen and a half millions of pounds—or now about fifteen millions—represent coin or bullion. The facts given by Miss Leonard are substantially true; and the history of the struggle England went through is full of warning to us. There is this difference, however, that I have pointed out, that, at the same time England was struggling to restore the metallic level of prices, Europe did not undertake, at the same time, to do away with half the precious metals; although England did aggravate the distress at home by adopting a single standard. But the effect was slight, because everywhere else silver remained money equally with gold. No; to alter directly or indirectly the value of money is to touch a spring that sets in motion an endless chain of causes that most unjustly affects the distribution of property, the rights and interests of labor, and works immeasurable and irreparable wrongs to the whole body politic, and especially to the lower and weaker classes, who, from their station in life, cannot be expected to know the operation of such forces.

It would be indeed the beginning of a new era if the conscience of the world would demand a new commandment,—one to be placed above all the rest, not only in the Decalogue, but in the constitution and laws of every government; and that to be, THOU SHALT NOT ALTER THE VALUE OF MONEY.

MARIETTA, Ohio, Feb. 13, 1878.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

"THE FORTUNE OF THE REPUBLIC."

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured yesterday afternoon in the Old South Church to a large audience. He was introduced by Dr. Samuel A. Green, and was received with hearty applause.

It is a rule, said the lecturer in beginning, that holds good in economy, as well as in hydraulics, that you must have your source higher than your tap. Mills, colleges, churches, have found out that secret. Our modern wealth stands on a few staples, and the interest which nations took in our war was exasperated by their interest in our cotton. What is cotton? One plant out of two hundred thousand known to botanists, the majority of which are called weeds. What is a weed? A plant whose virtues have not yet been discovered. Every one of those plants, probably, will yet become useful in some way. There is not a property in Nature that a mind will not be born to seek and to find. When gunpowder was discovered, modern war built itself upon that one product, as if the earth, water, gases, calorific, have not a million energies, the discovery of any one of which would change the art of war again, and put an end to all by the exterminating force man can apply. If this be true, in the useful and fine arts, that the power must be drawn from the superior force, or there will be no good work, does it hold less in our social and civil life?

In our politics, each aspirant who rises above the crowd, if he have sagacity, soon learns that it is by no means by obeying the vulgar weathercock of his party that real power is gained, but that he must often face and resist the party, and put them in fear; that the only title to their permanent respect and to a larger following is to see for himself what is the real public interest, and to stand for that. That is a principle; and all the cheering and hissing of the crowd must by-and-by accommodate itself to that. America is now the illustration of the theories of political economists; it is the topic to which all foreign journalists return as soon as they have told their local stories. In 1816, Napoleon prophesied that in twenty-five years America would dictate the politics of the world; and, though that prophecy was a little premature, it is fast becoming fulfilled. We find this country just passing through a great crisis in its history. We are in these days settling for ourselves and our descendants questions which, as they

shall be determined in one way or another, will make the peace and prosperity or the calamity of the next ages.

The subjects of education, society, labor, the direction of talent, of character, the nature and habits of the American, may well occupy us, and still more the question of religion. The humblest is daily challenged to give his opinion on practical questions; and, where so much civil and social freedom exists, nonsense even has a favorable effect. Placing the logic in the people has the effect of bringing it nearer to common-sense. The court of a monarch can sooner run into nonsense than a Republic, where everybody is looking on and criticising.

One hundred years ago the American people attempted to carry out the bill of political rights to an almost ideal perfection. They have made great strides in that direction since. They are now proceeding, instructed by their successes and their many failures, to carry out, not the bill of rights, but the bill of human duties. It is asserted that we shall be thrown at the mercy, not of mobs, but of an inferior class of politicians, who, by means of newspapers and caucuses, win the posts of power, and give their direction to affairs. We do not choose our own candidates—no, nor any other man's first choice,—but only the available candidate whom perhaps no man loves. Instead of character, there is a studious exclusion of character; and the people are flattered, not reprimanded. The country is governed in bar-rooms. Parties keep the old names, and exhibit a surprising capacity of creeping out of one snake-skin into another; and the grasshopper on top of Faneuil Hall gives a proper comment on the character of the men below.

The American always entertains the idea that legislation does not need careful consideration, because it can be repealed so easily, and so exposes him to but little danger of being entangled in the meshes of bad law. The people are right-minded enough; but they feel that they must pay their debts, and have the means of living well without pinching; and so it is useless to rely on them to go to the meeting or to give a vote, if thereby any check to this must-have-the-money side arises. The record of the election every now and then alarms people by the almost unanimous choice of the rogue and the burglar. How was it done? What lawless mob broke into the ward-room and threw those ballots? It was done by the very men you know,—the mildest, best-natured, most sensible people. They have been scared or drawn into some association whose act it was. Our politics are covered with shame. The spirit of our political economy is low and degraded. Man exists for his own sake, and not to add one to the State. The spirit of our political action, for the most part, considers nothing less than the sacredness of men. Party sacrifices men to the measure.

The faults of our system suggest their own remedy. After every mistake out of which disaster grows, people correct it with energy. The gracious lesson taught by all science to this country is, that the history of nations from first to last is advance. Nature works in immense time, and spends individuals and races prodigally to prepare new individuals and new races. Our communities, of which the town is the unit, are all educational. Town-meeting is, after the high-school, a higher school. Our legislature, to which every good farmer goes at once on trial, is a superior academy. Ours is the country of poor men. Here is practical democracy, here is the human race poured out over the continent to do itself justice. Here the mass of the people have their coats off, and have arrived at a sloven comfort. Every man is disposed to give his children a better education than he received himself. The schools are so numerous that every farmer and laborer is enabled to secure a precious primary education; and it is a rare thing to see a native American who cannot read and write. The facility of forming clubs for the discussion of questions secures the notoriety of those questions.

The people are loyal, law-loving, law-abiding; they prefer order, and have no taste for misrule or bad order. The people are so closely connected with the government that the law-makers keep up with the moral advance of the people; and in that is our safety. In this country there is a restless activity, a desire for gain, a feeling that each man can have as much of the continent as he can conquer. Our people are easily elated, easily depressed. They act on the moment, and from external impulse. They all lean on some other person. They follow the fact; they are led by success and not skill. Therefore, as soon as success stops, and the admirable man falls, they quit him, and remember that they long ago suspected his judgment; and they transfer their faith from him to the next prosperous person who has not blundered. Young men, if they fail the first time, throw up the game. The activity of our people up to the present time is a certain fatalism. We have accomplished much, but our civilization is incomplete.

It is not a question whether we shall be a multitude of people, for that has been settled; but whether we shall be the new nation, the guide and law-giver of all nations. If the temperate wise man were to look over our society, the first thing that would alarm him would be the European influence in the direction of luxuries. America is provincial,—it is an immense Halifax. Life has grown so costly that it threatens to kill us. Man is coming to value himself only for what he can buy. Man no longer conducts his own life; it is manufactured for him. Your tailor makes your clothes, the baker makes your bread, and the Bishop of London furnishes you with a creed. Therefore, whenever London and Paris have spoiled their own, bread can be spared to return to those cities. They sit and do nothing, and complain of the flatness of American life. They are not Americans; though they condescend to eat its bread and game, and sip its California wine. This spirit is not

American. A man for success must not be pure idealist, but he must have ideals, or he might as well be the horse he rides. Let the good citizen perform the duties put on him here and now. Constitution and law in America must be placed upon ethical principles. We should have hospitality and a fair field, with equal laws for all. Let all nations compete; and success to the strongest, the wisest, and the best.

At the close of the lecture proper, Mr. Emerson read a short poem, entitled "Joseph, the Nez Percé," which he said had been sent to him by a person who was entirely unknown to him.—*Boston Journal*, Feb. 28.

HOW THE CATHOLIC CHURCH EXALTS REASON.

In a lecture on the 16th inst., before an audience of all denominations, in St. Louis, Mo., which, the accounts state, was one of the largest ever gathered in that city, the eloquent Bishop Ryan said: "Catholics do not believe that they are bound to submit their intellect to the decision of a human institution. They have first convinced themselves that the Church to which they pay allegiance, and by which they are taught the truths of revelation, is a divine institution, that it is an unerring messenger from God to them; therefore if they submit to a decision of the Church, they submit to a decision of a tribunal which their own reason has already accepted as an unerring tribunal. If they were obliged to receive the decision without having already been convinced that this decision came from a tribunal that could not err, then they would be slaves; but they have a reason for submitting their reason. There is no possibility of slavery in this case. There is, on the contrary, a consolation for the real dignity of human reason. If there was a church authority that was not unerring, and that church authority obliged some to submit to its decision, then my reason would be degraded. Having come to a certain conviction on a certain point, I will never yield that reason that God gave me, except to the decision of a tribunal which that reason has already accepted as unerring. (Applause.) The man holds the balance in his hand. The scale against the doctrine descends, the other ascends. Now comes a new reason, which he did not know before when he weighed the arguments. A decision has come to him from a tribunal which his reason has accepted as unerring. It is a new argument which he places into the scale that was lightest before. This new argument weighs down that scale; and, bowing his head, he says—his intelligence also bowing—'Proso, I receive it: I believe it.' My own reason accepts it; I am no slave in this decision. Dearer to me and to every man, dearer than was Isaac to Abraham, is his reason. It is what makes a man all that he is. And as Abraham would have erred grievously if he had offered his son upon the mountain unless he were absolutely certain of God's stern behests, he never could have offered to sacrifice that son upon a probability that God would require it. He never could have offered to sacrifice that son upon a message received from Almighty God, unless, indeed, that messenger was rendered unerring by Almighty God; but having received the order, and having been certain of that order, then he prepares to offer his son. So with my reason; I will offer it only on the mountain of God. I will offer it only at God's behest; and even then I have only to offer it, not to sacrifice it. Reason, like Isaac, is offered; but reason, like Isaac, is not sacrificed, because there comes in a reason for giving up my reason, as it were, at the time. There comes in this decision of this unerring tribunal; and therefore the dignity of human reason is only preserved where the Church is an unerring Church. The dignity of human reason is preserved only where a man is certain he hears the command of Almighty God, and hears it through a messenger that cannot deliver a false report." (Applause.)—*New York Tablet*, Jan. 5.

A LETTER from Berlin in the *St. Petersburg Zeitung* says that the Socialist Congress which met at Gotha this year having decided to establish periodicals with the object of spreading Socialist doctrines in Germany, two such periodicals have now appeared,—the *Future*, a review, published at Berlin; and the *New Society*, a monthly magazine, edited by Dr. Wiede, at Zurich. The first number of the *Future* discusses a proposal made by the Danish social reformer Lunde, for securing annuities to workmen after they attain the age of thirty. The amount of the annuity is to increase as its recipient grows older, and it is to be paid by the State out of the proceeds of a tax levied upon the employers in the proportion of 12½ per cent. on the wages of each workman employed by them who is more than eighteen years of age. The writer in the *Future* warmly approves of the idea of such an annuity; but he objects to the State having anything to do with the matter, and thinks it should be an indispensable consequence of the system that it should not reduce the rate of wages,—though how this is to be prevented he does not say. In another article on "Socialism and Science," a sketch is promised of an ideal socialist state in all its various phases. The programme of the *New Society* is stated as follows: "Instead of the system of imposing pecuniary and military sacrifices on the masses in favor of a certain number of privileged persons, which has now reached its culminating point and is drawing towards its downfall, a new society must arise"; and in an article on "The Tendencies of Society opposed to Socialism," it is urged that modern society, and not socialism, is founded on immoral principles, and that the former, being chiefly composed of people without honor or principle, should be destroyed. The correspondent adds that socialism has become

very popular of late in the German universities, and that at Berlin the socialist propaganda has been so successful during the last few months that several hundred of the students of the Berlin university, under the leadership of the ex-professor, Dr. Dühring, now openly profess socialist principles.

THAT PERSON of a name so remarkable that it would seem to have come from a book of nonsense verses—the Akhoond of Swat—is dead. Swat is on the northwest frontier of India, and in this region lived the Akhoond, a venerable old man, esteemed so much of a saint that journeys were made by thousands as acts of devotion to see him. His fame was great over all India; and he has been understood as being able to sway the Mussulman population, and to have instigated all the British troubles with the hill tribes on the frontier.

Poetry.

(FOR THE INDEX.)

TWO HEATHEN.

BY C. APLIN.

Socrates.

A sultry day in Athens. On the ear,
The pleasant plashing of the fountain fell
Like merry music. Heated and athirst
Came Socrates; and, filling up his cup,
He sipped a drop, and sipped, and sipped again
So like a miser dealing out his hoard,
That one who chanced to see said curiously,
"Now tell me, Socrates, I pray thee, why
Thou drainest not at once the brimming cup,
But lo'at to tease thy thirsty throat, and balk
Desire of half its honest pleasure thus?"
"That I may know," said Socrates, "that still
Strong appetite is subject unto stronger will."
This was a man who wore his manhood's crown,
Nor doffed it even at the gate of death.

Epaminondas.

Epaminondas had given deep offence
Unto the Theban people; whereupon,
To mingle insult with revenge, they chose
The meanest, filthiest office in their gift,
And gave it him. It is the fatal error
Of vice and folly, that they will misprize
The god-like power that clothes integrity.
They did but put the diamond to the wheel,
To prove its worth. 'Twas not the hero fell:
The office rose; and the sweet dignity
With which he filled the place so clung to it,
Thenceforth it was a post of highest honor.
So evil vainly wastes its strength to show
How weak is wrong against a royal soul.

(FOR THE INDEX.)

TO BISMARCK AND GLADSTONE.

Though still the valley-lands lie dim and darkling,
And sunken glens are hid in deepest night,
Upon your radiant brow and restless helms is sparkling,
Pulsant champions of Truth, the morning's light.

For surely now the Dragon lies a-dying
In cavern foul,—the Dragon and his ancient brood,
Wherein your brothers' bones of other years thick-lying
Have long been strown in countless ghastly multitude.

'E'en in his days of power they dared to enter
With sun bright shafts his den where daylight ever falls.
Gladly of fiery death they took the venture,
While planting lethal wounds beneath his scales.

The victory which perches in your banners,
With agonies ineffable they helped to win.
Fire was their meed, not psalms and hosannahs,
The priestly faggot-fire, which shrivels fast the skin.

The dust of glorious Bruno stirs and flashes,
Enkindled by the bolts you hurl into his hold;
Truth's thousand martyrs from indignant ashes
Upspring to cheer the blows you deal the Anarch old.*

Their spirits unappeased will fiercely hover
In airy squadrons o'er his Baal-temple vast,
Until from cross to base 'tis toppled over,
And o'er the earth in tumbled, confused heaps 'tis cast.

Apollo from the stricken Python turning
Was harbinger of you, O latest sons of light!
Whose helms and spears with beams auroral burning
Proclaim the final hour of superstitious night.

1874.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 9.

R. P. Thompson, \$4; J. Aulbach, 10 cents; E. W. Keeler, \$3.20; G. W. Robinson, \$3.20; W. Hanford, \$3.20; F. H. Buchanan, \$3.20; J. Frank Sisson, \$3.20; Geo. W. Wood, \$3.20; A. Vacher, \$3.71; P. S. Crowell, \$10; S. K. Hazeltine, \$1.46; James Hynes, \$1; Charles Voysey, \$4.55; John Young, \$6.00; David Bronson, \$66.20; Dr. John Winslow, \$1; B. L. Hill, \$1; Mrs. M. S. Ehle, \$1; Mrs. O. G. Francis, \$3.20; Joseph DeGodt, \$3; Kate Grant Biles, \$3; F. T. Stuart, \$3.20; David B. Bates, \$3.20; Elmira Y. Howard, \$2.50; Carl Edelhelm, \$3.20; H. F. Marshall, \$2.20; W. H. Spencer, \$3.20; Alvin Hoyt, \$3; John Hutchings, \$3.50; Jos. M. Lyon, \$3.20; Mrs. O. Dumas, \$1; W. P. Wilson, \$2; James Dillaway, \$5; Cash, 25 cents; S. B. Smith, \$8; S. S. Green, \$8.20; E. F. Hitchcock, 80 cents; T. B. Skinner, 25 cents; F. S. Andrews, 80 cents; Mrs. C. R. Sherman, \$1.

*"Anarch old"—MILTON.

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 14, 1878.

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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SPECIAL NOTICE.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the Publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of the Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

WM. J. POTTER,
Secretary F.R.A.

THERE is always a Mephistophelian leer in the face of the New York Sun, as it politely takes off its hat to Christianity, and stabs it in the back. This is a sufficiently repulsive specimen: "The American Bible Society is sadly short of money, and calls aloud for \$140,000. Its annual expenditures are about \$250,000. Its receipts are made up of collections, and of donations from individuals, also of legacies. Not so many people are dying and leaving money to the society as there were some time ago, although it is remembered in the wills of many wealthy people who are not dead yet. Of course the managers are not praying for the demise of any of these good people; but it is safe to say that the news of the departure of a few of the richest would be received with a decorous resignation to the will of Divine Providence."

THE WINSTED (Connecticut) Press of February 28 puts some homely truth in phraseology more forcible than elegant or refined: "At last! We like it, and thought it would come. It is now proposed to exempt church-members from the poll-tax, on account of 'their moral influence on society.' The ground on which the dead wood and stone—huge piles of wealth of which the Church edifices are built—are now exempted from taxation. How much better are the living church-members than the dead, inert wood-piles, stone heaps, or brick yards in which they worship! Aye, that's it; exempt the dear, good members themselves. It is they and not their church edifices, which exert the moral influence in society. If you will exempt the church property, by all means exempt the church-members. Here's consistency and the 'harmony of things,' at all events. Either exempt both, or tax both; and don't be inconsistent, — fools any longer."

"HATRED OF JESUS CHRIST."

In that closing portion of Mr. Frothingham's lecture on "The Assaults of Christianity" which we publish this week by the lecturer's unsolicited permission, there are only a few phrases which we should like to change; the delineation of the position held by the modern "assailant of Christianity" is so fairly made that we accept it as our own. We are unconscious, it is true, of any wish either to "demolish the beauties" or "humble the renown" of Christianity, since our anti-Christianity has its roots in no sentiment, good or bad, but rather in the deepest convictions of reason and conscience. Those "beauties" we have repeatedly acknowledged; the "renown" it would be childish to dispute and captious to belittle; we cordially accept both as facts of history which there is no motive to oppose. Our opposition to Christianity is based on the results of our analysis of its essential principles and spirit; what the grounds of this opposition are is clearly set forth in the Index Tract to which Mr. Frothingham alludes—the "Impeachment of Christianity." The rupture with the Christian religion is no peculiarity of ours—it is the conscious or unconscious peculiarity of the intellect of the nineteenth century. It is no special importance in our own personality that has led Mr. Frothingham to single us out to represent the modern phase of the eternal protest of human nature against despotism in religion; it was rather the fact that circumstances, concentrating our attention on the rooted hostility of Christianity to all true freedom of the human soul, naturally conducted us to a more succinct, plain, and systematic statement of the issue than happens to be at hand elsewhere. What he portrays so justly and forcibly is the conscious self-emancipation of MODERN THOUGHT from the venerable but despotic authority of the Christian religion; and it is only as one of countless illustrations of this that our name, for reasons of convenience, became useful for his purpose.

At the same time, while we accept as our own, with regret but without complaint, the position and work of an "assailant of Christianity," we are compelled to add that this anti-Christian position and work are merely incidental. It would be a wretchedly contracted soul that could content itself with being a mere "assailant" of anything. The clear-sighted expounder of the evolution philosophy is necessarily an "assailant" of the special-creation hypothesis; but, in his own mind, is his position a negative or combative one? Far from it; the theory he rejects is miserably cramped and pinched, compared with that which he accepts. So is it with Christianity; the enlightened freethinker opposes it because it stupidly sets itself to oppose human progress, like the bull before the locomotive. But the locomotive is something more than a mere "assailant" of the bull; it assails him sufficiently to throw him out of the way, and then proceeds to accomplish its journey. It is a sad necessity of progress that it must necessarily "assail" whatever undertakes to stop it; and that is the trouble with the Christian religion. Christianity does not know enough to get out of the way; hence it comes into calamitous contact with the cow-catcher. But that collision is a mere incident in the relentless movement of humanity to its destined goal. Free Religion has objects so vast, so positive, so constructive, so sublime, that it cannot stop to be a mere "assailant"; it must repel the assaults of its enemies, of which Christianity is indeed the most persistent, but then must press forward to achieve for mankind that splendid future which it burns to build. Its ideal is its own—grand, radiant, glorious. Besides this ideal, Christianity shrinks into absolute pettiness. It is indeed strong, burly, and brutal in the world of fact, intent on crushing out the successor to itself which it cannot comprehend, and can only hate; yet in the world of ideas it is so starved, so poverty-stricken, so ineffably and infinitely beneath the level of that ideal which it persecutes, that it would be a humiliation absolutely insufferable for Free Religion to think of itself one moment as a mere "assailant of Christianity." Whoever cannot see through all our anti-Christianity the great glow of that ideal which extinguishes the ideal of Christianity as the dawn extinguishes a smoky candle, has verily read THE INDEX like one that has no eyes.

Yet THE INDEX has such readers. Quoting several of the paragraphs of Mr. Frothingham's present lecture which we published a fortnight ago, with some of our own comments, the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman* of February 23, with almost incredible obtuseness, says:—

"We put these extracts on record as evidence

which proves, by the avowal and profession of the President of the Liberal League, that the immediate motive and inspiration of that movement is not love of mankind or love of country, but hatred of Jesus Christ!"

We assure our readers that the writer of these words did not in the least intend to lie. He meant to tell the truth, undoubtedly; he did not mean to be guilty of a malicious and wicked falsehood. No; he simply did not know any better. He cannot understand how one can reject and strenuously oppose a system without personally hating its founder. His confused and narrowed intellect cannot comprehend how any man can distinguish between persons and ideas,—how he can measure the goodness of the former by the degree of their fidelity to the ideals they actually cherished, while he measures the goodness of the latter by the degree of their conformity to the ascertained truth of things. If the *Christian Statesman* caricaturist had possessed even a tittle of Mr. Frothingham's fine critical insight, he would have perceived at once that Jesus Christ is to us so vague and shadowy a form, so distorted by legendary myths and so obscured by dogmatic symbolisms, that he has long since ceased to be an object either of hatred or of love,—that he only possesses importance as the founder of a vast doctrinal and institutional system which has grown out of the seed he planted,—that our only concern is with this developed system as a fact of the present, and not at all with its ancient founder, on whom we seldom spend a thought,—and that we oppose this system as a whole, notwithstanding the incidental good it does, because it powerfully tends to keep men in that very state of ignorance and spiritual childishness in which alone its influence can do much good. All this is quite above the comprehension of this usually not muddy-minded writer; he would not stoop to the baseness of calumnious falsification, but has been warped to amazing misrepresentation by religious prejudices and preconceptions which seem to have almost extinguished his intellectual perceptions. We hold him up as a really pathetic example of the manner in which Christianity can stunt the faculties of a naturally intelligent and clear-headed man till he cannot, with the best motives, help printing nonsense unworthy even of a Flathead Indian. Either that, or else an alternative we do not choose even to suggest.

CAPTURE OF NEW MEXICO BY THE JESUITS.

After the united kingdom of Italy, under Victor Emanuel, had taken possession of Rome as the national capital, a number of Jesuits emigrated to New Mexico, where they founded a large colony. They established a newspaper, and immediately set themselves to work to acquire political control of the Territory. They succeeded in getting a large majority of the Legislature, and passed a bill incorporating the Society of Jesus, authorizing it to hold and dispose of property without limit, exempting this property from taxation, granting permission to open untaxed schools free from government control, etc. Against the protests of the minority, and without allowing any debate, this bill was passed under a suspension of the rules. Hon. William Breden, Attorney-General of the Territory, gave his official opinion that this act was in violation of the laws of the United States. Governor Axtell vetoed it in a message from which we quote the following passage:—

"If you pass this bill over General Breden's opinion, and over my veto, you will do so with your eyes open, in violation of your oaths of office, and the laws of the United States. There are many other objections to the bill, a few only of which I will bring to your notice. It is difficult to decide whether the man who seeks to establish the Society or the Society which he seeks to establish is worse. Both are so bad you cannot decide between them. This Neapolitan adventurer, Gasparri, teaches the public that his dogmas and assertions are superior to the statutes of the United States and the laws of the Territory. No doctrine or teaching can be more dangerous to good government than this, especially in New Mexico, where the mass of the people are ignorant. He also, by his writings and harangues, endeavors to excite animosities, and to stimulate the people to war on those legitimately exercising civil authority over them, and to acts of violence. He comes here while the Legislative Assembly is in session, and lobbies in the most brazen and shameless manner to defeat needed and wholesome laws, and to force through bills antagonistic to the laws of the United States. Two years ago he intruded himself in the Lower House, and remained within the bar and by the Speaker's side till he forced the passage of this bill; but at that session it was defeated by an honest legislative council. He now presents himself again; and, being fully informed that what he asks is contrary to the laws of the United States, urges you to violate your oaths and pass the bill. The Society which he seeks to establish in New Mexico is

worthy of just such a leader. It has been denounced time and again by the head of the Catholic Church, and justly expelled from the most enlightened countries of Europe. But, apart from the dangerous character of its chief, the bill is specially objectionable because it does not require that the incorporators shall be citizens of the United States, nor residents of New Mexico. The number who may be hereafter associated with them is unlimited, and they might all be aliens and reside abroad. Again, the bill here permits these people to own free of taxation an unlimited amount of property. They are permitted to own all kinds of real and personal estate in all parts of the Territory, and are not subject to pay anything toward the support of the government. The provisions of the bill are contrary to public policy and in direct violation of the laws of the United States, and cannot receive my approval."

Notwithstanding, the bill was passed over the Governor's veto as promptly as in the first instance, and is now a law. Immediately on the heels of this measure, a bill was introduced granting to the "Christian Brothers" (another Catholic organization) twenty-four thousand dollars annually out of the Territorial Treasury, in order to endow a college at Santa Fé; and this bill will undoubtedly be forced through the legislature, as before, over the Governor's veto.

Inasmuch as all Territorial legislation is subject to revision by Congress, it is inevitable that this whole subject will be brought up sooner or later for Congressional action. The necessity of some amendment of the Constitution on this most "vital issue" will become manifest. Senator Edmund's Bible Amendment, now that it has once been proposed, will not be voluntarily withdrawn or changed. All Congressmen who want the votes of the great Evangelical party will be sure to vote for it; all who want the votes of the Roman Catholics will vote against it. These two classes of Congressmen include nearly all, if not all, the members of both houses of Congress; we do not know one—no, not one—who will dare to speak boldly and unequivocally in behalf of the strictly secular principle. The great battle on this question, which is coming nearer and nearer every day, will be practically between Orthodox Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, crouching half-concealed behind the Republican and Democratic parties; where will the grand idea of Secular Government, which created the Constitution, find defenders? Either there will be no action, in which case the Jesuits of New Mexico will enjoy their victory to the full and muster confidently for fresh victories of the same sort; or else the Bible Amendment will be rushed through successfully, in which case Orthodox Protestantism will have succeeded in destroying totally the secularity of the Constitution. O that this sublime cause of Secular Government had but one brave voice in the halls of Congress! O that the National Liberal League were already strong enough to send at least one Senator or one Representative to stand, like Charles Sumner, with unflinching fidelity to this greater than Sumner's cause!

The IDEAL OF AMERICA is kicked like a foot-ball between the feet of its enemies, and it matters little which of their factions shall win the game. The Constitution, made by giants, has fallen into the hands of pygmies; the Republic, founded by patriots for the good of all, has been captured by sectarians, greedy only of victory over each other. And the Liberals, to whom has descended the mighty task of preserving and perfecting the work of the fathers, stand stupefied and paralyzed, while the resplendent ideal they are set to defend is butchered before their eyes. Tell them they owe a debt of moral earnestness and self-sacrifice to themselves, to their country, to mankind, and they smile vacantly, put their hands in their pockets, and languidly murmur: "Pshaw—alarmism! There is no danger!"

True. There is no danger but the plotted murder of a Nation's ideal. Who cares for that?

THE REVOLUTIONISTS AT WORK IN WASHINGTON.

In its issue of February 28, the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman*, the organ of the "National Reform Association" which aims to Christianize the Constitution, made the following very significant announcement:—

The National [Reform] Association at its last session, on motion of Mr. John Alexander, adopted the following resolution:—

"WHEREAS, The relation of Christianity to the government is now open to discussion under the proposal in the Senate to amend the Constitution of the United States; therefore,

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to proceed to Washington with the purpose of presenting to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate such form of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as this Association advocates."

Mr. Brunot, the President, Mr. Alexander, Dr. Edwards, of Illinois, and the Rev. D. M'Allister were appointed members of the Committee under this resolution, and the Executive Committee was empowered to fill vacancies and to add other names, at their discretion. It is hoped the Committee will be able to discharge this duty at an early day.

It is a terrible blunder to fancy, with the Springfield *Republican*, that this "God in the Constitution" movement is not a "vital issue." The simple and unpalatable truth is that the Constitution is only negatively secular; it carefully refrains from recognizing any "established religion," and forbids Congress to establish any; but it does not contain such provisions as would prevent the violation of its own secular spirit in the practical administration of the government. Hence the door has been left open to the plots of the restless and eternally encroaching spirit of clericalism, and this advantage has been seized and used by it to the utmost. The Church Power is growing and strengthening itself in the government precisely as the Slave Power did previous to 1860; and, like that, it is certain to revolt against the nation whenever it finds itself resolutely inhibited from further aggressions. The American people, as a whole, have never settled the religious question; they have never, as a whole, comprehended the true relations of Church and State, and have never fully grasped the ideal which created their own secular Constitution. This was framed by men wiser than their generation,—wiser, we fear, than our own; and the present inherits from the past a "great, unfinished issue." The vast forces involved are silently, imperceptibly, but rapidly arraying themselves for the conflict; the tremendous controversy between Naturalism and Supernaturalism in human government and society, never yet decided by the great Republic in any final form, has got to be settled with full national consciousness of all its bearings.

On the one hand, the National Reform Association, cunningly pretending that a union of the State with Christianity is not a union of the State with the Church, designedly obscures the issue, and plots persistently to smuggle the Protestant Christian creed into the Constitution under pretence of "moral reform"; it is the old devil of priestly ambition and lust of power disguised as an angel of light. On the other hand, the National Liberal League presents the ideal of the framers of the Constitution, made more clear, more self-conscious, and more fully developed, and expressing the determination of a great people to govern itself by the laws of natural reason and justice rather than by any supernaturalism, however painted or masked. The two ideas thus opposed are competing openly for possession of the future; they present an issue more profound, more wide-reaching, more heavily freighted with consequences of good or evil to the whole civilized world, than was ever yet submitted in any land to the arbitrament of popular suffrage; and there is no possibility of this nation's escaping the necessity of deciding it *yes* or *no*. The hour of decision may be far or near, but coming it is, and every deep reader of this age discerns the unmistakable signs of its approach. It is big with destiny, and will direct, at least for long centuries, the whole pathway of civilization in this Western World.

Fortunately, the wiser and nobler ideal has the advantage of occupying the ground already: it is fortunately the ideal of secular or natural government which the Constitution clearly, if somewhat crudely, embodies. The Christian ideal cannot oust it thence without a radical and ruinous revolution. This advantage of possession, however, great as it is, will prove to have been a measureless misfortune, if it continues to blind the liberals of the country to the imminence and gravity of the approaching issue. *Votes will settle this issue at last.* If those who comprehend the irreconcilable antagonism of the two ideals now threatening each other, like two thunder-clouds swollen with lightnings and winds and rains, neglect the duty of educating the voters betimes, they are preparing a defeat for human civilization which will be a more monstrous Bull Run, to be redeemed only by incalculable suffering, exertion, and cost. Liberals! You see what the enemies of freedom are doing: what are you doing about it now?

TEMPERANCE REFORM BY MORAL INFLUENCES.

Rev. David H. Clark, minister of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Massachusetts, transmits for publication the following resolutions, recently adopted by his society:—

We, the congregation, assembled at the regular Sunday afternoon meeting in Cosman Hall, com-

posed of members and friends of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, take occasion from the newly-arrived interest in the temperance cause, in our region and so extensively elsewhere, to record anew our emphatic testimony in behalf of that noble cause, of all right and wise measures to promote it. Recognizing the incalculable evil, and countless pernicious consequences of intemperance, we heartily rejoice in the wide-spread re-awakening of zeal and activity against its continuance and extension; in the cheering measure of success which is attending the efforts for its suppression; and in the promise thereby seeming to be given of still greater and happier results in the future than the past has achieved. While unreservedly conceding to every worker in the good cause a perfect right to hold and express such views as to him seem true touching the nature of the forces which impel the present movement, and win its successes, we, in the simple exercise of this right for ourselves, which we concede to others, affirm our belief that it is due to the might of truth and right, and their normal relation to the human mind and conscience and heart, and not to any supernatural force, save that which normally acts through these, in all enterprises of moral reform. We hold that it would be alike unwise itself and unjust to a large class of effective workers in the temperance cause, to complicate it with any form of theology, or make it any way or degree subservient to the ecclesiastical interests of any religious sect or group of sects, or take out of the sphere of purely moral and humanitarian effort, such as all friends of morality and humanity can consistently join in; and that any tendency in this direction, in the methods of any of our fellow-workers, is to be earnestly deprecated by all intelligent lovers of the common cause. We extend our warm and tender sympathy and hearty encouragement to those who, having been in bondage to the appetite of strong drink, are now, under the influence of this great awakening, striving to break their bonds and recover their manhood; and we exhort them to hold fast their worthy purpose, and wish them a triumphant issue of their struggle against evil habits and appetite.

Communications.

THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY.

To all arguments for immortality materialists reply by demanding evidence of the existence of a soul. This is quite fair; but it is also reasonable to claim that, on a subtle question like this, cogent evidence shall be admitted. To say I will not believe in a spiritual existence unless it can be subjected to physical observation is equivalent to saying, "I will not believe that a thing is black unless I can see it is white; for an intangible existence to prove tangible would be positive evidence of its intangible nonentity. We don't expect to see with our ears or to hear with our eyes; and why should we expect any sense to present the supersensual to us? It is only by spiritual faculties that we could hope to investigate spiritual things. Have we, then, an intangible existence corresponding with our tangible one which will enable us to pursue these inquiries? I perceive that truth is the agreement of thought with fact. I hear the counsels of the wise spoken in distant ages. Because you cannot discover organs by which I do this, am I to admit that I have no faculties which are the equivalents of hearing or seeing? Truth is invisible to my eyes: the voices of the dead never smite upon my tympanum; yet I am conscious of both, and cannot believe that I am nothing but muscles that contract and sensations which are excited by them. When you have examined every organ of my body, and mastered the details of their mechanism, the motive power still eludes you; the Me still asserts its supremacy. At the earliest point to which we can carry our inquiries, we find there is something which necessitates that combination of forces which we call a body. Some of these forces carry on the functions of physical life, and these act without intermission. Others relate to mental phenomena, and their action is frequently suspended. They are not, therefore, indispensable to physical existence; consequently cannot be identical with it.

When the last muscular contraction has been achieved, and the molecular change has been expressed, we may fairly conclude that physical action is over. What then occurs? I think we may state it thus: By sensation, I eat the impressions that the senses have provided for me; by reason, I digest them; by intuition, I absorb the vitality of them; by consciousness, I develop mental faculties; and by will I use them. Is not this the counterpart of that process which builds up our natural body? It is reasonable to infer that the being thus evolved is subject to universal law, and could not exist without the food that is proper for it. But you might as well assert that an unborn babe must always be fed through its mother as assume that the Me could not receive its sustenance in some independent manner. According to physics, the Me lives upon nothing but the movements of matter corresponding with external phenomena. But manifestly it is the ideas conveyed by these movements which nourish and develop it. A medley of sounds or colors oppresses my senses without being sense to me. Impart order to them, and the form which they assume will convey an idea that the Me can assimilate. Pray, what is there material in an idea? The Me, moreover, seems to have no chemical affinities, and the absorption of matter is apparently incompatible with its organization. Now it is through chemical affinities that all physical changes must occur; consequently, a being absolutely without these affinities could not be dissolved by them. How, then, can the

Me be subject to physical death? There is also a universal law that nothing is self-destructive. Nothing, therefore, can be essentially identical with that which destroys it. Now there are only two kinds of being possible. That which can die and that which cannot die. None will deny that the material body is mortal. Unquestionably, too, the Me can will a course of action that must result in death of the body; that is, the Me can dissolve the concurrence of forces which constitutes animal life.

If, then, there are only two sorts of life, and nothing is self-destructive, that which has the power to kill must of necessity be immortal. To me it seems the only logical conclusion, that if a man can commit physical suicide, he must possess spiritual immortality. If it be objected that in some cases the decay of a physical organ destroys mental power, I should answer thus: With recovered health, the Me has been found still to possess all its knowledge, and the idiosyncrasies that previously characterized it. Therefore, such an occurrence should rather be considered as an interruption of communication than the destruction of the communicator. Besides, as through Nature we find that only the fittest forms survive, why should not Me be subject to the same law and a struggle for immortality be carried on, analogous to the struggle for mortality? To some, annihilation would be a boon; and we cannot hope that they will live forever. It is certain, however, that if the Me is not a secretion of the body, but the force which originated it, there is no necessity for its extinction with the physical life. That which was before the body may be after it. R. H. H.

LONDON, February, 1878.

ABOLITION OF THE PRESIDENCY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

You are aware of the existence of the Union of Radicals; you have read the platform they agreed upon at Philadelphia during the Centennial; you consequently know the objects they work for; and, if it was only to give you information respecting this Union of Radicals, the pen had better been left at rest. You also know that there is no other association of men and women in the country that take so lively an interest in, and is in so great a degree in sympathy with, the movement of the Liberal League as the Union of Radicals. The following passage, taken from its platform, illustrates this:—

"Religious belief or unbelief is a matter of the mental and moral needs of each individual, corresponding to his or her individual culture or intellect. It must be left to mental development, as mediated by free instruction and discussion through word and pen. According to its whole nature, it is exempt from all authoritative influence or control. The State, therefore, must interfere with its domain and development neither by prohibition nor command, and has to abstain from all laws, institutions, and regulations which are subservient to belief or unbelief, or lay any restraint upon its citizens regarding them. All such laws, institutions, and regulations are infringements upon the personal rights and the liberty of conscience of the citizens differing in their belief and manner of thought, and are as tyrannical as they are contrary to reason, while at the same time directly antagonistic to the spirit of the Constitution; they are, therefore, as soon as possible to be prohibited by a special amendment to the Constitution." To this passage is enumerated a long list of such infringements.

Now from this, one would infer that there is no difference between the Liberal League and the Union of Radicals. But there is. While the Liberal League restricts its platform to the one question of total separation of Church and State, and concentrates all its energy upon this one point, the Union of Radicals has issued a general declaration of principles relating to political, social, and religious questions which at present agitate the minds of men, and are of prime importance. These principles are specified in the platform.

One of the leading principles is the abolition of the presidency. This question has been fully discussed among radicals. Karl Heinzen, the ablest German writer in this country, has, in his *Pionier*, and in pamphlets, upheld it with sound, logical arguments since almost twenty-five years. While in the beginning, the abolition of the presidency has been systematically ignored, it has of late, especially since the last Presidential campaign, been receiving attention from such influential papers as the *Cincinnati Commercial* and others. And now comes Prof. Goldwin Smith, lecturer on English and Constitutional History at Cornell University, in favor of the abolition of the presidency. Prof. Smith is at present absent in England. He wrote an article on "The Ninety Years Agony of France," for the *Contemporary Review*, which is republished in the supplement of the *Popular Science Monthly* for January, from which the following is taken:—

"So long as there is a single head to the State, there will always be some danger of a revival of monarchical pretensions, and of a dispute as to the seat of the sovereign power,—at least in any country where monarchy has long existed and monarchical ideas have taken root. America is Republican soil, on which hardly any but Democratic ideas can grow. The sovereignty of the nation is firmly established, not only in documents, but in the minds of the people. The President is elected for a short term, his powers are clearly bounded by written law, he has hardly any military force at his command; yet Jackson showed a tendency to encroachment; and the jobbers who plundered the community under Grant betrayed their desire not only of increasing, but of perpetuating, his power. A single head of the State is a fancied necessity. The Swiss Constitution, which, instead of a single man, has a council with a president whose function is only to preside, presents great

advantages in this respect, and is the safest model for adoption. It, moreover, gets rid of that which is the scourge even of America,—but far more of any country where the questions that divide parties are so fundamental, and party hostility is so deadly as in France—a Presidential election, which periodically stirs up from their depths all the most violent passions, excites the most turbulent ambitions, and brings all questions to a dangerous head. The framers of the American Constitution were in some degree misled, like the framers of the French Constitution, by their British model, which they reproduced in a republican form: they imagined that it was necessary to have something in place of the king; and the elective presidency with all its evils is the result."

Now that Goldwin Smith has taken the lead, will not one of the many able writers of THE INDEX take up the subject of the abolition of the presidency?

Yours truly, GEORGE SCHUMM.

ITHACA, N. Y., February 22.

IS IT WORTH PRESERVING?

In the minds of all people, even of liberals and freethinkers, who deplore the results of what they unhesitatingly call a false religious system, there is a latent reverence for Christianity, a feeling of tenderness, which makes them endeavor to shield it whenever a strong word or direct blow is aimed against it. "For the sake of the good it has done," they say.

If a person remarks, "I am opposed to Christianity," the rejoinder and correction follows: "You mean you are opposed to what is commonly called Christianity." To which I affirm that Christianity with all the fashionable amendments, with all the worldly alterations to adapt, in some degree, what is utterly unfitted to any human need, is infinitely preferable to Christianity pure and according to its original significance. That to profess spiritual allegiance, and diverge in conduct, is hypocrisy, I do not deny; but better the improved conduct with hypocrisy, base as that is, than downright idolatry and superstition. Civilization to-day is the improved conduct with hypocrisy; now cannot we go a step further, and avow candidly that we do not believe in what we practically discredit?

The true Christian, the consistent, devout follower of Christ, is the fanatical devotee, the ascetic, the celibate, who abjures the world, the flesh, and the devil; who pursues no avocation, but spends his time mortifying his natural desires, and abusing his physique; who avoids his fellow-men, for that is devil socially; who avoids knowledge, for that is devil intellectually; who keeps out of marriage, for that is carnal; who forms no ties, for any tie would draw him away from his superstitious absorption,—his sole duty and responsibility being to offer praise without ceasing to the utterly unpraiseworthy god of his imagination. Such a creature obeys the commandments, lives up to the gospel text, and imitates Christ pretty accurately. If he can contrive to die a martyr's death, all the better; but somehow that is a climax in which, for all the glory, he prefers to make an unbeliever the substitute.

The Scriptures cannot by any elastic process whatsoever be made to serve as a text-book, or moral code for modern society, or in fact for society at all. Civilization in its very inception is anti-Christian. Society is composed of individual members, and personal individuality is anti-Christian. Civilized society allows freedom to its members, and personal freedom is anti-Christian; the Christian regulation being, "Children, obey your parents," "Wives, obey your husbands," "Servants, obey your masters," all, without exception, obey the Church; for any infraction or disobedience God punishes mankind, by the novel and humane expedients so carefully copied in our prison and reform-school discipline: men punish women, parents their children, monarchs their subjects; making cruelty right, exile right, the inquisition right, every species of human atrocity right; making authority absolute, freedom inadmissible. That is Christianity, based upon the Bible, and Christ as the central personality.

Hence any assumption of human rights is essentially anti-Christian,—anything that inspires self-respect, that resists tyranny, that seeks improvement, that longs for happiness, that abates grievances, that sheds brightness, that changes conditions for the better in any sense, is monstrously anti-Christian, and philanthropists and reformers are the most sacrilegious of men. Republicanism is anti-Christian, science is anti-Christian, modern invention is anti-Christian, the protest against corporal punishment in schools is anti-Christian, the plea for the laboring man is anti-Christian, the breaking down of false caste distinctions is anti-Christian, ideal views of marriage are anti-Christian, self-reliance and personal dignity are anti-Christian; and the advance in all these directions has been made in the very teeth of the Church.

The two greatest injuries that Christianity, epitomized in the Bible, has caused humanity may be summed up in the grossly sensual ideas of marriage peculiar to the book, and the conviction it has systematically established all through the centuries that life is necessarily a burden and a trial, intended to be full of suffering and misery and disappointment and complicated tortures; that discipline and chastisement are devised and inflicted by some power above; that trouble, incessant, unavoidable, is in order, and escape from trouble impossible. Thus arose the so-called Christian virtues,—patience, fortitude, resignation, abject submission to the will of God, as manifested through adverse conditions and wicked people. Even now there is such a stubborn notion prevailing that misfortune and evil and wide-spread suffering are somehow good and beneficial, that happiness and justice for all would not be safe and would contra-

vene some plan of the Creator's, that people cannot be coaxed or persuaded to put their shoulders to the wheel, in a united and determined effort to make things better. It lies within our human power, if we employ our human will, and kindle our human hearts into warmth and glow, to make this world a thoroughly happy, comfortable place to live in, instead of the den of confusion it is. We can flood it with light, if we resolutely tear down the imaginary cross whose shadow has darkened it for ages; we can make it bloom and blossom like a garden, if we roll away the stone that has crushed out all life in the race ever since the figment was written and taken for reality.

MARIE A. BROWN.

BOSTON.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

NO. XXIII.

The really profound and quasi-universological classification of the sciences, by Stuart-Glennie, has only recently come to my knowledge—since my assignment of relative rank to the other prominent and recent classifiers. It deserves special attention; for along with Vanderweyde,—for the delay of the completion of whose system I have expressed my regrets,—he boldly assumes the fundamental ground of the distribution of the sciences to be the world-wide difference between matter and mind; or, in modern scientific parlance, between the objective and the subjective worlds. He adds to these a middle region: the subject-object world which he makes to be man, himself, or the hominal kingdom. The objective, the subjective, and the subject-object are, my readers will remember, identical with the first and fundamental discrimination instituted, in this series of papers, between the without, the within, and the between. At that time, I hesitated as to the proper *sciences-domain* to place as the between, and suggested language. Stuart-Glennie says man (who integrates body and mind); and I am greatly indebted to him for this very simple and now very obvious suggestion, especially as it adds me to a still broader generalization of this middle ground, which will include man, language, and some other things. But for the simple and preliminary presentation of the subject, I gladly adopt his view; and shall regard, therefore, from his and my governing point of view, (governing with me, in a sense, at least) the first grand division of the total field of science as that which distributes it into MATTER, MIND, and MAN; or technically into object, subject, and subject-object.

It is remarkable that Comte who expressly makes the discriminations into subjective and objective and into static and dynamic to be the most fundamental, makes no use of either or any of them as domains of particular sciences; reserving the terms objective and subjective to apply merely to the order of inspection of the serial relation of the several sciences, as was shown in the table (No. XXII.) in connection with the Wakemanian vertebration. This other mode of classification (Vanderweyde's and Glennie's) lifts the whole subject out of that preponderating influence of matter, which makes both mind and man to be mere minor outgrowths from it,—a view specially allied with the nowadays prevalence of the study of the natural sciences which are coming to claim exclusively the name of science,—a point of view specially degrading to the dignity of mind. But our vindication of the equal rank of the studies of matter and mind must not be a sentimental one. We must see distinctly upon what analogy the one view and the other view respectively rests. Let us recur for this purpose to the Wakemanian vertebration, and take our departure from it.

I observed, in the preceding article, in treating of this subject, that, taking this vertebration as such, it is specially *apropos* that psychology or mind-lore falls into the place, at the head of the column, occupied by the skull; as mind, brain, and skull are analogically coincident. Observe now that the skull is outside of and beyond (as it is also above) the vertebral column proper; and, in the next place, that it has been discovered and proven to be, itself, another special vertebral column, the vertebrae of which are so smelted or ankylosed by Nature's ARTISTIC MODIFICATION, that it required special discovery to reveal their distinct existence. This discovery was made, contemporaneously, by the two distinguished German sciento-philosophers, Goethe and Oken; and that discovery was the first and decisive step in that long series of splendid scientific observations which has resulted in securely founding the science of comparative anatomy, also called at the time of the first broaching of the subject in France (by Geoffroy St. Hilaire and others) transcendental anatomy. According to this view, the jaws repeat the limbs,—are the limbs, in other words, of the head; and the teeth repeat the nails. The head, so considered, is another trunk set on the top of the trunk (commonly so-called) of the body. And so, analogically, the one science, psychology, standing as the head of Wakeman's "back bone of the sciences" should or may be expanded, itself, into a new and distinct vertebral column (another scientific series) virtually repeating, and analogically equivalent to the first; and superimposed upon it. So regarded, Wakeman's series would be prolated at the upper end into a development like that at the lower end (and below the hominal region); and, appropriately, his hominal sciences (sciences of man) would then fall into the middle region between his sciences of matter and his science (now by this process become sciences) of the mind. In this manner we bring Glennie's classification into complete harmony with Wakeman's, and all the other classifications we have been engaged in considering.

In a word, then, Glennie's classification stands in analogical correlation with comparative anatomy (as between head and trunk, and so further out of other

living beings) and with comparative anatomy at large, which is thus again shown to be scientific transcendentalism; while Wakeman's classification holds relation to ordinary anatomy. From the transcendental point of view, head and trunk are equivalents; while from the ordinary point of view the head is only a minor part of the whole body (one-eighth in art anatomy). In other words, from the transcendental point of view, the skull is a distinct vertebral column, the segments of which are to be correlated with the segments of the ordinary vertebral column, item by item; while, from the ordinary point of view, the skull is no more than a single vertebra, somewhat swollen or enlarged. Each method of inspection and estimation has, it is obvious, its own grounds of justification. That of Wakeman is more immediate, natural or practical, and that of Glennie more elevated, far-reaching, and transcendently scientific. The realm which man and speech occupy between head and trunk assimilates to the face and the breath, which last fills the lungs, trachea, mouth and nose; or, in a word, the air-passages. The trachea or wind-pipe, the great central air-passage, is then, itself, another, third rate, vertebral column, its various cartilaginous rings answering to vertebrae. The breath is the spirit of the body; and man is the spiritual entity of the cosmos. The face as mouth, nose, etc., the organs of speech, combines with the breath in the production of speech; and collectively they find their best nomination in the hermetic term, *the logos*.

Let us recur now to the analogy of the city of New York, with its outlay of avenues, streets, and houses. It will be seen on reflection, that none of these as heretofore considered furnish the proper similitude for this new aspect of classification,—that of Glennie. We should for that purpose institute a comparison between the within and the without, say the city itself and the subjacent country, as subjective and objective. Better, if we confine ourselves to the analogues of the within and without, not of the whole embodiment in question, but of the vertebral column solely, that we should say, *between the interior and the exterior of the houses*; or, still better, if we permit ourselves to make the transition to the skull and to the brain as the true within of this bony encasement, for then we may make a corresponding transition to the inner and upper dwelling-rooms of the houses, and to their inhabitants.

The inhabitants of the city, especially as having ascended to the domes and observatories, and being upon the outlook, may thus be taken, first, to represent the brain, and then by another easy transition, to represent the mind of the city—as being at once its within and its subjective domain. The outsidings of the houses, indeed the houses themselves, and all that is and occurs in the streets, and beyond, is then the without, and, as such, the objective domain. The individual sent out from within the house to communicate with the exterior world, or returning in, the messenger (or angel) is then *in loco hominis*; or is, in other words, subject-object, a go-between, a mediator. Again, by the laws and license of metaphor, the ventilators, windows, and doors themselves, as means of uniting the without and the within, may be put in the place of man, as intervening between the hidden realm of conscious mind within and the outer world without. This view gives a rhetorical sanction to the bold figure of Jesus when he says: "I am the door," etc.

In a general sense, it results from what has been said, that the brain, skull, and, in a word, the head, is representative of mind, and so is the subjective man, or the subjective part of the human person; especially so the brain, as a viscus connected with and representing the viscera, "inwards," or within of the body; and that the trunk walls and so the trunk generally is the objective man, the analogue of matter or mass; while between these is the voice, or "logos," the word, which is peculiarly representative of MAN himself, as functioning, transitionally, between mind and matter,—between the within and the without; between the subjective and objective domains. The head in man is somewhat, in the animal wholly, protruded (in ultimate structure) before the trunk; hence it is that the phrase *à priori* (from before) was adopted for its conventional meaning,—that, namely, of a procedure from mind, subjective conception, metaphysical or abstract principle, backward and downward to the body of facts,—as if from head and brow to trunk and nates; and *à posteriori* (from behind) for the inverse procedure, from the body of facts, the objective mass of observations forward and upward, to principles subjectively perceived,—as if from trunk and nates, to head and brow. Surely an analogy with these features of the human body which has given rise to such a fundamental sciento-philosophical discrimination as this between *à priori* and *à posteriori* cannot be too trivial to be deserving of the attention of either science or philosophy. Comte's and Wakeman's use of the terms subjective and objective accord rather with this time-honored discrimination—as expressive of mere orders or directions in which the serial concatenation of the sciences is aspected,—and must be carefully distinguished from Glennie's use of the same terms, and that of the philosophers, in which they are descriptive of departments of being—the within and the without. In the serial sense of Comte and Wakeman, subjective order means analogically *from-head-to-trunk-wise*, and objective order means *inversely from-trunk-to-head-wise*.

It must not be inferred, however, that Comte and Wakeman mean no more by the terms objective order and subjective order than the scientific world at large has meant by *à posteriori* and *à priori*, as two opposite drifts of procedure in the order of scientific investigation. They mean far more than this,—something which is quite new in the field of sciento-philosophy, and which is worthy of the profoundest consideration. They include, in the objective order, the total body of influences and forces which sweep in upon the

mind from its material or objective environment, furnishing one of the two factors of our destiny; and in the subjective order they include the total body of influences and forces which flow out from the mind, reacting, as human will and purpose, upon the environment, and furnishing the other one of these two factors of the destiny of man as a race, and individually. This is certainly one of the noblest generalizations that the philosophy of science has achieved hitherto; and its importance should not be lost sight of by confounding it either with the objective and subjective merely as such, or with *à posteriori* and *à priori*. There is analogy as between the three sets of discrimination, but not identity; and each of them has a sufficiently important part to play to require that they be carefully held distinct from the others. The ego, or intelligent consciousness is then posited by Wakeman, as the pivot or hinging centre between the inward-trending and the outward-trending drifts of the universal forces.

Recurring to the musical analogy, the head of the vertebral series, as a single object, is the Do of the octave above; which however may be taken representatively, and so be expanded into the entire octave above. Wakeman takes it as the single note, and adds it as super-pivot, or super-abutment, merely, to the lower series; while Glennie expands it into an equal octave with the octave below,—instituting, then, a *comparatological* relationship between the two octaves, throughout.

That the relationship between the head and trunk of the human body, and still farther between the head, trunk, and tail of the animal body, furnished a curious and important part of the earliest scientific curriculum of the human race, will abundantly appear, in some exhibits to be made farther on, of the origin of the serpent and dragon myths of antiquity.

INTELLECTUAL VAGABONDS.

The tramp business, like everything else, has its varieties, and the ragged and filthy nomad who finds his lodging wherever night overtakes him, and thanklessly accepts your charity as his divine right, is not its only representative. There is brain as well as brawn in the fraternity, and it is a difference of kind only, not of degree. The man or woman who asks or accepts help in the shape of money which could have been honestly earned is as truly a mendicant as the beggar who seeks to excite your pity by needless crutches or a simulated blindness. An honest independence, by honest labor, is the birthright of every human being, of which nothing but the most unfortunate circumstances can rob him; but, to be in the possession of health, strength, and a pair of hands, and be willing to accept alms, either directly as such, or in the shape of borrowed money which he has no intention of repaying, is a vagrancy that should place a man on the list of paupers and hand him over to the fostering care of State charity. That the market-value of his brain-stock is below par, is a misfortune that time and patient toil may conquer; but it is no reason he should fold his hands in despairing dependence on the more "fortunate" souls who, along with brains, possess the courage and self-respect to be not only self-sustaining, but most convenient supports for these intellectual loafers. Industry and independence and the honest purpose to live within an income honestly earned, are stocks whose value never fluctuates, and which the world is sure to appreciate and reward.

There is a certain parasitic class in society whom the real or fancied possession of intellect seems, in their own estimation, to have placed above what they consider the degradation of labor, and given them a claim upon the purses of others. Their first article of faith seems to be that the world owes them a living in return for the condescension of living in it, and they act up to the duty which springs from that conviction, whenever a vaunted impecuniosity can sponge a dollar or a dinner from some sympathetic soul. They are a connecting link between us and the *littérati* of a past age,—Grub Street Americanized by the substitution of impudence for servility and (like all last handfuls of decaying races) a survival of its vices without its virtues. The old *fraternity* whose motto was, "Base is the slave that pays," still lingers in all its old lack of principle and honor, but without the wit and genius that made it tolerable if not irresistible. Its modern representative takes higher ground. Since the good of humanity and not its amusement, is the order of the day, he is generally to be found elbowing his way among the humanitarians, wherever an ear or a pocket is open to him. The paths of progress are his favorite haunt, and his zeal in any reform is to be measured by its popularity rather than by its merits and necessity. He is ready to mount any hobby that a benevolent public will feed and caparison. As a collector of funds for humane societies he shows a marked ability; but his own pocket is too apt to prove a *cul-de-sac* from which no way leads into the treasury. The possession of brains releases him from the responsibility of more sordid souls; and a wife and children are but so many additional claims upon public bounty, for whose sake the care and labor that real manhood welcomes would be an impossible degradation. If the woman he has vowed to cherish and protect, the children he has dared the responsibility of bringing into the world, must go cold and hungry when credit and charity fails, is it not the fault of an unappreciative world? Not his, surely. Has he not a mind above slavery to the butcher and baker? In his vocabulary, intellect is synonymous with idleness. The only difference between him and his brother on the highway is that between mind and matter. The sum total of each may be expressed in one word—*lastness*.

And herein lies the difference between him and the real intellect,—here the metal shows its ring,

false or true. The sterling, the real thought and originality is to be found only among the world's workers. It is but its baser imitation among these drones. The one is but an electro-plating of memory upon the standard foundation—brass,—as specious and insincere compared with the real as is the pretentiously ornamented plate which so fitly represents it, beside the solid ware which it apes. When society shall have arrived at that state of perfection in which its mental and moral diseases shall be as fully understood and as carefully treated as its physical ones, we may hope that all phases of vagrancy shall be made the subject of legislation,—that its brain as well as its muscle shall be restrained from too great a tax on more valuable time and more honest purses, and among its charitable institutions shall be one where both shall find a compulsory exercise and earn an honest, if not an agreeable, independence. In short, an asylum and work-house for intellectual vagabonds.

JULIA E. WRIGHT.

THE EDITOR'S OATH.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States that in order to be allowed to send their journals through the mails at less than letter-postage rates, editors shall be required to have sworn and subscribed before a qualified officer the following form of oath, keeping copy of the same, and depositing a duplicate with the post-master from whose office the journal is sent:—

"I, the undersigned, editor of the journal entitled _____ declare and swear the following: I am a free man and my own master; not the hired mouthpiece of a financial interest or of a religious or political party. I consider it to be the mission of the press to put all opinions fairly before the public, and the office of an editor to be one not of partisanship but of labor, skill, and tact in presenting in the best order, time, and measure, on subjects within the purported scope of his journal, the literary contributions which he receives, including his own. For my skilled labor, as above defined, I believe myself to be entitled to pecuniary remuneration, whether in the form of the profits of the journal as a business venture, or of a fixed salary. Under this reservation, or rather elucidation, I consider all mercenary literature as corrupt and corrupting. I will, therefore, never insert any contributions having paid for them or knowing their author to have been paid for writing them; nor shall I myself receive pay for inserting any contribution or advertisement; but I will gratuitously insert or advertise what I deem conducive to the interests of my readers, of the community, and of mankind at large under the principle of fair discussion. On condition of my conforming to the above rules and principles according to my best light and highest sense of chivalric honor, I shall avail myself of the privileged postage rates which the press enjoys under the law in the supposition of its being moralizing and free, which rates would otherwise constitute an unwarrantable disbursement of public money, as they are insufficient to defray expenses. Should I ever be conscious of having, in the compilation of any number, departed from the above rules and principles, I shall not send that number through the mails except at full letter-postage rates. So help me God. N-N-N."

N. B. I send this suggestion to THE INDEX because the conduct of that journal, under its gentlemanly editor, is already as near an approximation to what I suggest as the business conditions of the press under the present laws will permit. But there are other editors who might, without disparagement to themselves, reprint my suggestion. Even before the law requires such an oath, an editor might voluntarily take it before a public notary, and there run his chance of financial martyrdom for keeping it. Mean must be his subscribers if they did not support him in such a cause. Should an association of journals make the subscription of the above oath the condition of its membership, this alone would so raise the public estimate of the dignity of the press that journals published on another footing would perhaps come to be the ones to suffer under financial difficulties. Advertisements having ceased to be a part of the support of the press, subscribers would have to pay a higher price,—a most wholesome habit for them to acquire. What they would additionally pay in this way, they would more than save by being no more charged, over and above the price of the wares they purchase, for the enormous cost of advertising them. The difficulty of getting unpaid articles of standard ability is a purely imaginary one. We live in a time of so much learning and culture that more men are willing to write, and actually do write, gratuitous contributions of the first order, than all the periodicals put together can possibly find room for. A large part of those valuable contributions are crowded out by inferior paid articles, written by men who, by lounging round editorial rooms, or in some other indirect way independent of their merit, have managed to impose themselves as habitual paid contributors. Among the effusions of school-masters and local poets printed by favor in county papers, many are equal to the best productions of the great English poets, but pass without further notice simply because no publisher drums them.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 490.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. **TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE**, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. **NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS**, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. **UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC**: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

THE MASSACHUSETTS State Executive Committee of the National Liberal League has been duly constituted as follows: W. H. Sayward (chairman), Dorchester; D. G. Crandon, Chelsea; A. B. Brown, Worcester; E. A. Sawtelle, Boston; G. H. Foster, Boston.

THE VIRGINIA State Executive Committee of the National Liberal League has been duly constituted as follows: L. Spaulding (chairman), Norfolk; Mrs. Elmira D. Slenker, Snowville; Rev. J. M. Barnes, Lafayette; T. F. Taylor, Richmond; James B. Denton, Hanover Junction.

MR. J. H. W. TOOHEY is to lecture on March 31 at East Dennis, Massachusetts, on the Liberal League, and hopes to aid in organizing several local auxiliary Leagues on Cape Cod. We trust that all INDEX friends will give him a kind reception and heartily second his endeavors.

THE TENANTS of Trinity Church, in New York city, held a public meeting on March 12, to complain of the extortions of that overgrown corporation. The Hon. George M. Chapman said that it "holds \$60,000,000 of property under a grant somewhat like a feudal legacy of the Middle Ages." A committee of five was appointed to ask a reduction of rent in the name of 1,000 families.

WE ARE GLAD to be informed that the Tompkins County Liberal League was to discuss the Edmunds Bible Amendment at Ithaca, N. Y., on the evening of last Monday. It is high time to wake up on this question, and prove that liberals are capable of understanding it at least as well as the clericals. The latter know what they will gain by this sinister measure; shall not the former know what they will lose by it?

HAVE YOU a Liberal League in your city or town, or in your neighborhood? If so, give it kind words and cooperation and such financial aid as you can. Do not take it for granted that you are not needed, but rather that you are, and act accordingly. For instance, we understand that the Albany League is struggling with discouragements; will not our Albany friends do what they can to show at least their sympathy for it? And so everywhere else. Let us learn the lesson of cordial friendliness to each other, and acquire that deepened interest in a noble cause which always comes from mutual sympathies and common services.

THE ST. LOUIS *Westliche Post* of March 9, as we are pleased to see, has a long and excellent article on the Bible Amendment of Senator Edmunds, challenging to it the attention of German liberals. The Boston *Turner-Zeitung* of February 15 had a long and sympathetic account of the National Liberal League; the Milwaukee *Freidenker*, and other liberal German papers, have given to it considerable attention. These are most cheering indications of the sure growth of the movement. If the German liberals should become thoroughly cognizant of the Liberal League, as they are beginning to do, they could not help taking a profound interest in its objects. They have their own special ideas to advocate also, and of course will push these vigorously; but that ought to be no reason for standing aloof from their American fellow-liberals in those objects which all have in common. We have all a lesson of self-restraint to learn; union would be impossible, if each should insist on making all indorse his own special and peculiar views.

AN ATTEMPT to repeal the oppressive Sabbath law of Connecticut was lately made in the Legislature of that State. Senator Bray moved the indefinite postponement of the repeal bill, and carried his point by the following arguments, as reported in the *Daily Record*: "I oppose this bill from its centre to its circumference, from its Alpha to its Omega. It is treading upon holy ground. The law sought to be

repealed is a portion of the decalogue, the law of the Almighty which is immutable, and will stand firm amid all the edicts of kings and princes and the fluctuations of statutory legislation. Let us beware of laws God has honored. In my town, a few years since, the fields were regularly thronged with Sabbath-breakers and pilferers; the authorities arose in their might, established a special police, and arrested some eighty of them, who were brought to trial, and every one of them was convicted, paid their fine, and it broke up the proceedings for the year. Then the same trouble broke out again, and we prosecuted some thirty-five of them, who were fined and paid up, and the thing was broken up." And this is the country in which Colonel Ingerroll says that the battle for freedom has been fought and won!

THE IOWA movement on behalf of the Liberal League has resulted in the formation of a State League, organized at Des Moines, March 7 and 8. An account of the Convention, will be found on another page, communicated by Mr. E. C. Walker, to whom is due no small share of the credit for this gratifying success. We thank the convention for a vote adopting THE INDEX as the organ of the State League. At present no other liberal paper devotes itself to this movement as earnestly as THE INDEX, or seems to appreciate so fully its vast importance to the liberal cause; and so long as it continues to be true that the great interests and ideas at stake are chiefly discussed in these columns, the friends of the Liberal League ought to help vigorously to increase the circulation of THE INDEX. But we are not in the least selfish in this suggestion; and just as soon as other journals shall take up this cause with greater energy and efficiency, we shall rejoice to be outdone and hope that they will be better supported than THE INDEX. It will be a happy day for us when we shall see no further necessity for our own exertions. We cannot abandon the work while it needs us, and while it is possible for us to continue it; but it will be a relief to be superseded by abler or more devoted workers, and to lay down a burden which proves daily heavier for shoulders already tired. Let there be no rivalry save in rendering the most valuable service to the common cause.

WE CANNOT forbear to express our cordial and sincere admiration of these words of the Toronto *Freethought Journal* for February, respecting "Clerical Scandals": "We have received numerous communications giving detailed accounts of the misdoings of ministers of the 'gospel' and other prominent members of Christian churches who have strayed from the paths of virtue. We have consigned all such communications to the 'waste-basket,' and, so far as the *Journal* is concerned, to oblivion. Such descriptions are necessarily coarse and vulgar, and we shall continue to rigidly exclude them from our pages. Apart from their coarseness, however, we object to giving such scandal prominence. Christians claim that their religion makes them better, more virtuous and honest than they could possibly be without it. By carefully noting and giving prominence to every Christian's 'fall from grace' we acknowledge that their assertions are true; that their Christianity *ought* to make them better than other men; that they *ought* to stand on a higher moral plane than their neighbors; that had they lived in accordance with the teachings of the Bible they could not have erred; and that consequently it was the loss of their religion which occasioned their fall. A man cannot fall unless he is upon an elevation, unless he occupies a more or less lofty position to fall from. We are not disposed, even by implication, to make such an acknowledgment." In such sentiments as these every lofty-minded liberal must take unfeigned delight. They put to shame the vile disposition which gloats triumphantly over "clerical scandals."

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

The Ethics of Jesus.

BY JOHN L. STODDARD.

Jesus is the central figure in the Christian system. To him, as a part of the Deity, is prayer addressed from every Trinitarian church in Christendom; to him as a perfect model of excellence do his followers enthusiastically point; to him alone do they profess to render obedience as their one Master (see Matt. xxiii, 8). The primary duty of the believer is to imitate him as the "Great Exemplar"; and his words are supposed to furnish a perfect code of morals, beside which the ethics of other teachers are comparatively valueless. I write, to-day, for the great mass of people who, owing to this exclusive laudation of Jesus by the Christians, scarcely know that there ever have been in the world any great teachers of morals except Jesus. I write for the thousands who cannot, or at least do not, lift their eyes above and beyond the narrow horizon of their own theological environment; who fancy that the race has been chiefly guided ever since Adam by the precepts of a Hebrew book; and who believe that the words of the Sermon on the Mount are treasures absolutely unparalleled in the history of mankind. It is before these, who are not likely to investigate the subject for themselves, that I desire to present some of the corresponding precepts of the ante-Christian sages, and thus to estimate the relative position of Jesus as a moral teacher. I cannot expect, however, that this comparison of Jesus with other ethical masters will prove acceptable to the believer in the Deity of the Hebrew martyr. It is distasteful to the average Christian to find that the world is not solely indebted to Jesus for its light upon great moral questions. The more nearly a sage like Buddha approaches in character and doctrine to Jesus of Nazareth, the more jealously do Christians exclaim of their Master, "Never man spake like this man." They will tolerate no rival; for they feel that to place Jesus in the category of human seers is practically to dethrone him. Our business, however, is, if possible, to set aside all prejudice; to look dispassionately at the comparative teachings of Jesus and other masters; and to estimate relatively by contrast, and absolutely by an examination of those precepts peculiarly his own, the rank of the sage of Nazareth as an expounder of ethics. I say as an expounder of ethics; for it is in this capacity only that I desire to study Jesus at this time. Of his religious instruction,—of what he taught concerning man's relations to God,—I have nothing in this article to say. The common claim that Jesus, as a moral teacher, is the light of the world is the only one which I now propose to consider. In reference to the sources of our information upon the teachings of these various sages, only a word is here needful. To enter upon the vexed discussion of the historical accuracy of the four Gospels—the Dharmapada, or Path of Virtue of Buddha, the writings of Confucius and Mencius as given us by Dr. Legge, the words of Socrates as recorded by Plato, and the precepts of the Jewish Talmud—is manifestly impossible in an essay of this length. It is best, then, in the present discussion, to agree to waive all historical doubts, and to accept as genuine the teachings of Jesus, Confucius, Buddha, and the rest, as we find them crystallized in the various forms in which they have come down to us. The great maxim of conduct, which throughout Christendom is almost distinctively associated with Jesus, and for the utterance of which he has received the encomiums of nearly nineteen centuries, is called the "Golden Rule." If we look, however, at the words of Confucius (B.C. 551) and Hillel, the renowned Jewish Rabbi (died A.D. 10), we see that not only was this idea not promulgated for the first time by Jesus, but that even the phraseology of its various teachers is strikingly similar:—

JESUS.	GOLDEN RULE.	CONFUCIUS (negatively).
All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.—Matt. vii., 12. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.—Matt. xxiii., 39.		Tze Kung asked, saying: "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" Confucius said: "Is not Rectitude such a word?" What ye do not wish done to yourselves, do not do to others.—Anal., Book 15, 23. What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in the service of his superiors; what he hates to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left. This is the principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one's conduct.—Great Learning, Sect. 10.

(Positively.) In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained: To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me; to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me!—Doctrine of the Mean, XIII.

HILLEL.

The whole law is contained in this one rule: Whatever your would not wish your

neighbor to do to you, do it not to him!

JEWISH LAW.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.—Lev. xix., 18.

TALMUD.

Let the honor of thy neighbor be to thee like thine own.

It is worthy of notice that Jesus himself does not claim that this rule is original with him, but gives it as a resumé of, or at least a deduction from, his nation's "law and prophets"; which, moreover (see above) was the identical remark of his own countryman, the Rabbi Hillel, who died when Jesus was ten years old, and of whose wisdom, meekness, and piety the records of the Talmud are full.

Another celebrated passage from the Sermon on the Mount, the great compendium of the moral teachings of Jesus, is that commencing at the seventh chapter:—

JESUS.

Judge not, that ye be not judged.

For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.—Matt. vii., 1-5.

MENCIVS (B.C. 371).

The disease of men is this: that they neglect their own fields, and go to weed the fields of others. What they require from others is great, while what they lay upon themselves is light.—Works of Mencius, Book 1.

Never has a man who has bent himself been able to make others straight.—Works, Book 2.

BUDDHA.

Not the failures of others, not their sins of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should the sage take notice of.—Dhammapada, ch. iv., sect. 50. See also ch. xviii., 252 and 263.

Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's.—Dhammapada, ch. cixvi.

CONFUCIVS.

To assail one's own wickedness and not assail that of others, is not this the way to correct cherished evil?—Analects, Book 12, 21.

HILLEL.

Do not judge thy neighbor, till thou hast stood in his place.

We thus observe that this idea also is not at all original with Jesus, but was expressed centuries before him by other great moral teachers.

Moreover, their statement of the precept is preferable to that of Jesus, for this reason: Jesus urges as a motive for not judging others that such persons will themselves be judged; that they are to have the same measure which they mete out,—in other words, that they will receive "tit for tat." But no such motive is expressed by the others. On the contrary, Confucius enforces his precept by presenting it as a means of correcting cherished evil! It cannot be questioned for a moment which of the two is the nobler spring of action.

The necessity of inward purification has been repeatedly urged as a precept peculiar to Christianity. Let us look at this point:—

JESUS.

Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness.—Luke xi., 39.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwardly, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness.

Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.—Matt. xxiii., 27, 28.

Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?

Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.—Matt. vii., 16, 17.

BUDDHA.

What is the use of platted hair, O fool? What is the use of a raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside maketh thee clean!—Dhammapada, Book, 36, 394.

CONFUCIVS.

I hate a complacency which is not the reality. I hate the darning, lest it be confounded with the corn. I hate glib-tonguedness, lest it be confounded with righteousness.—Works, Book 7, 31.

From the emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider that self-cultivation is the root of every thing. It cannot be when the root is neglected that what should spring from it will be well-ordered!—Great Learning, sect. 6 and 7.

MENCIVS.

What distinguishes the superior man is what he preserves in his heart!—Works, Book 4, 39.

He whose goodness is a part of himself is the real man!—Works, Book 7, 2.

See also at least the Hebrew prophets.—Isaiah i., 11-16. Hosea vi., 6. Amos v., 21 and following. Micah vi., 6-8.

It should be added in this connection that Dr. Legge, of the London Missionary Society, speaks thus of the doctrine of Mencius:—

"The great object of Mencius in his writings is to rectify men's hearts. According to him, if the heart be rectified, we recognize at once the goodness of the nature. All good actions have their root in the rectifying of the heart and in making the thoughts sincere."—Life of Mencius.

If we consider the paramount importance which Jesus attached to the possession of Righteousness, we shall see it duplicated in the teachings of Socrates and the great Chinese moralists:—

JESUS.

Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.—Matt. vi., 33.

For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?—Matt. xvi., 26.

CONFUCIVS.

The superior man in every thing considers righteousness to be essential. He brings it forth with humility; he completes it with sincerity.—Analects, 16, 17.

The man of virtue will even sacrifice his life to preserve his virtue complete.—Analects, 15, 8.

The superior man holds righteousness to be of the highest importance.—Analects, 17.

MENCIVS.

If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose Righteousness!—Works, 8, 16.

SOCRATES (B.C. 469).

The difficulty, my friends, is not in avoiding death, but in avoiding unrighteousness!—Plato, Apology.

I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons, or your property, but just and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul!—Plato, Apology.

But then, O my friends! if the soul is really immortal, what care should be taken of her, not only in respect to the portion of time which is called life, but of eternity!

There is no release or salvation from evil except the attainment of the highest virtue and wisdom!—Plato, Phædo.

Here, too, I think an unprejudiced critic will allow that the moral tone of the Grecian and Eastern teachers is in advance of that of Jesus. The Hebrew master adds to his precept, to "seek righteousness," the tempting motive, "and all these things shall be added unto you!" The reward in this case is very practical; since the context shows that "all these things" refer to the provision for food, drink, and raiment. Moreover, in the other precept quoted from Jesus, we find the words profit, gain, and exchange; which raise us to no higher motives of action than those of rewards and punishments. As contrasted with this, the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, to cling to virtue rather than life for virtue's sake alone, are certainly to be ranked higher than those of Jesus.

The statement is constantly made by Christians, that, whereas other moral teachers directed their followers to love their friends, Jesus was the only one who taught love to enemies as a duty. Let us examine this also:—

JESUS.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor; and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.—Matt. v., 43, 44.

Then came Peter, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? till seven times?

Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until seventy times seven.—Matt. xiii., 21.

BUDDHA.

Let a man overcome anger by love! Let him overcome evil by good!—Dhammapada, 17, 222.

Hatred ceases by love!—Dhammapada, 1, 5.

Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us! Let us dwell free from hatred among men who hate!—Dhammapada, 16, 197.

CONFUCIVS.

Benevolence is to love all men.—Analects, 12, 22.

RABBI ABOTH NASTRAN.

He is a hero who maketh his enemy his friend.

SANHERDIN.

Suffer thyself to be cursed, but do not thus curse others.

SYNOPSIS, SOHAR.

A man ought every night to forgive the fault of him that offendeth him.

INSTITUTES OF MENU (B.C. 1200).

Returning good for evil is enumerated among the ten primary duties.—Chap. 8, 92.

By forgiveness of injuries the wise are purified.—Idid, 107.

ZEND AVESTA.

"Oh, blessed Ormuz (God), pardon my offences against thee, even as I pardon those done against myself!"—Vendidad Sade.

HINDU PRECEPT.

He who is kind to those that are kind to him does nothing great. To be good to the offender is what the wise call good.—Panchastotra, 4, 9.

SOCRATES.

We ought not to retaliate, or render evil for evil to any one, whatever evil we may have suffered from him!—Plato, Orito.

I bear no resentment towards my accusers or my condemners!—Plato, Apology.

Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!—Luke xxiii., 34.

Thus the overcoming of anger by love was, as we see, taught by Gautama Buddha six centuries before Christ, and the doctrine of forgiveness is found on the lips of many sages. It is frequently urged by Christians that the words, "Ye have heard that it hath been said," as contrasted with the "But I say unto you" of Jesus, denote that their master inculcated something entirely new to the world, and opposed to all that ever had been taught before. This assertion, as we have seen, is plainly erroneous.

In these antithetical statements, Jesus certainly makes an advance upon a few of the more meagre and revengeful articles of the old Jewish law and the traditional explanation of them by some of the scribes and expounders of that law. But the ideas are not peculiar to Jesus; and the most striking one of them all, "love to enemies," had been promulgated centuries before his time.

Let us look at other precepts of Jesus:—

HUMILITY.

JESUS.

Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.—Matt. xviii., 3, 4.

MENCIVS.

The great man is he who does not lose his child's heart.—Works, Book 4, 12.

RABBI JERUDA BEN LEVI.

If a man be of a humble spirit, the Scriptures consider him as having offered all sacrifices.—Sederin (Mishna), 43.

TALMUD.

He who raises himself up will be humiliated; he who humbles himself will be lifted up.—See London Quarterly Review, Vol. 122.

Whoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted.—Matt. xxiii., 12.

SINCERITY BEFORE GOD.

JESUS.

God is Spirit; and they that worship him must worship in spirit and in truth.—John iv., 24.

INSTITUTES OF MENU.

O friend to virtue, that supreme spirit, which thou believest one with thyself, resides in thy bosom perpetually and is an all-knowing inspector of thy virtues or thy crimes.

The wicked have said in their hearts, "None sees us." Yea; the gods see them, and the spirit within their own breasts.—VIII., 91 and 85.

SUBJECTION OF THE FLESH.

JESUS.

If thy foot offend thee, cut it off; it is better for thee to enter halt into life than, having two feet, to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched.—Mark ix., 43.

RABBINICAL TEACHING.

It is better for me that I should be burned in this world with a little fire, than that I should be burned in the world to come with a devouring flame.—Targum, Genes., xxxviii., 28.

DEGREES OF GUILT.

JESUS.

That servant which knew his lord's will and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes.—Luke xii., 47.

RABBI SIMON.

He who hath learned the words of the law and doeth them not is more guilty than he who has learned nothing.—Debarin Rabba, sect. 7.

CARE FOR THE FUTURE.

JESUS.

Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink. . . . Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself.—Matt. vi., 25 and 34.

RABBINICAL PRECEPT.

He who created the day created the food thereof. Whosoever eateth whereof to eat to-day, and saith "But shall I eat to-morrow?" he is of little faith.—Schabbath (tract of the Mishna), 131.

INFLUENCE OF THE GOOD.

JESUS.

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.—Matt. v., 14.

Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven.—Matt. v., 16.

BUDDHA.

Good people shine from afar like the snowy mountains.—Dhammapada, 23, 304.

He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.—Dhammapada, 13, 173.

MENCIVS.

Great men rectify themselves, and others become rectified.—Works, 7, 19.

HINDU PRECEPT.

The sweet scent of flowers is lost on the breeze, but the fragrance of virtue endures forever.—Ramayana.

EVIL SPEAKING.

JESUS.

But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.—Matt. xii., 36.

BUDDHA.

Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue. Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue.—Dhammapada, 17, 222.

MENCIVS.

What future misery have they, and ought they, to endure, who talk of what is not good in others?—Works, 4, 9, Part II.

UNOSTENTATIOUS CHARITY.

JESUS.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them. . . . That thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee openly.—Matt. vi., 1 and 4.

RABBINICAL TEACHING.

Whoever lendeth to any one in public, with him God dealeth according to justice; but he who doeth it secretly, with him rests the blessing.—Seder, 4.

He who gives charity in secret is greater than Moses himself.—Quoted from Talmud in London Quarterly Review, Vol. 122.

INSTITUTES OF MENU.

By proclaiming a gift, its fruit perishes.—IV., 237.

HINDU PRECEPT.

The gift bestowed with right purpose on one who cannot repay it is called a real gift!—Hitopadesa, 1, 14.

MERCY.

JESUS.

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.—Matt. v., 7.

But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.—Matt. vi., 15.

RABBINICAL TEACHING.

Whoever hath mercy on men, on him will God have mercy; but he that showeth no mercy to men, neither will him God show mercy.—Schabbath, 583.

BUDDHA.

My law is a law of mercy for all!—Burnouf, p. 128.

UNIVERSAL LOVE.

JESUS.

For the son of man is come to save that which was lost.—Matt. xviii., 11.

BUDDHA.

Whoever loves will feel the longing to save, not himself, but all others. Let him say to himself: When others are learning the truth, I will rejoice at it, as if it were myself. When others are without it, I will mourn the loss as my own. We shall do much if we deliver many; but more, if we cause these to deliver others and so on without end. So shall the healing word embrace the world, and all who are sunk in the ocean of misery be saved.—Works, 2, 563.

My law is a law of mercy for all! Proclaim it freely to all men, rich and poor alike! It is large as the spaces of heaven that excludes none!—Koeppen, p. 130.

CONFUCIVS.

A man should overflow in love to all.—Analects, 1, 8.

The good man loves all men. All within the four seas are his brothers.—Quoted in Johnson's China.

INSTITUTES OF MENU.

Let not injustice be done in deed or in thought, nor a word

Whoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and my sister and mother.—Mark iii., 35.

be uttered that shall cause a fellow creature pain!—II., 101.

HINDU PRECEPT.

To the noble, the whole world is a family!—Hitopadesa, l. 64. Let the wise man give up his goods for the sake of his neighbor; for the sake of the good, let him even give his life!—Ibid., l. 38. The good have mercy upon all!—Ibid., l. 10.

IMITATION OF GOD IN KINDNESS TO THE JUST AND UNJUST.

JESUS.

Love your enemies, etc. (see above under topic "Love to enemies"), that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. . . . Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.—Matt. v.

SENECA.

If diverts not the Almighty from being gracious, even though we daily abuse his bounties. What then ought we to do, but that very thing which is done by God himself, namely, give to the ignorant, and persevere to the wicked?—

RABBI AFRU.

The day on which rain is sent is graver than the resurrection of the dead, for this pertains to the just alone, but rain to the just and unjust.—Jaarith, 71, Mishna.

LENDING.

JESUS.

Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.—Luke vi., 30.

BUDDHA.

Give. If thou art asked, from the little thou hast; thus will thou go near the gods.—Dhammapada, 17, 234.

The teaching of Jesus here, as we shall later attempt to show more fully, is an impracticable one, and one in direct opposition to the necessities of society. Jesus here makes no reservation. His followers are bidden to give to every man that asketh, and no attempt is to be made to recover stolen property.

The following extracts do not pertain strictly to ethics, but deserve to be noticed on account of their remarkable parallelism.

HATRED OF THE WICKED TO THE GOOD.

JESUS.

If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own, but because ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you.—John xv., 18.

SOCRATES.

This is what will be my destruction, if I am destroyed by the envy and detraction of the world which has been the death of many good men, and will probably be the death of many more. There is no danger of my being the last of them!—Plato, Apology.

The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.—John xvi., 2.

THE ISOLATION OF GENIUS.

JESUS.

Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip?—John xiv., 9. Are ye also yet without understanding?—Matt. xv., 16. Yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me.—John xvi., 32.

CONFUCIUS.

The master said: "Alas! there is no one that knows me!" Tse Kung said: "What do you mean by thus saying that no one knows you?" The master replied: "I do not murmur against heaven, nor do I grumble against men. There is heaven, — that knows me."—Anal., 14, 37.

MENCIUS.

If a prince acknowledge you, and follow your counsels, be perfectly satisfied. If no one does so, be the same!—Works, 7, 9.

SIMILAR PARABLES.

JESUS.

The familiar parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. xxv., 1-13), concluding with the words: "Watch therefore; for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh." See also the figure of the "King and the wedding garments."—Matt. xxii., 11.

JEWISH TALMUD.

There was a king who bade all his servants to a great repast, but did not indicate the hour. Some went home, and prepared themselves, and stood ready at the door of the palace. Others said, There is ample time; the king will let us know beforehand. Of a sudden the king summoned them, and those that came in their best garments were received, but the foolish ones, who came in slovenliness, were turned away in disgrace. Repent to-day, lest to-morrow ye be summoned!—See article "Talmud," London Quarterly Review, Vol. 122.

CHILDREN OF GOD.

JESUS.

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.—Matt. v., 9.

TALMUD.

And we, if we are called the servants of God, are also called his children.

SIMILAR VIEW OF THE NEXT WORLD.

JESUS.

They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels.—Luke xx., 35.

TALMUD.

In the next world there will be no love and no labor, no envy, no hatred, no contest. The righteous will sit with crowns on their heads, glorying in the splendor of God's majesty.

PAUCITY OF THE TRULY WISE.

JESUS.

Because straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.—Matt. vii., 14. For many are called, but few chosen.—Matt. xx., 16.

CONFUCIUS.

Those who know virtue are few.—Anal., 15, 3. It is all over! I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty!—Anal., 15, 12.

MENCIUS.

The way of truth is like a great road. The evil is that men will not seek it.—Works, 6, 2.

BUDDHA.

This world is dark. Few only can see here. Few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from a net.—Dhammapada, 13, 174.

THEIR POVERTY.

JESUS.

Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.—Luke ix., 58.

CONFUCIUS.

With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow, I still have joy in the midst of these

things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me but as a floating cloud.—Anal., 7, 15.

SOCRATES.

I am in the uttermost poverty through my service of the God.—Plato, Apology.

KINGDOM OF HEAVEN WITHIN.

JESUS.

The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. For behold the kingdom of God is within you.—Luke xvii., 20.

CONFUCIUS.

Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand.—Anal., 7, 29.

MENCIUS.

Kaou has never understood righteousness, because he makes it something external.—Works, 2, 16. The path of duty lies in what is near; yet men seek for it in what is remote!—Works, 4, 10.

Much is made by Christians of the fact that Jesus regarded not the persons of men, and that he freely associated with publicans and sinners. It is even frequently asserted that no teacher, save Jesus, ever preached a gospel to the poor. Jesus certainly deserves all praise for his comprehensive charity; but this admirable quality was no more a characteristic of Jesus than of Socrates and Gautama Buddha. Five centuries before Christ, Buddha exclaimed: "Birth and emprise do not make the right to be honored; not by birth, but by conduct, is one a low person." "Ananda, one of the earliest disciples, sitting once beside a well, asked a drink of water from a chandala woman, who was drawing water from the well. She answered, 'How dost thou ask water of me, an outcast, who may not touch thee without offence?' Ananda answered: 'My sister, I ask not of thy caste. I ask thee water to drink.' And Buddha took her among his disciples."—(Burnouf, p. 205.) "Look closely," says Buddha, "and you shall see no difference between the body of a prince and the body of a slave. What is essential may dwell in the most miserable frame."—(Ibid., p. 209.)

Johnson, in the introduction to his "Oriental Religions," says: "The Chinese Buddhist priest prays at morning that the music of the bell which wakens him to his matins may sound through the whole world; and that every living soul may gain release, and find eternal peace in God. The Buddhist savior vows to manifest himself to every creature in the universe, and never to arrive at Buddhahood till all are delivered from sin into the divine rest." What else, or wherein better, is the claim of the Christian or the Jew?" "Others were not like him," says Xenophon of Socrates, "friends of the common people!"—(Memo. L., 2, 60.)

Let us pause here to survey the ground over which we have advanced. The foregoing words of Jesus have, as we have seen, all met their counterparts in the precepts of other masters, in most cases long anterior to him. Some of them are even synonymous with instruction given in the Rabbinical schools of his own age and nation! "Like all the Rabbis of the time," says Renan, "Jesus expressed his doctrine in concise aphorisms. Some of these maxims come from the books of the Old Testament. Others were the thoughts of more modern sages, especially of Antigonus of Soco, Jesus, the son of Sirach, and Hillel, which were known to him, not through learned studies, but as proverbs often repeated. The synagogues were rich in maxims very happily expressed, which formed a sort of current proverb literature."—(Vie de Jesus, ch. v.) Does Jesus teach the rule of reciprocity? So do Confucius and Hillel. Does Jesus inculcate self-condemnation rather than condemnation of others? So do Mencius, Buddha, and Confucius. Does Jesus labor for the poor and outcast? Not more nobly than does Buddha. Does Jesus rebuke hypocrisy? Not one whit more emphatically than do the Eastern sages or the prophets of his own people. Does Jesus urge love to enemies, forgiveness, humility, benevolence, and unostentatious charity? None the less are these duties inculcated by other moral teachers. Indeed, some of the commands of the Hebrew master are found to be inferior to those of the Chinese or Indian sages, because of the lower motives of action urged for their performance.

Looking, then, at the comparative purity of ethical teaching expressed in these two columns, do we find as yet any reason to exalt the words of Jesus over those of Confucius, Mencius, Socrates, or Buddha? I think that no one, free from prejudice, and judging simply from the teachings thus far considered, will assign any such superiority to the doctrine of the sage of Nazareth.

It remains to examine some points in the ethical teachings of Jesus which are more peculiarly his own. One very remarkable precept in the code of morals laid down by Jesus is that which commands non-resistance. Let us compare the ideas of Confucius with those of Jesus on this point.

NON-RESISTANCE.

JESUS.

But I say unto you that ye resist not evil (or more probably, that ye resist not the evil doer); but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if a man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile go with him twain.—Matt. v., 39. Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.—Luke vi., 39.

CONFUCIUS.

Some one said: "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" Confucius said: "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."—Anal., 14, 36.

The doctrine of non-resistance here advocated by Jesus is something not simply impossible for society to practise, but is a maxim which would be in the

highest degree harmful to society, if put into operation. An injury done to the rights or possessions of an individual is a menace to the community at large; and hence it is due to society that such an injury be properly resented and justly punished. Imagine for a moment a country in which this law of non-resistance prevailed. It would be the favorite retreat for the depraved and vicious of every grade, from the swaggering "Ring" manipulator to the ferocious highwayman and rioter. Society could not exist under any such passive system. On the contrary, the words of Confucius exhibit the only means of good government,—the prompt recompensing of injury by justice. This is by no means the doctrine of retaliation,—an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; it is the doctrine of the just preservation of equal rights, which is the foundation of law and order in good society. At present we are living under a system of law and equity framed in accordance with the principle of Confucius, not that of Jesus. When and where our system fails is precisely when and where we fail to recompense an injury done to the individual or to society by prompt and efficient justice, or precisely when and where the instructions of Jesus on this point are obeyed.—Badical Review for February.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

FREE RELIGION IN FRANCE.

La Religion Laïque is a monthly periodical in its second year, published at Clermont-on-the-Oise, France, under the direction of M. Charles Favety, as the Organe de Régénération Sociale. Referring to the Free Religious movement in the United States, the editor says: "It is similar to that which La Religion Laïque represents in France." The following are translations of editorial articles from this journal.—A. H.

Questionnaire Explicite.

1.—What do you mean by laical religion? Simply, religion without priests and without a sacerdotal body. Religion being that which unites us to God, and, through him, to all which is, we cannot suffer any intermediate agent between our conscious reason and the conscious reason of the universe.

2.—Is it a new religion which you bring to man? We make no such pretension. Apart from our inability to do so, how could we think of creating a new religion, when we are convinced that it is humanity itself which constructs, by a secular labor, its social and religious syntheses; when we profess that religion is one, notwithstanding the diverse forms which it has assumed, and when we see it enlarge and develop with the human mind?

3.—You are evidently neither Jew, Catholic, nor Protestant: what are you, then, in relation to Christianity?

We aim to explain and fulfil it, for we are its direct heirs, at the same time that we are the progressive continuators of the Universal Religion. We are, in relation to the Christian idea, what the Evangelical doctrine was in relation to the Jewish idea. Coming a long time after Moses and Jesus, we should carry on their work. But, since the time of Jesus and Moses, the world has marched on, and we are authorized to answer, with the hero of the gospel: "We come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil."

4.—Is it necessary, in order to become your co-religionist, to have this or that belief, and to subscribe to a profession of faith in defined dogmas?

No. Beliefs are free and individual. It is not in the likeness of beliefs and in the identity of faith that we place the unity of the spirit and the efficacy of the religious bond. We place them in the eternal principles of reason, in the rules of morals, and in the adoption of a common ideal of perfection, given as the aim of life of each and all.

5.—On what conditions is one permitted to enter your Church?

On the sole condition of wishing to perfect, to improve, to develop oneself, in the triple point of view, physical, intellectual, and moral, and of aiding others to do the same.

6.—What is meant by improving oneself? It is to correct one's faults and vices, to enlarge one's faculties and powers by labor, study, and the practice of goodness, and thus to press on towards perfection.

7.—What do you mean by perfection? Harmony in the plenitude of existence.

8.—Do you hope to realize perfection thus understood?

Every step that we make towards the best brings us nearer the perfect state; and the relative best, conquered by our efforts, will be to us a sufficient recompense, even though we should never be able to reach absolute perfection.—La Religion Laïque (standing matter in each issue).

What we mean by "Religion."

When we say religion, in an age which confounds religion with superstition, intolerance, fanaticism, and clericalism, we must be ill-understood. But we can do nothing, if we do not endeavor to rehabilitate the word and the thing; by defining it (as we have done) by the sentiment of universal solidarity,—the thing, by showing to men an ideal religion, wholly based upon reason and science, and founded upon the eternal principles of justice, liberty, order, labor, and progress, of human fraternity, and, in short, of ardent charity, not only for our fellow-creatures less advanced than ourselves, but also for the beings deprived of reason which live by our side upon the earth,—for these inferior brethren to whom we ought to spare useless sufferings, and whose ascent towards superior attainments we should promote.

In the meantime, and while laboring to prepare the future of this new religious phase, we must repent constantly that religion is a human work, and

consequently imperfect; but also immortal and progressive like the human soul, and that we must not identify religion with this or that religious system. No; religion is neither Christianity, Catholic nor Protestant, Latin nor Greek, nor Mosalem, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, nor Brahmanism. These are accidental and provisionary forms of the religious idea which will pass away, after having served their time, as so many other religious forms have passed away before them. Religious forms, like political ones, and like all social institutions, are human products. These all manifest the mental condition and the degree of development of the races, the peoples, and the generations in which they were implanted, and by which they were maintained. If, therefore, you find in the religion of your country and of your epoch all those bad fruits of ignorance, of folly, and of barbarism which you call superstition, fanaticism, sacerdotal exploits, and so forth, it is because your fathers, your grandfathers, and those of your ancestors who conceived or accepted these dogmas, these beliefs, these religious and ecclesiastical practices, and who transmitted them to you, were, in this respect, ignorant, foolish, and savage, and that you are very much so yourselves in being satisfied with them.

But, as changes in social and political institutions do not prevent society from existing and the political body from continuing, so the present religions, churches, worship, and faiths will pass away, as have passed the ancient religions. But religion will never pass away; and not only will it never pass away, but it will go on developing with the human mind, and religious bonds will always be seen gaining at once in strength and in extent, in proportion as men increase the circle of their affections and their knowledge. For, as Auguste Comte has well said, thus giving the lie to the anti religious positivists who claim his name: "The general law of human advancement consists, under one aspect or another, in man's becoming more and more religious."

And why should man, in proportion as he progresses, become more and more religious? Because he cannot progress without being in harmony with the laws of Nature, of reason, and of conscience, and because progress is the object even of religion,—but of religion well understood, of that religion which makes of us all reasonable and conscious beings, intelligent coöperators in universal creation, and which tends to unite us to God by making us comprehend and wish for and love that solidarity which binds us at first to our fellow-creatures and to our earthly domain, and afterwards to all which is.

Understand well, therefore, that you cannot improve, perfect, or exalt yourself, that is to say, correct in yourself a fault, a vice, a baseness, or an ignorance, and acquire a quality, a power, a beauty, or a knowledge which you fall short of,—you cannot see the sphere of your love, your activity, your intelligence enlarged,—without finding yourself thereby even more religious: that is, more in communication with the universality of beings and of things, and more nearly approached to the divine condition, which is no other than that plenitude of existence of which we can form an idea, by imagining a being arrived at that point when, having no longer anything to acquire for himself, since he possesses all perfections, he has that supreme and ineffable happiness; of laboring only for others; of being everything to all, and, living in all that is; of living at the same time for all that is, was, or shall be.

Such is the sublime function which we attribute to the conscious Me of the universe; such is the divine ideal which we bear within us, and which we offer to our contemporaries as the objective of the new faith. —*La Religion Laïque for January, 1878.*

Reason is God.

"Man moves, and God fixes his goal."
"Man acts, and God controls him." I do not like this saying of Fénelon, systematized by Bossuet and applied by him to history, in his *Treatise upon Universal History*, and to the government of States, in his *Polity Drawn from the Holy Scriptures*. It is the fatalistic and oriental side of Christianity, and it is not its best side. Happily, there is another which has often neutralized this, and will end by destroying it, it is the affirmation of free will, or the faculty which the conscious being possesses of free self-determination for good or for evil.

No, it is not true that man is a jumping-jack in the hands of an all-powerful God who pulls the string. It is not true that he acts without knowing whither he is going. He knows what he wills, and he goes where he wills to go, whenever, being within the truth, he remains in harmony, and if, doing all he can, giving all he ought, he respects the rights of others as well as the laws of Nature, and does not overstep the limits of his own power.

No, it must not be said that man moves vainly, and that the power which causes him to move is exterior to him. Man bears within himself his own principle of motion. It is a free will, sovereign and conscious.

What! Is it not God who rules the world, and do I deny his providence?

That which rules the world is REASON. And if you say with me that Reason is God, or that God is Reason itself, the supreme, complete, perfect, universal reason, then we are in accord. We are even so with Fénelon, when, in a moment of greater lucidity, he exclaims: "O Reason, art thou not the God whom I seek?" On that day he had found him (we always find God when we seek for him in good faith): did he always remain faithful to him?

But see what we gain by defining the words. Having defined God by Reason, or rather having identified the idea of God with Reason elevated to the highest power, and taken in its full and entire perfection, we shall come very soon to understand each other, you and I, and perhaps to find ourselves in agreement,—even if, like Fénelon, you are a Christian

and a Catholic,—even if, like the most of your contemporaries educated at the college or the seminary, you have become a positivist and atheist.

In the first case, I will recall to you that, according to the Gospel of St. John, Reason is "that light with which every man comes into the world"; and that man, being a conscious reason, does not act in vain while he makes use of his reason, but knows whither he goes, so long as he has not falsified, obscured, or lost it. And this, because his reason is a spark of the divine reason, and if relative while exercised in time, it can always rectify itself by imbibing, through science and reflection, from the absolute of pure reason; in short, because the human soul, "made in the image of God," is always able, when it possesses itself in liberty, to commune by the Word, the Logos, with the divine fire of which it is a spark, and which it shall one day rejoin when it shall have realized the perfect life.

And this is the true Christian doctrine, whether the Pope wills it or not.

In the second case, in which you may be, reader, that of a positivist or atheist, I will content myself with saying to you that, while recognizing with science that there is order in the universe, that everything within it is subjected to laws, and that these laws reveal to your own reason the logic of things, you have recognized that it is Reason which governs the world. Now the characteristic of reason is to know itself, to reflect on itself, to be master of itself. But, say you, this reason of things is inherent in things, and we ascertain it only by the study of relations. It is not outside of beings and of things; it is not exterior to the world: be it so! It is not so any more than yours is exterior to your being. The supreme Reason is not outside of supreme and universal existence. The conscious Me of the universe is no more separated from the universe than your conscious me is separated from your organism; which does not hinder it from distinguishing itself from the universe as you distinguish yourself from all your organs, and from remaining itself in its identity in the midst of the incessant flux of the forms which manifest it.

But, no matter. I willingly make the sacrifice of all these reasonings, if you do not accept them, and content myself with this: Will you, yes or no, respect the laws of Nature and obey the prescriptions of Reason? Yes,—is it not? Very well; you have confessed my God. To obey God or to obey Reason,—is it absolutely the same thing.

But what shall be said to those who, in the name of God, combat Reason, forbid its exercise by the human horde, put the light under a bushel, and thus seek to destroy in the human soul the spark of divine fire? What can be said to them, when there is no intellectual relationship with them possible? Indeed, what spiritual communion can be established between men without the Word, which is the divine reason incarnated in humanity? But one thing can be said to them, the same which Jesus said to them a very long time ago: it is that they are guilty of the sin against the Holy Spirit, and that this is THE ONLY CRIME WHICH CAN NEVER BE FORGIVEN.

IS MODERN CIVILIZATION THE PRODUCT OF CHRISTIANITY?

A LECTURE IN THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION COURSE, BY WILLIAM J. POTTER, IN HORTICULTURAL HALL.

William J. Potter delivered a lecture before the Free Religious Association yesterday afternoon, on the subject; "Is Modern Civilization the Product of Christianity?" He, of course, took the negative side of the question. He began by comparing the distinguishing characteristics of Christianity as contained in the teachings of Christ and the New Testament, and of modern civilization. First and foremost in our civilization was the characteristic of the assertion of human reason in opposition to the claims of a simply traditional authority, whether the claim be put forward in the name of political or ecclesiastical power. Other characteristics were a spirit of philanthropy, individual independence, the promotion of the natural sciences, a zeal for wealth and what wealth can provide, commercial and industrial pursuits, the individual well-being, and the rights in national existence. If these were the products of Christianity, we might expect to find their elements in the Christian religion; but, with the exception of the spirit of philanthropy, not one of them did we find there. Christ's teachings were indeed opposed to some of the most characteristic and ruling tendencies of modern society. They discouraged rather than perpetuated the spirit of material enterprise and commercial profit; rebuked the desire for wealth. Modern civilization, for instance, said: "Girdle the earth with commerce, and join the nations in trade." Christianity replied: "Go ye and teach the gospel to all nations." Modern civilization said that we must look out for ourselves and improve our condition. The Christianity of the New Testament said: "Hold all things in common, and that the love of money is the root of all evil." Mr. Potter gave numerous illustrations similar to the above, showing the difference between the spirit of modern times and of early Christianity, summarizing by saying that the virtues especially inculcated by Christianity were self-denial, self-sacrifice, gentleness, contentment, resignation, long-suffering, and submissiveness. These were not the virtues that modern civilization especially encouraged. The dominant virtues of the Church had lost ground in proportion as the characteristic qualities of modern society had strongly asserted themselves; and these were self-respect, self-reliance, independence, manliness, pride of character, love of truth, and mental culture. Any person who would attempt to live in accordance with the teachings of the New Testament would appear woefully out of place in modern society. The

Shakers were mentioned by the speaker as an illustration of this.

But on the ground that it was not fair to compare modern society with early Christianity solely, the speaker sketched the history of Christianity briefly. Under its sway the Roman Empire fell. The Byzantine Empire was founded on virgin soil by the Church, and its disgraceful history was held up as what had been accomplished by Christianity where it had sole control. The darkness of the Middle Ages under the rule of the Roman Church was spoken of; and it was asserted that the modern civilization, which dated back to about the time of the Reformation, was not the result of the Reformation, but that the Reformation was one of the results of it, brought about by a revival of Pagan classics and the spread of Mohammedan liberal influences through Europe from Spain. The Church was barred to all light from without and from within; stood directly in the path of progress, and was to be held responsible, largely, for the chaos of the dark ages. Religion had taken color and type and temper from the nations and races through which it had passed. Modern civilization, since the hour of its birth, had been making a new Christianity. Protestantism was the product of modern civilization; and Christianity was becoming more and more modified, till now the ancient authority of the Church of Christ was reduced in some quarters to the thinnest shades. The time was approaching when Christianity would abdicate its own authority, and yield even its own name to the name of humanity. The Church had thus far been guided by Paul's exhortation, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free"; but a greater than Paul or than Jesus, the spirit of modern civilization, now exhorted, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith the truth shall make you free." —*Boston Advertiser, March 4.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

MORNING HYMN.

BY KATHLEEN WRIGHT.

The sunrise from the mountain height
Purges the dark night hours;
The morning breeze with fingers light
Awakes the sleeping flowers.
The woodlands ring, the small birds sing,
The glittering waters run,
The little moths on gauzy wing
Dance in the morning sun.

Hark! hark! hear the lark!
Behold, the day is dawning;
Sleep no more, the night is o'er;
Arise and hail the morning.

Doest thou not feel? Doest thou not see?
Doest thou not hear the voice
That calls each living creature forth
To worship and rejoice?
Alas! to me there cannot come
One gleam of morning light;
My soul sits in the cavern's gloom,
And weeps in hopeless night.

Hark! hark! hear the lark!
Behold, the day is dawning;
Sleep no more, the night is o'er;
Arise and hail the morning.

In hopeless dark no soul can keep,
No prison-wall can bind it;
It cannot lie too dark and deep
For God's great light to find it.
The voice that fills the morning breeze,
And bids the tree-tops grow,
Is calling to the little seed
Hid in the ground below.

Hark! hark! hear the lark!
Behold, the day is dawning;
Awake, arise, strive!
Come forth and hail the morning.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 16.

R. G. Macgill, \$10; A. J. S. Weise, \$3.20; Edwin Brown, \$3.20; Maggie Devoe, \$1.50; Louisa J. King, \$3.55; Schneider & Kueppers, \$2.20; C. W. Pierce, \$3.20; Dr. E. Moyer, \$2; Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, \$25; Miss M. S. Devereaux, \$3.20; R. Conrad, \$3.20; H. Andriessen, \$1; Thos. J. Taft, \$3.20; A. D. Kimball, \$1; Samuel Johnson, 50 cents; Henry Cool, \$3.20; E. Whitcher, \$1; Dehano Patrick, \$3.20; N. W. Covell, \$3.20; C. H. Webb, \$3.20; E. H. Warren, \$4.95; Dr. M. J. S. Blake, \$3.20; Mrs. C. B. Richmond, \$4.40; Cash, \$5; R. Burnham, \$3.20; Rowland Connor, \$10.27; George Schmidt, \$5; J. D. Stetson, \$1; E. B. McKenzie, \$3; J. H. W. Toohy, 75 cents; Peter Newcomer, \$3.20; John A. Todd, \$2; Geo. F. Schild, \$4; Mrs. E. A. Driver, \$3.25; John Aulbach, 10 cents; E. Bowron, 45 cents; E. W. Weir, \$11; H. B. Thomas, 15 cents; Jas. B. Shane, \$1.85; G. E. Baxter, \$3.10; L. J. Cherrington, 15 cents; H. T. Rogers, \$1; Dr. L. P. Babb, \$25; Seth M. Allen, \$2; E. B. Wolcott, \$10; W. F. Abbot, 10 cents; Deanna Murphy, \$3; Hon. Mrs. Henry Wodehouse, \$7.35; J. C. Grierson, \$3.20; J. J. Nichols, \$3.20; Dr. W. W. Grant, \$3.20; Rev. F. O. Neilson, \$3.20; Isaac Ketcham, \$3.20.

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

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

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

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 21, 1878.

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

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

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 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names.	Residence.	Amount.
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When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work *immediately*, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,

Chair. Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

MR. H. L. GREEN informs us that "there is a bill before the New York State Legislature repealing the law exempting 'ministers of the gospel' and church property from taxation"; and he suggests that every New York liberal write to his representative at Albany in support of this bill. We cordially second the suggestion.

AT THE New Hampshire election of this month, the following circular was distributed in the city of Manchester:—

TO THE CITIZENS OF WARD THREE:

Fellow-citizen,—Are you a Christian? If so, can you consistently go to the polls and deposit your ballot for an infidel?

James B. Straw openly declares his hostility to the reading of the Bible in our public schools, and avows his intentions to banish its use by all legal measures.

James B. Straw is in favor of the repeal of the prohibitory and all laws which shall prevent the free sale of intoxicating liquors. These are sentiments which he openly avows.

If you are a member of the Church of Christ, or a law-abiding citizen, how can you vote for James B. Straw?

Mr. William Little, of that city, informs us that Mr. Straw was nevertheless elected alderman,—a fact which speaks well for the voters. Usually, the churches prefer to work out of sight; they will both gain and lose, if they show their hands too freely.

REV. J. L. DUDLEY, D.D., formerly of Milwaukee, now pastor of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of this city, and successor of that great radical, Theodore Parker, was recently (his consent having been previously obtained) elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the First Liberal League of Boston. He has since declined this position through the following letter, which ought to be published here in justice to him, since his name was included in the published list of officers last week:—

BOSTON, March 13, 1878.

MRS. J. P. TITCOMB, Sec'y., etc.:

I find I must decline the official position to which your League so courteously invite me.

Upon examination of the principles and purposes of the Liberal League, I find myself in accord with some of them; with others at variance. Acceptance of official position, therefore, would be unjust, alike to the League and to myself. My consent to the use of my name, as you asked it, was hasty, based on general impression instead of specific knowledge. Please present my decision respectfully to the First Liberal League of Boston, with assurances that it is based, not on any want of interest in the great public questions in hand, but upon consistency, conviction, and freedom.

Very truly yours,
 J. L. DUDLEY.

FEERING.

This little note has arrested my thought, and more than that:—

March 3, 1878.

Dear Sir,—In THE INDEX of the 21st ult., you say: "To our mind the controversies on this question of a future life are profitless; we think there are grounds of hope, but none of knowledge."

Were your time and strength less heavily taxed, I would beg you to indicate—if it can be done in one or two brief sentences—in what direction these "grounds" lie. Could I make them available for even one foothold, I would prize them more highly than all other "real estate."

With all possible brevity and with cordial respect and esteem,
 Yours,
 WM. DUDEON.

F. E. ABBOT.

To these exquisitely simple words, whose pathos will be hidden from all but the soul which has moved in the deep places of human experience, I cannot make answer in any conventional form; I must throw aside the useful but exasperating plural, and speak man to man. Would that I had somewhat to say that might prove a torch in the darkness, even to myself! But every best sentiment within forbids me to keep silence altogether.

It need not be said here that all the "revelations" so eagerly tendered to us on this theme reveal nothing to him who has weighed them in the balance. They slake the thirst no better than a goblet filled with dust; I turn from them all with an inexpressible weariness at such a mockery of water.

Nor do I for one instant dream that the "grounds of hope" I had in mind will be "available for even one foothold" to another solitary soul. It would be presumption to speak with any such end in view. You must settle this question—if it can be settled—for yourself. No other mind can make you sught the wiser. If I were to be guilty of the ineffable wrong of pretending to illumine you, I should be false to you and to myself alike. All I can do is to make my confession; and this, because I have no words of instruction for others, and can only expose secret musings that must be valueless for every one besides myself, I have shrunk from doing. There are some dull spirits that will insist on taking my "grounds of hope" for arguments—that will insist on refuting them. If I had "grounds of knowledge" to offer, argument would be in order and refutation possible; and I do verily believe that some day man will be wise enough to make up a scientific conviction on this question that haunts us all. Well—it is perhaps necessary to be misunderstood, and what matters it after all? Beneath the wistfulness and pathos of the gentle interrogation that has been put to me, I seem to hear the suppressed cry of the human soul itself, solitary before the star-lit infinite of the night; it has thrilled me; it has forbidden me to be silent.

Yet what have I to say? I scarcely know how to begin. Why do I not yield to the triumphant demonstrations of the would-be wise, who tell me complacently that the dream of another life is absurd? I have asked myself this "why" many and many a time, for—beginning with the physical alone—they have the best of the argument. Ay, but there is the rub! I know less of my physical than of my moral life; I see that no physicist has been shrewd enough to climb to that; I see that by all his own premises he has no right to admit it; I see that his logic, beginning with molecules, must end with molecules; I see that physics have no right to admit the bare existence of conscience. Physicists may twist and squirm all they please; they shatter their own philosophy into pieces finer than powdered glass the very moment that they step outside the circle of matter and motion, or admit into it any conception not analyzable into these. Yet show me the physicist who has resolved conscience, love, thought, into matter or the motions of matter! Why should I be called upon to concede that these facts of consciousness are at bottom mere physical facts? Prove it, I say! The demand to make such a concession is a barefaced appeal to faith, and I have done with faith forever. Am I going to be wax in the hands of any priest-theorist? Logic, reason,—that is my king alone, and I will obey him if he takes me to perdition or annihilation; but he permits no pewter substitute for his golden crown. Of the two extremes, materialism and idealism, the latter has an infinite logical advantage over the other. I anchor upon facts; and the first fact I know is—my own soul in presence of that which is not soul. The imperious intellect forbids me to accept either shallow extreme; it demands a philosophy that is not a suicide.

Yet all this throws no light on the future of my own soul, with these wonders of thought, conscience,

will, action, love. I am freed from the impertinent intrusion of sciolism parading in the peacock-plumes of science—that is all. Yes, that is all; but it is much. That which is concerned with the question of a future life is the intellectual, moral, affectional part of me; it is much to see that physics has nothing, absolutely nothing, to say about it, either here or anywhere. It is a higher science that must deal with its destiny, and that higher science is not yet born. We moderns think that science is maturing; ridiculous! It is still in its swaddling-clothes. The eagle eye shoots its vision far into the future, and perceives the orderly growth of sciences as yet scarcely so much as thought of. Who is so rash as to map out their discoveries in advance? To-day we deal with hope, not knowledge. But has hope anything but superstition to stand on?

I speak for myself—yes. The soul asks no leave to be; it is here, the supreme fact of all I know. Death creates no presumption of its extinction except on premises that would deny its existence here. I can only believe in my consciousness now in utter defiance of all physicalism; it is no harder to believe in my consciousness hereafter. Molecules, if I stick to them, conduct me to other molecules or their combinations, but never to my consciousness; I cannot believe in my consciousness at all without abandoning them, and leaping the vast chasm between the physical and the spiritual. Yet here I am, believing more certainly in my consciousness than in the molecules; it is idiocy to doubt it. Logic declares to me: "Of two things, one—either adhere to physics and deny your consciousness now, or adhere to your consciousness and admit that physics can raise no faintest presumption against its continuance forever." The man has not yet been born who, understanding that, can break its force. I obey logic; I plead no fanciful intuition; I insist on reason, and will not be put off with faith, Orthodox or materialistic.

But all this is only to sweep away the ignorant pretentiousness of negations that have no logical foundation. Why do I hope for a future life?

Let me be frank with myself; I am not very anxious for it, and contemplate my own lot in this vast universe with invincible sangfroid. It is no consideration of my own destiny that kindles a powerful hope. It is when I stand beside the grave of those I love, or in my thought shrink from the stroke that no prayers or tears can avert, that the longing for the deathlessness of beloved spirits overmasters me. It is when I behold the Himalayah heights of humanity—the Socrates, the Spinoza, the Emersons, the rare peaks of spiritual greatness that seem evermore bathed in the pure sunlight of the ideal,—it is then that the hope blazes forth, and refuses to be quenched. And the great ground of this hope is the IMMEASURABLE VALUE OF THE HUMAN SOUL. Just in proportion as I realize that, and comprehend that a splendid soul is the very *chef-d'œuvre* of Nature, the artistic masterpiece of creativeness, the glorious efflorescence of a lapse of eternity, do I also become permeated and saturated with the hope that Nature who creates shall be wise enough to preserve. On the one hand the beauty and the sublimity of humanity,—on the other hand its imperfection and incompleteness, even in its grandest growths,—these strike upon the slumbering hope like the spark upon the tinder, and kindle it to a flame. Fluctuate though it must with the varying moods of mind and the shifting scenes of life, this hope grows strong and vigorous under all influences that exalt my appreciation of the intrinsic worth and dignity of the human soul. This is the chief ground of hope, as hinting the deeper purposes of Nature, and suggesting to thought a possible reason of man's existence and a possible destiny that awaits him. It is not the only ground; the great question whether Nature is only mechanical or whether the mechanism is the utterance of universal Mind connects itself with the question of human destiny. To me the cosmos is a vast system of hieroglyphics, with a meaning behind the symbolism of form and color and law, to which I find no lexicon but mind. This makes me hope noble things at last. But I am content not to know, since knowledge is to-day beyond my reach,—content to see in human life now and here enough to lend it moral dignity surpassing all else before my eyes. That is a deathless root of glorious hope.

A demonstration? No. An argument? No. A ground of fixed conviction? No. Yet, for all that, a ground of hope to one, at least, of the myriad tossed and tired minds that have put out to sea on the vast ocean of modern thought—worthless to others, I doubt not, yet not withheld when one wistful voyager calls to another across the waves—"Brother, whither are we bound?"

F. E. A.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE AND THE WOMEN.

A League which goes for "universal education the basis of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE in this secular Republic" cannot logically be confined to one sex. Practically, by having women as well as men for its officers, it is not. This is a vital point. The League stands for the earthly interests of the human race, one and all, molecule and mass; and, in going for justice to each and all, it is not going for the domination of the physically stronger sex over the weaker.

There have been two great movements within the memory of some of us,—one against secret, oath-bound societies; and the other against chattel slavery, in which considerable mistakes were made which the Liberal League, it is to be hoped, will avoid.

After the abduction and murder of William Morgan, in 1836, by the Freemasons, for revealing their secrets, a popular storm arose against the inhuman oaths by which men had bound themselves to commit that murder, and against the unjust influence in politics which this oath-bound order maintained. But the good men who organized themselves to put down this order committed two mistakes. First, they acted as if women had no interest in the matter. Second, as if the order was to be utterly abolished, not harmonized with human rights; as if a social institution, which had great faults, could have no good in it, and no right to exist. Of course it failed, though it taught a useful lesson. It will, no doubt, be a good while before another "free and accepted" mason, for outgrowing the brass hoops of his order, is butchered by his brethren; and probably still longer before the mysterious fraternity, without sisters, carries so high a hand in politics as it did previous to 1836.

Ecclesiasticism and freemasonry are both of them institutions which ignore the rights of women, or assume their mental inferiority. The first is a male hierarchy, which, in one sense, does not exclude women,—for it carefully gathers them together, as a shepherd does his sheep, that it may derive sustenance from the peculiar sensitiveness of the female heart. It never allows them to teach. We read of no female Pope. It is only when a Protestant church begins to throw Paul overboard that a woman is allowed to get into a pulpit.

The exclusively male church of freemasonry leaves the wife solitary at home, while the husband indulges in a coarse socialism, with as many male brutes as that rough and demoralizing pleasure can draw together. The wives are humbugged by the pitiful dole which the fraternity ekes out to masonic widows.

If this is not exactly so, where is the use of the secrecy? As soon as freemasons take their wives into their lodges, they will have a right to ask the world to believe them sincere men, and not much sooner.

Now the Liberal League will not commit the mistake of anti-masonry in seeking to abolish either of these churches, and especially not that which is beginning to admit that women have, or may have, some rights which men—that is, a male government,—are bound to respect.

It is not fighting to destroy the churches, but to establish the Golden Rule of justice, both inside and outside of them. And it ought to have learned two things from the movement against chattel slavery, which began in 1833 seriously to organize itself as a purely moral or religious crusade: first, that the female sex, having the deepest personal interest in it, cannot be left out; second, that moral steam without being applied to the political piston, is about as good as wasted.

At the Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia, at which a national anti-slavery society was formed, in 1833, the calmest, deepest, broadest speech was made by a woman, Mrs. Lucretia Mott. Women circulated petitions, raised money, faced mobs, shamed men into action by their courage and hope. In the spring of 1840, women of the city of New York—I do not say the women, but more than one hundred of the most intelligent and respectable women, who risked much by doing it—signed an anti-slavery petition to Congress, asking simply and humbly for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and wherever else Congress had power to abolish it. The petition was transmitted to Vice-President Richard M. Johnson, President of the Senate, and a slaveholder, with a very respectful letter, by Mr. Lewis Tappan, one of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Vice-President Johnson was a pretty coarse-grained man, and not likely to shine in any literary effort; but he had the wit to employ a very polished writer, Mr. Barnabas Bates, the same that wrote his excellent Sunday-Mail

Report, to answer Mr. Tappan, to whom Johnson had the supreme impudence to return the ladies' petition without presenting it. Mr. Bates, who had risen high enough in Democracy to recognize the right of a secular Republic to have the mail carried on one day as well as another, had not risen high enough to recognize the right of a woman to be regarded as an independent human being, having a right to an equal voice with men, in making laws for the government of both sexes; so he wrote for Vice-President Johnson a very remarkable letter to Lewis Tappan, which is probably the strongest semblance of an argument against the political rights of women that was ever penned, or ever will be. It culminates in this precious sentence: "The rights of women are secure through the coarser sex,—their fathers, their husbands, and their brothers." "Coarser" is good. The patent right of exclusively masculine political power properly rests on coarseness.

Yet Mr. Lewis Tappan, who for six or seven years had been heroically fighting against slavery, and had had his house sacked by a pro-slavery mob, was so bound up in his Pauline Christianity, that when, about a month after the receipt of this letter, so insulting to his anti-slavery sisters, women claimed the right to vote in the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, he reported decidedly that it was unconstitutional, and not to be tolerated: not at all less sad and foolish was the decision of many leading anti-slavery men at the same time, that anti-slavery political action, as a party for liberty, was insane and ridiculous.

The Liberal League ought to be, and must be, too liberal to commit either of these mistakes. Its object, which is one in which all just and true men and women do or will join, can be effected only by political action; and since women, even more than men, both in their Church and State relations, are to be benefited by it, their moral forces, so long and so meanly repressed, both in Church and State, should be welcomed to its platform,—to as great work and as good pay as it yields to men. E. W.

[The Liberal League cannot and does not recognize any difference in the fundamental rights of citizens, whether men or women. It ignores all difference of sex in its platform, which demands equal rights for all. We only wish that women in general would give to this new movement the same devotion which they gave to the anti-slavery movement; they will, when they understand it as well as some of their number do already. Can they not set to men the example so much needed? The doors stand wide open for their welcome advent.—ED.]

PERSECUTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The so-called "Seventh Day Baptists" believe Saturday, and not Sunday, to be the "Sabbath"; in which opinion they have the Bible wholly on their side, but are persecuted by other Protestants, who put their own arbitrary notions in place of the Scriptures they profess to revere as Divinely dictated. Says a Pennsylvania paper:—

"Their trouble in this State appears to arise from the fact that, wherever they exist, they are in the minority, and are therefore persecuted by the sects who insist upon observing the first day of the week as the Sabbath, and desire to compel everybody else to adopt their view of the Sabbath question."

Senator Jones recently presented in the State Legislature at Harrisburg the following memorial, adopted last September by the national conference of these "Seventh Day Baptists":—

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania: Your memorialists, representatives of the "Seventh Day Baptist" churches in the United States of America, in general conference assembled at New Salem, West Virginia, this 20th day of September, A. D. 1877, respectfully represent that they have had a denominational existence in this country of more than two hundred years, and at the present time they have membership extending into fifteen States of the Union; that our members are loyal and law-abiding citizens, able and willing to bear their equitable share in the maintenance and support of our civil institutions; that they do conscientiously believe the seventh day of the week, commonly called Saturday, to be the Sabbath day, set apart by God, at the close of his creative works, and blessed and sanctified for man, and on Sinai he commanded to be kept holy, making it an inseparable part of the Decalogue, and sacredly binding on all men in all times; that all the other six days of the week are days in which men may rightfully engage in the secular affairs of life.

Your memorialists further represent, that there is an act of legislation on the statute books of Pennsylvania, which was passed in the year 1794, making it a penal offence to do secular work on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, and that under the provisions of that act, members of our denomination have, from time to time, been subject to pains and penalties; and that such penalties are

now being endured by one Daniel C. Waldo, of Moseletown, County of Crawford, State of Pennsylvania.

Such a law, we respectfully submit to your honorable body, is oppressive and unjust, opposed to the genius of our free institutions, whose very basis was laid in religious liberty and freedom to worship God in accordance with the dictates of conscience.

It is opposed to the plain provision of the Constitution of the United States, article first, of amendments, and to the bill of rights of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

For such reasons, we humbly petition your honorable body to repeal the said act of 1794, or so modify it as to exempt all persons observing the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath from its provisions; and for this your memorialists will ever pray. Signed by the President of the Conference,

D. E. MATSON, D.D.

L. A. PLATTS, Sec'y.

It is not difficult to see that these "Seventh Day Baptists" are oppressed by the Sabbath legislation of their fellow-Christians. Is it any more difficult to see that all non-Christians are oppressed by the same legislation?

Communications.

THE PURIFICATION OF LIBERALISM.

OZARK, Mo., Feb. 10, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Would it not be well for you to use more effort toward elevating the character of liberalism, and less in attempting to organize it? Did I not think that liberalism is in danger of becoming a reproach to the cause of freethought, I should not presume to offer these suggestions; but my earnestness to see liberals take the front rank among the best men and women of the age must excuse my freedom in speaking so plainly.

You cannot, I know, feel any fraternal sympathy for many liberals who are claiming to be representatives of our cause. There is a certain cessant fanaticism now becoming prevalent among liberals that is in my opinion the worst foe to the interests of true liberalism. This spirit of bigotry with its peculiar method of agitation is doing more to render freethought repulsive to the people who have some predisposition toward liberality in religion than any other cause. Refinement and liberality have no affinity for this coarse, irreverent style of discussion; and modest, self-respecting people are going to regard with fear and distrust a movement that develops such a large per cent. of the most repulsive form of intolerance. I verily believe that this class of liberal is doing more to intensify the opposition of the Church to freethought than any other influence. If I wanted to secure the passage of the Christian Amendment, I could think of no better method of forwarding the movement than by circulating some liberal books and papers, and by sending certain heroic liberal speakers through the country to address the masses on the issues of liberalism. This style of assault that shows no respect for the most sacred sentiments that the human heart has ever learned to cherish will never win with the masses. The more liberalism is advocated by these sledge-hammer reformers, the less popular will it become.

But there is more than the manner of discussion employed by some liberals that is endangering liberalism. Every revolutionary theory that seeks to subvert all or any part of our social or political system comes before the world in the name of liberalism. Free love, communism, and every other insane and filthy ism does the garb of liberty, and claims fellowship with the freethinkers' cause. It is well known to every intelligent liberal that these social and political fanatics who are restive under any system of authority, and who clamor loudly for the reconstruction of the world on their pet theories, are freethinkers in religion largely. And many liberals are disposed to excuse the radical errors into which these wild reformers have run, because they are brave assailants of the Church and the Bible. I do not wish to establish an inquisition to persecute heresy among liberals; but I do want to see the distinctions between truth and error, between decency and indecency, pointed out by the leaders of liberalism as by other teachers. Must we tamely submit to the injustice of having every abomination taught in the name of liberalism because some one will be offended if we make a protest? Is liberalism so elastic in its meaning that it can be made to cover every erratic heresy that all other respectable systems of belief disown? Cannot liberalism be defined in its moral bearings, because definitions would exclude some doctrines that are now taught in its name? Suppose any other party should refuse to define its principles, and attempt to fellowship every fanatic and fanaticism that appropriated its name, what would liberals think of it?

I believe in drawing distinctions, when distinctions exist; and I think they are well developed now between certain classes of liberals. I claim to be a liberal myself, but frankly avow that I have no more sympathy with a large per cent. of liberals and their doctrines than I have with the Pope of Rome and the dogmas of Catholicism.

It is time, I think, for liberals to take an unequivocal stand, and declare to the world just what they are and what they are aiming to accomplish. We cannot sail long under such a vague standard as now floats from our mast. We must make our colors more definite, if we would exert any moral influence in the world. Liberalism cannot be made to signify every thing that now passes under its name. I am for a

more definitely defined liberalism, if it should have not half so many supporters. Let us have a little plain talk about what constitutes liberalism. The question must finally be met and answered. Some people will of course be offended by this drawing of lines; but truth and candor demand that it be done. I am always ready to define my position, and am willing to bear the consequences of my definitions.

Use this letter as you please. I do not seek any concealment of my convictions, though their expression should cost me the good opinion of some reader of THE INDEX.

Yours truly, H. CLAY NEVILLE.

THE IOWA CONVENTION.

FRIEND ABBOT:—

I send you paper with report of the second day's proceedings of the Iowa convention. Therein you will find the Constitution of the Iowa Liberal League, the resolutions adopted by the convention, and the officers of new League for the ensuing year. Please insert the same. The first day's proceedings were opened by the election of Joel P. Davis, of Des Moines, President; E. C. Walker, of Florence, Secretary; and Rev. H. A. Reid, of Des Moines, Assistant Secretary.

While the attendance was not as large as could have been desired, yet in earnestness the delegates made up what they lacked in numbers. During the first session committees were appointed, resolutions introduced and referred, much interesting discussion had, and some routine work disposed of, and the committees were directed to report at 9 o'clock Friday morning. A specially interesting feature of this first meeting was the reading of Gerald Massey's beautiful and stirring poem, "The People's Advent," by Mrs. Mattie Hulet Parry. It was excellently rendered.

In the evening, B. F. Underwood delivered a lecture upon the principles of the Liberal League, and the relations of Church and State. It was a good lecture, well and fitly spoken.

While we lack a good platform of principles, we have a very good working organization; and it now only remains for us to go to work. Liberals! only by organization can we effect political reformations. Personal thought is the initiatory force in all reforms; but when it comes to action, a good, compact organization is imperatively necessary. The underlying principles of no reform can be embodied in the fundamental law—in the political institutions of any nation, without the concerted, united action of great numbers of men and women. Sinking all religious differences and all personal quarrels, let us unite upon the broad, the generous, the all-comprehending platform of absolutely equal civil and religious rights; the only banner above us that upon whose folds is inscribed the motto, "JUSTICE FOR ALL, PRIVILEGE FOR NONE."

It will be seen that Article VI. of our Constitution provides that the executive committee shall appoint an agent in each county in the State; and that this agent shall associate with him or herself two other residents of the county, to attend to the organization of local Leagues, and for the performance of such other work as may be necessary in the dissemination of our principles.

As corresponding secretary of the State League, I desire to hear from every liberal in the State. Let us all work together for justice. May every sluggish and laggard disappear from our ranks by being transformed into a worker. If we have the right of these questions, let us act as though we believed it.

E. C. WALKER.

[The report above alluded to was received too late for insertion in this issue, but will appear in our next. We congratulate our Iowa friends on their success, and wish that it may prove the beginning of great things in the cause of State Secularization.—Ed.]

THE CHELSEA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The one hundred and forty-sixth birthday of that "well-known" individual who "could not tell a lie" was so incident, not to say *not*, that the attendance of the Leaguers in honor of George Washington was not large. The evening of February 22 was a pleasure none the less to those who did attend, if the cheerful, smiling faces of the ladies and gentlemen that met in the comfortable and handsomely-furnished parlors of Dr. B. H. Crandon, 219 Chestnut Street, may be taken as evidence. True, many of them were well-known and familiar faces, that had put in an appearance "many a time and oft" in honor of progress and the right; so that their appearance on this stormy night seemed more like the gathering of a many-membered family for the renewal of friendships than a conventional gathering for the exercise of critical taste, and the possible display of logical differences.

The attraction of the evening, however, centred in the person and promised effort of the Hon. Elizur Wright, who was to read an essay on the relations of the Liberal League movement to Church and State. It had already done duty elsewhere, but proved enjoyable to all, and new to the majority present. The essay was a full, fair, and methodical statement of some of the difficulties attending national legislation, when the State has to conform to, and work for, the interests of the Church; the whole being illustrated with parts of the parliamentary debate that followed the persecution of Rev. Robert Taylor in England. It should have been heard by a full bench of Bishops; and is so eminently worthy of a larger audience, that it is hoped by all who enjoyed the reading of Mr. Wright that he will consent to its publication in THE INDEX, or some other of the publications interested in the Liberal League.

The President, as usual, reminded the company that criticism was in order; but the issue of the League with Church and State legislation was so fully made out, and so ably supported, that no one responded to the invitation. Mr. Wilcox inquired where Mr. Wright obtained the report of the parliamentary debate, so freely used in the essay, and was referred to the State papers of that period. All further comment was in sympathy with Mr. Taylor, in the full belief that no such persecution could take place where equality before the law extended to the opinions as well as the persons of individuals. But no such legislation was possible in England in 1827, or 1833, the years when Mr. Taylor was put on trial, and sent to prison for his opinions.

The efforts of the essayist so successfully centred the attention of the company on the phenomena of English history, that it was only on being reminded by the Secretary that resolutions on the life-labors of George Washington would be in order, that it became apparent that no preparation of that kind had been made. A general conference, however, brought out the fact, that efforts had been made during the Presidency of Washington to amend the Constitution of the United States; and that then, as now, theologians were the interested party. The following correspondence between the "Presbytery of the Eastward" and the "Father of his country" has occasionally appeared in the papers since its publication in the *Massachusetts Centinel* of Dec. 5, 1789; but rarely, if ever, has it been made to illustrate the profundity of the secular wisdom that prompted Washington, Jefferson, Paine, and the many other heroic defenders of freedom to contend for the total separation of Church and State:—

"The Presbytery of the Eastward, convened at Newburyport, in their address to the President of the United States in his late tour, says: 'Among the objections to the federal Constitution, we never considered the want of a religious test,—that grand engine of persecution in every tyrant's hand. But we should not have been alone in rejoicing to have seen some explicit acknowledgment of the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he has sent, inserted somewhere in the Magna Charta of our country. We are happy to find, however, that this defect has been amply remedied in the face of all the world by the piety and devotion in which your first public act of office was performed by the religious observance of the Sabbath, and of the public worship of God, of which you have set so eminent an example, and by the warm strains of Christian and devout affections which run through your late proclamation for a general thanksgiving.'

"TO THE MINISTERS AND RULING ELDERS DELEGATED TO REPRESENT THE CHURCHES IN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE, WHICH COMPOSE THE FIRST PRESBYTERY OF THE EASTWARD:—
Gentlemen,—The affectionate welcome which you are pleased to give me to the Eastern parts of the Union would leave me without excuse, did I fail to acknowledge the sensibility which it awakens, and to express the most sincere return that a grateful sense of your goodness can suggest.

"To be approved by the praiseworthy is a wish as natural to becoming ambition as its consequence is flattering to our self-love.

"I am, indeed, much indebted to the favorable sentiments which you entertain towards me; and it will be my duty to study to deserve them.

"The tribute of thanksgiving which you offer the gracious Father of Lights for his inspiration of our public councils with wisdom and firmness to complete the national Constitution is worthy of men who, devoted to the pious purposes of religion, desire their accomplishment by such means as advance the temporal happiness of their fellow-men.

"And here, I am persuaded, you will permit me to observe that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction.

"To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulations respecting religion from the Magna Charta of our country. To the guidance of the ministers of the Gospel this important object is, perhaps, more properly committed. It will be your care to instruct the ignorant and to reclaim the devious. And in the progress of morality and science, to which our government will give every furtherance, we may confidently expect the advancement of true religion and the completion of our happiness.

"I pray the munificent Rewarder of virtue that your agency in this work may receive its compensation here and hereafter.

G. WASHINGTON."

It was agreed to, on motion of Mr. Wilcox, that the League next honor the birthday of Thomas Jefferson,—the man who "swore upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Adjourned.

J. H. W. TOOHEY, Sec'y.

109½ BROADWAY, CHELSEA.

COL. INGERSOLL ON MARRIAGE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The recent lecture of Col. Ingersoll on "Skulls" filled Music Hall with a large and exceptionally intelligent audience; and the eloquent appeal of the distinguished orator for "Liberty for Man, Woman, and Child" was received with enthusiasm and well-merited applause. Yet, while gladly adding my mite of approval and admiration to that which greets him on every side, I cannot but deplore his manifest injustice to those who have dared to go a step farther than he does, in demanding not only political and religious liberty, but social freedom likewise, and his manifest inconsistency and bigotry in this regard.

In one sentence he declares that "liberty of thought includes the right to think right and the right to think wrong. Why? Because that is the means by which we arrive at truth; for, if we knew

the truth before, we need not think." In another, he asserts "that he has not the slightest respect for those people who oppose the institution of marriage"; and this sentiment is greeted with great applause by people who, a moment before, applauded with equal enthusiasm the following words from the same speaker: "I would rather a man would tell me what he honestly thinks, and thereby preserve his manhood." Col. Ingersoll invites honesty of expression, and free discussion of all subjects pertaining to human interests, and yet has not the "slightest respect" for the few earnest men and women who have dared to carry their investigations into regions he has failed to explore, and are willing to endure social ostracism, and to incur, if need be, the loss of Col. Ingersoll's respect, for truth's sake, realizing that comparative isolation is one of the penalties of growth.

We find that, the morning after this declaration, Mrs. Grundy, ever watchful of the movements of famous persons, beheld the eminent lecturer seated at breakfast at the Brunswick with an invited guest whom he has honored with his friendship, or—as I prefer to say—who has honored Col. Ingersoll for years by his regard, in the person of an old reformer; who for a long time has, in public and private, denounced in no measured terms the institution of marriage. "Consistency, thou art a jewel!"

But, to return to the lecture, we find the speaker contrasting "Queen Victoria, clothed in the garments given to her by blind fortune and chance, with George Eliot, robed in garments of glory woven in the loom of her own genius," evidently forgetting that the latter lived for years with Mr. Lewes in open defiance of that sacred institution of marriage which he regards as the "holiest institution among men." The fact is, the lecturer in childhood was the victim of "a religious training" that brought his free spirit into open rebellion against all forms of priestly tyranny and Orthodox oppressions; and, in dealing with this subject, Col. Ingersoll speaks from knowledge and experience. When he theorizes about marriage, he is doubtless influenced by the memory of his own home; which, rumor says, is made happy by a charming wife and interesting daughters, to whom he has ever been a most devoted and indulgent husband and father. I am glad to acknowledge that there are many firebrands whose Lares and Penates are love and peace; but that they are so is not because of law, but in spite of it; and, if all legislation on the subject was abandoned, such homes would remain undisturbed.

Pro-slavery advocates constantly met the abolitionists with the argument that in the South were to be found good masters and contented slaves; but Abby Kelley, Lucy Stone, and William Lloyd Garrison remained unconvinced, and refused to leave the sacred institution of slavery undisturbed, even though sustained by the law, the pulpit, and the press.

The marriage law—which Col. Ingersoll is so anxious to preserve inviolate—denies the mother a legal right to the child she goes down into the valley of death itself to obtain. There are bruised and beaten wives, and little children conceived in loathing, and born heirs to the antagonism of their parents, who yearly recruit the army of juvenile criminals, already a blot upon our civilization, and whose wretchedness and ignorance beggar description.

But I will conclude by quoting for the benefit of Col. Ingersoll, and all who agree with him, the opinion of Rev. M. D. Conway on this subject, as expressed in his *Earthward Pilgrimage*. The author says:—

"Society will ere long be glad enough to assimilate contracts between men and women to contracts between partners in business. Then Love will dispense alike with the bandage on its eyes and the constable's aid; and as for the thousand phantoms in the distance,—the deserted wives, the abandoned children, etc., etc., though the worst of them are less terrible than the realities of the present, we will not be frightened by them into any distrust of the laws of the universe." Again: "So long as society cares only for the marriage license and the priest's blessing; so long as it receives with a smile the woman legally bought, and commends Mary Wollstonecraft to the Thames River because her true love does not fulfil its forms; so long as it holds that chastity demands the sacrifice of every woman who has in any instance disregarded its laws, and makes the street or the brothel the only possible refuge for thousands purer than many of those who shut the door in their faces; so long as it prefers secret sin, intrigue, the hate in the chamber behind the smile in the drawing-room, the daily lesson of hypocrisy learned by children, and whitened sepulchres called homes, to honest divorce; so long as it will encourage the young man and maid who have made an incongruous marriage to starve their hearts and waste their lives rather than confess the mistake, and seek out the hearts needed for their perfection,—so long will those whose eyes are cleared from superstition see the throne of Marriage, like that of Dahomey, resting upon human skulls."

Yours for political, religious, and social freedom,
LAURA KENDRICK.

[Col. Ingersoll would undoubtedly reply that, by the sentence criticised above, he meant only to say that he had no respect for the arguments of people who oppose the marriage institution, and that it was a mere blunder of the reporter to omit these italicised words. We do not believe he intended to be understood as he was reported. With this correction, we should certainly see nothing to wonder at in his remark. That the laws concerning marriage and divorce can be and ought to be improved is more than likely; but their acknowledged imperfection is no reason for abolishing the marriage institution itself. It is no mark of wisdom to "throw out the baby with the bath."—Ed.]

"THE TEMPTATIONS OF MODERN SOCIETY."

The following notice appears in the Boston Advertiser of March 6:

Lectures on the Temptations of Modern Society.

"A course of lectures to *men only* is to be delivered at the Church of the Advent, Bowdoin Street, on the six Friday evenings commencing March 8, by the Rev. Edward Osborne, of the brotherhood of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford, England. The recent discussion in England upon the confessional in the English Church, although attended with much vulgar misconception, even in high places, has led most thinking men to feel the need of very direct and plain dealing with the sins of the day. Under the surface of a conventional Christian civilization, there is reason to fear exists the old moral pollution, not *less deep* but even more dangerous because concealed even from the professional eye, and the touch which cures while it probes. Perhaps our "middle-class" is most pure. The young, especially of the richer sort, in Boston and Cambridge, lead lives which their friends little guess. "O, mothers! how much do you think you know?" says the tender-hearted English cynic. The temptations of modern society, and especially the powers of resistance which the image of God within us furnishes against them, is the subject of these discourses by a member of that celebrated preaching brotherhood which has gone out almost within a decade of years from Oxford, and has already made itself powerfully felt from India to America. E."

This proposal cannot but be greeted with some hope, as an effort in the right direction towards remedying the great underlying evil in society to which it refers. Much has been said on this subject, and attempts at reform have been made; but no adequate results have been attained. All that has been effected, all that ever can be effected, by the methods hitherto adopted, is but a slight surface amelioration. The root of the evil has not been touched. Prevention, by a wise analysis of the radical causes of the evil, and hence of the only remedy, has not been attempted. Attention has been directed to one class only of the offenders, and they, in general, the victims of innocence, ignorance, or poverty—often of the purest affection—and of the heartless seductions of their destroyers.

Strange that those interested in this subject—thoughtful men and women—should seldom in their writings and speeches have touched the key-note of reform, should seldom have applied their efforts to the discovery and eradication of the chief root of the evil. It is always the "fallen women" of whom mention is made, and whose course of life it is attempted to suppress, with no allusion to the guilty agents of their fall, and no indication that there is aught to be done for their reform. It seems to be taken for granted, an accepted fact, that man is not master of himself,—cannot be, and that he must be, in large measure, acquitted for his self-indulgence. Pure women, even, receive the offender into their society as if he were guiltless.

Mr. O. B. Frothingham, in a lecture delivered in Boston a few years since, was reported in a paper of the day as making the following utterance: "The speaker considered that the social evil, so-called, could not be suppressed. The volcano gives vent to fires which otherwise would rend the earth; and perhaps these hideous craters of vice may play no unimportant part in the mysterious economic of society. These women of shame may be looked upon with abhorrence, but never with scorn. They may be the wan and haggard priestesses at a shrine which they have not built; after their own way, they may be the saviors of the rest of us, bearing the sins which but for them we might commit."

Humiliating confession! If true, if taken in its full logical sequence, there is nothing to be done; there should be nothing done towards suppressing houses of ill-fame, or reclaiming their inmates. If so much of the mere animal is dominant in man, if he is the helpless victim of an instinct over which he has no control, while it becomes him to bow his head in the deepest humility, let woman, "the priestess at his shrine," no longer be named "the woman of shame," but let her be exalted and honored, not merely as the "angel" she is often so flatteringly called, but indeed as the sacrificing "savior," rescuing him from perdition; and let her be crowned with a halo of glory, rather than branded with contempt, and "looked on with abhorrence."

The injustice of tracing this evil to woman alone, or principally, and striving only to reclaim her, is equalled only by its stupidity. It is disheartening to effort, as utterly unavailing, on the ground that supply is always equal to demand; and disgusting, as showing an entire absence of clear-sightedness. Indignation is justly aroused at the *one-sidedness* that has always been given to the subject.

Shall it never be that the sentiment coming down from savage ages, when brute force was in the ascendant, when reason and conscience were yet undeveloped—the idea that there is in man, while subject to so high a civilization in most respects, one element in his nature that cannot be subdued, cannot be civilized,—shall it never be, that this traditional, this almost universally accepted belief, shall be discovered to be without foundation, and shall take its place with the effete creeds which the highest religion and civilization have outgrown?

Discipline, "aided by the powers of resistance which the image of God within us furnishes," may surely be brought to bear in this direction, as well as in any other. Public sentiment, too, must change its point of view, and turn its condemning voice from the victim to the betrayer. It must direct its aims towards civilizing and restraining this ungodly impulse in him,—the true root of the enormous and

manifold resultant evils. Unless this can be done, there is no encouragement for effort, and the attempts at reform may be given up in blank despair.

The proposed lectures are "to men only"; and it is to be hoped that their power and duty will be set before them in a light so luminous that the impulse received may be the beginning of a reform which will prove to be truly radical. T.

BLASPHEMY LAWS.

HARTFORD, CONN., March 1, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—E. S. Westcott, a liberal of this place, has presented to the Judiciary Committee of the State Legislature a bill to repeal the "Blasphemy" Statute. The following of his reasons for the repeal were printed in the Hartford Times yesterday.

Yours respectfully, CHAS. E. GAGER.

"According to the decisions of the courts in the several States, any man may be punished, according to such a law, who declares his disbelief in the Bible and the God of the Jews, in the Testament or its Christ, or in the Christian religion. Shall the statute of a free State order the belief of its citizens? Shall it be used to forge a fetter for free discussion which the spirit of modern thought will break and throw aside in contempt and derision? This law is a dead-letter on the statute-book; and, with the note at the bottom of its page, serves only as an ignominious reference to the early bigotry and barbarism of the State. From 1648 to 1784 if a man dared to think and talk on these subjects without the help of the priest, he was to suffer death. From 1784 to 1821 if he dared to assert this birthright of a freeman, some constable reeking with the fumes of New England rum was to maul him on the naked body, not to exceed forty stripes—the character of the stripes, I suppose, to depend largely on the quantity of rum; and even now, in this light of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, if a man dares to use his reason in his search after truth, he may be fined not over one hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not more than one year, as the statute reads. Is not such a dead-letter on the statute-book sufficient of itself to urge its own repeal? Is it not full time for the complete divorce of Church and State? The people stand on the side of freethought; the marriage in this is only a form. Two hundred and seventy-eight years ago, and the priest burned Bruno at the stake for asking those questions with which now every child overturns the theologies. Then the priest wielded the whole power of the State; and the rattle of the printing press had only sounded one hundred and fifty years. Since that time the art of printing has carried the thinker, the scientist, the poet, and even the higher novells, to almost every home of civilization. The Christian has become better and higher than his Book. The sun has become, to all, the centre of the system; the world is no longer flat; the eternal fires of hell burn low; the slave system of the Bible and the Testament has been buried; the Christian's temperance is higher than wine at weddings. He no longer kills men upon the mountains and in the public streets for their modes of thought; he no longer burns people at the stake; he no longer invents torture; he reveals alone in the dead-letter of the statute. The freethinker believes in freethought. We are perfectly willing the modern Christian shall utilize the moral infidelity that has made him better, and make it a part of his book if he can. We only ask that the statute-book of Connecticut shall read as if we have the right to call black, black, and white, white."

CHRISTIANIZING JAPAN.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 4.

MR. ABBOT:

Sir,—Here are a few extracts from a letter written by a Japanese student, and published in the February number of the *Missionary Herald*. Mr. Davis, the missionary who forwarded it, says, "The letter shows a keen insight into the condition of Japan; and parts of it are worthy to be written in gold." Such being the case, I thought you might be interested. This student studied the Bible some years, and then entered the "Imperial University of Japan," where he devoted two years "chiefly to scientific studies." "But," he says, "seeing I had a higher vocation in Christ Jesus than that of a mere chemist or a geologist, I left the university, and joined my schoolmates in Biblical studies." Speaking of Confucianism, he says: "But you must not suppose the samurai (the ruling race) were willing to import foreign excellence of every kind, for they were mostly Confucians, and regarded their religion as the best in the world. Confucianism, that mixture of politics and philosophy, presented before them a complete system of moral doctrines, gave them a plausible theory of human depravity, and pointed out to them a way to an ideal perfection through dint of self-exertions. It was all naturalistic. To the Confucian there was no God to worship but man; no revelation to guide them but the conscience; and no future but the present only. They rejected all religions as relics of a past barbarism; mocked at the ideas of a personal God, of a future state of rewards and punishments, and of a Savior. The supernatural in the Bible was to them a stone of stumbling; and the divinity of Christ an insufferable rock of offence. Above all, the gentle and humble and loving spirit of a Christian was irreconcilably at variance with their cold, proud, and selfish ideal of a perfect man." No wonder, therefore, that a little farther on he is led to remark, that, "You may well imagine what a hard work it was for Captain James to bring them to Christ; for it is ten times more difficult to Christianize a Confucian than it is to convert a Buddhist or a Sintoist." Further on he pictures the terrible state of affairs as follows:—

"True, there are now scattered over all the parts of

Japan schools and academies, and even colleges, where both general and professional education is given. But do they promise anything to the real interests of Japan? What is, for instance, the character of that 'Imperial University,' as they love to call it, the chief of them all? Let me speak to you freely. I have been in that institution for two years, and speak only what I have seen with my own eyes, or heard with my own ears. Here are gathered, under the government's patronage, some eight hundred students, the sons of the rich,—the high and the powerful of Japan. It has about twenty-five foreign professors, and gives education in medicine, chemistry, law, engineering, literature, and natural history. But the students learn other things. They learn to smoke tobacco, to drink intoxicating liquors, and to do even worse things; and so they learn to despise all moral and religious precepts. It is these students' unhappy lot to be educated in all the arts of an intellectual man, without morality and without religion. In a library of thirty-five thousand volumes, I could not find a single copy of the Scriptures; and Draper's *Conflict Between Science and Religion* is used as a regular text-book. Indeed, Japanese Confucianism is so nearly allied with the modern scepticism, that those portions of the samurai who are now ruling Japan, and who are intelligent enough to read a page of Mill or Spencer, are fast becoming sceptics, and are ready to go any length in that direction. Yes, Mills and Spencers, Darwins and Comtes, are going to make more trouble in Japan than the nebulous mythology of Sintoism, or the shadowy superstition of Buddhists. How are we to oppose them? How are we to protect the rising generation from their poisonous shafts?"

These last remarks about the University are what led me to jot down the extracts, thinking that as they had proved of interest, and provoked the smiles of several to whom I had shown them, they might do sometime to "fill in" with.

Yours, A. S. COFFIN.

"THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS IS THE SEED OF THE CHURCH."

The liberals of the State of Texas have good reason to adopt the above saying as to their liberal "church." Since Dr. Russell, of Bell County, was so brutally treated on account of his "insidel" views, a few months since, there has been a general awakening of the liberals of that State, as I have learned from letters from various persons; and that awakening has taken practical shape in Bosque County, near where Dr. Russell resides, as will be seen by the following communication that has just reached me:—

MERIDIAN, Bosque Co., Texas, }
March 8, 1878. }

H. L. GREEN, Esq., Ch. Ec. Com. N. L. L.:

Dear Sir,—We have just perfected an organization of liberals under the name of "The United Friends of Progress." The "objects of the Society" are "to stimulate investigation among the people in relation to their civil, religious, and political rights, and encourage the investigation of questions relating to religion, science, and reform." The motto of the Society is "truth, justice, and happiness: hear all sides; then decide."

The Society instructed me to write you in regard to procuring a charter. We would like to see a copy of the charter that is issued by the National Liberal League, and learn the terms under which we can become a chartered institution. We are situated sixty miles from Dr. Russell, the well-known martyr of freethought, of Texas. The members of our Society feel great relief after the perfecting of our organization. We feel as though we can hear the broken chains of superstition clanking around us."

Respectfully, ANDREW J. SMITH,
Sec'y U. F. of P.

I will also add, that in a number of other places in Texas Liberal League organizations are contemplated. Our New England liberals must go to work, or their Southern and Western friends will leave them in the rear of progress. H. L. G.

LET MEN understand that Jesus Christ has no part in this world with ignorance. There are among philosophers those who delight to call themselves Agnostics; or, as we used to style them in political parlance, Know-nothings; but in the school and the Church of Jesus Christ ignorance is at a fearful discount. His disciples are stimulated by every precept of the gospel to the attainment of every sort of knowledge. "If there be any truth, if there be any virtue," the Apostle bids us "think on these things." So soon as anything is proven to be truth, it becomes part of the message of Jesus Christ to us. It is not our business to enter into limited, local, and partial controversies of men; but when either scientist or philosopher has eliminated positive truth, we receive it, and are bound and pledged to receive it by the very charter of our relationship in the commonwealth of faith. Christendom is the name for civilization. It would be impossible to picture the actual condition of this world should the forces that have been set at work by Christianity be withdrawn from society. What would be the laws, what the tastes, what the usages of the world, in even its most cultivated portions, if the influence of this gospel of the Galilean should be annihilated? The name Truth, which the Lord Jesus assumed, itself suggests the thought that a stimulus is given to the mind by the acceptance of his service. And we have grounds for believing that he is not content with that disciple who does not make the most of his faculties.—Rev. S. H. Tyng.

THERE IS A NEW PAPER in Cincinnati called the *Sunday Breakfast Table*. In Boston it would have been called the *Sabbath Fish Ball*.—Worcester Press.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion": Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Laaker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

Any one of the above pamphlets of "PROCEEDINGS" sent to any address for Five cents received in postage stamps; and more at the same rate. Sold also for Five cents at the office.

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1878.

WHOLE No. 431.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

A NEW Liberal League has been organized at Harrisonville, Cass County, Missouri, auxiliary to the National League. The officers are as follows: President, Dr. Thomas Beattie; Secretary, Hugh R. Steels; Treasurer, George M. Houston.

A WRITER in the New Haven Union recently said: "Labor can secure just wages, not by striking, but by having it in its power to turn from overcrowded occupations to those which are more remunerative." And it is better education alone which can give this power.

MR. GREEN reports that the Executive State Committee of the National Liberal League for Ohio has been duly constituted as follows: E. D. Stark (chairman), Cleveland; A. E. Macomber, Toledo; J. E. Boynton, Elyria; S. O. Kellogg, Berlin Heights; C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.

THE EXECUTIVE State Committee of the National Liberal League for West Virginia has been duly constituted as follows: Dr. A. M. Dent (chairman), Weston; George A. Lees, Morgantown; S. E. Kuykendall, Parkersburg; Dr. J. B. Crumrine, Pennsylvania; Emory G. Bennett, Fayetteville.

MR. GREEN requests us to give the following notice, which we do with pleasure: "The free thinkers of New York State will hold their first Annual Convention at Watkins, Schuyler County, on the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th days of August next, and invite the free thinkers of the other States and of Canada to meet with them."

BISMARCK has added to the Beatitudes of Jesus a new one of his own. "*Beati possidentes*!" exclaimed the Chancellor; "blessed are the possessors!" This is a variation of the legal maxim—"possession is nine points of the law." It is an ironical confession of that gospel of greed which governs the conscience of all nations. When will the world learn that selfishness is the law of brutes—justice the law of men?

THE NEW prime minister of Turkey, Achmet Vefik Pasha, cracked a dry joke on the deaths of King Victor Emmanuel and Pope Pius Ninth. "Yes," said he, "it was a mean little intrigue of the King to slip off ahead of the Pope to the other world and secure the best place, that he might continue to worry the old man there!"

JOKES ARE cracked on the new silver dollar. One says that the great prominence of the cheek and chin of the Goddess of Liberty is truly emblematic. Another says that the motto "In God We Trust" refers to the missing value of the coin. The New York Evening Post says: "If the emblem is to be perfect, the Goddess should be represented as wearing a paper collar; that kind of a collar being typical of the advanced civilization of the day, as well as illustrative of the profound regard that the great majority of the silver party have for paper itself." But no joke is cracked on the new encroachment of the clerical policy in the inscription of a motto that violates the whole theory of American government. That nobody perceives, or, perceiving, cares for!

WE FIND this anecdote in a Christian journal: "What has Christianity ever done for man?" demanded Bob Ingersoll, as he was riding some years ago in a railroad train. 'It has prevented Mr. Ingersoll from being Governor of Illinois,' replied a quiet lady who lived in the neighborhood of the infidel." The lady was partly right and partly wrong. Christianity did that thing, since it everywhere elects and defeats whomsoever it pleases; it did it, however, not "for man," but for the Church. Col. Ingersoll has had abundant reason in his own experience to understand that the battle for liberty has not yet been won in this country, as he thoughtlessly says it has; but he evidently does not understand it. Otherwise he would have less to say about "hell," and more to

say about the Liberal League. Does he ever speak of that?

"OUR WHOLE DESIRE is to promote God's truth." This is in the salutatory statement of a new liberal publication, which we will not name because we want to rebuke the probably unconscious cant of that sentence, written though it was by a very good man. "God's truth!" When will the world grow radical enough to know that "Truth" belongs neither to God nor to the Devil, but to herself? That he who seeks her will never find her with the revenue-stamp of any proprietor on her brow? If there is a God, he belongs to truth, not truth to him. Whenever we see such cant as that placarded on a freethought house, like a politic—"Take Notice! No Atheist Lodged Here!"—an indignant recoil within us comes very near making us an atheist out and out. Yet, trying to follow truth in our own poor way without caring whether she leads us to heaven or to hell, we have not been led to atheism, though we have been led to love and admiration of more than one atheist. If God were ever to speak a veritable word of revelation, what could it be but to quote the old proverb: "Deliver me from my friends, and I will take care of my enemies"?

LAST SUNDAY we had the great pleasure of meeting the Society of Ethical Culture, in New York city, of which Professor Felix Adler is the regular lecturer. The Society meets every Sunday at Standard Hall, corner of Broadway and Forty-second Street, which seats about six hundred, and is usually so well filled that numbers are unable to obtain seats; and it maintains a regular school for the moral instruction of children once a week, meeting (we believe) on Tuesday afternoons. Although now beginning its second year, the Society is strong in numbers, in means, and above all in earnestness, hopefulness, and enthusiasm. Its interest is mainly in practical work, especially for the young and for the laboring classes; but its interest in the highest speculative themes is shown by the fact that it has clustered around Professor Adler, one of the ablest, purest, and best educated reformers of the country, and a young man whose singularly winning personality fascinates and holds the Society together. To us there is the profoundest meaning in the experiment here tried; for the originators of this movement are Jews who have come out from Judaism upon the broad ground of humanitarian religion, precisely as the more advanced school of "Free Religion" has come out from Christianity. In fact, these two movements are identical in spirit and in aims; and it is inexpressibly delightful to perceive how from these two ancient religions the same grand religion of humanity is evolving itself in conscious independence of all the contracted, special, personal claims of the past. Never have we drunk deeper at the fountain of "fellowship in the spirit" than in this society of large-minded, warm-hearted Jews, in whose "Preamble" and "By-Laws" the word Jew or its equivalents do not so much as appear. There is no petty conceit of superiority and no narrow spirit of separatism in Standard Hall; nothing made itself felt but the mighty oneness of humanity in its loftiest ideal aspirations and struggles. The day will be marked with a white stone in our calendar, for it seemed to show the fulfilment of a ten-years' dream. For most unusual and extreme kindness we must tender our grateful thanks; but we cannot begin to express the higher gratification of beholding a true avatar of the Spirit of Humanity. Next week we shall publish in full the "Preamble" and "By-laws" above alluded to. But these, after all, are only words; and we wish that all who have learned to love the ideals that have struggled to utter themselves in THE INDEX the past eight years might have shared with us the joy of seeing for themselves that, dreams though they are, they are also something better than dreams.

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The Ethics of Jesus.

BY JOHN L. STODDARD.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

It requires but a slight acquaintance with the precepts of Jesus to see that with him the incentives to virtue are frequently rewards and punishments; but the great extent to which these are employed is only realized upon a careful study of his teachings. Take, for example, the Beatitudes. In every case a reward is promised, and virtue is not taught for its own sake. The poor in spirit (or, as Luke has it, simply the poor) are blessed, for theirs is to be the kingdom of God. The meek are likewise blessed; not for any intrinsic value in meekness as a virtue, but because they are to "inherit the earth." So the merciful are blessed, because they are in turn to receive mercy; and the persecuted and reviled are bidden to rejoice, because "great is their reward in heaven"! Does Jesus command his disciples to forgive men their trespasses? He enforces it with the promise, "And your heavenly Father will also forgive you!" Does he urge them to confess him before men? He holds out as a reward for so doing that he will also confess them before his Father in heaven! "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you"—what? that he does a noble deed to be commended by himself and God? He does not say that, but adds, "he shall in no wise lose his reward." Again: "Every one that hath forsaken houses or brethren or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life!" Again: "Give," says Jesus; but adds as an incentive, "and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down and shaken together and running over, shall men give into your bosom?" In the first phrases of the following verses it would seem that Jesus gave a rule for pure, disinterested action; but mark the italicized conclusion:—"If ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners to receive as much again. But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be called the children of the Highest!" So also in the following: "When thou makest a dinner, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbors, lest they also bid thee again and a recompense be made thee; but when thou makest a feast call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee." Thus far nothing could be more noble and disinterested. But now all is spoiled by these concluding words, whose shadow seems fated to fall upon his finest precepts: "For thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just!" (Luke xiv, 12-14.) "Verily, I say unto you," exclaims Jesus, "ye which have followed me, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel!" "If any man serve me," he continues, "him will my Father honor!" In the sixth chapter of Matthew secret prayer and private charity are taught with the incentive, "And thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly!" "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness" is the precept of Jesus; but, as we have seen above, the reward is immediately attached to the command in the words, "and all these things [worldly advantages] shall be added unto you." Passing over many more of a similar nature, if we look now at passages where the moral precepts of Jesus are enforced with threats of punishment, we shall find them equally numerous. "Take heed," says Jesus, "that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them." Why? Because such an act indicates a hypocritical state of soul, and renders the deed devoid of virtue? No such motive is urged. The incentive is this: "Otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven!" "If ye forgive not men their trespasses," says the Hebrew teacher, "neither will your Father forgive your trespasses!" "Judge not," is the command of Jesus. Why? "That ye be not judged!" "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea!" "Agree with thine adversary quickly, . . . lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison!" "Whosoever shall say to his brother, 'Vain fellow' [Raca], shall be in danger of the council; and whosoever shall say, 'Thou fool,' shall be in danger of hell-fire!" "Cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness; there shall he be weeping and gnashing of teeth!" Such are a few examples of the incentives of reward and punishment held out by Jesus in his moral teachings. By far the greater number of his precepts are thus enforced, and therefore do not present the loftiest motives to action, nor constitute the noblest kind of ethical instruction. The fact is, that Jesus, as a teacher of morals, appealed directly, and in the strongest possible manner, to the hopes and fears of men. He talked continually of the "Kingdom" which he had come to establish on earth, in the speedy establishment of which his followers were to be abundantly recompensed for their self-denials: while his enemies, and even those simply indifferent to him, were to be punished with corresponding severity. Those who had confessed him were then to be acknowledged by him; and those who had denied

him were to be by him denied. Those who had believed on him were to be saved; those who had disbelieved were to be damned. If any house or city should not receive his disciples with a cordial welcome, they would fare worse in the day of judgment than the overwhelmed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Whereas whosoever should receive a prophet in the name of a prophet, should receive a prophet's reward. Those who heard his words and acted upon them were compared to a house founded upon a rock; those who disregarded his precepts were likened, on the contrary, to a house destined to fall in ruin on the shifting sands. He that was not for him was against him. There is a power in this kind of teaching, a power which still has a great influence upon the masses to whom the gospel is preached; but it is not, nevertheless, the noblest method of presenting virtue. According to the incentives which Jesus almost invariably employs, a man is either bribed or frightened into obedience.

Now, if we look at the mode of teaching used by Confucius, we shall see a marked difference. The Chinese sage—to whose honor a temple is erected in every Chinese city down to those of the third order—aimed exclusively at fitting men for pure and honorable conduct in this life. His teaching was *ethical*, not *religious*. He urged men to attain to perfect virtue as the true aim of living. Heaven and hell do not enter at all into the list of incentives to virtue in his code. His precept is to practise virtue for virtue's sake. He did not talk much about "spiritual beings" or a future life, probably for the very good reason that he did not know much about them. His definition of wisdom was "to give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men, and while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them." With all this, it would not be fair to charge him with being an atheist, for we find these words upon his lips: "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray"; "do not murmur against Heaven"; and "There is Heaven; that knows me!"

It will be remembered that I am not comparing in this article the *religious* teachings of Jesus with those of others, but simply his *ethical* precepts. In this comparison we have found Jesus almost constantly appealing to rewards and punishments to induce men to follow his instructions in morality. We have found Confucius, on the other hand, teaching morality for its own pure sake alone, without any mention of reward or punishment. Which teacher, then, stands in this respect upon the nobler basis of morals?

In Mencius, the great follower of Confucius, there is visible the same purity of ethical instruction. The nearest approach to any threat of punishment joined to his teachings is found in the words already cited under "evil speaking."—"What future misery have they, and ought they, to endure, who talk of what is not good in others!" But that this "future misery" merely refers to the misery consequent upon such conduct in *this life* is highly probable from the fact that there is, in all the words of Mencius, no other passage capable of being construed into a reference to the result of men's actions in a future existence.

With Buddha the incentive of rewards and punishments is quite common. We find in the *Dhammapada* numerous passages like the following: "The evil doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next. The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next." According to Buddha, the good will attain unto "Nirvana, which is the highest happiness" (*Dhammapada*, 23), and "the bad will go to hell" (*Dhammapada*, 128). "Righteous people go to heaven; the fool goes to hell." "The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods" (*Dhammapada*, 171). "He who says what is not good to hell."

These extracts have the real evangelical ring to them. They are as plain and forcible as most of the declarations of Jesus, though we miss in the *Dhammapada* some of the more terrible allusions to future torment in which Jesus indulges; such as, "Where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched"; "Where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth"; and "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!" Moreover, it is to be remarked that the "hell" of Buddha was not a place of endless torment, but possessed "heavens of refuge" for repentant souls. Can we say as much of the "hell" of Jesus?

It must, however, be borne in mind that Buddha, although appealing to rewards and punishments, does so much less often than does Jesus. Therefore, in this instance also, we find that, as a rule, the moral precepts of Jesus are not based upon as high and noble motives as are those of Buddha; and nowhere in the whole range of Jesus' words do we find anything like the following noble sentiments: "Let thy motive lie in the deed, and not in the reward! Perform the duty, whether it terminate in good or ill. This is devotion" (*Bhagavad Gita*, chapter 2). "The path of virtue is to be pursued with no view to emolument" (*Mencius*, 7, 33). It will doubtless be replied to this that no motives, except those which appeal directly to the desires and fears of men, will have much influence in winning them to virtue, or reclaiming them from vice. The space of this article does not permit of a discussion of this subject. It is doubtless true that, with the masses of humanity, the incentives of rewards and punishments are the strongest. It is also probably true that the teaching of virtue for its own sake only to the thoroughly abandoned would be merely casting pearls before swine. And yet I claim that in a Divine Master, or even in the most perfect of human teachers, we should expect one-half, at least, of his ethical precepts to be uttered without the adjunct of a bribe or a threat. We should, I think, reasonably anticipate that, if he were the only infallible source of ethical instruction, he would, at least half the time, inculcate moral purity from its own inherent loveliness and for its own sake alone. In both these expectations we are disappointed.

On the subject of riches, the teaching of Jesus

was quite peculiar. Buddha had said: "One is the road that leads to wealth; another is the road that leads to Nirvana." But Jesus, not content with similarly saying, "Ye cannot serve God and riches" (mammon), demands the utter renunciation of wealth in the case of the young man who inquired of him the way of life. "If thou wilt be perfect," he says, "go and sell what thou hast and give to the poor." It is to be parenthetically remarked that here too Jesus instantly adds, as an additional inducement, "and thou shalt have treasure in heaven!" Lest this should be called a special case, requiring peculiar treatment, let us examine other words of a similar nature. "Sell that ye have," exclaims Jesus in a general precept (Luke xii., 33), "and give alms." "Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger" (Luka vi., 24). "Verily I say unto you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matt. xix., 23).

The parable of Dives and Lazarus reveals the same bitter feeling towards the rich. Dives is not represented as having committed any sin, save the one of being rich and having neglected to invite Lazarus to come in from the steps and eat at his sumptuous table. As Lazarus, however, is represented as being "full of sores," we can hardly wonder at the taste of Dives in this particular. Lazarus, on the other hand, is not said to have possessed any other merit than that of being a beggar and the recipient of canine blandishments. Yet when they die, Jesus represents Lazarus as carried by angels to Abraham's bosom, while Dives is plunged into torments similar to those of Tantalus. Moreover, Father Abraham, when appealed to by Dives, remarks this only: "Son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." This is compensation with a vengeance! That the hatred of riches in se and the praise of poverty in se were strikingly shown forth in the teachings of Jesus cannot be better proven than by the immediate conduct of his disciples whom he had thus instructed. No sooner was he dead than "all that believed had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need" (Acts ii., 44). "Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands and houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet" (Acts iv., 34). James, too, imitates his master in bidding rich men weep and howl in view of the miseries which shall come upon them. Thus we see that Jesus rebuked the possession of wealth in itself, as not only dangerous, but wrong. He makes no distinction between a proper and improper use and amount of riches, but utters one broad and sweeping denunciation of them. Those Christian millionaires, therefore, who regard Jesus as the infallible Teacher whose words are divinely authoritative, should, in consistency, sell their fine houses and clothes, take an humble cottage, dismiss their servants, and give the balance of their incomes to the judicious nourishment and instruction of the poor and degraded. Impracticable? Absurd? Perhaps; but then let us agree that *Jesus* was impracticable and absurd; for he commanded just that and nothing less. He would, in all probability, do so again to-day, were he to come among us, and would unquestionably receive from some of his wealthy worshippers merely an astonished shrug and stare.

This hatred of riches on the part of Jesus resembles very much the idea of the Essenes, one of the prominent Jewish sects in his day. And it is probable that he derived it from them. Of these Josephus says (*Wars of the Jews*, Book II., chapter 8), "These are despisers of riches. No one is found among them who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order; so that among them there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches. . . . Many of them live in every city. . . . Every one gives what he has to him that wanteth it. . . . Although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomever they please."

A peculiar feature in Jesus' code of morals is his prohibition of all oaths. "Swear not at all," he says (It is needless to say, not meaning here "Take not the name of God blasphemously," but do not strengthen your assertions by any appeal to the Deity). This precept is not only daily disobeyed by the majority of believers in the infallibility of Jesus, but those who persist in following his instructions in this particular have been frequently exposed to great inconvenience for so doing. This idea also was a dominant one among the Essenes. "Swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury; for they say that he who cannot be believed without swearing by God is already condemned" (*Josephus*, Book II., chapter 8, *Wars of the Jews*).

The law which Jesus lays down upon the subject of divorce is explicit. "It hath been said," remarks Jesus, "whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery." Is this precept, on the whole, an advantageous one for society to follow? Experience in countries where it has been attempted, and where divorce for any other cause than fornication has been refused, has proved that this rule is far too narrow to meet the exigencies of a complicated society. This precept also is therefore quietly set aside and violated by the followers of Jesus, who at the same time inconsistently claim to regard him as a *Divine and absolutely infallible teacher*.

We have already seen that Jesus, in common with

all other great moral teachers, rebuked hypocrisy and cant most scathingly. There is, however, a step beyond this, which Jesus unhesitatingly takes, and for which he deserves all praise. Jesus ranked practical morality far in advance of ritualism. It is true, he is not the only teacher who does this. The institutes of Menu (4, 204) contain these words: "A wise man should constantly perform all the moral duties, though he perform not constantly the ceremonies of religion! He who purifies himself in the river of a subdued spirit, the waters of which are truth, its waves compassion, and its shores holy temper, will be liberated from this world; but liberation cannot be obtained by any outward observance!" But Jesus seems to have emphasized this with peculiar force. He gives continual evidence that he placed no high value upon the ceremonial observances of his nation. Every allusion which he does make to "giving tithes of mint, anise, and cummin," "making broad phylacteries," praying "in the temple," etc., by no means tends to make us regard such actions as important. He seems, indeed, to have observed his nation's feasts, but never issues any precepts in regard to them. Observance of religious ceremonies he does not include among the deeds which will be rewarded when he comes in his new kingdom. He strenuously objects to long public prayers, intimating that they are only made for display. Those who are to be admitted into heaven are the ones who have fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick and imprisoned; but those who cry "Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name done many wonderful works?" will be shut out. As regards the Sabbath, he "broke" it repeatedly, and defended himself for it on three separate occasions, because he had done so in acts of kindness. "It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath day," he exclaims. "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." For these bold protests against bigoted formalism, even when it is not attended with hypocrisy, let us give to the teacher of Nazareth the praise which is due to him. But let us lament that his precepts and example in this regard have been so poorly obeyed by his disciples. The High Church mummeries; the endless ceremonies and Saints' days of Catholicism; the "vain repetitions" of most of the church services; and our unjust Sunday laws,—all attest how grievously Christians have misunderstood their master.

What now are the conclusions to be drawn from this review of the ethical teachings of Jesus of Nazareth?

1. He uttered many noble precepts, for which the world is better; but every one of them had been substantially uttered by others before his time.
2. Some of his best teachings had been already said in his own nation, and even by his own contemporaries.
3. Many of his most remarkable moral precepts are inferior to the analogous teachings of other masters, because supported by the selfish incentives of rewards and punishments.
4. Some of his doctrines, such as the non-resistance of evil and the community of goods, are utterly unsuited to society, and inferior to the corresponding precepts of other teachers.
5. Taking his instruction as a whole, Jesus cannot be said to have taught virtue for virtue's sake, since he almost invariably appealed to men's desires and fears as motives to right action.
6. Jesus deserves especial (though not sole) honor for having placed little or no value upon what may be called *sincere formalism*, in comparison with the far higher duties of *practical morality*; although in his denunciations of *hypocrisy*, he was fully equalled, by other ethical teachers.

Finally, as a light, but not the light, of the world, Jesus is entitled to the respect and reverence due to all great and good men, "the fragrance of whose virtue endures for ever," and who by their precepts have rendered the race wiser, better, and purer. As an expounder of ethics, he will always be recognized as one of its great masters, yet only as one among brethren. For not alone from the slopes of Palestine rises a lofty mountain-peak to reflect the glorious dawn of moral truth to the darkened world beneath; but rather, as we journey backward up the stream of Time, do we discover one height of progress answering to another, until we stand admiringly before a glittering chain of snowy summits, from whose sunlit glory we catch refulgent beams, and in whose lustrous splendor we find our inspiration and our hope.—*Radical Review for February*.

AFTER-DINNER PHILOSOPHY.

The senator heretofore referred to was an intelligent man, who had made his way in life with a directness of purpose which paid no attention to all those stumbling-blocks which constitute obstacles in man's path, known as conscience, sworn faith, justice, and duty. He had advanced straight to his object without once swerving in the line of his advancement and his interest. He had been formerly a *procureur*, mollified by success, and was not a bad man at all, doing all the little kindnesses he could to his sons, sons-in-law, and relatives generally, and even to his friends,—having prudently taken the pleasant side of life, and availed himself of all the benefits which were thrown in his way. Everything else appeared to him very stupid. He was sprightly, and just enough of a scholar to think himself a disciple of Epicurus, while possibly he was only a product of Pigault-Lebrun. He laughed readily and with gusto at infinite and eternal things, and at the "crotchets of the good bishop." He laughed at them sometimes, with a patronizing air, before the bishop himself, who listened.

At some semi-official ceremony, the senator and the bishop remained to dinner with the prefect. At dessert, the senator, a little elevated, though always dignified, exclaimed: "Parbleu! Monsieur Bishop;

let us talk. It is difficult for a senator and a bishop to look each other in the eye without winking. We are two anglers. I have a confession to make to you; I have my philosophy." "And you are right," answered the bishop. "As one makes his philosophy, so he rests. You are on a purple bed, Monsieur Senator." The senator, encouraged by this, proceeded: "Let us be good fellows." "Good devils, even," said the bishop. "I assure you," resumed the senator, "that the Marquis d'Argens, Pyrrho, Hobbes, and M. Nalgeon are not rascals. I have all my philosophers in my library, gilt-edged." "Like yourself," interrupted the bishop. The senator went on:

"I hate Diderot. He is an idealist, a demagogue, and a revolutionist; at heart believing in God, and more bigoted than Voltaire. Voltaire mocked at Needham, and he was wrong: for Needham's eels prove that God is useless. A drop of vinegar in a spoonful of flour supplied the *fat lux*. Suppose the drop greater, and the spoonful larger, and you have the world. Man is the eel. Then what is the use of the Eternal Father? Monsieur Bishop, the Jehovah hypothesis tires me. It is good for nothing except to produce people with scraggy bodies and empty heads. Down with this great All, who torments me! Hail, Zero! who leaves me quiet. Between us, to open my heart, and confess to my pastor, as I ought, I will confess that I have common-sense. My head is not turned with your Jesus, who preaches in every cornfield renunciation and self-sacrifice. It is the advice of a miser to beggars. Renunciation,—for what? Self-sacrifice,—to what? I do not see that one wolf immolates himself for the benefit of another wolf. Let us dwell, then, with Nature. We are at the summit, and let us have a higher philosophy. What is the use of being in a higher position if we can't see further than another man's nose? Let us live gayly; for life is all we have. That man has another life, elsewhere, above, below, anywhere,—I don't believe a single word of it. Ah! I am recommended to self-sacrifice and renunciation; that I should take care what I do; that I must break my head over questions of good and evil, justice and injustice; over the *fas* and the *nefas*. Why? Because I shall have to render an account of my acts. When? After death. What a fine dream! After I am dead it will take fine fingers to pinch me. I should like to see a shade grasp a handful of ashes. Let us who are initiated, and have raised the skirt of Isis, speak the truth; there is neither good nor evil; there is only vegetation. Let us seek for the real; let us dig into everything. Let us go to the bottom. We should scent out the truth, dig in the earth for it, and seize upon it. Then it gives you exquisite joy; then you grow strong and laugh. I am firmly convinced, Monsieur Bishop, that the immortality of man is a will-o'-the-wisp. Oh! charming promise. Trust it, if you will! Adam's letter of recommendation! We have souls, and are to become angels, with blue wings to our shoulders. Tell me, now, isn't it Tertullian who says that the blessed will go from one star to another? Well, we shall be the grasshoppers of the skies; and then we shall see God. Tut, tut, tut! All these heavens are silly. God is a monstrous myth. I shouldn't say that in the *Montieur*, of course, but I whisper it among my friends. *Inter pocula*. To sacrifice earth to paradise is to leave the substance for the shadow. I am not so stupid as to be the dupe of the Infinite. I am nothing; I call myself Count Nothing, senator. Did I exist before my birth? No. Shall I after my death? No. What am I? A little dust, aggregated by an organism. What have I to do on this earth? I have the choice to suffer or to enjoy. Where will suffering lead me? To nothing. But I shall have suffered. Where will enjoyment lead me? To nothing. But I shall have enjoyed. My choice is made. I must eat or be eaten, and I choose to eat. It is better to be the tooth than the grass. Such is my philosophy. After which, as I tell you, there is the grave-digger,—the pantheon for us; but all fall into the great gulf—the end; final; total liquidation. This is the vanishing point. Death is dead, believe me. I laugh at the idea that there is any one there that has anything to say to me. It is an invention of nurses; bugaboo for children; Jehovah for men. No; our tomorrow is night. Beyond the tomb are only equal nothings. You have been Sardanapalus, or you have been Vincent de Paul: that amounts to the same nothing. That is the truth of it. Let us live, then, above all things; use your personality while you have it. In fact, I tell you, Monsieur Bishop, I have my philosophy, and I have my philosophers. I do not allow myself to be entangled with nonsense. But it is necessary there should be something for those who are below us,—the barefoots, knife-grinders, and other wretches. Legends and chimeras are given them to swallow,—about the soul, immortality, paradise, and the stars. They munch that; they spread it on their dry bread. He who has nothing besides, has the good God,—that is the least good he can have. I make no objection to it, but I keep M. Nalgeon for myself. The good God is good for the people."

The bishop clasped his hands. "That is the idea," he exclaimed. "This materialism is an excellent thing, and truly marvellous,—reject it who will. Ah! when one has it, he is a dupe no more. He does not stupidly allow himself to be exiled like Cato, or stoned like Stephen, or burnt alive like Joan of Arc. Those who have succeeded in procuring this admirable materialism have the happiness of feeling that they are irresponsible, and of thinking that they can devour everything in quietness,—places, sinecures, honors, power rightly or wrongly acquired, lucrative recantations, useful treasons, savory capitulations of conscience, and that they will enter their graves with their digestion completed. How agreeable it is! I do not say that for you, Monsieur Senator. Nevertheless, I cannot but felicitate you. You great lords

have, you say, a philosophy of your own, for your special benefit,—exquisite, refined, accessible to the rich alone; good with all sauces, admirably seasoning the pleasures of life. This philosophy is found at great depths, and brought up by special search. But you are good princes, and are quite willing that the belief in the good God should be the philosophy of the people, much as goose with onions is the turkey with truffles of the poor."—*Les Misérables*, by Victor Hugo.

THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND AND EUROPE FROM A GERMAN POINT OF VIEW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PALL MALL GAZETTE:

Sir,—If Mr. Forster, in his speech at Bradford, said it was a German task to keep the Russians out of Constantinople, this question arises: Did he speak of the German Empire or the German nation? For the two things are not identical. If Mr. Forster meant the Empire, he ought to have spoken not of a German but a Bismarckian task. Had he wished to be precise in his expressions, he would have considered twice before he advanced an opinion as to any Bismarckian interests at Constantinople. But if he spoke of the German nation, then I must inform him that the German national interests are inoperative. That which finds no place in our system of personal government is powerless to exercise any influence upon our Imperial policy. But this reasoning does not stop at our doors; it applies likewise to the terms Austrian and European as used by Mr. Forster. In Austria there is the same difference between the rulers and the interests of the nation. In Austria, indeed, through the race-divergences of the Hungarians, the Slavonians, and the Germans, this opposition of interests between rulers and people becomes much more obvious than with us Germans. Can any man of sense imagine a more flagrant contradiction than there is between the Hungarian declaration, that the defeats of the Turks are so many battles lost to the national interests of the Magyars; and Andrássy's puerile assertion, that the Austrian interests in the Eastern Question are confined within the limits of Bosnia and Herzegovina? So, you see, Austrian and Andrássyan are also terms of very different meaning. And Europe—what is Europe? Is it anything but a conglomeration of incoherent parts called Germany, Austria, France, etc., connected by a tie much less strong than even that which might render Germany one? What may be expected of such a fortuitous concurrence of antagonistic forces and tendencies? You may rely on it, sir, neither a sword nor a hand will be raised in defence of European interests. For those who are able to see that those interests are—*i. e.*, the nations of Europe—are not in a condition to defend them; while the rulers of nations are either without ability to understand or will to acknowledge the true interests of Europe.

England does and will stand alone in the present portentous crisis, of which the Eastern Question is but a part,—that crisis of decomposition of mediæval empires and institutions which was commenced by the Austro-French war in 1859, was continued in the Danish war 1864, the Austro-German and Franco-German wars in 1866 and 1870, and which will most certainly not close with the present Russo-Turkish war. It will go on, and never cease, until it has thoroughly disposed of all those festering relics of bygone times which still infest modern society. The French Revolution commenced the present struggle, and purified French society of all the social and civil trammels left upon the body politic by the feudal state, except that of the papacy, which is the only power capable of disputing the supreme sway of the civic republic in France to this day. In the other States of Continental Europe, the contending forces are not so visible. We Germans are favored with a great many bequests from mediæval society, the two most mischievous of which are the hereditary aristocracy and Catholicism in its contest with Protestantism, the "Kulturkampf." Another such relic is our royalty by "the grace of God," instead of by "the will of the people," as in your country. Now, all these hollow institutions the present crisis of international European politics is destined to level; and here we may see how the crisis of the day touches British interests to the quick. Our rulers perceive that France and England are at the root of that horrid evil commonly called democracy, and they wish to be able to get at either of them. Of course they know well enough how to deal with France; some trick like the Spanish candidature is easily found when required. Besides, the French polity, whether a republic or a monarchy, is always conservative,—always ready to keep down radically democratic movements, and to cripple free discussion. But England, free and inaccessible England, with her liberal institutions, her truly democratic equality of all persons and ranks, her free press, free right of meeting and of discussion, her absence of arbitrary power,—is not your own free country the nursery of those democratic principles which are destined to finish the work of purifying the world of personal rule and oppressive dominion,—a work commenced in our times by the French Revolution, but which was much sooner and just as effectually done when you cut off the Stuarts?

Seek here for the reasons why your country is the great object of hatred to all European monarchies. And, believe me, if the understanding between the Imperial families of Germany and Russia has one aim more clearly in view than another, it is that of reducing England to a second-rate power. The authors of this war have, no doubt, in the first place, the object of conquering Turkish provinces; but that is only a means to a greater end—the abasement of England. The war against Turkey is, in fact, the beginning of a war against the democratic institutions of England. Why, then, should England hesitate to muster her fleets and armies? The

struggle is unavoidable; and peace at any price—though your great Gladstone may preach it—means nothing but foregoing preparation while your enemies diligently gather strength. War for "nothing but British interests" is but another form of the peace-at-any-price cry; for what do your peace party call your "interests"? Nothing short of an attack upon your own dominions; that seems certain. First you said the passage of the Dardanelles touched your interests at the quick; now, that question being agitated a little more boldly by Russia, it seems you get convinced that it is but little of your interest, and soon it will be none at all. Where, then, do your interests begin? At the Tower of London? Perhaps your peace party would hesitate to say as much as that without deliberation. I know you could not have propped up Turkey. That country is doomed; and Austria, I think, is doomed likewise. Therefore you could not do much for Turkey; nor would you be able long to defer the day of Austria. But that is no reason why you should not stand to your own rights. You will have to fight Russia. The sooner you are able, therefore, to select your own fields of battle, the better for you. You will have to fight Russia single-handed; neither Austria nor Germany will stand by your side; for the Germany of the Hohenzollern is bound to trail behind the Russian car. As to Austria, she cannot move if she would. The great man of Varzin told her, if you move south-east, so do I. That way Berlin and Petersburg exchange compliments. National interests go for what they are worth to the rulers. National German interests, no doubt, demand that Russia should be kept out of Constantinople; but much more urgently they would have required the mouths of the Danube to be kept free from Russian interference; for that splendid river is for a considerable distance a German water, and the industrial and commercial interests of the people extend down to and beyond its mouths. Further, the river pursues its course through Hungarian territory; and that nation's interests are as much involved in the freedom of the river to its mouths as our own are. Yet the Russians, though driven away from the river in the Crimean war, were allowed to repossess themselves of the mouths of the Danube, and to reduce Roumania to a Russian dependency. Serbia, too, will be independent; that is to say, dependent on Russia. Austria has allowed herself to be almost entirely cut off from Turkey; thus yielding up her influence in that quarter to the Czar, and to be nearly girt all round her northern, eastern, and southern frontiers by the iron grasp of Russia and her dependent Slavonic petty princes. Why did she suffer it? For several reasons. First, because her motley population of nationalities, mutually repelling each other, prevents her acting with vigor in any direction; and, secondly, because Berlin would not allow her to be her own master and select her own course of action. And why does Germany that way undertake to back Russia,—*i. e.*, the only power really capable of damaging her growth? It is not a fable, however fabulous it may appear, that our good old Emperor William does so much love his Russian relatives as to sacrifice his own interests to them willingly, not quite understanding them. He thinks he is Russia's debtor. Having been able by the connivance of Russia to reduce Denmark, to beat Austria, and to conquer France, he considers the services of his northern kinsmen worth more than the common substantial interests or the mean material claims of the German nation. It has never occurred to him that the interests of the German nation need not be on every point coincident with those of the Hohenzollern dynasty, or, in fact, of any dynasty whatever. The interests of the dwellers on the banks of the Danube, for instance, are by no means those of the ruler living by the Spree; and that is why these Southern Germans are to this day unable to understand how the recovery of some unwilling Alsations, talking German but sympathizing with France, should be a gain of sufficient magnitude to make up for the millions of true-hearted Germans we lost through being severed from Austria. But they have to submit. No class of German society has any share of power. Personal will reigns supreme, and the people have to obey. And along with Germany the empire of Austria has to submit to orders issued from the backwoods of Varzin.

Mr. Forster is wrong, therefore, if he concludes, from the fact that Austria and Germany have a greater interest than you at stake in Constantinople, that you may sit still until the Austrians or we make a move. Depend upon it, if the Hungarian and the German nations were in a position to guide their own destinies, not only would they not have suffered Constantinople to be threatened, but the present Eastern war would never have been permitted; nay, Poland would not now be under Russian rule, nor would there have been a Franco-German war of 1870. All these things are the necessary consequence of personal government. Our empire has risen to its present height by overcoming our neighbors; we must, therefore, always live in fear of vengeance. As Moltke said, we must be prepared, for fifty years to come, to defend our conquests at the point of the sword. Our empire, therefore, is compelled to seek its own safety by backing and being backed by Russia; and that is why we Germans are compelled to trail at the back of the Russian car, although we know that there is not a greater enemy to our freedom—nay, our national existence—than our "Erbfreund" Russia. Nor is there the least chance of asserting our will and conviction until we have succeeded in putting an end to personal rule, and have established a government either with a crowned head like that of England or with an elected president as in the French Republic.

The English recognize no other rule of their policy than their interests. The French, on the other hand, "make war for an idea"; though, getting handsome

ly paid for their services, as for example in Savoy and Nice, their maxim may be considered on a par with the English principle. But we Germans, as well as the Austrians, cannot do either; neither our real interests nor our ideal convictions guide our policy, but only the will, the Idiosyncrasies of our ruler *pro tem*. And so it is that real national interests of Germany and Austria count for nothing in the Eastern war. England has solely to reckon with her own forces, and against the forces of the despotism of Europe. Let this be your warning. You cannot escape the struggle. Sooner or later it is sure to come upon you. Therefore make up your mind, stand your ground; and, since you cannot shun him, take the bull by the horns. It is the only way to get out of the contest at as small an expense as possible. I remain, Mr. Editor, truly yours,

ONE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

Pall Mall Gazette, Jan. 19, 1878.

THE IOWA STATE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE STATE CONVENTION—PLATFORM ADOPTED, AND OFFICERS ELECTED.

Convention met at 9 A.M., President Davis in the chair.

Minutes of yesterday's proceedings read.

Some general discussion ensued on the specific duties of the committees on permanent organization and constitution and resolutions, as compared with similar committees in political and other popular conventions.

The committee on organization reported the following for permanent officers of the convention:—

President, Joel P. Davis, Des Moines.

Secretary, Rev. H. A. Reid, Des Moines.

Assistant Secretary, Thompson J. Morgan, Prairie City.

Treasurer, David Wright, Polk County.

Report was adopted. Also, E. C. Walker, of Florence, was added as Assistant Secretary, and J. H. Strong, of Des Moines, as Vice-President.

The committee on constitution and resolutions made their report, which was received, and committee discharged. The constitution was fully and elaborately discussed in all its parts and bearings, some alterations and amendments made, and the whole finally adopted as follows:—

We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. The name of this association shall be "The Liberal League of the State of Iowa"; and we hereby declare ourselves to be a State Auxiliary Liberal League, in full sympathy, fellowship, and affiliation with the National Liberal League.

ART. II. The objects of this association shall be: first, to cooperate with the National Liberal League in furtherance of the public objects, both general and specific, enumerated in its constitution; and, secondly, to organize local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues.

ART. III. Any person may become a member of this League by signing this constitution and paying twenty-five cents annually into the treasury.

ART. IV. Local Leagues may be organized in conformity with the constitution of the National and State Liberal League. Such local Leagues will be received by the State Liberal League upon written application, signed by ten or more persons. They are independent in the administration of their own local affairs, but have to pay annually ten cents for each member to the treasury of the State League.

ART. V. The annual meeting for the transaction of business and for election of officers of the League, and of the delegates to the annual Congress of the National Liberal League, to which this State League may be entitled, shall be held at such time and place as the Executive Committee may designate; and the Secretary shall give one month's notice of the same to the local Leagues and other members. Each local League is entitled to one delegate for every ten members, or fraction thereof, at any meeting of the State League.

ART. VI. The officers of this League shall be a President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall, together with two other members elected by the League, constitute the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have full control of the affairs of the League, subject only to instructions by the League itself. Three shall constitute a quorum to transact business. The Executive Committee shall appoint an agent in each county, whose duty it shall be to associate with himself two other residents of the county to assist him in organizing local Leagues, and in other work necessary to be done.

ART. VII. The duties of the President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer shall be those usually pertaining to those offices. It shall be a special duty of the Secretary to furnish the Secretary of the National Liberal League with a complete list of all the members, with their post-office address in full, and a list of the officers; and also to furnish him promptly with information of all important actions by this League. The Secretaries of the local Leagues have to furnish the list of their members and officers upon the request of the State Secretary forthwith.

ART. VIII. Amendments to the constitution may be made at any annual meeting of the State League by a three-fourths vote of all the qualified delegates and members present. But no amendment shall be made unless the proposed amendment shall have been announced as part of the required notice of the meeting which is to act upon it.

Afternoon Session.

1.30 P.M.

Convention resumed consideration of the resolutions reported by its committee, to constitute the working platform of the Iowa Liberal League. A

general and free discussion was engaged in by the members, amendments made, and the following were finally adopted:—

Resolved, by the Liberal League of the State of Iowa, in Convention assembled:

1. That the exemption of church property from taxation is unconstitutional under the provisions of the Constitution of Iowa, which reads as follows: "The General Assembly shall not grant to any citizen, or class of citizens, rights, privileges, or immunities which shall not upon the same terms be equally shared by all citizens."

2. That the exemption of church property from taxation is unconstitutional under the provisions of the Federal and State Constitutions, which provide that no person shall be compelled to support any religion or church.

3. That the Sabbatarian laws are unconstitutional and void, and are impossible of execution, being opposed to natural law; that no one should be compelled to labor or not labor on any day.

4. That a Republic should never create by law a privileged class, for the reason that privileged classes always become tyrannical; and it is the duty of a Republic to make all its citizens equal before the law.

5. That we would most scrupulously respect the right of church-goers to enjoy their worship at any time unmolested; and that we demand that they equally respect the right of those who do not wish to join them to enjoy themselves with equal freedom at all times.

6. That the Bible being regarded as a book of sacred character and religious authority by only a part of the people, it is, to all intents and purposes, a sectarian book; therefore we protest against its use in the public schools.

Resolved, That we deny the right of any civil officers, as such, to take any notice of any religious days, festivals, or observances.

Resolved, That the employment of chaplains, as such, and the payment for their religious services by the civil authorities, and at the cost of the public, is but an adroit evasion of the Federal and State Constitutions, which forbid the compelling of citizens to support religious services against their will.

Forty-two persons signed the constitution, representing twelve different counties.

Dr. J. C. Michener, of Adel, Iowa, offered the convention \$50, if necessary, to meet its expenses and start its work in the State.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—

President, Dr. J. C. Michener, Adel.

Vice-President, J. H. Strong, Des Moines.

Secretary, Rev. Hiram A. Reid, Des Moines.

Corresponding Secretary, E. C. Walker, Florence.

Treasurer, Joel P. Davis, Des Moines.

Members of Executive Committee, G. G. Carstens, Muscatine, and Mrs. Ella J. Skinner, Des Moines.

On motion, and after full discussion, THE INDEX, of Boston, which is the official organ of the National Liberal League, was adopted as the organ of this League.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to publish the proceedings of this convention in pamphlet form, if there were funds sufficient so that they might be furnished free to the members, to the county agents appointed by the Executive Committee, and others interested in our work.

Convention then adjourned *sine die*.
JOEL P. DAVIS, President.
HIRAM A. REID, Secretary.

—*Iowa State Register, Des Moines, March 9.*

FREETHOUGHT AND "IMMORALITY."

I wish to call the special attention of every one of our Christian friends into whose hands this journal may fall, to the utterance I am about to quote from Prof. Tyndall's late address. It touches the question of the morality of freethinkers. In his address at Birmingham, England, a month or two ago, on "Science and Man," before the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Prof. Tyndall said (I quote from the address as published in the *Fortnightly Review*, Toronto):—

"If I wished to find men who are scrupulous in their adherence to engagements, whose words are their bond, and to whom moral shiftiness of any kind is subjectively unknown; if I wanted a loving father, a faithful husband, an honorable neighbor, and a just citizen, I should seek him and find him among the band of 'atheists' to which I refer. I have known some of the most pronounced among them not only in life but in death—seen them approaching with open eyes the inexorable goal, with no dread of a 'hangman's whip,' with no hope of a heavenly crown, and still as mindful of their duties, and as faithful in the discharge of them, as if their eternal future depended upon their last deeds."

These are brave words in defence of the weak, oppressed by the strong. Three or four years ago when Mr. Underwood and ourselves were, in a most intolerant as well as illegal manner, excluded by Christians from the Napanee Town Hall, for the use of which, for lectures, we had paid our money, the ostensible pretext was that our doctrines were "bad" and "immoral," and ourselves no better. We protested earnestly at the time against this false charge, and offered to compare either notes or doctrines with our Christian persecutors, but they would do neither. I now ask the Napanee Town Councillors—the Christian gentlemen (?)—who so grossly trampled upon our rights at that time to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the above manly utterance of one of the best and greatest men of the present age. The great apostle of science will get the warmest thanks of every true liberal the world over.

ALLEN PRINGLE.

SELBY, Ont., January, 1878.
—*Freethought Journal (Toronto).*

LET ME RELATE A curious fact. It is not very new, but I have not seen it in the papers: Some time ago a lady, Mrs. D'Orbeney, acquired in Egypt a papyrus, which ultimately found its way to the British Museum. On it was written: "May the god Toth guard all the words contained in this scroll from destruction!" How Toth (god of literature) answered this prayer is as follows: The papyrus is a novel in two parts. One part is the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, under other names. The other part is the story of Cinderella, except that the Prince traces out the girl with a lock of shining hair, which matches hers alone, instead of with the shining slipper which fits her foot. One volume, possibly taken away by Moses along with Joseph's bones, found its way into the Bible; the other, which perhaps was thought too secular, floating around the world developed into the most popular of our fairy tales. One may be heard euphemistically told from the pulpit, the other in the theatre; but both have passed through the fire and flood of more than a thousand generations, transmitted mainly from tongue to tongue by two different races. Who would have anticipated that pious Joseph, drawn up from the pit to be made ruler of Egypt, and Cinderella, emerging from ashes to become a queen, parted B.C. 1400, when Moses was a boy, would finally meet their original parent here in London, and fall into each other's arms as long-lost sister and brother!—*M. D. Conway.*

THE WAR IN THE EAST is looked upon as a matter of great theological interest by a large body of religionists in connection with a fulfilment of the prophecies. The destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe and the restoration of the Jews are generally considered by prophetic scholars as the last events upon which the second coming of Christ is conditioned. Should Turkey be driven back into Asia, which is supposed to have been meant by "the drying up of the Euphrates," and the Jews—that "living miracle of the ages"—return and reestablish their kingdom in Judea, then all the conditions of the prophecies of the millennium will be fulfilled. It sounds queer to hear such a doctrine maintained in this age, especially when one looks upon the world's development as the aim and end of man's existence; but it is a doctrine held by a very large class, including an important part of the English Church. Among the encouraging signs of the times which they note is the fact that in Russia, where two-thirds of all the Jews live, their exemption from military service has recently been done away, and they are now going back to Palestine in numbers so considerable that there is a lack of houses to shelter them. The more intelligent advocates of this doctrine do not pretend to fix any date for the end of the world, which has brought the Millerites into ridicule, but equally expect the literal fulfilment of the prophecies.—*Boston Herald.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"PEERING."

Deep calleth unto deep!
Tossed on a stormy sea,
I heard a strong voice calling out,
"What drift is bearing me?
Is it to heaven? Out to main?
To rest, to toll? To loss, to gain?"

Across the doubtful tide
Rang out the answer grand,—
"I see a blue sky over-head,
Although I see no land!
So breast the surge, bear the doubt,
And search the blue sky's meaning out."

Serene and still and strong,
Though good or ill betide,
Bends the great mystery of hope,—
Love's prophet, reason's guide.
What must it mean? It wraps us round,
And saves us, though the tempests sound.

Safe on this higher sea
We trust life's dearest freight.
Immortal tides of deathless thought
Sweep onward while we wait;
And love's strong voices, o'er and o'er,
Shout promise of another shore.

E. C. P.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 25.

T. B. Skinner, \$3.10; Sarah F. Earls, \$1.00; T. M. Dent, \$1.50; J. Hepburn, \$1; N. B. Townsend, \$1.50; Wm. Tyndall, \$3; A. M. Lee, \$13.20; J. W. D. Palmer, \$6.40; Thomas Davis, \$13; B. C. Ingraham, 75 cents; C. B. Holloway, \$3; J. C. Fargo, \$2; Judge S. E. McCormick, \$6.40; Alex. Grant, \$3.20; J. B. Peightal, 25 cents; Charles Wilkins, \$2; George M. Wood, \$1.50; C. B. Woodward, 50 cents; J. B. Shane, 50 cents; Mrs. E. P. Maynard, \$3.20; Sam'l R. Campbell, \$50; Gen'l. A. J. Warner, \$2; Samuel Roberts, \$3.20; Dr. T. H. Matthews, \$5; W. C. Little, \$5; W. C. McDonald, 80 cents; Hon. George Hoadley, \$20; H. H. Sharp, 10 cents; Isaac Kinley, \$13.20; Joseph Treat, 70 cents; J. V. Mapes, \$2; W. A. Clarke, 10 cents; G. P. Delaplaine, \$3; Elisha Burdick, \$3; T. Archibald, \$3.20; A. N. Alcott, \$3.20; W. S. Brown, 25 cents; Mrs. B. T. Yerrington, \$3.20; L. B. Farrar, \$1; Charles Truesdale, \$3.20; Lewis G. Jones, \$2.50.

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

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

The Index.

BOSTON, MARCH 28, 1878.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor. OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. FORTY, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERRY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH GADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SCURE, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names. Residence. Amount.

When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work immediately, before it passes from your mind? H. L. GREEN,

Chair. Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

THE LONDON *Secular Review* quotes from an article by Professor Hitchcock on the "Functions of Belief," in the *North American Review*, a sentence which is more true than many liberals are willing to believe: "The feelings with which many excellent people now regard such men as Arnold, Huxley, Tyndall, and Darwin in England, and Draper, Fisk, and Abbot in America, need only stimulus and opportunity to burst forth into flames like those of Smithfield and Madrid." And it adds: "This recalls Mr. Ruskin's observation that a large number of the English clergy would have liked some years ago to burn Bishop Colenso to death, and make Ludgate Hill safer for the omnibuses with the cinders of him."

THE CATHOLICS are getting very restive on the chaplaincy question, and we hope the result will be a total abolition of the whole system. There are better ways of meeting the moral and religious wants of the prisoners than for the State to tax everybody to support sectarian proselytizers: "The annual report of the Catholic Union of New York, prepared by E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., Corresponding Secretary, has just been published. It states that the Catholics in the army number over ten thousand men, and complaint is made that of the thirty-four chaplains appointed only one is a Catholic. In the navy there are twenty-four chaplains, but not one, it is asserted, is a Catholic, although the mass of seamen is claimed to be of that denomination. The report complains that according to the labors of the priests, the Catholics believe they are entitled to one-half of the sixty-nine Indian agencies; they are allowed less than one-tenth. A discussion of the present school system finds some space in the report. Nearly one hundred thousand Catholic scholars attend sectarian or private schools in the State. In the three State prisons about one-half of the convicts are Catholics. A priest has the privilege of celebrating mass once in each month in Sing Sing and Clinton Prisons. Protestant services are held on the other Sundays. The report urges that each prison have resident chaplains for the Catholic and Protestant prisoners. Mass is said once a month in the Elmira State Reformatory. The Catholic inmates of the House of Refuge, it is complained, are entirely deprived of Catholic instruction; priests are not allowed free ingress, and the Sisters are not allowed to visit the girls. A Methodist minister is paid a salary as chaplain, and gives instruction to all the children."

NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

We have been asked for information about this Association, which has for its object the Christianization of the Constitution and Government of the United States. We republish this week, therefore, the Report of the Executive Committee, presented at its last annual meeting, February 7, and the Resolutions adopted on the same occasion. Next week we will give the Constitution, list of officers, and some account of the history of the movement, as represented by its own friends. We call particular attention to the important references made in both these documents to the Edmunds Bible Amendment,—to the proofs they give of the active intervention of this Association at Washington on behalf of that obnoxious measure,—and to the avowed purpose of popularly agitating on behalf of it during the coming year. The discussion must come; shall it come only on one side of the mighty issues at stake? If not, the National Liberal League must be widely and powerfully sustained. There are multiplying signs that the movement is striking root in many directions, but it will not grow unless those who believe in freedom, justice, and the equality of all citizen-rights shall learn the lesson of unselfish, vigorous, and harmonious coöperation. Let us not be ashamed to learn wisdom from those who are active and resolute on the wrong side of these great questions. The documents below are extracted from the *Christian Statesman*:—

Report of the Executive Committee.

Since the last National Convention the work of National Reform has been prosecuted steadily and with encouraging success. During no previous year has more been accomplished, in proportion to the means and labor expended, than during that which has just closed.

Immediately after the National Convention in Philadelphia, the committee appointed by that body to urge the claims of the Sabbath before the United States Centennial Commission, obtained a hearing before that body. On the same day the large committee appointed by the National Liberal League appeared to protest against the closing of the gates of the Exhibition on the Sabbath. The arguments on both sides were heard patiently and at length; and the decision of the Commission on the following day was rendered with an emphasis which gratified the friends of the Sabbath in this and all other lands.

A month later the constitutional amendment prohibiting appropriations of public money for the support of sectarian schools, received in the United States Senate the modification which this Association had sent a delegation to Washington to secure while it was pending in the House of Representatives. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported a substitute for the resolution of the House which provided that "this amendment shall not be construed to prohibit the use of the Bible in any school or institution supported by the public money." As soon as this was brought before the Senate, a letter was prepared in printed form, urging the adoption of the substitute, and sent, with the names of all the officers of this Association, to every member of both Houses of Congress. The substitute received in the Senate twenty-eight votes to sixteen in the opposition, or a little less than the requisite two-thirds; and the whole measure, therefore, for the time being, fell to the ground. The Senate resolution, in its original form, was introduced again on the tenth of last month by Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, and should receive the steadfast and active support of this Association.

Two conventions of deep interest have been held since the last meeting of the National Association,—one in Chicago in April last, and one in Rochester in December. In both of these places the Bible had been expelled from the school by the local authorities. The General Secretary expended several weeks in public labors in connection with both these meetings. A large number of local meetings were held, and the reports of the conventions, including the excellent addresses made at each of them, were reported and disseminated widely in the local papers.

Two new tracts have been published within the past six months: one a discourse, entitled "The Lord is our King," delivered before a Congregational Association by the Rev. Huntington Lyman, of New York; the other a report and resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts Convention of Universalists at their meeting in Worcester in September last. This action by this body, receiving as it did the decisive vote of sixty-seven to twenty, was one of the most gratifying indications of the progress of the cause which was afforded during the year.

A *National Reform Manual* has been published,—a neat and convenient volume of seventy-five pages, containing the Constitution and officers of this Association, Hints to Workers, Important Extracts, and the Constitution of the United States. This is proving itself an invaluable hand-book to those who are called to work in any way for the cause.

An extra or supplement of four pages to the *Christian Statesman* has also been prepared; embodying, in brief articles, a complete and popular argument for the National Reform movement, and four thousand copies have been already distributed. The other tracts published by the Association have been more in demand this fall than ever before. Although not published by your Association, it is gratifying to be able to state that the *Christian Statesman* has since the last Convention been enlarged by the addition

tion of one-half its previous size, and has reached a point at which it may be considered self-sustaining. By funds supplied for this purpose, more than four thousand copies of the *Statesman* were sent for one month each to pastors and prominent laymen last year, and more than five thousand will have been distributed by the end of this month, each one including the supplement above referred to.

The report of the treasurer for the past year is as follows:—

EXHIBIT FROM THE TREASURER'S BOOK, PERIOD JUNE 28, 1878, TO FEBRUARY 7, 1879.

1878.		1878.	
Rec'd June 28 to Aug. 1.	\$382.73	Am't paid in July	\$482.50
August	298.60	" August	14.04
September	110.15	1877.	
October	80.40	Am't paid in January	20.00
November	65.20	" February	200.00
December	5.90	" March	244.00
		" April	84.00
		" July	165.20
1877.		" August	298.50
January	8.82	" September	90.00
February	13.00	" October	240.00
March	182.75	" November	154.10
April	27.50	" December	42.28
May	11.00	1878.	
June	4.80	Am't paid in January	67.39
July	228.13	Bal. due Treasurer, June	28.24
August	162.00		
September	191.70		
October	57.00		
November	69.55		
December	99.00		
		1878.	
January	24.10		
	\$2,827.41		
Balance	\$99.60		\$2,117.50
	\$2,117.50	1878.	
	Balance due Treasurer		\$29.69

The items of expenditure have been reported in detail at the regular meetings of the executive committee, and the accounts have been carefully audited by a committee appointed for that purpose.

Your committee recommend, as the most important matter for consideration at this meeting, the more thorough and efficient organization of the National Association and its auxiliaries. There are, we may safely say, hundreds of thousands of our citizens who have been informed and convinced by the conventions, local meetings, and publications of the society in the fifteen years of its existence. Whole districts of the country, and whole churches have been pervaded with its ideas, and are ready to act in support of its measures. The organization of this vast body of American citizens in such a way as to yield effective support to one another, and to their common and glorious cause, is the imperative duty of the hour. Your committee have already taken one important step to this end, by providing for the appointment of District Secretaries, who shall have charge of the work in their several localities, and whose special duty it shall be to organize and sustain active local organizations. For this step we crave your careful consideration and your approbation at this meeting.

We recommend also the adoption of measures looking to the active and general support of the constitutional amendment now before Congress, as it relates to non-sectarian education and the use of the Bible in schools; and especially that the executive committee for the coming year be instructed to prepare and circulate petitions, and to hold meetings in its support, and to secure effective newspaper discussion in its behalf.

All which is respectfully submitted.

T. P. STEVENSON, Chairman.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions, reported by the Rev. A. M. Milligan, D.D., Chairman of the Committee, were adopted after full discussion:—

Resolved, That our nation's authority, and every feature of moral character which our nation possesses, imperatively demands a settled and explicit expression of the divine warrant on which alone such authority and moral influence can rest.

Resolved, That the separation of politics from religion is doing much to introduce and foster political dishonesty, and in this way encouragement is given to all kinds of dishonesty and immorality.

Resolved, That the preservation of the Christian institutions of our Republic, such as the Sabbath, the family, and the school, depends upon the anchorage of the State to the Rock of Ages, and a proper recognition of the authority of Him who hath upon his vesture and thigh the name written, King of kings and Lord of lords.

Resolved, That the desperate efforts of infidels to destroy should arouse Christian earnestness to conserve the Christian features of our institutions.

Resolved, That the success of efforts to protect the Sabbath encourages us to renewed and redoubled efforts in behalf of other reforms.

Resolved, That the Amendment to the United States Constitution, presented by Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, affords an opportunity to press the claims of this Association and secure such amendments to the Constitution as will settle forever its Christian character.

Resolved, That we regard as a providential furtherance of the objects of our organization the wide and careful dissemination of our fundamental principles in the current Sabbath-school lessons, which so clearly teach the vital connection between the national prosperity and national recognition of dependence upon God.

Resolved, That we approve the recommendation of our General Secretary and Executive Committee, looking toward the more efficient prosecution of our work in the appointment of District Secretaries to organize local agencies for the purpose of arousing and educating public sentiment in the interests of National Reform.

THEOLOGY IN OUR GEOGRAPHIES.

There is usually a chapter in school-geographies entitled "Religion." Its object is to classify mankind according to their religious beliefs. There seems to be no special reason why such information should be given in a work on geography. One would suppose that, if it had any appropriate place in a school-book, it would rather come under the head of history. But if information on this matter is to be given in a school-geography, it would seem to be an

easy thing to give it from an impartial point of view, —to state it in such way as to give no offence to any class of religionists; in other words, to give correct information. Yet I do not remember to have ever seen a school-geography in which the chapter on religion was not written not only on the assumption that the Christian religion is alone true and worthy of consideration, but with needlessly disparaging statements concerning the character of other faiths,—statements which adherents of those other faiths, or any impartial students of them, would reject as false.

For instance, in a geography now before me, which is extensively used in our public schools, and which may be taken in this particular as a sample of the geographical text-books prepared for the use of schools, it is taught that all "Pagans believe in false gods"; that "Mohammedans are followers of the false prophet Mohammed"; that "there is little doubt that in the course of a few generations the Christian religion will be spread over the greater part of the earth." These statements, it is true, are so entirely in unison with the popular Christian belief that most people in Christendom will wonder that there can be any objection to them, whether in a geography or anywhere else. But in later years, so much has been learned of religions external to Christianity, that it is quite time the geography-makers, if they must retain a chapter on the religious faiths of mankind, should show somewhat of the impartiality of scholars on the subject. No competent historian of Mohammedanism to-day adjudges Mohammed an impostor. That the religion he taught, considered all in all, is inferior to Christianity may be admitted; that his character is perfect need not be claimed; but the later writers on his life and mission, generally, concede that he was a man deadly in earnest. That he was a false prophet, an impostor, is one of the obsolete war-cries of a bigoted, arrogant Christianity, that will have no place in the court of historical judgment. At least, a definition of the faith of Mohammedans that should go into a secular school-book should be one that could be accepted by a Mohammedan himself, and not one that stabs the faith as an imposture.

So, too, with regard to the beliefs of the so-called Pagans. The study of comparative religions has developed the truth that the terms "false" and "true," applied to systems of worship and names of deities, are of relative, not absolute, signification. Said an intelligent, but rather narrowly-educated, lady, after hearing quoted some of the wonderful spiritual sayings of the ancient Hindus, "Did those people have any knowledge of the true God?" The question almost shocked me, after what we had heard,—as if any one people or religion could have a monopoly of divine knowledge—a monopoly of the Infinite One. Yet this is the mood in which our geography-makers write their definitions of the pagan faiths.

And it is a practical affront given to all Jewish children, of which there are many in our public schools,—an affront of which their parents might justly complain,—to make them learn that the Christian religion is so superior to any other that it is likely before long to spread over most of the earth.

In the interests of truth and justice, the religious chapter in our geographies should either be remodelled or expunged. It doubtless helps to buttress the popular faith in Christianity; but it does it at the expense of fairness and right. The public schools are for all sects; and therefore theology had better be left to the catechisms of the churches.

W. J. P.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COMMUNISM.

John Stuart Mill has remarked in perhaps the most valuable and interesting contribution yet made upon this subject,—the fourth book of his *Principles of Political Economy*, devoted to the elucidation of the "Influence of the Progress of Society on Production and Distribution," as follows, in the concluding chapter, where he sums up his previous deductions "On the Probable Fatnity of the Laboring Classes" in these decisive sentences:—

"It is the common error of socialists to overlook the natural indolence of mankind,—their tendency to be passive, to be the slaves of habit, to persist indefinitely in a course once chosen. Let them once attain any state of existence which they consider tolerable, and the danger to be apprehended is that they will thenceforth stagnate,—will not exert themselves to improve; and, by letting their faculties rust, will lose even the energy required to preserve them from deterioration. Competition may not be the best conceivable stimulus; but it is at present a necessary one; and no one can foresee the time when it will not be indispensable to progress.

"Instead of looking upon competition as the baneful and anti-social principle which it is held to be by

the generality of socialists, I conceive that, even in the present state of society and industry, every restriction of it is an evil; and every extension of it, even if for the time injuriously affecting some class of laborers, is always an ultimate good. To be protected against competition is to be protected in idleness, in mental dullness,—to be saved the necessity of being as active and as intelligent as other people," etc., etc.

"Most fitting, indeed, is it, that while riches are power, and to grow as rich as possible the universal object of ambition, the path to its attainment should be open to all, without favor or partiality. That the energies of mankind should be kept in employment by the struggle for riches, as they were formerly by the struggle of war, until the better minds succeed in educating the others into better things, is undoubtedly more desirable than that they should rust and stagnate. While minds are coarse, they require coarse stimuli, and let them have them."

"Adam Smith always assumes that the condition of the mass of the people, though it may not be positively distressed, must be pinched and stunted in a stationary condition of wealth, and can only be satisfactory in a progressive state. The doctrine that, to however distant a time incessant struggling may put off our doom, the progress of society must 'end in shallows and in miseries,' far from being, as many people still believe, a wicked invention of Mr. Malthus, was either expressly or tacitly affirmed by his most distinguished predecessors, and can only be successfully combated on his principles."

"Only when, in addition to just institutions, the increase of mankind shall be under the deliberate guidance of judicious foresight, can the conquests made from the powers of Nature by the intellect and energy of scientific discoverers become the common property of the species, and the means of improving and elevating the universal lot."

"It is only in the backward countries of the world that increased production is still an important object; in those most advanced, what is economically needed is a better distribution, of which one indispensable means is a stricter restraint on population. Leveling institutions, either of a just or an unjust kind, cannot alone accomplish it; they may lower the heights of society; but they cannot, of themselves, permanently raise the depth."

"A guarantee of subsistence can only be practically kept up, when work is enforced, and superfluous multiplication restrained, by at least a moral compulsion. If the improvement which even triumphant military despotism has only retarded, not stopped, shall continue its course, there can be little doubt that the status of hired laborers will gradually tend to confine itself to the description of work-people whose low moral qualities render them unfit for anything more independent; and that the relation of masters and work-people will be gradually superseded by partnership, in one of two forms: in some cases, association of the laborers with the capitalist; in others, and perhaps finally in all, association of laborers among themselves. The prospect of the future depends on the degree in which they can be made rational beings."

Thus do we arrive at last at the matured conviction of, undoubtedly, the greatest political economist of the present century; that, as Herbert Spencer has also insisted, "Were not their judgments warped by the class-bias, working-men might be more perceptive to the truth that better forms of industrial organization would grow up and extinguish the forms which they regard as oppressive, were such better forms practicable. And they might see that the impracticability of better forms results from the imperfections of existing human nature, moral and intellectual."

A. W. K.

THE NEW MEXICO QUESTION.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, one of the least radical journals in the country, speaks of the Jesuit triumph in New Mexico as follows, in its issue of March 15:—

No Special Privileges.

The Catholic question, or a phase of it, is now brought before Congress. Thus far, happily for the country, sectarian issues have rarely arisen in the national legislature. A case, however, is now presented from the Territory of New Mexico which is well calculated to arouse denominational prejudices. The population of that Territory is largely Catholic, and the legislature has just passed, over the governor's veto, a bill incorporating a society of Jesuit Fathers, who propose to take charge of the education of the youth of the country. The bill authorizes them to hold every kind of real and personal property, and exempts it from taxation. The governor claims that such an act is in violation of the laws of the United States, and calls upon Congress to exercise the authority given that body by the Constitution, and to annul it. The section of the United States statutes which, in the opinion of the territorial governor, prohibits such legislation, is as follows:

"The legislative assemblies of the several Territories shall not grant private charters or especial privileges; but they may, by general incorporation acts, permit persons to associate themselves together as bodies corporate, for mining, manufacturing, and other industrial pursuits, or the construction and operation of railroads, wagon-roads, irrigating ditches, and the colonization and improvement of lands in connection therewith, or for colleges, seminaries, churches, libraries, or any benevolent, charitable or scientific association."

Another section limits the amount of real estate

which any corporation or association for religious or charitable purposes may acquire and hold to the value of \$50,000. The act of the Mexican legislature grants a private charter and especial privileges to the Jesuits; and it does not appear that any limitation is placed by it upon the amount of real estate they may hold. It would seem, therefore, to be in clear contravention of the laws of the United States.

The object of the act is to withdraw as far as possible from the influence of free and unsectarian schools the children in New Mexico, and so to maintain and build up there a stronghold of Catholicism of the most ultra fashion. The universal experience thus far, in all countries, has been that where the Jesuits have been favored, and permitted to control and direct the education of the young, disastrous consequences have followed. In Europe the order is regarded with profounder distrust by a large class of Catholics than even by Protestants. There cannot, therefore, be any good reason why we should depart from a settled policy in order to grant it exceptional privileges. The most that can be demanded is that we should treat it with the same tolerance which we extend to other religious associations. The abrogation of the act in question will be simply carrying out a law that applies equally to all denominations, and will afford no ground for any charge of intolerance or of hostility to the Catholic Church.

Communications.

A WORD ABOUT OUR STATE PRISONS.

After nearly two thousand years of suffering, the world is slowly recovering from the malign influence of a religion which, like the poisonous herb that shrinks from the warm sunlight and thrives in the noisome air of the vault, has ever grown thristier in the shadow of ignorance and superstition.

The struggle of humanity to throw this "old man of the sea" from her neck has been as terrible as it has been long-continued. Religion has halted at nothing. When she could not rack the unbeliever's body till the cold sweat of blood stood on his brow, she has not hesitated to torture his soul with threats of everlasting fire and flame. But the day of reckoning has come at last. Christianity stands at the bar of a court of competent jurisdiction. The indictment is a terrible one; but she must plead. She stands charged with the consecration of error, fraud, and deceit, with submission to tyranny, with the degradation and enslavement of woman, with cruelty to children, with the encouragement and perpetuation of superstition, with assent to human slavery, with opposition to science and learning, with persecution for opinion's sake, with the inculcation of the Jesuitical principle, the suppression of human aspirations, and discredit of human institutions, with war, murder, torture, pillage, sword, fire and flame, all in the name of a God of love and tenderness; and last, though not least, the invention and perpetuation of a system of punishments for crimes at once harsh, illogical, degrading, and infamous.

It is scarcely a century ago, that petty larceny was not punished with the halter; while for equally insignificant crimes, so-called, branding with hot irons, cutting off the ears, slitting open the nostrils, lopping off a hand, whipping till death ensued, imprisonment in the foulest dungeons, confiscation of property, banishment from the realm, etc., were meted out as fit and proper punishments. And to all this, the Church of the meek and lowly Nazarene stood by and consented. Even to-day, in the blaze of this century's enlightenment, do our statutes—unctured as they are in the blood dye of Leviticus—make more criminals than they save.

An ignorant and brutal magistrate, for a petty offence, involving no moral turpitude, is allowed to rob a citizen of his liberty for days and months, and thrust him in among the lowest and vilest. The man whom hunger forces to steal bread or meat to save himself from death by starvation, or the man whom love leads to commit a forgery in order to save his family from want and destitution, is in no sense of the word a criminal. That man is to be dealt with tenderly and carefully. Nature gave him a stomach; nature gave him a heart: and when society steps in and says: "Thou shalt not eat, thou shalt not love," society must bear the consequences of the wrong it commits.

"Ah," you say, "that man must earn his bread honestly!"

But society has so built her fabric that all men cannot at all times find work to do; and so I repeat, Society must shoulder the blame without a murmur, and the law that punishes that man is infamous. Society's only right is to say: "You must make reparation to the citizen you have wronged." It will be time enough upon a repetition of the offence to begin to talk of criminal intent.

And this brings me to the subject upon which I desire to say a few words.

The other day, Superintendent Pillsbury (honored name) announced that the prison at Sing-Sing had become "self-supporting." This simply meant that convict flesh and blood has, under the iniquitous contract system, been sold for money enough to pay all expenses. Let us look calmly at the terrible wrongs that flow from this Christian system in a Christian land.

1st. The State has no right even to attempt to make a prison "self-supporting," any more than a father has to say to a disobedient son: "You shall, for this disobedience, toil for me until you earn \$5 for me."

2d. The State, by attempting to make a prison "self-supporting," under the contract system, does violence to the laws of trade, and throws the burden

of supporting the institution upon a few instead of upon the community at large.

3d. The State, in order to make a prison "self-supporting," must force the convict to toil from morning till evening, and from the work-shop transfer him to the narrow stone cell. No human being can stand this strain without danger to body and soul. The man who toils all day must have the evening's freedom and converse to recreate him for the morrow. Hence it is, the contract system is a greater crime than any which the prison is striving to punish, as it is termed.

4th. The contractor who secures the services of one hundred convict shoemakers at 75 cents a day commits a daily larceny from the person of one hundred honest shoemakers. The crime is greater than any the State is endeavoring to punish.

5th. The State may have a claim upon the convict for a portion of his labor sufficient to pay for food and clothing, but no more. The fruit of man's labor—convict or no convict—belongs to the laborer. This principle alone is safe; this principle alone will prevent the State from committing a greater crime than any she is so anxious to punish, as she terms it; and that crime is to discharge a convict at the expiration of his term of imprisonment branded with dishonor, robbed of his citizenship, friendless and penniless! From this condition to confirmed criminal tendencies is but an easy step, and one that is often taken.

6th. The State's only right is to rob the convict of his liberty; but when she sells his labor, and robs him of the proceeds, she sets up a system of slavery viler than any the world has ever known.

Prisons self-supporting! Out upon such hypocrisy! Cannot a child see that when the State says to the convict: "You shall not toil for those you love; you shall not provide for your reentry into the social body," she crushes out his humanity, she treats him like a beast of burden, she throws his wife into the poor-house, his daughter on the street, his heart into the blackness of despair; she turns out upon society a fiend, or a physical wreck, not a reformed man? And though the prison he has just left may be "self-supporting," it is so at a terrible cost; for it matters not whether a State or an individual commits a crime, the consequences are the same; the expense in dollars and cents weighs just as heavily upon the community. And, as if to crown the edifice of wrong with a fitting ornament, the wretched slaves are called together on Sundays, and prayed at and preached at concerning the wonderful goodness of a God who unceasingly watches over them. . . . But, it may be urged, how can you in any way hold Christianity responsible for the production of criminals and the increasing difficulty of the problem that society is called upon to solve? My reply is, that we have given this system of religion a fair and honest trial. It has done its best; but it finds itself powerless to restrain the passions of its votaries.

The rum-shop, the brothel, the gambling-hell, the lottery, flourish under the very shadow of the church-spire. The weak denunciations of the clergy have utterly ceased to produce any effect upon these corrupters of humanity; as well set up *catapult* and *ballista* in front of a modern fortress. Such a thoroughly *brutum fulmen* is the Sunday sermon, that a prominent rum-seller of our city lately offered his saloon for religious services on Sundays. The Church is but a social phase of the century. It can be no purer than its sources. It reaches out its greedy palm for the gold offered by these defilers of the social stream. It is part of a compact. To prove this, look at our city, with its army of rum-sellers; probably two-thirds are Irish Catholics. But the Church dares not say to them: "Cease your traffic, or come not within the holy temple."

Our prison system cries aloud for reform. Will the Church help us? Nay, humanity must fight its own battles, as it always has done. But, when the victory is won, see to it that the Church does not step in and say, as she has often done: "That was my work."
INGERSOLL LOCKWOOD.

NEW YORK, March 11, 1878.

"THE SOUTHERN QUESTION."

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Politics—I mean partisan politics, matters that must be viewed and interpreted differently by different readers, because they relate to, represent, and defend but parties or party measures, have, then, no real bearing on the national well-being and the common benefit and interest of all citizens—ought, I think, never to find a place in THE INDEX. Genuine, true politics, of which we have scarcely any—at least not near enough, in this country—are of the highest importance, and can never be treated of too much; but partisan politics will do no good to any one, hardly even to the party in whose interest they are used or discussed. This thought impressed itself on my mind in reading Mr. Tomlinson's lecture in last week's INDEX (Feb. 21). "The Southern Question, Is It Settled?" It is partisan politics, and nothing else, and ought, therefore, I think, never to have been imposed on the readers of that excellent journal, where they expect and are used to find, editorials and communications of quite a different nature, and of a much superior quality. Mr. Tomlinson himself, in order to make out his case, quotes very largely from the South Carolinian press. But do we not, all of us, know the nature of such witnesses, what they amount to, and can be worth? Articles of the nature of this lecture must therefore give, and I have no doubt the one in question will have given, offence to many an honest reader. They must also impair the interest in and obstruct the furtherance of the objects of THE INDEX, by lessening the sympathy and cooling the zeal of such readers for either. But THE INDEX has a hard enough

"struggle for life;" needs the assistance and goodwill of all its patrons; and you can but ill afford to thus jeopardize its existence. For these, if for no other reasons, I think such partisan articles ought to be rigorously excluded from its columns.

True, you may claim that you are not, and in fairness cannot be held responsible for the utterances of others, but only for what you yourself say. Yet while every sensible reader will fully agree with you in this, no one can entirely acquit you, when you, as editor, give such an article the prominent place of Leader, and declare your approval of it so unqualifiedly in the "Glimpses." It is quite clear then, to me, that you made a mistake in giving said lecture any place at all in THE INDEX, and more especially in giving it so prominent a one. But at the same time I must admit that your mistake redounds more to your honor than it deserves blame, originating as it obviously did, in your philanthropy, and your warm sympathy with the freedmen. But I also must apprehend that this time your sentiments got the best of your discretion. To convince you of this, I have cut out, and send you enclosed, a quasi-official correspondence from Columbus, S. C., in the New York Herald of the 23d inst., giving such a horrible description of the "carnival of fraud and extravagance" (as this correspondent calls it) of the late carpet-baggers and negro Legislatures of that unhappy State, that, if it will not justify, must most certainly excuse, most any act of these victims of legislative thieves and scoundrels to free themselves from these leeches. You will perceive that this correspondence—and remember that the Herald's writer says he copied from official documents—gives quite a different color to Mr. Tomlinson's partisan talk; and I should be much mistaken if you yourself should, after its perusal, not coincide with my views, and admit that you were mistaken. Equity and your own sense of justice, so generally manifested in every edition of THE INDEX, and in all your acts generally, might even require of you the publication of this Columbus correspondence, if it were not that its considerable length might be too great for THE INDEX. But a short extract, giving the principal parts, would answer; and that, I think, you should give, to make good your mistake in publishing the lecture.

But the burden of this lecture is, after all, President Hayes's "Southern Policy," to which you as well as Mr. Tomlinson seem to take so much exception. In this I differ as widely from you as in regard to this lecture itself, if not yet more so. Shall we never have peace in this country, not even now, ten years after the war? Shall these Southern "Sovereign States" never, even after their repentance and punishment, be restored to their (I believe inalienable) sovereignty? Shall they never be reinstated into their "State's Rights," even after having accepted all the conditions and complied with all the demands imposed on them by the nation and its government? You and Mr. Tomlinson appear to answer these several questions in the negative. I would answer them affirmatively. The reason for your negation is the negro or freedman. You demand additional legislation and special guarantees for their freedom. [No. This is a mistake.—Ed.] This is another mistake. Special, and more so, class legislation is always dangerous; monopolies ought always to be opposed. After her acceptance of the conditions, and compliance with the demands stated, I do not know in the South any more than in the North "Whites" or "Blacks," "Slaves" or "Freedmen"; I know but citizens,—citizens with equal rights and equal duties. [That is exactly what we said.—Ed.] You claim that the negro, though free, is not yet secure enough in his freedom, and demand prerogatives for him. I do not believe it our duty to grant him any. Our superior duty is to make him equal with other citizens; educate him, and give him a chance to make the best use of his citizenship, not merely for himself, but for his fellow-citizens as well. Interested politicians are as apt to ask too much for him as those interested otherwise to refuse him, or, as the case may be, abuse him too much. But we of the North are, it seems to me, in relation to the South often in the position of a man who "sees the splinter in his brother's eye, but not the beam in his own." Have we no "whites," "free whites" here in the North, who stand as much in need of "protection" as the "blacks" South? Let us be just to all, "blacks" and "whites," by making just and equal laws for all citizens, black or white, laborer or capitalist, and let us execute these just and equal laws with impartiality and honesty. The great need of the hour is justice,—justice to all citizens black or white. [Amen to that!—Ed.]

But look to Washington, look to the separate States' Legislatures; do you find justice there? Is not money and (shame) piety the moving power in Congress as well as in Legislatures? Is not all legislation in the interest of the rich, the monopolists, and against the poor? Is not ecclesiasticism and hypocritical Orthodoxy encroaching upon the rights, the most sacred rights of citizens, "blacks" as well as "whites," South as well as North? If not, why your Herculean labors for the "Liberal League"? But, if they are, why will you so unwisely frustrate your own laudable efforts, by estranging many a valuable co-worker in your supreme cause in giving undue prominence to subordinate questions on which your forces will divide? You claim on every occasion, and claim it most justly too, that the principles and the platform of the "Liberal League" are all-sufficient, and, if honestly carried out, would do justice to all; are a veritable panacea for all wrongs, political as well as social. Do, then, not divide your forces by agitating minor but troublesome questions. Leave them to individuals to be solved according to their own individual liking. But let us unite all friends of true freedom into one great valorous army; let us concentrate all our energies in the support and final victory of the cause of universal liberty and free-

dom, the cause of the Liberal League, and the negro will have all the protection he needs.

MORRIS EINSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Pa., Feb. 28, 1878.

P.S.—Since the foregoing lines were penned, I have received and read the New York Herald of March 1, which contains an exposure of the "reconstruction" of South Carolina, written by no less a competent historian, "of the wrongs and injuries inflicted on that unhappy State," as he says himself, than ex-Governor Moses. Mr. Moses in this his first chapter of Reconstruction in South Carolina, will show the true character of Mr. Tomlinson's lecture, and much more than merely justify what I say in the foregoing article. I most earnestly request you to read Mr. Moses' "story."
M. E.

CONSERVATIVE LIBERALISM.

You may think me a timid weakling, fit only for the enervating caresses of the Christian faith; but I must say that I am tired of so much dare-devil radicalism among liberals. The chief ambition of many liberals seems to be to outstrip every one else in irreverence toward all ideas of religious belief. They have no modest doubts; but bold, defiant negations, which they delight to flaunt in the face of the "slaves of superstition," as they denominate all persons who have any religious sentiments.

I may be too weak in mental and moral courage to appreciate the true heroism of this advanced type of liberalism; but it will appear to me that the world is not in need of so much of this image-breaking valor. Religion in some form still constitutes a leading element of the life of the masses. It is a powerful moral force in the world yet, however fast it may be weakening; and the time has not yet come when it can be ignored by the student of moral science. You may say that religion has no connection with morality; that man's moral sense should be freed from all extraneous conceptions, and left to stand on its own human basis. But it still remains true that the world has a religious conscience; and that at present the majority of people are not capable of viewing moral questions aside from religious considerations. In attacking all ideas of religion, then, we are not dealing with mere abstract questions; but we are assailing that which is to thousands the foundation of right and the highest incentive to duty. I am speaking now of the common conscience, the average man and woman of to-day. I know there are many noble souls who need not the aid of religion in any supernatural sense to make their lives true and loyal to the highest standard of right as man is capable of conceiving it. But we must deal with the world as it is; and I am not yet prepared to believe that an indiscriminate assault on all forms of religious faith is wise or liberal. Could we persuade all persons to discard their religious belief and embrace any species of unbelief now known to the world, I feel sure that the results would be disastrous to the best interests of life. Indeed I think that scepticism is already spreading faster than conservative liberalism could desire. The new gospel of liberty is making more converts than it has wholesome provisions for. To inculcate doubt merely on the great questions of religious belief without educating the heart and conscience to a higher conception of right is not making any progress toward a better life. The world needs its conscience elevated and strengthened more than it needs its theology demolished. Liberalism needs its moral standard adjusted more than it needs a fresh supply of raw recruits. There is yet much good in Christianity for the world; and conservative liberalism will be careful how it deals with this venerable faith, lest it make untimely attacks on a religion which it is not prepared to supplant.

I have in these few words merely pointed out a line of thought which I should be glad to pursue at length did my claims on the columns of THE INDEX permit. I have said just enough, I hope, to enable the sympathetic reader to follow up the direction of thought here indicated. Conservative liberalism, if there is such a thing, is a subject I should like to hear discussed by some of the logical writers of THE INDEX.
H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

WALKING IN TRUTH.

I have no greater joy than when my children walk in truth.—ST. JOHN III, 4.

These are words of an earnest teacher of Christianity. To all whose faith finds infallible inspiration in Christian Scripture, they ought to prove conclusive against any repressing of the earnest search for truth which distinguishes the present period. Yet strange as it may seem, those who most loudly proclaim such a faith are often first in fearing an earnest search for truth, loudest in deprecating scientific investigations.

When Galileo indicated his belief in the Copernican system, the Church compelled him to recant. When Garrison and his brave coadjutors proclaimed their warfare against slavery, the guns of pulpit and press were turned against them. They were denounced as fanatics and infidels. And not till war's wild fury came, till death and carnage stalked abroad leaving a shadow in every heart, and in every home a pall, did the truth that slavery was a crime against humanity take position and ruling power in the firmament that spanned the nation's thought.

The same reluctance to accept new or unfamiliar truth is manifest on all sides of us. Thousands of intelligent and thoughtful people are afraid to read the works of Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, and Spencer, lest their faith in the dogmas of their creed may be shaken. They discern between science and "revelation" an "irrepressible conflict," and arrange themselves without regard to the claims of truth on the side of creed and dogma. Blind men sit by every

way-side and in the shadow of each church, rejoicing in their blindness, and turning from each master of thought as he passes by.

A spirit of active hostility has always been in the world, and has ever been its greatest curse and barrier to progress. It lit the fires of the religions wars that constitute the deepest stain upon the annals of man. It built the palace of the Inquisition, and roared in the flames of the *auto-da-fé*. It drove English Puritans from their homes, slaughtered Scotch Covenanters in their mountain fastness, cut out the tongues of Quakers, and drank the blood of thirty thousand victims at the massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve. The same spirit is still in the world instinct with life; and, though its methods of opposition have changed with an advancing civilization, its hostility to truth that shakes the foundations of cherished systems remains as determined as ever.

Such a spirit is no less injurious to individuals than beneficial to the world. That one's life may be true, truth must have her seat in the secret springs of his soul, shape his courses of thought, and give direction to all his acts. As rays of light stream forth from the sun, so the light of truth beams forth from God, glorious in the brightness of its shining; blessed in its effects upon those whose souls, bathed in the flood, are warmed and enlightened, refreshed and strengthened, enriched, and rendered fruitful thereby.

The first step toward "walking in truth" is in the conquest of one's prejudices, and counteracting educational influences which enchain the reason. Not until such a frame of mind is attained is one prepared to "prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good." Many people are allured by false aims in life, and need to be shown that their views are shortsighted; that manhood and womanhood have holier meanings than they have conceived, and truth a more sacred character as an end, an aim of human attainment. They need to be shown how meagre and unsatisfying are mere selfish achievements, and to catch fairer views of Truth's golden fruitage. Others have sealed their hearts against all truth save such as is contained in their creed; and the lightning flashes of higher and holier truth may gleam before their self-sealed and blinded eyes in vain. Others still, and these constitute the bulk of the people, have permitted certain fixed doctrines to become a portion of their intellectual being, so that they are no more capable of apprehending truths conflicting with these doctrines than their bodies are capable of assimilating elementary substances not first prepared for human food by the organizing forces of Nature.

How blessed will this world be when all people shall be so educated as to walk reverently in the truth as they perceive it, and when every heart will open to its light, as flowers turn their petals to the sun! A hopeful sign of the times is found in the eagerness with which many grand souls are pressing forward into brighter light, and slowly drawing the world after them.

B. F. HUGHES.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

ON LIBERAL LEAGUES.

TO MR. H. L. GREEN:

Dear Sir,—I received your card requesting me to organize a Liberal League in Keokuk, Iowa.

I should certainly comply with your request without hesitation, if I could believe as you do, in the pressing importance of this movement. I will not say that your zeal is not wiser than my indifference, or that your fears are not better founded than my confidence.

And yet let me assure you that I read THE INDEX regularly and with a great deal of pleasure and profit. I earnestly hope that it will live and prosper. To keep abreast of the times, I study the discouraging facts which THE INDEX presents and dwells upon with so much eloquent emphasis; facts which certainly look threatening at times, and would seem to indicate a backward movement in society. There are times when those facts make my blood boil. Then it is that I feel like buckling on the armor of my younger days and entering the field again as a warrior. But, checking my zeal, I try to be the philosopher and take a calm survey of the situation. I say to myself: "Is it possible that this old world of ours has actually taken to turning the wrong way? Is it possible that the wrinkled and crippled past is coming back to conquer and trample down the young and vigorous present? Is it possible that the Church has got its grappling irons on the Middle Ages and the Inquisition and is dragging them into the nineteenth century? Is all Europe, Catholic and Protestant, manfully emancipating herself from ecclesiasticism, and is America going blindfold into slavery?"

To these questions we say "No," and "No a thousand times." The old creeds of Christendom we see are crumbling into ashes with unprecedented rapidity; and no law, no preaching, no Bibles, no tract societies, no organizations, and no constitutions, State or national, can possibly save them. Already they are dead letters in many of the churches which actually profess to believe them. The light of science and criticism and free thought has shattered them beyond remedy.

Then I look at the thousand potent influences which are at work here and everywhere, to complete the deliverance of mankind from the rule of superstition and the priest,—influences such as the world never had before. I look at the vast host of grand and good men,—preachers, scientists, philosophers, journalists, poets, historians, statesmen, whose word and influence are all on the side of liberalism; and we say, "It is impossible that the priest should ever again be the ruler of this world. He is doomed. By all the manhood and humanities of our nature he and his dark creed are doomed. By that one grand truth alone, of modern science, evolution, they are

doomed. By all the tendencies of our modern thought and life, they are doomed.

What cause then, we ask, for alarm? With progressive there are always, of course, retrograde movements. Look at the high churchism of England, and yet what a grand, steady, onward movement there is there towards broader and higher and more liberal ideas! Look at the struggles of the old creed here and everywhere to maintain its ground, and yet what wonderful strides have been taken in every direction, spite of adverse influences!

We may be mistaken, we may be too hopeful; but we certainly cannot see the danger which you see requiring organized political effort to meet it.

Since writing the above, which we have withheld for a week or two, we have received another card from you. We will hand it to some one less hopeful and more zealous in this particular movement than we are. With a heart, however, full of interest in the cause of free and reverent thought and speech, believe me to be,

Yours respectfully,

R. HASSALL.

KEOKUK, IOWA, March 4.

[We are glad to receive thoughtful articles on this subject, whether on one side or the other. Optimism is always indisposed to admit the possibility of reaction; yet progress is a succession of waves which ebb as well as advance, and the tides themselves turn. For one, we rely neither on hope nor fear in this matter; we coolly note passing events, and generalize their tendency on the whole. It is those that do this who believe most strongly in the Liberal League as a practical necessity of the times. Set down the facts, extenuating and exaggerating nothing; and then ask whether the secular principle is growing stronger or weaker in our government. That alone is the question.—Ed.]

PIGIOUS DEFAULTERS.

CHICAGO, Jan. 14, 1878.

DEAR INDEX:—

A few days since, the Chicago *Tribune* published the items of the thirty millions of which we have been robbed since July, 1873,—four years and a half ago. This "black list" contains only "defalcations and embezzlements,"—no names of the many who have "failed to make money"; yet it fills five columns, crowded lines, small type.

In the article inclosed, I have shown that Massachusetts is not a sinner above all others; but, says the *Tribune*, "she has tried to rival us in enterprise and wickedness, and in the latter has fallen only a little short."

I have looked over this long list with pain, for, whenever more than the name of defaulter and amounts stolen is given, the comments, for all parts of the country, run in this wise:—

"Methodist minister and insurance agent, Des Moines, Ia.; embezzlement, \$10,000."

"The Treasurer of Bishop Cheney's Reformed Episcopal Church, Chicago; defalcation, \$15,000."

"Treasurer of Presbyterian Church, Florida, N. Y.; defalcation, \$35,000."

"Assistant Cashier of Methodist Book Concern; defalcation, \$15,000. Very religious; took an active part in Sunday-school work."

"Reverend Keebaugh, Glasgow, Mo.; embezzlement by forgery of from \$28,000 to \$50,000."

And the greatest satisfaction in this wretched catalogue comes in the next phrase,—"sentenced to the State Prison for eighteen years." But if they chance to have a pious Governor in Missouri, he will be pardoned out, as our Methodist Beveridge pardoned the most adroit thief that ever appeared in Chicago,—a man who kept half of our city from sleep for months, and robbed more houses than there were days in the year; who was caught after no end of trouble and expense, sentenced for fifteen years, was "brought to Jesus" immediately after going to Joliet, and at the end of two years was let loose upon us "because he had consumption and was hopefully converted." He recovered from both maladies so rapidly that in a month he was able to climb through my chamber-window and relieve me of the care of the few ornaments he had not appropriated at his first visit.

"Nathan Lenheim, Montrose, Pa.; defalcation over \$100,000. A devoted member of the Church."

"Deacon Edward Southworth; defalcation, \$100,000."

"Edward Lambert, Treasurer of Brooklyn Presbyterian, leading member of Lafayette Avenue, Presbyterian Church; defalcation, \$50,000."

Gilman (whose conviction must have netted a handsome sum to laundresses, so profuse was the weeping over the "refined and pious" wretch) is fresh in every one's mind.

And with tiresome iteration occur the same nauseating statements, not from one State or region, but over the whole broad continent.

Pious Orthodox people are, as you know, in a state of chronic "wonderment" because rationalists are not always and everywhere criminals; and I have written out a few of these heart-aching items because I wish you to call attention to the sort of persons who, among the educated, make up "the criminal class"; for I really believe this condition of things will never cease till a different standard is set before people, and different motives for good conduct are urged; till the "ministers of God" find other personages than Abraham, Lot, Jacob, and David to present to their flocks as "well pleasing" in "His sight."

In this whole list of blackness there is not recorded one free thinker. Had there been one, all the

changes would have been rung upon "the consequences of unbelief."

The last issue of the *Tribune* has seventeen columns of sermons, from sixteen ministers of the city, upon the subject of hell-fire; but not one from the Scriptures, "Thou shalt not steal!"

Yours,

KATE N. DOGGETT.

REASONABLE CONSERVATISM.

Conservatism is of three kinds. There is an optimist conservatism, the organized selfishness of the well-to-do classes. Not that the well-to-do citizen is worse than another (perhaps he is rather better), but an average amount of selfishness naturally renders him unduly conservative. Then there is a pessimist conservatism: better "bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." Or, as George Eliot amusingly says: "Whatever is bad, but any change is sure to make it worse." But lastly there is a reasonable conservatism,—a solid quality in which many generous and enthusiastic young men are grievously deficient, but which most sensible people acquire in the experience of life. This naturally goes along with scientific pursuits and a sceptical temper; and this, and this alone, enables us to discuss even the most delicate moral and social questions calmly, and yet with that thoroughness and openness which is so conducive to the advancement of mankind in knowledge and material prosperity. In politics, discretion is in sober truth the better part of valor. It is always for the reformer to prove his case. Meanwhile the conservative may cross his legs, and whistle a tune, if he likes.

On the other hand, superstition, while it prevents all rational progress, is yet no safeguard of order. How should it be? Where is the guarantee? The bare *ipso dixit* of one man or book is as good as another's. But against established science there is no appeal, and from the morality of Nature there is no escape, any more than from the influence of gravitation. Hell is not down below. The devil lives next door.

For very shame the Christians should hold their peace about the sanctity of marriage. We Anglo-Saxons inherit feminine chastity, and male chastity too (what we have of it), not from any Christian source, but from our pagan ancestors; whose women, when captured by the Romans, frequently stabbed themselves in self-defence, like the pagan Lucretia. Contrariwise, when the Bible was given to the people at the period of the Reformation, what was the effect of it? Was it to lighten the marriage bond? Just the reverse; and that too not only among the multitude, but among the learned. Luther and Melancthon were avowed polygamists; and Milton advocated an extreme freedom of divorce, supporting his arguments with Scripture texts. It was to the Bible, too, that Joe Smith and Brigham Young appealed.

Neither superstition nor ignorance nor tyranny can ever be preservative of human purity; but if the moral tone of the community could be elevated, and if children could be instructed in the laws of hygiene, and not merely told but intelligently taught that the preservation of the *mens sana in corpore sano* is a duty which they owe, not to a supposititious, heavenly taskmaster, but to society and to themselves, then prudence coupled with a sentiment of honor might not be found an ineffectual restraint upon lasciviousness.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

INTUITION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Knowledge acquired through the medium of the senses seems a sufficiently miraculous and wonderful thing; but as it is one of "Nature's wonders" (which are always suggesting to the curious mind the hope, if not the possibility, of their solution), we feel justified in holding the rationale of it subject to the order of further research in the domain of biological science. But the idea of knowledge obtained by intuition has a flavor of supernaturalism which, in the interest of scientific truth, those holding to that idea should strive to remove. To that end, I wish your correspondent, Mr. G. B. Stebbins, could define the word intuition as used in describing a method of discovering truth without the aid of the senses. I would like to have him also give his opinion as to whether the method of intuition (as he will define it) is available for the acquisition of knowledge in the case of a child who should be born into the world destitute of every human sense,—sans seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, or feeling. If Mr. Stebbins sees proper to comply with the above wish, I trust he will not fly too high, but keep right down to the heart of the matter, clearly showing us that intuition is natural and not a miracle.

Z.

THE FRENCH laborer probably gets more for his wages than any other. His food is cheaper and more nourishing. His bouillon is the essence of beef at a penny a bowl. His bread at the restaurant is thrown in without any charge, and is the best bread in the world. His hot coffee and milk are peddled about the streets in the morning at a sou per cup. It is coffee, and not slops. His half bottle of claret is thrown in at a meal costing twelve cents. For a few cents he may enjoy an evening's amusement at one of the many minor theatres, with his coffee free. Sixpence pays for a nicely-cushioned seat at the theatre. No gallery gods, no peanuts, pipe smoke, drunkenness, yelling, nor howling. The Jardin des Plantes, the vast galleries and museums of the Louvre, Hotel Cluny, palace of the Luxembourg and Versailles are free for him to enter. Art and science hold out to him their choicest treasures at small cost or no cost at all. French economy and frugality do not mean that constant retrenchment and self-denial which deprive life of everything which makes it worth living for.

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Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Bonneschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity, as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Harford, and John Weiss,—together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. R. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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- To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;
- To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;
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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1878.

WHOLE No. 482.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. **TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE**, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. **NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS**, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. **UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC**: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSSES.

THE ULTRAMONTANES of Paris propose to give the new Pope a tiara worth a million francs.

A MEETING is called at Bailey's Hall, Malden, Massachusetts, Monday evening, April 8, for the purpose of forming a Liberal League in that town. All interested are invited.

TWO MORE new Liberal Leagues have been organized, auxiliary to the National League. One is at Enterprise, Kansas,—officers not yet reported. The other is at Passaic City, New Jersey, with J. H. Adamson, President, and F. W. Orvis, Secretary. The movement is spreading in all directions, and organizations are reported as about to be formed in many places.

A MR. JONES has lately moved, in the New York Assembly, to strike out the word "intoxicating" in a bill to regulate the sale of liquor, offering a decidedly original reason: "There was no such thing as intoxicating liquor. A man might drink too much liquor and become intoxicated, but that was his fault, not the fault of the liquor. A man may eat too much roast turkey and suffer from gluttony, but no man ever heard of gluttonous roast turkey."

THE MILWAUKEE Liberal League has published in pamphlet form the able and admirable discourse of Rev. G. E. Gordon on "What is the Relation of the State to Religion?" delivered in the Assembly Chamber at Madison, February 1. It is a document of great value for circulation, especially at the West, in behalf of the new reform of State Secularization. Copies can be obtained through Mr. Robert C. Spencer, Chairman of the Wisconsin State Committee of the National Liberal League, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

IT IS CHARGED that Colonel Ingersoll is unfair to the Orthodox in treating the doctrine of everlasting punishment as if it were still preached or believed by them. On the contrary, this doctrine is disavowed only by those whose orthodoxy is justly suspected. Rev. Mr. Hammond, the well-known revivalist, recently preached to the six hundred and fifty children in the New York Juvenile Asylum at Yonkers, and, according to the New York Sun of January 20, told them "that they would certainly be doomed to literal fire for all eternity, if they did not become Christians"; and that he "dwelt with uncommon particularity on his doctrine of hell." Within a week, over four hundred of these poor little victims were scared into "conversion."

SAYS THE *Pall Mall Gazette*, as quoted in a London despatch of March 18: "The *Pall Mall Gazette* has the following despatch: The Pope, notwithstanding violent opposition, has ordered the Italian bishops to legalize their positions, giving them liberty to demand an *exequatur* from the government. This defines the Pope's policy. It means tacit acceptance of the loss of temporal power." Do not be too sure of that. Rome has but one policy, and her boast is *Semper Eadem*. She cannot without suicide change her own fundamental theory of Church and State; she knows it, and laughs at the sanguine superficiality of those who are eager to patch up a compromise between her and civilization. Leo XIII. may, like Pius IX., think it prudent to begin as a liberal; he will also, like him, find it prudent very soon to abandon that rôle.

GOVERNOR RICE, of Massachusetts, begins his Fast-day proclamation as follows: "The Father of Mercies, whose power is infinite, and whose loving kindness is everlasting, invites his people in his Holy Word to make known their requests unto him in every time of their necessity. Following accepted example, I hereby appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the council, THURSDAY, the eleventh day of April next, to be observed by the people of Massachusetts as a day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, for the forgiveness of our sins, and for God's

gracious benefactions in the time to come." This practice of proclaiming by State authority a fast to which not one citizen in a hundred pays the least attention, is only clung to in order that Orthodoxy may set itself up as the State Religion. Is it not about time to drop the curtain on this mischievous farce?

THE WAY in which a secular government may justly interfere to protect the rights of individuals against ecclesiastical tyranny has recently been well illustrated in Ohio. About three years ago, James Leichty, a member of the Menonite Church at Bryan, in that State, was excommunicated, and his wife and children were affected to leave him. This they did, although he begged them to remain. A strong church influence was brought to bear upon the wife, and she refused to live with her husband, dreading the same ban, which, according to their creed, would have consigned her soul to everlasting damnation. Mr. Leichty brought suit against the church authorities for compelling his wife to leave him without his fault or consent, and demanded \$10,000 damages. The case was on trial for nearly a week, and on March 5 the jury returned a verdict of \$2,500 for the plaintiff. Who can question the justice of this verdict? The wife is not compelled to return, since her poor, misguided conscience makes her a voluntary victim of her tyrants; but the church authorities are most righteously punished for despoiling and destroying the plaintiff's home. They too may plead conscience as the justification of their act; but a secular government holds the plea of conscience to be no justification for a crime. When conscience makes a man infringe on the rights of others, as was done in this case by the church authorities, it ought to be totally disregarded by the courts; for the courts are bound to protect individuals even from conscientious violation of their rights. Otherwise, what would prevent honest bigots from burning heretics at the stake, as they used to do in the name of conscience towards God?

SENATOR SARGENT, of California, said in the United States Senate, March 20, that the following law was in force in the District of Columbia, until the "Revision of the Statutes" in 1873: "That if any person shall hereafter, within this province, wittingly, maliciously, and advisedly, by writing or speaking, blaspheme or curse God, or deny our Savior Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the three persons, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall utter any profane words concerning the Holy Trinity, or any the persons thereof, and shall be thereof convicted by verdict, or confession, shall, for the first offence, be bored through the tongue and fined twenty pounds sterling to the lord proprietor to be applied to the use of the county where the offence shall be committed, to be levied on the offender's body, goods, and chattels, lands or tenements, and in case the said fine cannot be levied, the offender to suffer six months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize; and that for the second offence, the offender being thereof convicted as aforesaid, shall be stigmatized by burning in the forehead with the letter B and fined forty pounds sterling to the lord proprietor, to be applied and levied as aforesaid; and in case the same cannot be levied, the offender shall suffer twelve months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize; and that for the third offence, the offender being convicted as aforesaid, shall suffer death without the benefit of the clergy.—*Compilation of Laws of the District of Columbia in force April 1, 1868*, page 136." It was the same year 1873 which got into bad odor with the devotees of the silver dollar on account of the demonetization of silver; and it will now get into equally bad odor with the devotees of Christian government on account of the remonetization of blasphemy!

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

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manance, T. F. Hamilton, D. M. Hamilton, W. F. Ropson, E. R. Whiting, E. E. Seaman, A. C. Harrison, R. F. P. Sheppard, and others.

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Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Liberal League of Cass County.

ENTERPRISE, KANSAS.—[Officers not yet reported.] Charter issued to Dr. E. L. Senft, M. Senn, C. B. Hoffman, W. T. Hopkins, Mrs. A. C. Hoffman, Mrs. E. L. Senft, G. W. Wright, E. Jones, A. G. Eyth, J. F. Buderer, and others.

PASSAIC CITY, NEW JERSEY.—President, J. H. Adamson; Secretary, F. W. Orvis.

Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Passaic City Liberal League.

[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a

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

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

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

History of the National Reform Association.

The National Reform Association assembled for its annual meeting in the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh (Rev. S. F. Scovel, pastor), on Thursday, the 7th instant, at 7 1/2 o'clock. The Hon. Felix R. Brunot occupied the chair, and called on Dr. David R. Kerr to open the meeting with prayer. In the absence of the Secretary, Rev. W. W. Barr, D.D., of Philadelphia, the Rev. Wm. H. Vincent was chosen Secretary pro tem.

MR. BRUNOT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Brunot said that it seemed fitting to give, at this annual meeting, something of a history of the movement. In the year of 1863, on the 3d day of February, a conference of Christians was held in Xenia, Ohio, which had been called with special reference to the then unhappy condition of the country, and at which eleven denominations of Christians were represented. Among the topics set for consideration were: "Religion in the Heart," "Religion in the Church," and "Religion in the Nation." When, before the second day of the session, the last-named of this series was under discussion, a paper was presented and read, which bore the single indorsement, "From a member of the Convention." Beginning with these words, "In this day of our national calamity, it becomes us to inquire what the Lord would have us to do," it briefly called to mind the nation's early struggle for independence; its devout reliance upon God during that struggle, and his marvellous interference in our behalf against the enemies of civil and religious liberty,—and then spoke of the ingratitude of the nation after its prayer had been answered:—

"Instead of going on to promote more and more the glory of God and the rights of man, a terrible and, if God's mercy prevent not, a fatal, backward step was taken; in adopting that otherwise noble instrument without any direct recognition of God or his authority, and with a toleration of human slavery; thus contradicting two of the noblest principles of the Declaration of Independence, viz., Reliance upon Divine Providence, and acknowledgment of the equal rights of man. . . . These two defects in our otherwise inimitable Constitution, so dishonoring to God and unjust to man, we believe to be the plague-spots in the heart of our nation, corrupting its vital fountains and threatening its dissolution. . . . We regard the Emancipation Proclamation of the President and his recommendation to purge the Constitution of slavery as among the most hopeful signs of the times; but we regard the neglect of God and his law by omitting all acknowledgment of them in our Constitution as the crowning original sin of the nation, and slavery as one of its natural outgrowths. Therefore, the most important step remains yet to be taken,—to amend the Constitution so as to acknowledge God and the authority of his law; and the object of this paper is to suggest to this Convention the propriety of considering this subject, and of proposing such an amendment to the Constitution as they may think proper to propose."

The paper also set forth a form of amendment, such as seemed to its author suitable, in the preamble of the Constitution, and which is substantially that which is advocated by this Association. Some objection was at first made to the consideration of the paper in the conference; but it was referred to a committee embracing members of each of the eleven denominations in the conference. The committee made a favorable report on the sentiments and suggestions of the paper, and the report was adopted. It seemed to the conference, said one who took part in its proceedings, that the question presented "was the real question of the hour and of the weightiest importance; God was forcing it upon them, and there was danger in delay; they must begin the work, and begin it then."

THE FIRST STEP.

The action of this conference was the first step that led to the organization of the body which holds its annual meeting to-night; and the composition of the body attests the unsectarian character of the origin of our movement.

Before the final ratification of the Constitution, in some of the State legislatures and conventions which discussed it, and at every period since its adoption, the religious defect of the Constitution has been lamented by many of the wisest and best men our country has produced. Says one who has collected their recorded utterances on the subject for publication: "The witnesses are of the highest standing. Learned and patriotic men, lawyers, judges, divines, legislators, editors, professors of political science, all unite in harmonious and most explicit testimony to the religious defect of our Constitution." But there seems to have been no definite proposition to set

about the work of removing the defect until it was made in the little assemblage of Christian patriots at Xenia.

The friends of the measure at first thought that the already organized church bodies presented the machinery through which the work could be carried on; and accordingly they were invited to appoint delegates to a Convention to be held in Allegheny on the 4th day of July following. But few delegates were appointed, and it became evident that more efficient measures should be adopted. The Allegheny meeting issued an able address to the public, and invited all persons who felt interested in the subject to meet in Allegheny, on the 27th day of January, 1864.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

At this meeting the National Association, to secure the religious amendment of the Constitution, was organized, and most fittingly chose for its first President, John Alexander, Esq., the author of the paper which had been presented in the conference at Xenia. The Association adopted appropriate resolutions setting forth its objects, and a form of memorial to Congress, and appointed a committee to prepare and present an address to the President of the United States. A short extract from this address will serve to indicate the mind of the movement at this early stage:—

"For we hold it as most certain truth, that nations, as such, and not individuals alone, are the subjects of God's moral government, are responsible to him, and by him are graciously rewarded for their obedience, or justly punished for their disobedience of his divine laws.

"We believe also that our civil and religious liberties, our free institutions, and all our national prosperity, power, and glory are mercies and blessings derived from God to us, through the channel of the Christian religion. Notwithstanding, either from inadvertency or following some Godless theory of civil government, we have omitted even the mention of his blessed name in the most significant and highest act of the nation.

"We believe that in thus leaving God out of our political system, we have grievously sinned against him; have brought upon ourselves and children his just displeasure. . . .

"We believe, therefore, that it is our duty to repent of this, and all our national sins, and to return to our obligations as a Christian people by acknowledging the true God as our God in our fundamental and organic law, in order that we may consistently implore his merciful interposition in our behalf; to give victory to our national arms and success to the national cause; to establish the unity of the nation and the authority of the government now assailed and shattered by rebellion. We ask for no union of Church and State,—that is a thing which we utterly repudiate. We ask nothing inconsistent with the largest religious liberty or the rights of conscience in any man. We represent no sectarian or denominational object, but one in which all who bear the Christian name, and all who have any regard for the Christian religion, can cordially agree, and one to secure which we are persuaded that any lawful and wise movement would call forth an overwhelming public sentiment in its support."

THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

The first annual meeting of the Association was held in the Eighth Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, on the 7th and 8th of July following. Rev. J. C. Eddy, of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, was elected President for the ensuing year, and an address issued to the public in furtherance of the cause. This able paper abounded with clear and conclusive argument; and in a few words at its close, again expressed the animus of the body from which it emanated: "In this movement, prompted by pure Christian patriotism, participated in by various Christian denominations, all of whom are opposed to any sectarian establishment of religion, we invite the coöperation of every lover of his country and every follower of Jesus Christ."

A Convention was held in the Arch Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on the 29th of November, 1864, at which ex-Governor James Pollock presided, and a meeting in New York, May 16 and 17, 1866. The next important meeting was held in Philadelphia, March 5, 1867, at which Hon. Wm. Strong presided. Judge Strong was at this meeting elected President of the Association. In September of that year Rev. D. McAllister and T. P. Stevenson began the issue, in Philadelphia, of the *Christian Statesman*, a semi-monthly journal, devoted to the cause. The *Statesman* proved itself to be a most efficient agency in carrying on the work of the Association, and has now become one of the most valuable and useful unsectarian religious weeklies published in this country.

ACTION OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES.

During the war of the rebellion, the representative bodies of nearly every religious denomination, in their deliberances relative to the state of the country, in some form indicated the same convictions which lie at the foundation of our movement. Nor was this conviction confined to the religious bodies. In the days of our calamity, the rulership of Almighty God, and the dependences of the nation upon his divine mercy and power for its relief, was the dominant thought which found expression upon every hand. The Senate of the United States, on the 2d day of March, 1863, passed a resolution "devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations. . . . Deplored the national offences which have provoked his righteous judgment, yet encouraged in this day of trouble by the assurances of his word to seek to him for succor according to his appointed way through Jesus Christ." And in his proclamation, President Lincoln, "acknowledging

the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence on the overruling power of God," recognized also, in glowing words, "the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord."

This action of the Government of the United States, it will be observed, was almost coincident in point of time with the beginning of our Reform movement. The moral entity of the nation, supposing as such the just punishment for its national crimes and its forgetfulness of God, was an awful fact in those dark days which none ventured to deny, if any dared to doubt it; and, as a personality, it sought in God's appointed way of repentance, humiliation, and prayer to deprecate his wrath.

Said President Lincoln, speaking for the nation in the noble document from which I have already quoted, "Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us. It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."

OPPOSITION TO THE MOVEMENT.

It is a noticeable fact that, whilst the hand of God pressed heavily upon our country, and so many voices were raised in behalf of the duty of conforming the Constitution to the devout and God-fearing spirit of the nation and the people, none ventured to demand that the national authorities should cease their unconstitutional acts of religion. It is not so now. Hardly had our prayers been answered, and God's messenger of peace returned with her attendant train, when this key-note of ingratitude sounded from the metropolitan city through its then leading newspaper: "We deny that this is a Christian nation," it said, "though a majority of its inhabitants probably are. 'Almighty God' is not 'the source of all authority and power' in our government; the people of the United States are such source. . . . The Federal Constitution is based on the idea that religious faith is purely a personal matter with which governments have properly nothing to do."

MEMORABLE UTTERANCES.

Among the memorable utterances of the ecclesiastical bodies, was the admirable pastoral letter of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, issued from the General Convention in October, 1862. This document sets forth with consummate ability the scriptural argument, with its examples and warnings, which inevitably shadow forth the duty of a national constitutional acknowledgment of Almighty God, and the peril of the neglect to honor him.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met in Philadelphia in May, 1864, unanimously adopted a series of resolutions, reported by the committee on the state of the country, of which the third and fourth were as follows:—

"That we regard our calamities as resulting from our forgetfulness of God, and from slavery, so long our nation's reproach, and that it becomes us to humble ourselves and forsake our sins as a people, and hereafter, in all our laws and acts, to honor God."

"That we will use our efforts to secure such a change in the Constitution of our country as shall recognize the being of God, our dependence on him for prosperity, and also his word as the foundation of civil law."

The General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in May, 1863, adopted a preamble and resolutions, a part of which reads as follows:—

"WHEREAS, The exigencies of the war have brought the authorities of the nation, civil and military, subordinate and supreme, to formal recognition of the being, providence, and grace of God and of Jesus Christ, his son, to an extent and with a distinctness such as the country has never witnessed before; therefore

"Resolved, 1. That in the judgment of this Synod the time has come for the proposal of such amendments to the Federal Constitution, in the way provided by itself, as will supply the omission above referred to, and secure a distinct recognition of the being and supremacy of the God of divine revelation."

FIRST NATIONAL DELEGATE CONVENTION.

The first National Convention, properly so called—it being the first to which delegates were generally appointed by the local associations and meetings of the friends of the movement,—was held in Pittsburgh on the 7th and 8th of February, 1870. It was followed by National Conventions in Philadelphia on the 18th and 19th of November, 1871; in Cincinnati, January 31 and February 1, 1872; in New York, February 25 and 26, 1873; and in Pittsburgh, February 4 and 5, 1874; and again in Philadelphia on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of June, 1876.

CONCLUSIONS.

After referring to the successive National Conventions which have been held under the auspices of the Society, the speaker said: "In giving this history of the National Reform Association—so brief as compared with the amount of material which crowds itself upon the attention as worthy of record,—I have but touched a few of its facts from point to point. I make no attempt to indicate the amount of work it has done, or to weigh the influence it has exercised in resisting the attacks upon the religious life and usages of our country.

"Whoever has listened to the statements I have made, will have inevitably concluded:—

"1. That the origin of this Association was unsectarian, Christian, and patriotic.

"2. That the Association aims for no 'union of Church and State'; no restriction upon the freedom of religion; but, on the contrary, its aim is to main-

tain inviolate the God-given right to religious liberty.

"3. That the Association is not laboring in behalf of a mere sentiment, as has been ignorantly charged, but for important moral and political principles."—*Christian Statesman*, Feb. 14, 1878.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Believing that Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government; that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of supreme authority in civil affairs;

Remembering that this country was settled by Christian men, with Christian ends in view, and that they gave a distinctly Christian character to the institutions which they established;

Perceiving the subtle and persevering attempts which are made to prohibit the reading of the Bible in our public schools, to overthrow our Sabbath laws, to abolish the oath, prayer in our National and State legislatures, days of fasting and thanksgiving, and other Christian features of our institutions, and so to divorce the American government from all connection with the Christian religion;

Viewing with grave apprehension the corruption of our politics, and the prevalent disregard of moral and religious character in those who are exalted to high places in the nation;

Believing that a written Constitution ought to contain explicit evidence of the Christian character and purpose of the nation which frames it, and perceiving that the silence of the Constitution of the United States in this respect is used as an argument against all that is Christian in the usage and administration of our government;

We, citizens of the United States, do associate ourselves under the following Articles, and pledge ourselves to God and to one another to labor, through wise and lawful means, for the ends herein set forth:

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the "NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION."

ARTICLE II.

The object of this Society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American government, and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

ARTICLE III.

All persons approving these objects, and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be members of this Association.

ARTICLE IV.

The Officers of this Association shall be the President, Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. The Secretaries and Treasurer, with twenty-one other members, shall be the Executive Committee of the Association.

ARTICLE V.

Any Society adopting a Constitution in harmony with the aims of the National Reform Association, and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be recognized as an Auxiliary, and all members thereof shall be members of the National Reform Association.

The following form of petition to Congress in behalf of the proposed Religious Amendment was recommended by the National Convention in New York, Feb. 27, 1873:—

To the Honorable, the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, petition your honorable bodies for such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as shall suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government; of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and of his revealed will as of supreme authority; and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of the government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

PRESIDENT:

The Hon. Felix R. Brunot, Pittsburgh, Pa.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

The Hon. James M. Harvey, U. S. Senate.
The Rev. Julius H. Seelye, D.D., President of Amherst College.

The Hon. Lorenzo Sawyer, U. S. Circuit Court, San Francisco, Cal.
Prof. Edmund H. Bennett, LL.D., Boston University, Mass.

The Hon. G. W. Brooks, U. S. District Court of North Carolina.
The Hon. Roger S. Greene, Supreme Court of Washington Territory.

The Hon. Edgar W. Hillyer, U. S. District Court of Nevada.
The Hon. B. F. Saffold, Supreme Court of Alabama.

The Hon. C. C. Cole, LL.D., Supreme Court of Iowa.
The Hon. James Phelps, Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut.

The Hon. M. B. Hagan, Superior Court of Cincinnati.
The Hon. J. Rockwell, Superior Court of Massachusetts.

The Hon. George W. French, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Dakota.
The Hon. David Noggles, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Idaho.

The Hon. Madison E. Hollister, Supreme Court of Idaho.
The Hon. Robert W. Furnas, ex-Governor of Nebraska.

The Hon. Heskiah S. Johnson, Supreme Court of New Mexico.
The Hon. J. W. Kingman, Supreme Court of Wyoming Territory.

The Hon. C. M. Hawley, Late Justice Supreme Court of Utah.
 The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Peoria, Ill.
 The Rev. Henry J. Fox, D.D., Charleston, N.C.
 The Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Central N.Y.
 The Right Rev. W. M. Green, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Mississippi.
 Vice-Chancellor J. Gorgas, University of the South, Tennessee.
 The Right Rev. John B. Kerfoot, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Pittsburgh.
 The Right Rev. G. T. Bedell, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Ohio.
 The Hon. Ellis A. Appar, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, New Jersey.
 The Hon. A. N. Fisher, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nevada.
 Prof. J. R. Herrick, D.D., South Hadley, Mass.
 The Hon. Josiah H. Drummond, LL.D., Portland, Maine.
 The Rev. Edwin B. Webb, D.D., Shawmut Avenue Congregational Church, Boston, Mass.
 The Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D., LL.D., Boston, Mass.
 John Alexander, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.
 The Hon. Thomas W. Bicknell, Editor of *Journal of Education*, Boston.
 The Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, D.D., Newark, N.J.
 The Rev. M. Simpson, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, Philadelphia.
 The Rev. Levi Scott, D.D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, Delaware.
 The Rev. J. Blanchard, President of Wheaton College, Illinois.
 Prof. O. N. Stoddard, LL.D., Wooster University, Ohio.
 The Rev. C. H. Edgar, D.D., Easton, Pa.
 The Hon. Charles D. Drake, Chief Justice U. S. Court of Claims, Washington.
 James W. Taylor, Esq., Newburg, N.Y.
 President David H. Cochrane, Ph.D., LL.D., Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 The Hon. E. K. Howell, Supreme Court of Louisiana.
 The Hon. J. W. McClurg, ex-Governor of Missouri.
 The Hon. O. Phillips, Mayor of Allegheny City.
 Brig-Gen. James A. Ekin, Louisville, Ky.
 The Hon. N. W. Battle, Judge of the Criminal Court, Waco, Texas.
 The Rev. Charles Elliott, D.D., Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.
 The Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. Wm. K. Nicholson, D.D., Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia.
 The Right Rev. Thomas H. Van, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Kansas.
 The Right Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of California.
 The Right Rev. Thomas A. Jaggard, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Southern Ohio.
 The Rev. S. J. Wilson, D.D., Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.
 The Rev. Gilbert Raven, D.D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, Adams, Ga.
 Prof. W. Henry Green, D.D., LL.D., Princeton Theological Seminary, N.J.
 The Rev. E. D. Morris, D.D., Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati.
 The Rev. A. A. Hodge, D.D., Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.
 The Rev. David R. Kerr, D.D., United Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.
 Prof. J. R. W. Stone, D.D., Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.
 The Rev. William Spear, D.D., late Corresponding Secretary of Presbyterian Board of Education, Philadelphia.
 The Rev. J. Weaver, B.D., Bishop of the United Brethren in Christ, Dayton, Ohio.
 The Rev. J. Dickson, D.D., Bishop of the United Brethren in Christ, Decatur, Ill.
 The Rev. J. J. Esler, D.D., Bishop of the Evangelical Association, Chicago.
 The Rev. E. O. Haven, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor of Syracuse University, N.Y.
 The Rev. C. H. Payne, D.D., President of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.
 The Rev. Josiah Swett, D.D., President of Norwich University, Fairfax, Vt.
 The Rev. George C. Heckman, D.D., President of Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.
 President George P. Hays, D.D., Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.
 President Daniel Rice, D.D., Logansport Female College, Logansport, Ind.
 President F. M. Bartlett, D.D., Marysville College, Tenn.
 The Rev. Dorus Clarke, D.D., Boston, Mass.
 President David A. Wallace, D.D., LL.D., Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.
 President Milton Valentine, D.D., Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
 The Rev. H. A. Thompson, D.D., President of Otterbein University, Westerville, Ohio.
 The Rev. W. Colegrove, D.D., President of West Virginia College, Flemington, W. Va.
 The Rev. E. T. Jeffers, D.D., President of Westminster College, Pa.
 The Rev. J. C. Holbrook, D.D., Secretary of Congregational Missionary Society, Syracuse, N.Y.
 The Rev. E. M. Marston, D.D., Muskogee, Indian Territory.
 The Rev. R. A. Browne, D.D., New Castle, Penn.
 The Rev. E. G. Brooks, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. J. E. Rankin, D.D., Washington, D. C.
 The Rev. Wm. R. Clark, D.D., Boston, Mass.
 The Rev. James P. Lane, Bristol, R. I.
 The Rev. T. W. Hawks, D.D., Marietta, Ohio.
 The Rev. S. F. Scovel, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 The Rev. James N. Crowell, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. Edward Sullivan, S.T.D., Chicago.
 The Rev. L. G. Olmstead, LL.D., Fort Edward, N.Y.
 The Rev. E. W. Hagar, D.D., Chaplain U. S. Navy, Norfolk, Va.
 The Rev. Joseph Cummings, D.D., LL.D., Middletown, Conn.
 The Rev. F. Merrick, ex-President of the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.
 The Rev. John B. Dales, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. Joseph T. Cooper, D.D., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 The Rev. J. Banvard, D.D., Paterson, N.J.
 The Rev. D. Steele, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. John S. Stone, D.D., Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.
 The Rev. H. Dyer, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of Evangelical Knowledge Society, N.Y.
 President W. F. King, D.D., Cornell College, Iowa.
 President Thomas Holmes, D.D., Union Christian College, Merom, Ind.
 Gen. Charles H. Howard, Editor of *Advance*, Chicago.
 The Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., New York.
 The Hon. W. H. Cumbach, ex-Lieutenant-Governor, Ind.
 George W. Hill, Esq., Philadelphia.
 Charles G. Nazro, Esq., Boston, Mass.
 William Getty, Esq., Philadelphia.
 Prof. E. Kirby Smith, University of Nashville, Tenn.
 The Rev. George B. Chaever, D.D., Englewood, N.J.
 The Rev. Milton H. Wright, Editor of the *Religious Telescope*, Dayton, Ohio.
 The Rev. Thomas S. Johnson, D.D., Lebanon, Pa.
 The Rev. A. Rittenhouse, Presiding Elder M. E. Conference, Philadelphia.
 The Rev. E. D. Morris, D.D., Oxford, Ga.
 The Rev. James Brown, D.D., Columbus City, Iowa.
 The Rev. J. G. Craighead, D.D., Corresponding Secretary Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.
 The Rev. T. L. Caylor, D.D., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 The Rev. E. Patterson, D.D., San Francisco.

The Rev. J. A. Lansing, D.D., Brooklyn.
 The Rev. M. Marshall, D.D., Raleigh, N.C.
 The Rev. G. A. Latimer, D.D., Wilmington, Del.
 The Rev. Robert Irvine, D.D., Augusta, Ga.
 The Rev. J. A. Todd, D.D., Tarrytown, N.Y.
 The Rev. Malcolm N. McLaren, D.D., Auburn, N.Y.
 The Rev. E. A. McAyen, D.D., Oskaloosa, Iowa.
 The Rev. C. A. Foster, LL.D., Kalamazoo, Mich.
 The Rev. T. H. Newton, D.D., LL.D., Lebanon, Mo.
 The Rev. George Diehl, D.D., Frederick, Md.
 The Rev. William Clark, D.D., Amherst, N.H.
 The Rev. Edward F. Berkeley, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.
 The Rev. Wm. F. Sabine, New York City.
 The Rev. E. K. Craven, D.D., Newark, N.J.
 The Rev. Lyman Whiting, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. M. Hoyt, D.D., Yankton, Dakota.
 The Rev. John D. Easter, D.D., Omaha, Nebraska.
 The Rev. G. H. Thompson, D.D., New Orleans.
 The Rev. S. Corbett, D.D., Minneapolis, Minn.
 The Rev. F. Jacobs, D.D., Cokesbury, S.C.
 The Rev. W. Wishart, D.D., Ontario, Ohio.
 The Rev. Noyes W. Miner, D.D., Oshkosh, Wis.
 The Rev. George M. Everhart, D.D., Kenosha, Wis.
 President J. F. Cook, LL.D., La Grange College, Mo.
 President Solomon Pool, D.D., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
 President Walter Hulman, LL.D., Central Female Institute, Miss.
 The Rev. Robert Bethell Claxton, D.D., Philadelphia.
 The Rev. B. P. Aydelott, D.D., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 S. H. Ford, LL.D., Editor *Christian Repository*, St. Louis.
 President Reuben Andrus, D.D., Indiana University, Ind.
 President A. B. Miller, D.D., Waynesburg College, Pa.
 President O. L. Smith, D.D., Emory College, Oxford, Ga.
 GENERAL SECRETARY:
 The Rev. D. McAllister, No. 7 North Tenth Street, Philadelphia.
 CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
 The Rev. T. P. Stevenson, No. 7 North Tenth Street, Philadelphia.
 RECORDING SECRETARY:
 The Rev. W. W. Barr, D.D., Philadelphia.
 TREASURER:
 Samuel Agnew, Esq., 1128 Arch Street, Philadelphia.
 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
 The Secretaries and Treasurer, *ex officio*.
 William Neely, H. O'Neill, Henry Harrison, James Spence, George Silver, S. K. McGuire, New York; E. B. Sterling, John Alexander, Rev. A. Rittenhouse, Rev. S. O. Wylie, D.D., M. McConnell, J. S. Martin, Robert H. Elliott, Rev. D. Steele, D.D., Robert Taylor, William McKnight, Thomas Walker, Alexander Kerr, Philadelphia; D. Chestnut, Pittsburgh; Henry Martin, Cincinnati.

THE NEW YORK "SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE."

Preamble.
 WHEREAS, The need of a permanent and effective organization to support the cause of enlightenment has become apparent; and
 WHEREAS, We whose names are hereto subscribed do now propose to consolidate such an organization for the purpose aforesaid, therefore be it
 Resolved, To enunciate the following as the sentiments by which we are guided in the formation of such union:—
 That the integrity and consistency of life in all its parts is the noblest good, and its achievement the supreme duty of human existence.
 That insincerity, while it is justly condemned in every circumstance, deserves the severest reprobation when permitted to enter the fundamental questions that give direction to the character and determine the moral welfare of man.
 That the forms of dogmatic belief, as currently taught, have ceased to satisfy our highest needs; that they obstruct the free development of mind and heart; and that to emancipate ourselves from so grievous a thralldom is at once a stern obligation and a privilege.
 That we recognize in the great truths of man's moral nature the essential safeguard of life, the source of nobleness in effort, of power in action, and of fortitude in affliction.
 That to further the recognition of these truths in word and deed is a sacred duty which we owe both to ourselves and to our fellow-men, and whereby we shall best secure the common happiness, prosperity, and peace.
 That to insure the moral elevation of the "masses" in particular, with all the great benefits which that includes, we hold to be a lofty aim, and one well-calculated to afford true satisfaction to all who behold in the work of progress the fitting accomplishment of human destiny.
 That it is desirable to transmit to the incoming generation the best convictions of the present unimpaired; to acquaint them in such manner as befits their years and understanding with the principles, aspirations, and consolations of the modern view of life, and thus to train them in the enjoyment of the inestimable benefits of liberty from their youth upward.
 That for all these purposes the necessity of united action, in which alone lies the pledge of extended usefulness, permanency, and strength, is self-evident.
 We, therefore, in view of these convictions, and in response to the solemn obligations which they impose, do hereby consolidate ourselves an association to be known by the style and title of the SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE. And we agree that the main channels of its influence shall be:—
 1. A system of weekly lectures on Sunday, in which the principles of ethics shall be developed, propagated, and advanced among adults.
 2. A school wherein a course of moral instruction shall be supplied for the young, the same to be erected and enlarged as time and circumstances may favor.
 And with implicit confidence in the simplicity and the greatness of our cause, we do hereby invoke the cooperation of all who think and feel with us, sincerely trusting that the new union which we now form may become an instrument of lasting good in the community in which we live, and may at all times faithfully serve the best and truest interests of mankind.
By-Laws of the Society for Ethical Culture.
ARTICLE I.
Members.
 1. Any person of either sex may become a member of this Society upon the approval of three-fourths

of the Trustees present at a regular meeting of the Board of Trustees, at which the name of the candidate shall be presented and balloted for.
 2. No subscription or assent to any formula of faith, belief, or creed shall be required as a qualification for membership.
 3. Any person whose rent for sittings or contributions shall be nine months in arrear, and who shall neglect to discharge the same within thirty days after notice shall have been mailed him by the Treasurer, shall not be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society, until such indebtedness shall have been liquidated.
 4. Sittings may be rented to others than members by the Trustees; but persons hiring sittings shall not thereby become members of the Society.

ARTICLE II.
Trustees.

1. The executive power of the Society shall be vested (subject to the control and direction of the Society itself) in a Board of Trustees, consisting of fifteen members, whose duties and powers shall be those generally performed by similar officers in corporate societies; and especially it shall be their duty to fix the sittings to which members and hirers may be entitled; to pass upon the applications of candidates for admission to the School of the Society; and to attend to, manage, and conduct the financial, temporal, and social affairs of the Society.
 2. A Lecturer or Lecturers shall be elected by the Society. Such Lecturer shall be *ex officio* a member of the Board of Trustees. On such Lecturer shall devolve more especially the intellectual concerns of the Society, and to him shall belong powers such as are generally exercised by ministers of religious societies. He shall be the rector of the School of the Society and its classes and meetings for ethical instruction.
 3. The Board of Trustees shall have power to fill vacancies in its own body.
 4. The Board of Trustees existing at the time of the adoption of these By-Laws shall hold office until the Regular Annual Meeting of the Society in 1878, at which time a new election shall take place. The Trustees then elected shall hold office for one year thereafter, except five Trustees, who shall hold office for two years thereafter, and five Trustees who shall hold office for three years thereafter.
 5. The election of Trustees and of the Lecturer shall be by ballot; and a majority of the whole number of votes cast shall be necessary for a choice.
 6. In case it shall at any time happen that an election of Trustees or Lecturer shall not be made on the day designated by these By-laws, the same shall take place at a special meeting to be called for the purpose.

ARTICLE III.
Meetings.

1. There shall be a general meeting of the Society on the second Monday of May of each year for the purpose of hearing the report of the Trustees, taking measures for the support of the Society, electing Trustees whose terms of office then expire, and generally to transact any business that shall be regularly brought before such meeting.
 The day of such meeting shall be the commencement of each fiscal year.
 2. Special meetings of the Society shall be called by the Chairman, at the request of a majority of the Board of Trustees, or at the written request of ten members of the Society. At least two days' notice of all meetings shall be mailed to members by the Secretary. Notice of special meetings shall specify the object thereof.
 3. The Board of Trustees shall meet on the first Monday of each month, except from July to October, when meetings shall be held at the discretion of the Board. At the meeting in June of each year the Board shall, by a majority vote and by ballot, elect from among the Trustees a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall hold office as such officers of the Board, and of the Society, with the usual power of such officers, until after the next ensuing annual meeting of the Society.
 Special meetings of the Board may be called by the Chairman at any time, and shall be called by him at the written request of three members of the Board.
 4. The office of any member of the Board of Trustees may be declared vacant by a two-thirds vote of the Board, if its incumbent shall absent himself from three successive meetings thereof. But such vacancy shall only be declared after notice shall have been given to the delinquent.
 5. Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum at the meetings of the Society, and five at meetings of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE IV.

1. As long as ten members shall desire to perpetuate the organization of the Society, the same shall not be dissolved.

ARTICLE V.

These By-laws shall not be altered, modified, or amended except by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the time of the consideration of such amendment; and no amendment shall be considered at any meeting unless notice thereof shall have been first mailed to the members by the Secretary.

Certificate of Incorporation of the Society for Ethical Culture.

I. This instrument certifies that we, the undersigned, under and pursuant to the Act of the Legislature of the State of New York, passed on the 12th day of April, 1848, entitled "An act for the Incorporation of Benevolent, Charitable, Scientific, and Missionary Societies," and the several acts amendatory thereof, and particularly the acts passed by said Legislature on the 10th day of April and the 11th day

of May, 1872, amending and extending the act so as to include societies having for their purpose mutual improvement in religious knowledge, or the furtherance of religious opinion, or for any two or more combined, do associate ourselves together to form a Society for the purposes hereinafter set forth.

II.

The name of this Society will be THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE.

III.

The object of said Society will be mutual improvement in religious knowledge and the furtherance of religious opinion, which shall be in part accomplished by a system of weekly lectures, in which the principles of ethics shall be developed, propagated, and advanced among adults, and in part by the establishment of a school or schools wherein a course of moral instruction shall be supplied for the young.

IV.

The number of the Trustees of said Society will be fifteen.

V.

The names of the Trustees who are to manage the affairs of said Society for the first year are as follows:

JOSEPH SELIGMAN,	MAX LANDMAN,
ALBERT A. LEVI,	EMIL SALINGER,
HENRY FRIEDMAN,	MEYER JONASSON,
EDWARD LAUTERBACH,	JACOB STETTHEIMER, JR.
WILLIAM BYFIELD,	SAMUEL V. SPEYER,
JOSEPH SEIDENBERG,	SAMUEL A. SOLOMONS,
MAX ABENBERG,	JULIUS ROSENBAUM,
	MARCUS GOLDMAN.

VI.

The principal office or place of meeting of the Society will be situated in the City of New York.

In witness whereof, we do hereunto subscribe our names this 21st day of February, 1877.

[The certificate is subscribed and acknowledged by the Trustees, and a consent to its filing is indorsed thereon by a Judge of the Supreme Court.]

ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

LETTER FROM CATHERINE E. BRONNER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Sir.—The subject of eternal punishment now discussed in both secular and religious papers is all dependent on a theological theory as to what constitutes a perfect mind, and how it originates. There are two parties on this question which are named Calvinistic and anti-Calvinistic. Both hold that a mind is perfect when it knows what is best for all concerned (and so right), and also has a controlling purpose to act right in all cases, and thus never failing in judgment or choice. The Calvinist holds that God created such minds in the case of the holy angels and Adam. The anti-Calvinist holds that it is impossible for God to create such a mind, inasmuch as perfect knowledge and choice cannot be created in finite beings, but must come by experience and training. Right choice is choosing what is best for all concerned for both time and eternity; and as none but God can know this, choosing to obey God's laws and doing right mean the same. "Sin is transgression of law," either natural or revealed; and the infant cannot help from sinning any more than "the sparks" can help from "flying upward." And so all are born with a sinful nature, but as perfect as God can make it. The Calvinist holds that though God could have created every infant mind holy as he did the holy angels and Adam, for some mysterious reason, Adam, by one act of disobedience, became totally depraved in nature, and transmitted this to all infants. And so total is this depravity that no child can feel or act right till God partially, but not wholly, re-creates the depraved nature. The anti-Calvinist holds that God creates every infant in his own image as to constitutional powers; some of higher and some of lower grades, and with diverse combinations of mental faculties, all good in nature, and wrong only by excess or misuse. The Calvinist holds that all not re-created by God will go to eternal misery; and that there is no certain method of gaining this re-creation, as all depends on election and sovereignty. The anti-Calvinist holds that a child is saved by education and divine aid, given to all who seek it; that this life is but the beginning or infant school; that God and good beings continue it till the Day of Judgment, when the righteous and the wicked will be placed in separate worlds, and experience only the natural results of obedience and disobedience to God's laws. On this view, the number saved depends on the labors and sacrifices of Christ's true followers, who are the educators of the race, from Noah, Abraham, and the Apostles to this day. The Calvinist holds that death ends probation; and then all the unregenerate go to hell, and forever live in literal fire and brimstone, or in equal torments of mind.

The following views are now current in our secular papers as the Calvinistic teachings on eternal punishment: Augustine, who originated the Calvinistic system, taught that the bodies of the damned, among whom are unbaptized infants, will burn in everlasting fire. In Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, given to me when I was vainly trying to love God, it is written that the torments of sinners will be universal. The liquid fire will prey on every part, the eyes will be tortured with sights of horror, the ears with howls and curses of companions in torment, their smell with fumes of brimstone, and no drop of water shall cool their tongue, no respite relieve their agonies. President Edwards, in a work given me to lead me to love God, says the saints in glory will see the sufferings of the damned with no grief, but rather with rejoicing. They will not be sorry for them; but will be excited to joyful praise. Dr. Emmons, whose preaching I

heard when sorrowing for a friend supposed to have died unregenerate, taught that the happiness of "the elect" in heaven will in part consist in watching the torments of the damned, and among them will be their own children and dearest friends; and yet they will sing Hallelujah, praise the Lord! My father's friend, Dr. Gardner Spring, of New York, said that, when an angry God undertakes to punish, he will convince the universe that he does not gird himself in vain. It will be glorious when he who hung on Calvary shall cast those who have trodden his blood under their feet into a furnace of fire, where shall be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. My father's friend, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, says it is to be feared that the forty-two children who mocked Ellisha are now in hell. President Edwards, in his sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," says, "You cannot stand an instant before an infuriated tiger; what, then, will you do when God rushes against you in all his wrath?" Spurgeon, of England, says, "At the day of judgment thou wilt have twin hells, thy soul sweating drops of blood, and thy body suffused with agony." Dr. Talmage, of Brooklyn, paints the miseries of hell in similar language. The Methodist *Christian Advocate* represents that this denomination, on yearly average, gives only thirty-four cents for each person to save seven hundred million brothers and sisters from wading chain-deep through the torments of eternal death. The biographer of President Edwards says that when preaching on the dangers of hell, at times, the whole congregation arose, smiting their breasts, weeping, and groaning. My father rejected the idea of literal fire and brimstone torments; but I once heard him in Cincinnati describe the miseries of the wicked shut up together with all their horrid passions, and I should have been affected, as were the hearers of President Edwards, had I not escaped by leaving the church, as did my sister, Mrs. Stowe.

I was educated in the Calvinistic system, and lived many years in constant fear lest myself and most of those dearest to me were destined to such a horrible doom as is herein described. In a period of great distress from such fears, I took charge of some of the finest minds I ever met, and with them studied and discussed Stewart's *Mental Philosophy*, by which I learned to detect and apply the principles of reason or common-sense. The result was a text-book, in which I maintained that by a process of reasoning without revelation we could prove the doctrines here set forth as anti-Calvinistic. As I had never met such an argument, nor could hear of one, I privately sent this work to the leading theologians of the chief Calvinistic sects, asking to have the book returned with criticism and counsel. The criticisms thus gained were some of them very complimentary, and some of them insulting, all on supposition that the author was a gentleman. But in not a single case was an attempt made to show any fallacy in the argument. The same argument was then published in another form. In the introduction I gave some of my personal experiences, by the advice of a critical and fastidious gentleman who said it would do more good than all my arguments. This work was widely reviewed, sometimes with complimentary and sometimes with insulting remarks. But in not a single case was there an attempt to controvert the arguments. I then published an appeal, dedicating it to the editors of the secular press, in which I maintained that the Calvinistic system is as contrary to the Bible as it is to reason and common-sense. This also was both courteously and severely criticized, but no attempt was made to meet the arguments. In some cases, the reason assigned was that they had long ago been shown to be nothing or worse; but I was never told when or where. But my father and my brother Henry conceded that the arguments were unanswerable. Dr. Taylor, Professor of Theology in Yale College, wrote me: "I have never supposed that man has a depraved nature, in any sense, or a corrupt nature to be changed; but that in nature he is like God." I privately appealed for help to several personal friends who were editors. From those editing the *Independent*, I learned that they would not open their columns to "a psychological and theological discussion" like this. Even the honorable, fearless, and benevolent Horace Greeley wrote as his excuse that he had promised his Orthodox friends that he "would not needlessly introduce hereby into his paper, and the greatest of all heresies is common-sense." Leading publishers as well as editors stated that theologians, in whatever else they differed, were united in the determination that this discussion should not be permitted. And so in every denomination every influence was used to prevent the sale of these works; also my succeeding work.

For many years I have been with family connections or intimate friends who are counted as sceptics and scientists, and have had these questions proposed which I know not how to answer: "Your own brothers now are connected with Calvinistic churches, or those so regarded by the common people. They and leading theologians have read your works, and are able to correct your definitions or show the fallacy of your arguments if they find any; is it manly or honorable to take the course of apparently cowardly or contemptuous silence? Your claim is, that it is your special mission to illustrate the grand truth that common-sense, without unusual talents or learning, united with the desire to learn and obey the truth, is all that is needed to understand the Bible correctly, so as to gain eternal blessedness. Yet you stand alone in this wise and solemn mission. The Calvinistic system is more absurd and cruel than any of the Pagan or Mohammedan tenets; and how can theologians, after such an exposure, redeem themselves from the pity and contempt of all honorable minds who understand the case?" I ask my friends to furnish me a reply.

BROOKLYN, Feb. 28, 1878.

FOR YEARS no one supposed that a piece of soft coal, dug from its mine or bed in the earth, possessed any other quality than being combustible, or was valuable for any other purpose than as fuel. It was next found that it would afford a gas which is also combustible. Chemical analysis proved it to be made of hydrogen. In process of time mechanical and chemical ingenuity devised a mode of manufacturing this gas and applying it to the lighting of buildings and cities on a large scale. In doing this, other products of distillation were developed, until, step by step, the following ingredients or materials are extracted from it: 1. An excellent oil to supply light-houses, equal to the best sperm oil, at lower cost. 2. Benzole,—a light sort of ethereal fluid, which evaporates easily, and combined with a vapor or moist air, is used for the purpose of portable gas lamps, so called. 3. Naphtha,—a heavy fluid, useful to dissolve gutta percha, India rubber, etc. 4. An oil excellent for lubricating purposes. 5. Asphaltum,—which is a black, solid substance, used in making varnishes, covering roofs, and covering over vaults. 6. Paraffine,—a white, crystalline substance, resembling white wax, which can be made into beautiful wax candles; it melts at a temperature of one hundred and ten degrees, and affords an excellent light. All these substances are now made from soft coal.

THE PRESIDENTIAL custom of Sunday evening singing receives commendation from religious papers. The *Christian Advocate*, of Pittsburgh, says: "One of the institutions of the White House is the Sabbath evening devoted to song; not gay, frivolous song, but cheerful Christian song. We met there, upon the occasion of our visit, the President and Mrs. Hayes, their nieces, Misses Platt and Foote, their son Webb, the Vice-President, General Sherman and daughter, Secretary Schurz, Attorney-General Devens, Senator Ferry, General Hastings, Congressman McKinley, Assistant-Surgeon General Woodward and wife, and Mr. Dickinson, private secretary of the Vice-President. The singing of hymns filled up the hour, closing with—

"Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love."

A season of genial conversation, and the company breaks up. No cant, no assumed solemnity marred the hour. It was a time of Christian cheerfulness. Nothing was more pleasing than to see General Sherman, the hero of so many battles, whose name history will speak in connection with Grant's and Moltke's, join with evident relish in the exercises of the evening."—*Tribune*.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT, the orator, has Hebrew blood in his veins; one of his ancestors, a Quaker, married a handsome Hebrew lady. Mr. Bright's father, Jacob Bright, is remembered in Rochdale as a man of very remarkable character. He stood high in the opinion of his work-people as a kind and considerate employer. On winter nights, with a large lantern in his hand, and wrapped up warmly in a thick overcoat, he would stand at his mill-gates, giving directions to the respective men to superintend the children on their way home. If he heard the slightest cough in the mill, out came Spanish juice from his pocket, and the sufferer received a lump sufficiently large to subdue the most stubborn cough. One of his regulations was, that when any of his work-people became infirm through age or disease, and had not, from unforeseen circumstances, been able to provide for such contingencies, he pensioned them off; but the majority of his work-people received such a high rate of wages, that in old age large numbers of them were enabled to live with the utmost comfort.—*Ex.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON could lose his temper on occasions, as well as more common folk. It is related that when he and the other commissioners were locating the city of Washington, they found a certain David Burns, the owner of some property, rather disgruntled. After enduring for awhile his opposition, the Father of his Country hastily remarked, "Mr. Burns, if the federal city had not been located here, you would have been a poor tobacco planter, instead of a rich land-owner." "Vera weel, Mr. Washington," replied Burns, "an' if ye had na married the Widow Coates, ye wad ha' been a poor land-surveyor, instead of a rich slave-owner." Subsequently the two became great friends.—*Ex.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 20.

J. Aulbach, 40 cents; Mrs. Mary C. Decker, 80 cents; A. B. Bradford, \$1; Frank W. Currier, \$1; Noah Green, \$3.20; Mrs. Robert Haydock, \$3.20; Dr. G. W. Topping, \$5; Miss E. J. Leonard, \$11; J. H. W. Toohay, \$1.50; Dr. A. H. Brockway, \$3.20; Henry Holt & Co., \$6.20; William Hill, \$3.20; O. B. Hoffman, \$1; Susan L. T. Robinson, \$1.50; J. B. Holroyde, \$9.15; A. Walther, \$3.20; Daniel Fitzhugh, \$13.20; Jacob Koffner, \$10; Morris Einstein, \$3.20; J. J. Perry, \$8.20; Cash, \$7.25; Etta and Lizzie Marshall, \$3.20; Dr. E. E. Sison, \$3.20; William Phillips, \$5; W. A. Thurston, \$3.20; B. B. Whyte, \$1.00; D. Wright, \$10.80; Mrs. A. Dorman, 85 cents; J. H. Holley, \$3.20; D. H. Hunnewell, \$8.40; F. P. Partridge, 30 cents; E. R. Brown, \$3.20; Wm. H. Barr, \$3.20; Albert W. Foster, \$3.20; H. Coleman, \$3.20; Mrs. L. F. Johnson, \$2; C. H. Pierce, \$3.20; Mrs. M. O. Giles, \$3.50; G. Grove, \$4.66.

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

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

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 4, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLDO Office, No. 25 MONROE STREET; J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

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

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HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names. Residences. Amount.

When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work immediately, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,

Chair, Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

MANLEY HOWE, Esq., of this city, has published an extremely valuable pamphlet of ninety pages on *Equitable Taxation; or, The Debtor's Lien*. It is one of the widening ripples from the stone dropped into the water by the First Liberal League of Boston in 1873. Its interest for us is chiefly in the fact that it favors the taxation of church property; but whoever is interested in the general question of taxation, particularly in Massachusetts, will find much to instruct him in this handsome pamphlet, which can be had of the author at 376 Broadway, South Boston. The price is twenty-five cents, postpaid.

THE Pamphlet *Mission for Freedom, Fellowship, and Character in Religion* is a new semi-monthly, published by a committee consisting of Robert Collyer, J. L. Jones, W. C. Gannett, C. W. Wendts, and J. C. Learned, with J. T. Sunderland and G. W. Cooke as "Editors of 'Notes and News.'" The Business Agent is Miss Frances L. Roberts, 65 Washington Street, Chicago; and the subscription price \$1.50 a year. Its object is "to publish a fortnightly series of Liberal Religious pamphlets on the Unity, the Evolution, the Doctrines, the Bibles, and the Leaders of Religion; on the relations of religion to science, to devotion and conduct, and on kindred topics, written by men whose word combines liberal thought with religious feeling." We have examined the first number (March 1) with deep interest, with much sympathy, and with some disappointment. If we have not mistaken its scope, the *Pamphlet Mission* represents a type of religious thought broad enough to include Liberal Christianity and Liberal Judaism, but not broad enough to include Liberal Atheists such as George Jacob Holyoake or B. F. Underwood,—that is, a type of religious thought which shrinks from recognising atheism, no matter how reverent, aspiring, or conscientious, as properly to be covered by that great word *religion*. This is a type of thought less broad and advanced than that embodied in the Constitution of the Free Religious Association. But the ignoring of the Christian name shows a great advance even on Radical Unitarianism; and the *Pamphlet Mission* will certainly be hailed with pleasure by a large class of readers.

NO "OMISSION."

Our readers have already become aware (see THE INDEX of February 14) that *La Religion Laïque* is the organ of a movement in France in many respects analogous to that of Free Religion in this country, and that M. Charles Fauvety, its editor, published a translation of the larger portion of the "Fifty Affirmations" in his January number. The next number, that of February, contained a translation of the whole of the "Modern Principles" (which with the "Fifty Affirmations" composes the first Index Tract, entitled *Truths for the Times*). There would be no occasion to mention the fact, except to call attention to a criticism of M. Fauvety on these papers of ours which possesses a general interest in relation to the question: *What is the essence of Religion? Is there no Religion without belief in God and Immortality?*

M. Fauvety prefaces the translation above alluded to with remarks which may be rendered as follows:—

"In order to complete our task of making known to our readers the 'Free Religion' of Mr. Abbot, we give to-day that part of his manifesto which he entitles 'Modern Principles.' There will be found in it, even more than in the first part, the confirmation of what we said in our preceding issue,—that there is at this moment a religion which is in process of manifesting itself to men, and that this religion is, as it were, the multiplied and collective revelation of essentially the same truth. This fact, however, does not in the least exclude differences in the mode of manifestation. If everything in the world is at the same time one and peculiar, it must be conceded that religious forms are so likewise. Nevertheless we cannot refrain from pointing out a very important omission in the Free Religion of Mr. Abbot: neither in his 'Fifty Affirmations' nor in his 'Modern Principles' have we found the words *God and Immortality*. Does he then exclude these two terms from his conception, and does he regard these two grand aspirations of the human spirit as superfluous and useless to moral and religious life? If this is the case, we desire to emphasize our dissent from Free Religion on this point. At the very least, this is an omission in it."

What was the reason for this "omission"? Briefly, (I.) because Religion, studied as a great fact of universal human history and experience which should be treated in all its breadth and comprehensiveness, without being mutilated by personal or provincial preconceptions, proves to be inclusive of much that contradicts the notion of it as derived merely from the teachings of Christianity; (II.) because, while Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, and certain other historical religions, include the ideas of God and Immortality as essential elements, Buddhism at least, if not also Confucianism and Positivism, does not include them, but had its origin in a conscious protest against the ideas of God and Immortality; and (III.) because Religion, when thus considered in a cosmopolitan rather than in a provincial light, appears to be a phenomenon covering both theism and atheism, both the belief and the disbelief of personal immortality.

It was this scientific necessity of interpreting Religion by the usage of the world rather than by the usage of any particular section of the world (e. g., Christendom),—this scientific necessity of including in the definition of the genus (Religion) all that is common to the several constituent species (Mohammedanism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, etc.),—that caused the "omission" of which M. Fauvety, like a multitude of other critics during the past ten years, has complained. It was no part of the cause of this "omission" that we personally discard the ideas of God and Immortality, for the contrary is the fact. The whole drift and tenor of our thought is to confirm the belief in God and to justify the hope of continued individual existence after death. These are characteristics of what we consider to be the natural manifestations of religion in its highest development; and for this very reason we have not the slightest hesitation or fear in committing the future of these great treasures of the soul of man to the care of man's free, unfettered, scientific intelligence. Others may be unable to restrain the desire of making a reservation with regard to them, though in all other respects welcoming the coming empire of science over human thought, and of holding them as dogmas on the treacherous authority of "Intuition"; but not so we. It is impossible for us to hold any belief whatever as a dogma, too sacred for the scrutiny of human thought; all we covet is the truth, to which thought alone is the guide; and we are willing to sacrifice any belief, however tenderly cherished, whenever thought shall

have finally pronounced it untrue. Such a mental attitude as this, although implying a stronger "faith" (if the word is permissible in such a sense) than the timidity which shrinks from entrusting these reserved dogmas to the severe jurisdiction of the scientific method, is evidently too novel, too excessive a strain upon the inherited tendency to dogmatize which inheres in all "Christian" rationalism, to be adopted by any "Christian" or "Intuitionist," however liberal. The self-restraint which is imposed by loyalty to the scientific method is too great a tax upon him; he cannot forbear to elevate these reserved dogmas of God and Immortality above the reach of reasoning, and to proclaim them as infallible truths, not subject to the revision or final judgment of the scientific intellect. But the "omission" of which M. Fauvety complains was neither an "omission" nor a mistake; it was dictated by long and careful study of the problem how to attain such a broad, inclusive, universal conception of Religion as should harmonize with all its historical manifestations. Those who have criticised our conception have not yet so much as fairly understood the problem to be solved—much less showed our solution of it to be wrong. Our position has not yet been perceived—much less overthrown. But all who desire to ascertain its exact grounds can easily do so by reading the Index Tracts, especially *The God of Science* and *A Study of Religion: the Name and the Thing*.

Now the Free Religious Association, as represented by its Constitution, has planted itself by implication upon the very conception of Religion which we have above set forth. Declaring it to be one of its objects to "promote the practical interests of pure religion," and at the same time avowing its allegiance to "absolute freedom of thought and expression," it makes no reservation in favor of the ideas of God and Immortality; it submits these, like all other beliefs, to the scientific intelligence of man; it at once affirms its devotion to Religion and to Freedom in the most unqualified manner. Herein lies its just claim to be far, immeasurably far, in advance of all other religious bodies. But it makes precisely the same "omission" complained of by M. Fauvety and so many others, without being in the slightest degree chargeable with any denial of the ideas omitted. It recognizes these ideas as subject, like all others, to the final adjudication of the scientific method, to which it commits the determination of truth in all directions without reserve. It is this advanced position which will lend an imperishable interest to this Association in the history of religious thought. Whether all its members appreciate, or not, the full significance of this position, it has been taken and held now for many years, and there is no likelihood that it will ever be abandoned; and what is regarded by our highly esteemed French critic as a grave defect and "omission" is precisely that which marks the ripeness, invincibility, and ultimate world-wide triumph of Free Religion.

A NEW VOICE.

"And after the fire a still small voice." And it was this small voice, and not the great and strong wind, which rent the mountains and broke in pieces the rocks, that roused the old Hebrew prophet to resist more manfully the progress of decay and corruption in his country. One was reminded of this in listening to the lecture of JULIA E. WRIGHT before the LIBERAL LEAGUE Sunday before last at Palm Hall. It was a discourse combining the profoundest philosophy with artistic genius in expression. There was no rant, no noise, not the slightest attempt at oratory; but a soft, "small voice," commanding a silence in which a whisper could be heard,—and the hall was full of hearers. If they had paid the lecturer the highest price paid for a lecture in the last twenty years, they would not have overpaid her, nor been the poorer for it themselves. The value of words so fitly spoken cannot be measured in money. The Palm Hall Liberal League is certainly in luck for good female lecturers; and if the numerous sister Leagues throughout the land will avail themselves, as they ought and may, of the services of Mrs. Julia E. Wright and Mrs. Clara Neymann, the day of their power is not far distant.

Mrs. Wright (who may be addressed "Box 109, Boston") entitled her lecture "*Mutual Providence the Foundation of the Family; the Family the Foundation of the State*." This hardly foretold its scope. She might have modified the old judicial maxim, and written it, *Cum fiat justitia, stat cælum*; To make heaven here, let justice be done. If this lecture could only be heard in all the churches in the United States, there would be left little for the Liberal League to do.

E. W.

Communications.

DIRECT TAXATION AND WEALTH LIMITATION.

In Mr. Wright's excellent article in THE INDEX of Nov. 15, 1877, on the subject of "Republican Taxation," there is more good sense touching the question of the rights of labor than anything I have elsewhere seen. Direct taxation has been a mooted question with the true friends of Republican government, probably from its first inception on American soil. But it does not seem to have ever been generally agitated, or to have had much attention given to it, either from the bulk of the people whom it intimately concerns, or from the legislators who should be more immediately interested in devising equitable and just laws for the benefit of their constituents. Politics, in their legitimate and true sense, appear to be very little studied by the people, else they are blinded to their own interest by an overweening thirst for their own individual and immediate wants, without regard to the true and just methods of supplying them.

In the San Francisco Chronicle of January 4, there is the report of a speech having been delivered on Sunday, the day previous, to the Anti-Monopoly Association of that city, in which the following passage occurs: "The Church has been the most potent factor in keeping the people down, the robbers sharing their plunder with the pulpit in return for its aid. In all lands the masses of the people are ignorant of their rights; and whenever they have become roused under oppression some of their own number have taken advantage of the crisis to raise themselves to power; then they have joined the robber class, and there has been simply a change of masters without much amelioration of conditions."

So it would appear that it is not any particular class of men that must bear the stigma of oppression as capitalists; but it is the system which engrosses the cupidity of all classes of humanity into its whirling vortexes of greed and injustice, and crushing the unfortunate, the losers in the scramble for wealth, for place, and position. We may talk of education as a most necessary means, as it surely is, of fitting people for their responsibilities under republican institutions; but, if they will not think for themselves, and put enlightened principles into practice, what can be the use of all our educational processes? These cannot be of much use, truly, unless they are accompanied by holier and more potential influences than have heretofore attained. Still, education is the only panacea, but it must have more vigor and masculinity in its methods. The principles of right and justice between the laboring man and his employer must be practically vindicated; not by a soft, slope-sided, truckling to property claims on the one hand, nor a dictating, debasing, or admonitory advisement on the other. The people must learn something more than the mere rudiments of literature, which are for children and youth; but the principles of government are for men. It is adult education that is needed. The people must acquire positive convictions as preliminary to a steadfast faith in each other; but a faith which must be built on compulsory edicts against all forfeitures of pledges or non-compliance with the principles for which their candidates may be elected. Let agitation never cease, nor organization ever flag until it is perfected for these purposes. It requires that the laboring classes be educated by themselves to action, to an abiding faith in their cause, until they shall move in solid columns against all monopoly of property, either of land or cumulated wealth.

"The only atmosphere," says Mr. Wright, "in which a republic can exist, is one of general intelligence; as soon as such an atmosphere is established, it will be impossible to support the national government by any system of taxation which virtually exempts the rich." It is not "inevitable," however, that property shall continue "to distribute itself more and more unequally," under the civilization process, as he seems to state. For as soon as that atmosphere of intelligence is established, the ignorance and apathy that were the foster parents of this unjust and unequal distribution will forever vanish; and though property may even then, for a time, continue to distribute itself unequally, it is to be hoped that the inequality will be less and less, and not more and more, as such civilization progresses. The unequal distribution of property is, as the essayist affirms, not an evil in itself when duly governed and kept within due bounds; for what laborer would work early and late, and endure all the attendant hardships of his toil, if, like the horse, he had no passion for laying up in store against future want, nor the prospect of some future rest from his labors. Yes, certainly; "the acquisition of property is an attribute of human nature, one of its grand passions, to be governed but not eradicated. It is capable of the noblest uses and applications," Mr. Bates's objections thereto notwithstanding.

The moderate accumulation of wealth—the governed and limited acquisition of it—being therefore, in itself, a great good to civilized man, it is the duty of government to legislate for its encouragement, and to regulate its accumulation to the extent that the poor and unfortunate shall not be robbed of the just reward of their labor. Nothing, in my estimation, can be so conducive to this end as direct taxation, and graduating the rate of that taxation in proportion to the amount of property that any one may possess, which might be one, two, or three per cent. above the ordinary rate.

I do not, however, consider the amount of taxes the people have to pay, were they but properly adjusted, according to the amount of property pos-

essed, as at all onerous or oppressive in a general sense; rather, I consider that so regulated, like a balance-wheel to machinery, they would be a benefit to humanity in its social aspect. If property alone were to bear the burden of taxation, and the greater the amount of the former the greater the *pro rata* of the latter, taxation in that case would be made to play the part of a regulator to keep down inordinate wealth from the possession of the few. For what capitalist would care to amass riches beyond the regulated limit that would make it profitable to him to do so? It would take from him the incentive for the amassment of great wealth, beyond the amount which could be made available to him for either further accumulation or political aggrandizement. Thus, neither could he, if he would, be able to monopolize the gains of labor; for if the rate of one's taxes were six per cent. in the aggregate, and he could not obtain more than that rate by loaning out his capital, or investing it in safe property, where would be the use of his possessing it? Better, much better would it be for him to retire from the field of operations, and let others have a chance to acquire a moderate competence. This, it may be said, is but shifting the responsibility from the few to the many; but it will enable the laboring man to become their own capitalists, and to diffuse the benefits accruing from labor among those who have earned them. At all events it would bring capital down from its high, lordly attitude to a nearer level with labor.

It may appear questionable to some minds, whether or not such interference with personal and private possessions is consistent with the genius of our free institutions. But it is universally admitted that taxation for the support of government and other purposes is an indefeasible right which must be exercised against the immediate interest of the individual for the benefit of the body-politic; then, the graduating of taxation is only an extension of the same right, and those who create the property are the only ones to decide how it shall be held and under what conditions.

Shall the people continue to slumber under this lotus atmosphere of increasing inequality of property distribution, the rich constantly becoming richer and the poor poorer, merely because it is the nature of man, like the animals from whom he has descended, to grasp all for himself, and because this disposition is a heritage which has been entailed upon him from the crude ages of antiquity? Not, surely, if the masses of the people are sufficiently awakened by the clarion notes of dire necessity to a realizing sense of their condition, and of their power and competency to manage their own political affairs. Not if ever the people become enlightened enough to disregard all precedents of a civilization that has heretofore given all political prestige to the rich. A new era in civilization may have to be inaugurated, and if not in our day, or to ameliorate the present condition of labor, some future republican government, wiser than we, will most assuredly bring it to pass.

It may not be judicious to agitate this question in the columns of THE INDEX, if it should in the least detract from the Liberal League movement; as the latter is a question which I admit should be prosecuted by itself; and, as there is a necessity for Liberals to be united, and to have an eye single to the grand question of religious freedom, so there is a necessity for the question of justice to labor being strenuously advocated, but always by itself, and especially that phase of it which requires direct taxation and wealth limitation, without the admixture of finance, currency, and other questions, which also may be politically of vital importance in themselves, but which would only weaken the preceding question, and be not at all themselves promoted by being mixed up with it.

R. P. THOMSON.

SAN JOSE, Cal., Feb. 11, 1878.

P.S.—Just before mailing the above, I have seen a notice in the daily papers to the effect, that the Ways and Means Committee of Congress are expected to report in favor of an income tax on all incomes of over \$2,000, graduated at the rates of two and three per cent. This, if carried out, will be a move in the right direction.

R. P. T.

FISKE ON IDEALISM.

OTTAWA, Canada, March 2, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I read Mr. Fiske's article, entitled a "Crumb for the Modern Symposium," in THE INDEX of February 7. I was not much surprised to see in it a restatement of the paradoxical and irrational idealism of Berkeley; but I was much astonished to read that "no one has ever refuted it, and it is not likely that any one ever will."

Mr. Fiske is a very warm admirer of Herbert Spencer, and I have always understood it on very intimate terms with him. Can it be possible that he has never read the *Principles of Psychology*, wherein no less than nineteen chapters are devoted to the complete refutation of the Berkeleyan hypothesis and idealism in general? Surely the arguments given at such length by one who is acknowledged to be one of the greatest thinkers of the age, are worthy of some little attention. I do not wonder so much at Mr. Harrison writing in the same vein recently in the *Fortnightly*, ignoring the arguments of Mr. Spencer, because he is in some sort regarded as the opponent of positivism; but in the case of Mr. Fiske the matter seems to be inexplicable. I should like to hear his explanation.

I know that Mr. Spencer, while arguing so warmly on the subject as to speak of the "Insanities of Idealism," nevertheless refuses to be called a materialist; he has entered on much refined and subtle argument to show why,—the sum and substance of which is that he cannot conceive that consciousness

should be the product of molecular transformation in the brain. But there are other processes going on in the organism leading to results which are just as inexplicable, but which we know to be facts. It is quite inconceivable that the inert farinaceous and albuminous materials which we use as food should be converted into the living fluid of the blood; yet we can trace all the different stages of the process. And it is quite possible that the enlarged physiology of the future will enable us to trace all the processes by which thought is evolved from the molecular changes going on in the nervous system.

Notwithstanding the admittedly dogmatic assertions of Mr. Fiske and his labored and illusory argument from the correlation of forces—which could be easily disposed of did your space permit,—there can be no question that it is the tendency of modern science to make an end of the futile reasonings of idealists. The evolution theory will in a special manner have this effect. It teaches that all the organs and functions of animals—human consciousness not excepted—have been produced by continual contact with the external material world; the light of the sun created the eye; contact with the outer world created the nerve; and so on. So far from Mr. Fiske's table having no objective existence except as a cognition of the mind, it is the contact of such things as tables, trees, rocks, and sunlight that has developed the cognizing power in man, that has led to all the wonderful variety of functions he exhibits, even to his self-consciousness. Such appears to be the inevitable result, if the evolution theory be accepted.

It ill-becomes Mr. Fiske, or any one who values the results of modern scientific research, to sneer at Dr. Maudsley and his co-workers in the study of matter and its laws. It is to the labors of such men, though some of them stoutly deny the name of materialist, that we owe all the wonderful progress which the last century has unfolded. They have studied the material world and its laws, as if there was nothing else in the universe, and the consequences have been an enlarged control of natural forces, and an amelioration of all the conditions of human life such as the ancients never dreamed of; while the labors of the medieval schoolmen and their modern successors, from Berkeley to Mill, have led to absolutely nothing,—unless it be to strengthen Mr. Fiske's faith in immortality.

It would be impossible to calculate all the benefits which have resulted from the labors of the modern school of physiologists, of which Dr. Maudsley is a shining example, in the knowledge of the causes and right treatment of insanity and other diseases, but especially on the improved sanitary condition of towns and cities. These benefits have been great; and it would be safe to say that we shall never again be desolated by the pestilences which swept off half of the inhabitants of Europe at the time when Mr. Fiske's idealistic predecessors were burning wit, and heretics, and studying metaphysics in its native purity, unmingled with facts.

J. G. WYTHE.

"BE ANGRY, AND SIN NOT."

It is declared by people who are profane in conversation when provoked, that though that practice may be objected to as vulgar, it has, on the other hand, the real advantage of allaying irritation, and permitting a more speedy return of the customary serene and equable state of mind; in fact, that such blowing off of steam prevents worse evil in the human being not less than in the locomotive.

On the supposition that this theory is correct, some Episcopalian has lately suggested that the authorities of that church prepare "a form of sound words" to be used by its members under circumstances of sudden excitement or provocation.

The suggestion struck me as a good one; and I mentioned it to a bishop of that church whom I chanced to meet. The bishop, being a man of courage as well as wit, said promptly that the imprecatory Psalms would furnish satisfactory formulae for the purpose.

On looking at a few specimens of these Psalms, I found that there would be a double advantage in acting upon this suggestion. Not only would the expressions in question be strictly canonical and scriptural, and thus suitable to be used by a churchman, but the cursing would gain in intensity and thoroughness, and thus, probably, sooner accomplish the desired purpose of restoring calmness of mind. For instance: an unregenerate, angry person is often contented with doing his opponent's eyes, leaving the remainder of his bodily frame, and all the powers of his mind and soul in their normal condition; but the pious man may draw out his prayer-book (when the bishops shall have made the proposed addition to it), and solemnly read of his opponent: "Set thou a wicked man over him; and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few; and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg. Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the strangers spoil his labor. Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children. Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out. Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out."

Or if it be several persons—say a business firm, or a corporation, or a board of managers—who have excited the wrath of the pious man, he can say: "Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake. Pour out Thine indignation upon them, and let Thy wrathful anger take hold of them. Let their habitation be desolate. Add iniquity unto their iniquity; and let them not

come into Thy righteousness. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous."

Or, if there be time for only a brief statement, the following may be found sufficiently effective: "Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into hell."

The late convention of bishops in this city was criticised as dealing not sufficiently with practical matters. If, at their next meeting, some arrangement like the one above sketched can be carried into effect, it will be felt as a relief by many who are now sorely tempted to use the unjustifiable, popular forms of commination.

C. K. W.

A LAST WORD ON SILVER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The silver bill having passed, amended so as to injure us more in reputation than in our worldly goods, I did not mean to say anything except to acknowledge my mistake about Bank of England notes. But that error did not affect the correctness of my statement that our case is not analogous to that of England at the time in question. It would no doubt be a dangerous and disastrous experiment to attempt to do away with the use of paper for currency, and substitute for them metallic money. But the Resumption act contemplates no such thing. It provides that, "each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law, without respect to such aggregate limit; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing laws, without respect to said aggregate limit." The effect of raising the greenback from being worth ninety-eight or ninety-nine cents in gold to being worth one hundred cents in gold could hardly be disastrous, and certainly is not at all comparable to what was done in England. The government could have no power to pay the greenbacks, if they were not presented for payment; and, when they were once at par with gold, it is difficult to believe that many would be presented.

The truth is that no sane person believes that we can do our business with a metallic currency, except as subsidiary coins; and the only question practically is, what sort of paper shall we use?

But for the importance of the silver issue, I should leave Gen. Warner's article to refute itself, or to have such effect as it may; but as this question is very complex, and very little understood, and as the economists always contradict each other, and generally the truth and the facts, I desire to restate some fundamental propositions which cannot be successfully denied or ignored, and which I believe to be capable of mathematical demonstration, if there were time and space for it.

The price of gold and silver is determined by its cost and by that alone. If the precious metals were not universally desired by mankind, and were not in constant and steady demand for use in the arts, and if you could by legislation alter the laws of the universe, you might put the price of gold and silver up or down by demonetizing or remonetizing one or the other metal. I do not mean, of course, that the sudden throwing of a large amount of silver on the market will not produce temporary fluctuations in the price. At the present moment, the silver ring has succeeded in making silver worth more in New York and San Francisco than in London; and, if it goes a little further, gold will flow out, and silver take its place.

It is true that large issues of inconvertible paper will increase the price of goods payable in that paper; while, as in the war time, the price in gold remains the same. But no such effect is produced by the issue of an honest, symbolic, or representative paper currency, based on the merchandise which is exchanged by means of it, as is the case with bank-notes issued on correct principles in a legitimate business way.

Such bank-notes are redeemed by their use to pay the notes of the borrower, to whom they were issued in discounting his business paper. There is no necessary connection between the amount of such notes that can be used and kept at par and the amount of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank or in the world.

Such a currency is automatically regulated by the demands of business, by the amount of merchandise being exchanged.

No nation or combination of nations can change the value or price of any freely-produced, readily-transported, and universally-declared article; and no law can cause more silver to be circulated than the people find it convenient to use.

In France, according to the last statement I have seen, there were only about \$30,000,000 of silver in circulation, though the Bank of France had a very large quantity in her vaults.

I think no one believes that the silver dollar authorized to be coined will go largely into circulation, any more than the dollar of the fathers did. The old dollars disappeared from circulation according to natural laws; and the new ones will be governed by inherent laws and not by laws of Congress. We can only circulate silver to the extent of its use as subsidiary coin.

For all other purposes it will have, and can only have, the value of silver bullion; which is determined by its cost, and ascertained by what it will bring in open market. I am glad to be able to agree fully with Gen. Warner when he says truly that "an ounce of silver coin is worth no more coined than uncoined"; but when he says there is no profit to be derived from free coinage, when a 412½ grain dollar can be used to pay a debt that would otherwise be payable in a greenback worth seven cents in gold more than the market price of the silver bullion in the dollar, he forgets his arithmetic.

Let us do a little sum; I owe \$10,000 in legal ten-

der, which without the silver law would be payable in greenbacks worth to-day in gold 98.8. I take greenbacks and buy silver enough to coin \$10,000 at the market price of silver, say ninety-two cents gold, and I save \$680 in gold. If that is not a profit, what would be? If I paid this \$10,000 to my workmen in small sums, it is possible they might be able, before prices have adjusted themselves, to pay it out without loss; or, if they owed debts, they could pay with silver, so that the loss would be widely diffused, but there would be a large profit for me all the same.

When Gen. Warner says that a hundredth part of a silver dollar is as much a cent as the hundredth part of a gold dollar, and that "there are as many quarters to an apple as to an orange," he is using words and not reason. Because an apple can be divided into quarters and into hundredths, and when so divided there are as many quarters, or as many hundredths in it as there are in an orange or in our globe, it does not follow that the apple is as large as the orange or the globe, or as valuable in the market.

The Eastern opposition to the silver bill is based upon the fact stated by Gen. Warner, and which cannot be denied, that an ounce of silver is not made more valuable by being coined; and that, while, as he further says, the "government does not undertake to give to 412½ grains of silver the same purchasing power as 25.8 grains of gold," this act of Congress does enable a man to pay his debts in a dollar possessing less purchasing power than the greenback, measured in gold, and less than that of the only dollar contemplated or used as a standard when the debt was contracted.

F. S. C.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

Every one admits that Congress has the power to fix the standards of length, weight, and value, and that the absolute values of these units is purely a matter of convenience. We can buy cloth in yards, or in half-yards, with equal ease, and should never think of quarrelling with a debtor, if he insisted on paying us twenty half-yards of cloth instead of ten yards. We should only begin to protest when he manifested a desire to pay back less than he had borrowed.

But although Congress may fix the unit of value, it cannot fix relative values. The value of ten yards of cloth may be equivalent to that of 412½ grains of standard silver, or 25.8 grains of standard gold, or sixteen pounds of iron, to-day; but Congress has no more power to continue these relative values than it has to control the motions of the stars. In assuming to do it, these gentlemen simply make themselves ridiculous.

It is in the interest of the producing class, that the standard of value shall not change. Those who speculate upon the products of labor desire such changes.

With these truisms before us, to what are we to ascribe the desire to adopt a new standard of value? It is to the idea that is held by a large class of people, that in some inscrutable way they are going to get some money that they have not earned. Can any mortal tell us how a laboring man is to get money excepting by working for it, and spending less than he earns?

It is not difficult to see the cause of our present "hard times." In the city of St. Louis, as in all large cities, there are millions of dollars which are withdrawn from the banks, and which are hoarded away in iron safes, which the possessors refuse to use in any business enterprise. Why? Because men have lost confidence in their fellows. There has been too much extravagant living. Too many men have been obliged to become defaulter, in order that they might support their families in "style"; and it is perfectly clear that notwithstanding all "Acts of Congress," people who have money will hold to it, until all the insolvencies have come to light, and it is then known where money can be safely used.

If those who are rash and improvident could be made to suffer to the uttermost the consequences of their folly, instead of being allowed to shift the burdens to the more prudent, we should have fewer returns of such periods as the present. Perhaps we should not now have the spectacle of a nation palming off upon its creditors a coin which counterfeiters can manufacture in standard purity with profit.

F. E. NIPHER.

St. Louis, March 9.

INJUSTICE—OR NOT?

MARIETTA, O., March 9, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT, EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In the editorial columns of March 7, referring to silver, you say, "Fraud and hypocrisy go hand in hand. We cheat our creditors, and 'Trust in God.'" This, I feel bound to say, is a charge no one has a right to make unless he is able to maintain it. And this he cannot do unless he can show that debts payable in coin are justly payable in dollars of 23.22 grains of gold, coupled with the abandonment of the use of silver as money.

The value of a gold dollar is one thing with silver also in use as money throughout the world, and quite another thing with no silver used for money. That is, a gold dollar as one of ten thousand millions of valuating units is a very different standard or measure from a gold dollar as one of only five thousand millions of money units. Are debtors, then,—are the United States equitably and morally bound to pay, where coin is stipulated, gold dollars doubled in value by the demonetization of silver?

That gold would be virtually doubled, or, which is the same thing in effect, prices of other things reduced one-half, by a general abandonment of silver as money by the world, is an economic question almost as patent as that a piece of cloth would meas-

ure only half as many yards with a yard-stick of seventy-two inches as with one of thirty-six.

Would you not think it uncalled for to charge these with intention to steal who demand payment of debts in dollars increased in value by reducing the quantity of money? But where does the truth lie? If by the words "In God we Trust," is meant obedience to the command, "Remove not the ancient landmark," as opposed to the code that would sanction the substitution of gold alone as a measure for the payment of debts contracted on the basis of a measure consisting of both metals, I must say let it stand.

Honesty yours, A. J. WARNER.

[The grounds of our seemingly severe statement are expressed clearly in President Hayes' veto message. If that reasoning can be answered, not evaded or ignored, we shall be quick to recant and apologize.—Ed.]

IMPERATIVE WANTS.

ITHACA, N. Y., March 14, 1878.

DEAR FRIEND:—

Since the INDEX is, or should be, in the hands of every secularist who is really liberal and is active for the cause, he ought to find there all the definite facts which he needs to use in convincing his neighbors that the evils to be remedied are not outgrown or merely in the future and in theory, but are present, grave, and practical. THE INDEX is read by intelligent, earnest people, who would make effective use of such facts in almost every part of the country. Doubtless they already find it indispensable as an inspirer of thought and effort; and it would be all the more useful to them as a repository of special data upon which, in writing or conversation or public debate, they must often rely.

Cannot your editorial and other contributors provide this without overtaxing any one? A may give us instances of Sabbatarian tyranny; B, of the evil working of church exemption, as THE INDEX has done so effectively in the case of Trinity Church; C may narrate how good men have been excluded from public office on account of religious views; D may tell us in what States the courts may exclude the testimony of heretics, and for what heresies, and in what cases this has recently been done; E may exemplify by facts the unfairness and possible abuses of the non-secular feature in public schools; F may report any clear case of religious persecution; and so on.

In all this there need be little of argumentation, and less of rhetoric. But there must be scrupulous accuracy; clear and compact statement; great fairness; as to dates, localities, names, and authorities; and very great care lest one injure the cause by reporting matters which are too trivial, or too personal, or too little illustrative of the real issues. Little good can be done by statements for which no one is responsible and which no one can verify; or which, in any way, betray a petty and unmagnanimous spirit of mere fault-finding.

Others may give us data which are more historical and bibliographical. Thus, G may collate the chief points of the Christian Amendment movement, and of the liberal counter-movement, giving platforms, successes, or indications of strength, etc., with dates and references. H may confine himself to the history of the Edmunds Amendment, and its predecessor the Blaine Amendment; a history of which some of us could at this moment make good use if we knew it better. K and L may each select some important topic, and examine with care the back numbers and volumes of THE INDEX, so as to give us a list of references to all the pages on which are recorded facts bearing thereupon. Probably these are but specimen suggestions. There must be a great deal of this kind of work which, if once thoroughly, conscientiously, reliably done, and so done as to admit of ready verification and of ready use, would immensely help liberals in their controversy with people who have no faith in ideas except as enforced by concrete "facts."

Yours ever, J. E. OLIVER.

[Nothing but practical difficulties—want of time and want of money—stand in the way of the much-desired improvements in THE INDEX above noted.—Ed.]

THE CLAIMS OF PHILOSOPHY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your comments on my last article in THE INDEX, you say that you aim "at the great principles of freedom, truth, justice, fraternity, the rights of man, . . . infinitely more important than either of the competing isms or all isms combined."

But you find dogmas and creeds clouding men's minds and filling their souls with narrow and false ideals of God and man, standing in the way of the practical realization of those great principles, and wisely devote a share of space in THE INDEX editorial, and in selections and communications, to the breaking up of those false ideals.

To give entire attention to philosophy and ignore practical reform would be a grave error. To ignore philosophy, and devote entire attention to external reforms would also be a grave error, making the most earnest efforts lame and poor.

Buddha was the great thinker of the ancient Orientals, and the great reformer, too. Perhaps no man up to his day ever wrought such changes as he did for the benefit of humanity,—breaking down the iron sway of Brahminical caste, elevating the condition of woman, lifting the daily life of millions up to a higher level. In his *Eight Steps to Nirvana* (the self-poised life of the saint), the first is right belief, and right doing followed that; growing from it as the tree from the germ. Belief was not, with him, a

blind assent to dogmas, but the soul's conviction freely reached by untrammelled thought; and he put that first as the guide and inspiration to the highest right doing.

So it seems to-day, with the decay of theological dogmatism, a matter of high moment to see what shall best come in its place, what right thinking shall best inspire and help the practical reforms we seek. To this end I put my question, "A material or a spiritual philosophy, theism or atheism, which?" and will let it stand. To the same end I made my frank and friendly criticism, suggesting larger selections, fairly drawn from writers of these two schools to give both views of an important matter.

Of course an editor is king in his realm, and the editorial chair is the only throne I know of where the "one man power" should be exercised; but the wise and good ruler will hear and weigh friendly counsel,—that is all.

In conclusion, let me call attention to a very valuable lecture in THE INDEX on "The Southern Situation," given in Horticultural Hall, Boston, last winter, by R. Tomlinson of South Carolina. It tells the sad story of treason to humanity, the smiting down of right and political liberty, the destruction of all real democracy in that State. And this is called a conciliation policy!

Yours truly,

G. B. STEBBINS.

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 18, 1878.

[Positively, we cannot understand exactly what our esteemed correspondent's complaint rests upon. If he has facts to state showing unfairness of treatment on our part, will he please to state them? THE INDEX has never been closed to any Spiritualist who can write an able or interesting article; but we do not feel self-reproached in confessing that we follow our own taste in the selections we make for these pages. It may be our misfortune not to be interested in the dogma of Spiritualism, but how can we help it? Evidently THE INDEX ought to have a Spiritualist for its editor, or at least some one to whom Spiritualism is "philosophy." It is lucky for our readers that we have consideration enough to keep our own "philosophy" for private consumption. It is our ambition not to be a bore!—ED.]

DE. L. J. RUSSELL.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Sometime since, Dr. Denbar, our representative of the State of Texas on the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, wrote me that for certain reasons he should be unable to serve on that Committee; and I wrote to Dr. Russell, of Harrisville, Texas, inviting him to accept the position. I am pleased to receive a line from him, in which he agrees to serve. He writes so good a letter, that I take the liberty of giving your readers some extracts from it. THE INDEX readers will remember Dr. Russell as the man who was recently so brutally mobbed by a band of pious ruffians for expressing liberal views in Bell County. The Doctor says: "Your favor of the 10th instant at hand. In reply, will say that I will accept the position, and will do my utmost to organize a good and efficient Committee,—a working Committee. I know a great many liberals in this State. I will leave for San Antonio in a few days to attend the annual meeting of the State Medical Association, and hope to effect the organization of the State Committee at that place. I will also visit Austin (where there are many liberals), also Galveston and Houston, in the interests of the good cause, and hope to arouse some of our good liberal friends to a sense of duty. I love the liberal cause, and would be glad, if possible, to devote the remaining days of my life to its advancement. I have already suffered for my devotion to truth, and may suffer again; but neither threats nor violence short of death can deter me from advocating what I honestly believe to be for the greatest and best interest of the whole human family. We have a Liberal Association at this place, organized in September, 1875. We have about thirty members, and good prospect of adding many more. There is also a Liberal League in San Antonio. All we need is a few good, earnest, working liberals, and cooperative work, and our great State will soon be dotted over with Liberal Associations."

As Dr. Russell says, we want "coöperative work"; and for that reason every Liberal Society and League in Texas should at once unite with the great Liberal League movement, by taking out a charter from the National Liberal League. "In union there is strength." H. L. GREEN.

P.S.—Rev. S. W. Sample, whom the liberals of this section have named "the young Ingersoll," has now established himself at Strawberry Point, Iowa, and is prepared to give liberal lectures or establish Liberal Leagues anywhere in the vicinity of his new home. I know of no abler defender of the Liberal League platform. H. L. G.

THE DENVER LEAGUE.

DENVER, Col., March 18, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Thinking your readers may be interested in the League movement in the Rocky Mountains, I send herewith a short account of our situation. Colorado has two Leagues, a State League and the Liberal League of the city of Denver. The outlook for an increase is promising. The Denver Liberal League celebrated its first anniversary yesterday, when the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—

President, Henry C. Dillon; Vice-Presidents, W. J. Kinsey, Ed. C. Sumner, P.M., H. C. Towner, and

N. A. Heinsfurter; Secretary, Frank W. Ingersoll; Treasurer, John G. Jenkins; Chairman of Committee on Public Works, A. L. Richard; on Discussion, Hyatt Hussey; on Social Affairs, W. H. Fisher; on Finance, Louis Anfenger. This League is in a very prosperous condition. In fact, it is in a better financial condition than any similar society in Denver, not excepting the Blue Ribboners. Its receipts during the past year exceeded its expenditures; and now its cash on hand exceeds its debts.

Thanks for this state of things is mainly due to Austin W. Smith, D. M. Richards, John G. Jenkins, and W. H. Fisher, who have been indefatigable and unselfish in the work for the League. The new year starts out in a most auspicious manner. The League supports a reading-room and a lecture-hall. On Sunday afternoon the League holds a Children's Fraternity in the lecture-hall. At present the school numbers about sixty scholars; at any rate, that number of *Youth's Companions* are circulated every Sunday afternoon. The Fraternity is in a very flourishing condition, and increasing weekly. Many ladies take a great interest in it. Mrs. Charles Roth, Mrs. Dodd, Miss Crump, Mrs. Kerth, W. H. Fisher, and John G. Jenkins deserve especial mention on account of their increasing efforts in the interest of the Children's Fraternity. We are in great need of suitable children's books and sensible singing-books. We are now using the *Golden Robin* as our song-book. The League takes great pride in the Children's Fraternity. Sunday morning we have lectures, when we can get a volunteer. Wednesday evenings we have alternately a Lyceum and a Social Hop, both of which succeed admirably; although we fear the larger attendance is on the latter alternate evening.

The newspapers treat the League respectfully, and acknowledge that some of the most respected and solid citizens of Denver are members. All in all, the Denver Liberal League is an undoubted success. THE INDEX may rest assured that its circulation in Denver will increase largely the present year.

FRANK W. INGERSOLL, Secretary.

"WHAT GOD HATH MADE PURE, CALL NOT THOU IMPURE."

Reading the communication from Mrs. E. L. Saxon, in your issue of January 17, upon obscene publications, and the wrong of teaching children that what is natural is impure, I am reminded of the wise and beautiful teaching of a French mother, the knowledge of which came to me years since when my two boys were but babes; and as it was so helpful to me during the development of their minds and bodies, I want others to have the benefit also; yet I shrink from attempting to tell it, for the pen that would do justice to it needs inspiration.

One morning a young mother leading her seven-year-old twins by the hand, entered the lecture-room of Dr. S— in Paris, just as he had dismissed his class, and politely asked that herself and children might be shown the large anatomical plates of the human body. As one after another was exhibited and explained, the plate showing the womb in the seventh month of pregnancy with twins, came in order; and as the doctor was hastily withdrawing this without comment, the mother said, "Please do not lay that aside; it is the one of all others I am most anxious that my children should see. Be so kind as to explain it fully to them." And placing her little sons directly in front of it, said, "You know, my darlings, that I have told you that some day I would show you a picture of the little room in my body, where you lived and slept so long a time before papa or I saw you. We can't help loving one another as we do, when you see how close to mother's heart you both lay for nine happy months. By that time you had grown too large to be comfortable in that warm home, and then it opened for you to pass out into my arms. Dear little sister lived there, and came to us in the same way; and God lets all little babes have such a home in their mother's body until they are old enough to leave it. How sad it would be if those who for so long a time lived so closely together should ever be unkind to one another." Dr. S— was moved to tears by this beautiful incident, and said to her, "Madame, you have given to me, as well as to your children, the best explanation of that plate that was ever made. I cannot add a word." And as she left the room, "Ah!" said he, "we need have no doubt as to the kind of men those sons will make, privileged as they are with such a mother and her pure instruction."

The knowledge that one mother had so thoroughly understood and performed her duty to innocent childhood, stimulated me to tell my sons, at an early age, the simple truth in a similar manner. And now in their early manhood, the uprightness of their character, and the purity of their lives, their daily devotion to me and all womankind, is a glowing testimonial in favor of intelligent truth against falsehood and deception. ELIZABETH CURTISS.

COL. INGERSOLL'S WORDS.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., March 23, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

It would appear, from your comments on Mrs. Laura Kendrick's criticism of Col. Ingersoll, that she, in her quotations, has relied on no better authority than the statement of some blundering reporter, instead of ascertaining for herself the lecturer's actual words. Permit me to corroborate her report. I heard the lecture myself, and gave especially close attention to the passage denunciatory of anti-marriage advocates, newspaper reports of which had previously aroused my interest. Not only did he use the exact words which Mrs. Kendrick attributes to him, but he delivered them with a bitterness of tone and vindictiveness of manner which left no room for doubt as to the impression which he intended to give.

And in the lecture, as published in pamphlet-form, even stronger terms are employed; the phrase "long-haired men and short-haired women" indicating an attack on persons as well as arguments; for it is incredible that Col. Ingersoll, while so emphatically declining to accept the statement that Samson's physical strength lay in the length of his hair, is still superstitious enough to find the same peculiarity an element of mental weakness in social reformers.

I trust, Mr. Editor, that, on the appearance of your next vigorous assault upon the Christian system, favoring its utter demolition and destruction, root and branch and fruit and flower, some moderate individual, who never goes to extremes, will be inspired to suggest the probable necessity and benefit of amending and improving Christianity, but the unwisdom of "throwing out the baby with the bath." Be assured that I shall read your answer to such a person with keenest relish. Sincerely yours,

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

[Mr. Tucker's testimony is conclusive as to the words used by Col. Ingersoll. We cannot believe, however, that the latter would hesitate to disavow the harsh and insolent meaning they have been understood to contain.

Inasmuch as we have never desired the "demolition" of Christianity in any sense that implies the destruction of a single element of good it may contain (and it contains many such elements), we should not be in the least disconcerted by the suggestion of the above "moderate individual." We should be thoroughly ashamed of the incapacity to draw any distinctions, however delicate, which either reason or justice demands. We are grateful to any one who will point out a new, real, and important distinction anywhere; and it has not raised our opinion of the general public to perceive, as we have been forced to do of late, that so many liberals have proved themselves either unable or unwilling to recognize distinctions of the first importance on the "obscene literature" question. Let Mr. Tucker convict us of "throwing out the baby with the bath" on any question, and we promise to pick up the ill-used infant as speedily as possible.—ED.]

REASON IN RELIGION.

The folly of trying to rise above necessary human limitations is embodied in no more patent form than that of dogmatic religion. The recognition of one's own imperfectness of judgment and knowledge is the very starting-point of liberty, and the very hope of human advance. As THE INDEX has so often said, Roman Catholicity is the logical outcome of Christianity, as a system professing to be absolutely true, and absolutely superior to every other faith. The weakness of the dogmatic position I never had so clearly shown me as in a recent dialogue between a friend of mine, Mr. S., and a Roman Catholic, Mr. M. It ran substantially as follows:—

S. Are you a Catholic from the accident of birth, or because Catholic doctrine commends itself as true to your reason?

M. From the latter cause.

S. Are you aware that there are other great religions in the world, claiming to be true; all more or less systematic and logical, and numbering adherents by very many millions?

M. Yes.

S. Do you suppose your reason to be so clear and fair that, had you been born in Turkey or China, on presentation of the evidence, you would have become Catholic?

M. Perhaps.

S. Have you not found your reason fail you in many important matters? Have you not often erred when you took the utmost pains to be right?

M. Yes.

S. Well, then, your reason may be wrong in telling you that you ought to be a Catholic. It requires the assumption of your personal infallibility to accept, among many conflicting claims, that of some particular institution, professing infallibility. If, as you say, you remain in Rome from reason, then both of us are rationalists; only we have come to different conclusions. But if you are a Catholic from mere accident, which is more likely, from your remaining where birth placed you, and from the great difficulty of justly weighing and balancing religions, then your adherence to the Church of Rome is valueless to me as an argument for its claims. Something more than an assertion of infallibility is wanted to bear them out. If Catholics, Buddhists, Mohammedans, and the rest are to be propagated each after their kind, age after age, how is the race ever to get at the truth which cannot be presented by any of them in sight but imperfection? Until there is a strong endeavor to stand outside of the rut we find ourselves in by hope of time and place, and try to look at things independently of their immediate atmosphere, no progress toward the perfecting and assuring of knowledge can ever be made. G. I.

MONTREAL, Feb. 4, 1878.

THE FATHER of Ruskin lies buried at Shirley, near Croydon, under a granite tomb thus inscribed: "Here rests from his well-sustained burden, John James Ruskin, born in Edinburgh, May 10, 1783. He died in his home in London, March 3, 1864. He was an entirely honest merchant, and his memory is to all who keep it dear and helpful. His son, whom he loved to the utmost and taught to speak truth, says this of him."

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MISS DEVEREUX' BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES AND CHILDREN, at Irvington-on-Hudson, will re-open on Monday, Sept. 17, 1877. Miss Devereux refers, among others, to the following gentlemen: Rev. Orville Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.; Mr. A. C. Richards, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. H. B. Bishop, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. Wm. H. Orton, Pres. W. U. Telegraph Co., N.Y.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION REPORTS.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1878.

WHOLE No. 438.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularisation of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1878.

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

GLIMPSES.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture at Springfield, Ill., April 14; at Kirksville, Mo., April 18 to 21; at Warsaw, Mo., April 23 to 25.

COLONEL INGERSOLL has been "selected to deliver the annual address before the Boston University Law School." So it is announced, but we cannot vouch for the fact.

THE BOSTON *Herald* says that "there is a student at the Bangor Theological Seminary who bears the ominous name of Allichin. He will probably become a Monday lecturer."

THE VALUE of church property in New York State, by the just completed census of 1875, is \$101,105,785; other clerical real estate, \$18,491,385; total of salaries, \$5,308,231; average salary of ministers, \$840; total number of church edifices, 6,243,—of members, 177,537,—of sittings, 2,537,470.

LOWELL has had a contest over the question of introducing Brookes' *Primer of English Literature* into the High School of that city. The book has been opposed on the ground that it is sectarian; but this objection is now overruled by the School Committee, who have decided in the book's favor.

THE BOSTON BUNSBY, in a recent "Monday Lecture," announced this scientific and solemn paradox, which fairly overwhelmed his "intellectual" audience with admiration: "If there is any young man in this audience about to be married to a young woman of about his own age, that future wife is now living somewhere upon the earth!"

TWO MORE Liberal Leagues have been organized auxiliary to the National League. One is at Linesville, Pa., with officers as follows: President, M. Bishop; Secretary, J. B. Brooks; Treasurer, James Wallace; Councilors, Mrs. W. P. Brooks, Mrs. B. J. Butler, W. P. Brooks, S. C. Thayer. The other is at Xenia, Indiana, with officers as follows: President, Dr. R. W. Smith; Vice-President, Dr. B. B. Stephenson; Secretary, Dr. N. D. Watkins; Treasurer, J. M. Darby.

WHAT AN EXHIBITION of bigotry is this! (We quote from the *Albany Express*): "Only last month a prominent clergyman of New England, Rev. Washington Gladden, in the *Independent*, strongly condemned the practice of Orthodox Christians mingling socially with those whose views were heterodox. He says that the Bible lays on Christians the imperative duty of 'shutting the doors of our houses upon them'; and adds: 'We do not any longer curse the "unsound" teacher. We pass polite and even complimentary resolutions about him. We do not refuse to associate with errorists. We sit at their tables and they at ours; we dance at their weddings and weep at their funerals. How shall this grave discrepancy between precept and practice be explained?'"

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* not long since thought that the Pope had concluded to relinquish the claim to temporal power, because he had directed the bishops to recognize the national government. But a London dispatch of March 28 states that "the Pope, in his allocution to-day, said that the loss of temporal power rendered the free exercise of spiritual power impossible"; and another London dispatch of the next day declares that "in consequence of the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy of Scotland the Pope desires entering upon diplomatic relations with the British Government, and has instructed Cardinal Franchi, the Pontifical Secretary of State, to take steps with that object." The man is not yet born who will see the Papacy abandon its claim to temporal power.

PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER is encountering heated denunciations from bigoted Jews, who can neither understand nor tolerate the advanced position he has taken with reference to Judaism; and even "Reform

Jews" shrink away from his side. On the very Sunday (March 24) when we occupied his platform in New York, the cauldron of bigotry was violently bubbling. The Sinai Literary Association of Chicago had invited Prof. Adler to lecture before them, and Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, minister of the Sinai Congregation, vehemently protested, declaring in a letter to the Association: "I shall not allow my temple to be disgraced by a lecture to be delivered within its walls by one who blasphemes God and Judaism." In this outburst, even the *Reformer and Jewish Times* of New York sees nothing but praiseworthy courage and honesty. This may be conceded, as one concedes courage and honesty to the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada, who used to burn Jews for the crime of Judaism; but one may well wonder that such flaming intolerance should call forth no word of rebuke from a Jewish "reformer." We shall before long print in full the *Chicago Tribune's* article on this subject.

REV. MR. THORPE, chaplain of the Iowa Legislature, the other day prayed the Lord to "cure President Hayes of his insane and ruinous sympathy for a certain section of the country," and "enable him to see it to be his duty to heed the sentiment of all the people." Thereupon Mr. Bleidung, a Democratic member, rose and introduced a resolution censuring the chaplain and his prayer. Mr. Thorpe resigned his post, declared that his prayer was to God, not to the legislature, and sarcastically advised the house, if they did not like his sincere and independent method of praying, to appoint Mr. Bleidung "a committee of one to draft a form of prayer, neutral in religion and politics, to be forever used by the chaplains." On all this absurd business the *Pittsburgh Sunday Leader* made very sensible comments: "There never was an incident which better illustrated the inherent absurdity of the whole legislative chaplain business. Rev. Thorpe certainly was right when he refused to pray except according to his own light and conscience, and did a manly thing in resigning rather than submit to a censure for praying as sincerely as he could. On the other hand, Mr. Bleidung was right in resenting the idea that the Democratic tax-payers of the State should be compelled to contribute to the salary of a man who made their political convictions a subject of offensive petition to the Almighty. Finally, Mr. Thorpe's fine sarcasm states nothing but what really ought to be done if the theory of official chaplains is to be retained. A form should be prepared in which chaplains should pray so as to give no advantage to one side in politics, or of one religious sect over the other in the official prayers. This would result, of course, in making the chaplains as neutral and non-committal in politics and religion as water. But that is the only way in which offence can be avoided. It is by exactly this neutrality and vagueness that those chaplains, who do not get into trouble, succeed in maintaining their positions. The Congressional chaplain, who, in the heat of a private debate, recently prayed that 'whether we shall have silver or gold, let us devote ourselves to Thy service,' is a fair type of these men of large caution, and glittering generalities. Their prayers, boiled down, mean nothing but the Arab petition, Kismet, 'It is written, Thy will be done,'—a very excellent sentiment, but scarcely requiring the services of a regular salaried chaplain to rehearse. 'But such chaplains are worthless!' Yes, of course they are; that is what we are coming to. This kind is useless; the Thorpe kind impracticable, and stirs up rather than allays political passions. The true remedy is—no official chaplains at all. Let anybody be free to pray before a legislative body who is invited or is acceptable. Let not the people be compelled any longer to pay to support this 'survival' of the times of the union of Church and State, which has worn out the last shred of its usefulness long ago."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:
PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE
FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.
ARTICLE 1.
SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to

any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed, or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

The Recent Controversy about Endless Punishment.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN COSMIAN HALL, FLORENCE, MARCH 3, 1878. BY DAVID H. CLARK.

The craving for popular excitement, which is so characteristic of the common mind, and especially in this country, has been quite bountifully supplied, in the sphere of morals and religion,—at least, of late. For a considerable while, Messrs. Moody and Sankey were without a rival. They were the chief centres of this particular species of agitation,—the principal disturbers of the peace; accompanied, it is true, on a somewhat reduced compass, in respect to popular effect, by the bluster of the renowned theological and rhetorical trickster, the Rev. Mr. Cook. The Presidential campaign for a time comparatively overwhelmed and superseded this commotion. It was well-nigh forgotten. Then came the Murphy movement, which has been spreading and rolling on: upon either hand, until it is here, and we are in the midst of it, compelled to succumb, in some degree, whether we will or not, to the irresistible force of its swelling and engulfing tide.

I have passed over, in this review of recent popular excitements or sensations, one which belongs to the same category, though of a somewhat different nature and more local character, which has not so far subsided or passed out of mind but that this tardy glance at some of its circumstances and suggestions may still be timely and of ordinary interest.

I refer to the case of the Rev. Mr. Merriam, of Springfield, and the discussions which it has called forth. There has not been, for a good while, any event in the ecclesiastical world, in our section, certainly, which has caused more comment. Nearly every pulpit of every sect has had its say about it. The Springfield Republican remarked, in one of its Saturday issues, when the controversy was at its height, "It matters not what church one may attend anywhere in Western Massachusetts to-morrow, it is quite probable that he will have the doctrine of endless punishment sprung at him." Nor has this been peculiar to the area just indicated, nor confined to the sphere of the theologians and religious press alone. The preachers all over the country appear to have shared in the contagion. I had, a few days since, a Monday morning paper of a Western city, a considerable portion of which was devoted to reports of sermons of the day before, nearly all upon this theme,—from both the Orthodox and heterodox stand-point. The secular press has also shown itself eager for the fray. Some of the magazines are determined to be counted in. It is announced that one of the solid leading reviews of the country proposes to publish a discussion of the subject by several clergymen of different persuasions. And, according to the last report, a committee of the Mississippi Legislature has had it before them, and decide that "both analogy and revelation teach the doctrine of punishment in hell, and forever." So it stands a pretty fair chance of getting considerably "ventilated," as we say, before the public is done with it.

The case is a somewhat puzzling one. There have been, from time to time, similar instances of heresy in the Orthodox Church,—some of a much graver character; but they have generally been dealt with in a more summary manner, attracted less attention, and been sooner forgotten.

I presume that it was owing to the stronghold which Mr. Merriam still retained on Orthodox ground, notwithstanding his lack of conformity to the general standard of the faith of his church, that made his case so conspicuous. It was the peculiar phase of heresy which he represented that made it more difficult to dispose of, and afforded an occasion for the latent uneasiness of certain minds in respect to correlative dogmas to manifest itself, which else would have been silent.

If, for example, Mr. Merriam had denied the doctrine of the Trinity, it would have been easy to classify him. It would have been settled at once that he is a Unitarian. If he had denied the doctrine of endless punishment, but affirmed the final holiness and happiness of all mankind, which he did not, it would have been easily decided that he is a Universalist. If he had rejected the theological system, as a whole, or subjected it to modifications which caused

it to lose its essential Christian character, then it would have been said he is a Free Religionist or Radical. But it was his fortune to steer clear of all these perilous contingencies. Adhering with all firmness and openness to the divine inspiration of the Bible, and its infallible authority in matters of faith and doctrine, he accepted, or did not certainly directly deny, any of the cardinal tenets of his church, with the exception of the one in respect to which the controversy arose, and simply substituted for this another which might, or might not, be an improvement according to the view taken. Important, it must be confessed, as was this point, when adequately considered, it will be seen, therefore, that his heresy was not in itself of a very sweeping or destructive character, regarded with reference to the system as a whole. But as a small leak in a ship already proven unseaworthy or sinking greatly adds to its disastrous condition, and diminishes its prospect for an extended voyage, so this break in the creeds, which seemed, in a certain aspect, of trifling moment, let in a deluge of free inquiry and discussion which has materially contributed to the damages they have hitherto received, and rendered more sure and speedy their ultimate extinction.

Contemplated in the narrowest sphere of its relation, the most immediate effect of the event under consideration was upon the Congregational body in which it occurred. It raised at once the question in that denomination whether belief in the doctrine called in question is essential to its fellowship, or is demanded as a qualification for the ministerial office, providing the individual is sound on all other points. That such a question should have come up at all is conclusive evidence that it is relaxing rather than strengthening its hold upon the minds of those of this sect,—of the growth within it of rationalistic tendencies. Still more is this confirmed by the fact that in a council to decide as to the fitness of a candidate for one of its pulpits, so many were ready to cast their votes in his favor, even with the anomaly of a Christian theology—with hell left out.

It is true that those who took this position justified their action by the pretence that Congregationalism has never stood for uniformity of faith; that it is compatible with and has ever included diversity of belief. Of course I do not profess to be as conversant with the history of Congregationalism as those who make this assertion. But yet I feel quite sure that I know something about it, as every tolerably informed person does, and am confident in saying that the statement just referred to has no warrant in the facts of the case in the sense in which it is put forth. Christians, and especially the clergy, have a marvellous skill in accommodating their religion and creeds to special exigencies and the side with which they happen to ally themselves.

In certain matters of church government and administration, doubtless Congregationalism has been somewhat freer than some of the Protestant sects; but, in respect to the cardinal doctrines of its creeds, there has always been essential agreement. This was affirmed by the Rev. Mr. Reed, a Congregationalist of Springfield, in a sermon occasioned by Mr. Merriam's defection, in which he said "that his Church, the First Church of Springfield, is a Congregational Church, and that it has for two hundred and forty years stood upon the doctrines put forth by the Congregational councils, which have always asserted the eternal punishment of the wicked. Their creed is a deliberate, conscientious expression of what the Bible teaches." Abundant evidence in confirmation of this might easily be cited.

It will be seen, therefore, that the plea of some who gave their support to Mr. Merriam, that belief in the doctrine of endless punishment has not been or is not an essential part of the Congregational faith, is inconsistent with all its antecedents. It is plain that if it can be thus construed, it is a position which has never been openly assumed before. But, be this as it may, the very fact that such a plea should have been made, shows that the human mind, even within religious bodies, and this one in particular, is growing less positive in respect to this doctrine, and not only this, but others with which it is associated. It shows that it begins to be disposed towards, and ready to demand, even under these more stationary and restricted conditions, greater freedom of thought and opinion; that the creeds of the fathers fail to receive the passive support of the children. This is a great point gained, a very important principle in itself; although the actual or definite progress apart from this should be but little perceptible. For intellectual freedom is fatal to all forms of superstition and every irrational conception. It is a sure and unfailing prophecy of their ultimate extinction. They must dissolve beneath its disintegrating power as the rivulets and streams unlock their icy fetters before the warmer and more penetrating rays of the rising sun in spring-time, as the darkness of night before the dawning of day. For, suffer it to be admitted, though simply, as in the case, as a concession to liberty, that a person in any church is free to think for himself in respect to a particular dogma, and ere long some one is sure to appear who presents a bolder front, and directly avows his disbelief of it; and the same will inevitably follow, sooner or later, in respect to others, until the whole is abandoned.

It is very clear that this is seen by the more ultra and conservative of the Congregational denomination; and hence the occasion has led such not only to repudiate the principle of freedom indicated, but to a reaffirmation of the doctrine imperilled. What will be the issue of this? Will it split the denomination, as has been conjectured? I do not believe there is the least prospect of it. And there are a number of reasons that lend weight to this conclusion; among which are these:—

It has been ascertained by an unequivocal test—

namely, letters of inquiry, sent out in one instance by the *Springfield Republican*, and in the other by the *Boston Congregationalist*, the first to one hundred clergymen in Western Massachusetts, and the other to as many of the most prominent in various parts of the country—that there is an overwhelming majority of the clergy of the Congregational church who assent to the doctrine of future endless punishment. It is very doubtful, therefore, if there could be any considerable split at the present time upon this issue, even with the disposition evinced by some to lay less stress upon it, if not to discard it.

Nor is it probable that those thus infected will be disowned or subjected to denominational exclusion, since it is becoming quite clearly perceived that this is an act which cuts both ways; or, in other words, to raise a cry of heresy against persons or opinions in our day reacts upon its authors, and is sure to swell the number of friends and sympathizers for the accused. Still further, as all religious parties, like all political ones, covet power and external prosperity, conscious also that the influences of the present time are unfavorable to these realizations, Congregationalism is more likely to adopt a policy of compromise and concession than to make great sacrifices in order to secure unity or strictness of faith, however much it might be desired, or some should urge such a course.

The breach which the recent event has made in Orthodoxy is therefore an irreparable one; its consequences can neither be effectually restrained nor overcome. They must go on and gather force, let the final result be what it may; and we know very well what that result is destined to be at last. And beyond the bounds of the church, or the sphere of its most immediate relation, the discussion must serve to make the general mind more clearly perceive the unreasonable and revolting nature of the article of belief, and positive against it.

Indeed, there is little doubt that the attention it has elicited in ecclesiastical circles, as well as outside of them, has proceeded from a more or less defined sense of this, already existing, which has simply taken this occasion to show itself.

It has been noticeable that the secular press, with all its customary apparent shrewd and wary effort to avoid the risk of committing itself to the one side or the other, as is usual when the public mind is thus divided, has exercised, to say the least, a fairness and impartiality toward the dissenting class, the negative side of the question, if not an obvious leaning to its favor, which is in marked contrast to the treatment heresy usually experiences from these organs and guides of popular intelligence.

Such are some of the considerations which the more outward survey of the case presents; there are others which are less cheering and encouraging. It is most gratifying for us to believe that we live in an age of surpassing progress in civilization and enlightenment; that not only have great transitions in man's material relations transpired, and still are going on, but that also humane ideas are being rapidly advanced and becoming a part of the life of the world; that ignorance and superstition are swiftly disappearing before the increased and increasing opportunities and efforts for the diffusion of intelligence; that our time is almost an entire contrast in these distinctions to all that has gone before. But every now and then something occurs which serves to forcibly remind us that what we are accustomed to call the past is not so distant as we are in the habit of thinking; that much of the barbarism of what was worst, most irrational, and crudest in its usages, customs, and conceptions still survives with all that has been gained; that slow and wearisome evolution, rather than sudden change, is the invariable process of human development. We think of the terrible wars which have devastated the earth, and fancy the time must have gone by for such scenes to be enacted again by the foremost people of mankind; and then we look over the world, and see that half the nations, if not directly engaged in waging them, are sustaining vast armies and formidable navies that bristle with hostile intent, or building forts and providing equipments of warfare at enormous expenditure, with the means wrung from the hard hands of toll.

And so of numerous forms of cruelty and brutality which prevail among nations and communities, of social customs, and the low ideals which to so large an extent are pursued,—the jealousies, rivalries, prejudices of races, peoples, classes; the inequalities on account of sex; the degradation of labor in most of the countries of the world; the aggressions upon the rights of the individual, and inflicted penalties because of opinion, in various forms of experience; the inappreciation of the great principle of liberty in human relations, with its accompanying bigotry and narrowness of intellectual vision; the relics of ancient superstitions still manifest, such as, for example, the Roman Catholic ceremony of kissing the Pope's toe; the revival of pilgrimages in Europe, and the worship of sacred relics as witnessed in an exposition of this kind a few years since in one of the principal churches, the *Notre Dame of Paris*; the whipping of a person last fall in Texas, because he was an infidel; and a bill at present before the Legislature of Virginia, to disqualify those of this class from the right of holding office,—these, and innumerable others of kindred character that might be added, show that we have only entered upon the age of reason, and that much of the less enlightened past must be outgrown before it is completely attained.

Conspicuous among these is this doctrine of future perdition. How the conception ever got into the human brain is an enigma to a rational mind; it is so at variance with all large experience, thorough and efficient use of the power of reason, with the highest modes of thought, and the best spirit of the time. We can only account for its existence through a study

of the ancient faiths, as we seek to interpret the origin and significance of their gods and mythologies. It is but a part and piece of these. It is no more distinctive of Christianity than of the religion of Egypt, India, Greece, and Rome. Its source is far back in the old heathen world. It was inherited or contracted by Christianity at its advent, and has been, with various modifications and elaborations, transmitted to our time. It would be impossible for it to arise, or be thought of in an age like the present, or in any other than a barbarous and unenlightened one. Until recently it was well-nigh forgotten by the most rational and advanced minds. It had been supposed it was almost extinct. As another has lately said, "In the world of art, literature, history, philosophy, or science, it was unknown; and it was only here and there, as some revival preacher went his dreary rounds, that ever and anon a bold man ventured to bring it forth from behind a screen of gauze, to materialize it, as the saying is, so that people might think there was something there, they knew not what."

But all of a sudden this horrid conception of a perturbed imagination stalks before, and arrests general attention. Like Banquo's ghost, it would seem, it will not down. Grave and learned divines, in positions of exalted influence, set to work to discuss it in a dignified and serious manner, as though it were to be regarded a reality. The Boston ministers, it was reported, took up the subject at their Monday morning meeting; and the general sentiment was, that no minister should be installed who denied the doctrine. In other Orthodox gatherings, it has been discussed with a like result. Even the Universalists, in order to put themselves right upon the subject, have lately declared in one of their Conventions that they believe much more in it than they have been supposed to. While Dr. Bellows, as the representative of Unitarianism, and President Porter join hands in the persuasion that if it is not positively endless in every instance, it is likely to be in many of a very protracted duration.

Out of the ninety-six clergymen addressed by the *Springfield Republican*, forty-seven sent back the answer that they teach "endless conscious suffering for the finally impenitent"; out of one hundred by the editor of the *Boston Congregationalist*, eighty replies were received. Of these, sixty-seven testify that there has been no "essential departure" from the faith on this subject, while thirteen take a somewhat different view. Sixty-three insisted upon belief in the dogma as a prerequisite to eligibility to the ministry, or denominational indorsement. The *New York Observer* declares its position in these words: "The Lord Jesus Christ has stated the doctrine of eternal punishment more strongly and impressively than any formula or creed; and if Mr. Gladden and other ministers (this gentleman, it will be remembered, was one of those who voted for Mr. Merriam's installation) disbelieve it, they ought to say so, and resign their places as Orthodox ministers. Let us not have Blaueveltism in New England. There and everywhere it becomes a preacher to state squarely what he believes and what he denies, and to face the consequences." Even Mr. Gladden, just mentioned, of the more liberal wing of Congregationalism, affirms his belief in punishment after death; the only question in his mind in regard to it is as to the term of its duration, whether it is limited or eternal.

So it is plain that there is among Christian bodies a very large preponderance of belief in future punishment still existing. Among the Orthodox ones, including the Congregational type, with all the freedom which it claims, and its advanced intelligence, it is very largely a preponderance of belief that the punishment is of endless duration; a few scattering exceptions within it uniting with the so-called liberal denominations in the view that it is limited.

It will be seen that among Orthodox sects it is essential to believe that the greater portion of the human race are doomed to be eternally miserable, in order to obtain good and clean credentials of fitness for the ministerial office. It is true that this conception, as a general thing, is of a less materialistic character, and of less local and definite conditions than formerly. Its sulphurous odors are not so stifling. The devil and his imps do not figure so conspicuously in the descriptions of it. Realizing that these delineations of physical suffering and misery with which theologians were once accustomed to terrify mankind are too shocking to be longer listened to with credulity or patience, it has gradually assumed a considerably modified and more indefinite character. One need but turn over the pages of the old theologians for striking illustrations of this contrast. Take such a passage as this, from Jonathan Edwards, recently quoted by the editor of the *Popular Science Monthly*, as an example near at hand: "The world will probably be converted into a great lake, or liquid globe of fire, a vast ocean of fire, in which the wicked shall be overwhelmed, which shall always be in tempest; in which they shall be tossed to and fro, having no rest day nor night, vast waves or billows of fire continually rolling over their heads, of which they shall forever be full of a quick sense within and without. Their heads, their eyes, their tongues, their feet, their loins, and their vitals shall forever be full of a glowing, melting fire, fierce enough to melt the very rocks and elements; and also they shall eternally be full of the most quick and lively sense to feel the torments; not for one minute, nor for one day, nor for one age, nor for two ages, nor for ten thousands of millions of ages, one after another, but forever and ever, without any end at all, and never, never to be delivered." It is no wonder that those who listened to such preaching lost their interest for a time in everything else, and under its influence frequently fell down in swoons, or were stricken with insanity, as has often been the result since. How could it be otherwise, if it carried with it any convic-

tion? It is obvious that the doctrine, as a general rule, has a good deal changed since then.

But there are portions of Christendom, and the country, where the old ideas in respect to it are far from obsolete. I have heard, myself, in Roman Catholic churches and in revival meetings, sermons upon this theme which would rival those of Jonathan Edwards. This very renunciation of the grosser and more definite delineations of the abode and condition of the damned in another world has been most effectual in causing the conception itself to be distrusted and discarded; for when one comes to admit that he has held any belief erroneously, even in respect to the form which it assumed,—whenever he begins to hold it vaguely and indefinitely,—then he is likely soon to doubt whether it has any truth, and cast it altogether aside. The literal views of heaven and hell that have prevailed carried with them as strong and positive conviction. The more vague conduct as surely to utter disbelief in respect to them.

And yet, with all these allowances, the doctrine, under any circumstances or in any aspect, the barest implication of the possibility of its truth, is still now, as it has ever been, simply and solely horrible. Col. Ingersoll starts off in one of his lectures with this passage: "I have no respect for any human being who teaches the infamous dogma of hell. I have no respect for any man who preaches it. I have no respect for any man who will pollute the imagination of childhood with that infamous lie. I have no respect for the man who will add to the sorrows of this world with that frightful dogma. I have no respect for the man who endeavors to put that infinite cloud, that infinite shadow, over the heart of humanity." Now this sounds severe, like the language of extravagance. But when we reflect how utterly baseless and untenable is this idea of an endless hell—the intimation that under any circumstances a human soul is to suffer forever for the pitiable shortcomings and mistakes of his weak and imperfect nature during the brief period of his mortal existence; when we reflect that this doctrine is still adhered to and taught by men of sound minds in respect to all other matters,—men who have enjoyed the best advantages of our schools and educational institutions, who live amid all the favoring influences of the present,—we cannot but feel that were they ruled by strict honesty and sincerity, it would not require another day to sweep it from the Church and the imaginations that cherish it.

What a commentary it is upon our methods of education and their results, upon the popular intelligence and integrity, that it should be longer entertained, or that the mere allusion to it with any insinuation of its truth should be listened to with toleration and patience! I confess that when I look at the case as it thus appears to me; when I see how the masses are swayed by the twaddle of Moody and Sankey and the popular revivalist, and realize that the great underlying, impelling purpose of such movements is escape from an endless hell; when I see how utterly swamped the churches and the clergy become in them, and how little clear, independent, and direct criticism they receive, I cannot but sympathize with the heroic work of Col. Ingersoll, and believe that, with all due exceptions for his mode of operation, nevertheless there is need of just such hard thrusts and death-dealing blows as he is giving to the old dogmas of the creeds, which have too long hindered the progress of the human mind, and still becloud and bewilder it like the lingering effects of a distressing nightmare from which it is awakening. It is high time, as we say in familiar parlance, that we were done with such fooling.

Consider how preposterous is the authority upon which belief in the dogma rests,—a few passages in an ancient Jewish book, a notable people, no doubt, but only in their way as other ancient people were in theirs,—a book with much that is lofty and soul-inspiring, but with much also that is absurd and immoral in character, the record and indices of old-time barbarities, the obsolete notions and fancies of a civilization which went to pieces upwards of two thousand years ago; yet this is the ground of the whole controversy. Mr. Merriam, as we have seen, is sound on all points of Orthodoxy except this of endless punishment; and has simply come to the conclusion, through exegetical study—the use of the grammar and lexicon—that the balance of Bible evidence inclines to the doctrine of annihilation rather than to that just referred to.

There must be something dreadful in reserve for the sinner. The penalties and sufferings of the present are altogether insufficient to atone for his offences against one of such perfections as his Creator; and therefore he is doomed to be blotted out of existence at the end of his mortal career, since none but those who have been sanctified through their acceptance of Christ's salvation can share the company of the blessed hereafter, or the presence and glory of the enthroned Sovereign of heaven. This is the best which the Bible promises to the unconverted at death. It is deity's most merciful alternative. It is the utmost stretch of concession to the transgressor consistent with the righteousness and majesty of the Being whose law has been violated,—the biblical or theological Creator and Ruler of the universe.

And it is on just such authority as this that the discordant and warring sects of Christendom have arisen, and their creeds have been established. They have been built up, and their peculiar tenets set forth, on the authority of particular renderings, as a general rule solely of certain texts of the Jewish or Christian Scriptures; as indeed has been the case in respect to many of the political and social barbarities and errors which have survived and found support in our civilization. Now it would be singular, to put it no stronger, if, after all this strife of centuries, all this expenditure of words and energy, the book should turn out to be a very different one,

in all its make-up, import, and character, from what the theologians and the Christian world have supposed it to be; and this appears to all who are informed in respect to the new light and criticism which is being thrown upon it by the most competent and independent scholarship of our time is the inevitable result to which we are tending. Indeed, I may say, this has already been effected.

The Orthodox view of the Bible is no less absurd and untenable in the light of modern knowledge than the doctrines deduced from it,—than even this of endless perdition for two-thirds of the human race. Nay, even with the Orthodox view of the Bible, Canon Farrar, one of the great dignitaries of the Church in England, has come forward of late to declare that he has discovered that the texts which are usually construed in support of the doctrine we have been considering are mistranslations of the original, and therefore cannot offer any warrant for the belief; and a number of others no less high in the Church indorse the annunciation. Now this is a very notable occurrence. It is taking the bottom out of the doctrine. It should certainly be good news to those who have experienced the fears and anxieties which it tends to awaken. At the same time it must seem like rather a poor compliment to the wisdom, learning, and penetration of those who have assumed to be the expounders of religion, and the spiritual guides of mankind, if after all the noise and strife and discomfiture of spirit which belief in this doctrine has caused, it shall be determined that they have been simply blind leaders of the blind.

If this doctrine of a condition of unending suffering for mankind hereafter is true, it is impossible to overestimate its importance; and I cannot see how any one who really believes it can refrain from teaching it, nor how they can lend their aid or countenance to any to preach a Christianity with it left out. I have more respect for those, therefore, in such a case as that of Mr. Merriam's, who adhere strictly to the stern requirements of their creeds, than for those, who, professing to believe in the doctrine in respect to which the issue was involved, were yet ready to admit him to the pulpits of their faith. I cannot see how there can be any half-way course, if a person is thoroughly honest in such a matter. I cannot see much more, how a person who occupies a pulpit of a religious body which is supposed to hold this doctrine, or is charged with holding it, at such a time as this, should shrink from openly acknowledging where he stands in respect to it, if he has the manliness or moral courage which one should have in such a position. But of those to whom inquiry was sent by the *Congregationalist* and the *Springfield Republican*, a large number, in each instance, sent no reply; and those who did reply in many instances coupled it with the request that their sentiments should not be made public; in other words, they had not sufficient courage to avow their convictions, and take the consequence,—surely not a very admirable display of their qualification for teachers of truth and honesty.

Should a person be undecided in regard to what the Bible teaches pertaining to a doctrine of so much importance? Ought he not to settle it at once and forever, before he attempts to preach Christianity further? And this ought not to be so very difficult. If the Bible is what it is claimed to be, "The Word of God," a revelation to man's ignorance, a guide to heaven, "a light to his feet, and a lamp to his path," the solution to the enigmas of life, so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, may not err therein, there is, to those who belong to the radical class, a lesson of great significance as well as incentive to more earnest and strenuous exertion in behalf of their truths and principles, in the disclosures and suggestions in connection with the theme to which we have asked your attention. While it presents, in some respects, a rather discouraging view of intellectual progress in our day, it presents in others much which is cheering and hopeful. It shows us that the stand and effort which freethought is making for clearer and more rational ideas in religion, and in all departments of human thought, and to mould society into more perfect accord with them,—to demolish and exterminate ancient errors and superstitions which still linger in the world,—is a most needful and noble work; as great in its influences and far-reaching results, and as exalted in dignity as any for which men have sacrificed and striven in any age; capable, when fully appreciated and apprehended, of making heroes and martyrs, of founding an order of saints as pure and ideal in the excellence of their spirits as any whose names are inscribed upon the roll of the past. Let us see to it that it does not appeal to us in vain, nor languish through our neglect, our want of zeal, self-sacrifice, and appreciation. Let us seek to teach, and make men realize, the greatness and worth of the present existence,—its duties, opportunities, and manifold sources of rational enjoyment, even with all its sadness and its miseries; to realize that heaven and hell are here and now, and not in some distant place. Thus shall we pursue realities rather than phantoms, the energies of our minds be given to truth rather than error; to our own genuine advancement, and that of the race.

THE OTHER DAY, as a lady of this city was passing some small boys, one of them opened his hand to display some fine agates to his companions. They looked at them admiringly; and presently one of the boys, turning to the fortunate owner, said: "I owe you a licking; but give me one of those agates, and I'll call it square." The little fellow looked up in the other's face, hesitated a moment, and then, selecting a marble, silently passed it over, after which all the lads went on with their play as if nothing unusual had occurred; the little marble-owner seeming to think the bargain a fair one.—*Portland Press*.

A SPECULATION IN MIRACLES.

HOW A THIRTY SPECULATOR TRIED TO MAKE HIS FORTUNE OUT OF AN ALLEGED APPARITION OF THE VIRGIN MARY AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

LONDON, Feb. 13, 1878.

A miracle was brought before a Paris police court a short time ago. The case was really a curious and interesting one; but at that time all eyes were strained toward London and Constantinople, and the story was almost unnoticed. It would be a pity not to cull it; your readers will perhaps be willing to give it a few minutes' consideration. The case was that of a business man who had formed a partnership with a banker and a photographer for the purpose of making money out of a miraculous vision of the Virgin Mary.

THE APPARITION ON THE APPLE-TREE.

Last spring, in the heart of a small town which had been completely unknown until then, at Cheppy, in the Department of Meuse, a rumor suddenly spread that the Virgin Mary had descended from heaven. She had appeared to two young girls,—to two idiots, say the incredulous; to two candid and pure virgins, say the devotees and good Catholics. Be this as it may, the Virgin showed herself to the ladies precisely as she is shown in all pictures of her: clothed in white, with blue ribbons and a blue sash. She stood above an apple-tree, in bloom, her feet resting on the blossoms, which did not even bend under her weight. It was a miracle, in short! The good Virgin exhorted the young girls in the style of the village curate. France, she said, had drawn all her misfortunes upon herself by forsaking the cause of our Holy Father, the Pope, and by working and dancing on Sunday instead of going to mass and to vespers. "Go," said the divine apparition, "go tell the world that it must do penance."

So saying, the apparition vanished from the sight of the ladies; there remained nothing but an apple-tree,—a white apple-tree, and nothing more.

The girls hastened to the curate's and to the good sisters; they sped to the ignorant brothers and to the church-warden's, expatiating upon the favor of which they had been the object to all devout souls. The miracle was noised abroad. From village to village throughout the whole province, and farther still, spread the rumor of the apparition. Pilgrimages were organized; many visitors flocked from all sides to behold the miraculous apple-tree and to see the girls to whom the Virgin had appeared.

THE ADVENT OF THE SPECULATOR.

So far, all was according to rule; everything had followed the ordinary course which miracles are wont to follow. But here there stepped in an intruder, an unauthorized individual, who turned the case aside from its natural course. A certain Collin, a speculator, conceived the idea of forming a partnership, for the purpose of reaping a benefit from the miracle, with a photographer, Dagrin by name, and with the brother-in-law of the photographer, a certain Gorre, a banker in Paris, on the Boulevard Beaumarchais. The banker risked twelve thousand francs in the undertaking, the photographer put in his apparatus, and Collin his intelligence and his wits.

THE MIRACLE ON A BUSINESS FOUNDATION.

The first proceeding of the partners was the purchase of the apple-tree and the surrounding field from a crafty peasant, who charged them three or four times what the land was worth. The second was the erection of a shed on the spot, which served two purposes,—it was a chapel in the front and a public house in the rear. In the chapel the speculator set up an altar, and kept wax tapers constantly lighted; he furnished it with bouquets of artificial flowers, a statuette of the Virgin, and a gorgeous painting representing the Queen of Angels erect on her apple tree and beckoning to the kneeling girls, who gazed upon her in bewilderment.

In the chapel the pilgrims performed their devotions, prostrated themselves, and recited, their novenas; in the public house refreshments were sold to them; and, beside these, zinc medals which had been allowed to remain on the altar, and photographs of the Mother of God on her apple-tree. These photographs were produced in court, and revealed an unexpected resemblance between the Virgin Mary and a pretty actress of the Boulevard theatres, Mlle. Alice Regnault, an account of whose suit with the shirt-maker was still to be found in most of yesterday's newspapers.

THE SCHEMES AND PLANS OF THE SPECULATORS.

The object of the speculation was, then, the sale of photographs and medallions commemorative of the marvellous apparition. If the pilgrimage "took," brilliant business could be done, and the apple-tree field could be re-sold for ten times the purchase price. Of course, for would not the clergy have need of the spot for the erection of a church, perhaps even of a cathedral and inus like those of Lourdes, in La Sabette? It was therefore necessary to push forward the sale of the medallions and photographs; it was necessary to incite the fervor of the faithful. With this end in view the three confederates spread a circular far and wide, which read thus:—

"OUR LADY OF CHEPPY.

APPARITION

OF

OUR LADY OF THE SACRED HEART
AT CHEPPY (MEUSE), MAY 15, 1877.

Photographs of the Apparition.

Commemorative Medallions.

"A Parisian banker, residing on the Boulevard Beaumarchais, has just been cured of a disease which was considered incurable, after a novena in honor of Our Lady of Cheppy. In recognition of this divine favor, he is going to erect a magnificent votive chapel on the site of the apparition.

"Moreover, we are notified of two other miraculous

cures in the cantons of Ville-sur-Tourbe and Viennele-Château.

"A numerous and meditative crowd is constantly visiting this sanctuary and imploring the powerful protection of Our Lady of Cheppy."

The Parisian banker who thus speaks of himself as an incurable cured by Our Lady of Cheppy was the partner, Mr. Gorre.

TEMPORARY SUCCESS.

Allured by the prospect of special protection, of personal favors, and of miraculous cures, pilgrims flocked to Cheppy. On one occasion, no less than twenty-five hundred persons, both curiosity-seekers and devotees, all simpletons, were counted defiling before the marvellous apple-tree. The speculation seemed to be in a fair way to become lucrative. This was in the good time of the government of moral order; M. de Broglie governed for the account of the Vatican, and Madame la Maréchale de MacMahon wrote to the Pope: "Holy Father, are you satisfied?"

THE RESULTS OF A FAILURE TO PLACE STOCK WHERE IT WOULD DO MOST GOOD.

However, the speculation miscarried. The clergy had not been invited to have a finger in the pie. The partners had seen fit to do without them; or at any rate they had not given them a sufficient interest in the matter. This was a great blunder. It is impossible in France to carry on an altar for any length of time if the priest is not to find it profitable. In such cases, it is usual for the bishop to hold himself prudently aloof until success is assured; but in this particular instance the aloofness soon became an underhand hostility. The confessors, when consulted, and the curates in the pulpit, by no means denied the reality of the divine apparition; but they expressed doubts as to the authenticity of the photographs, and as to the efficacy of the medallions, so that cures became rare. It was established that the apple-tree decidedly lacked power. The pilgrims could remain kneeling about it and gazing at the heavens for days together, but the Virgin no longer appeared to anybody; the deaf remained deaf; persons afflicted with catarrh retained their catarrh; and the impotent remained impotent. In order to obtain a prodigy, a true prodigy, more capital was needed; for the subjects fit for the production of authentic miracles do not abound, and they charge high prices. By degrees the clergy had incited open hostility; in a charge by the Bishop of Verdun the faithful had been put on their guard against the new miracles which had been promised at Cheppy. In short, the pilgrims became fewer and fewer, and soon they remained at home. Collin was left with his field, his apple-tree, his public house-chapel, his medallions, his photographs, and the debts he had incurred for the carrying on of the miracle, for he had far exceeded his twelve thousand francs.

THE QUARREL AND THE REVELATIONS.

As is usual in such cases, two of the confederates turned against the third. They wanted their money refunded; Dagrín wanted payment for his photographs, and Gorre wished his money returned; and, setting the sheriff's officers to work, they seized upon a piece of property held by Collin; they even seized upon the public house-chapel, the miracle field, and the divine-apparition apple-tree!

But Collin was struggling against his creditors, to whom, he maintained, he owed nothing, on account of their act of partnership. In order to intimidate the photographer, he had a visiting-card prepared as follows:—

"FAYOLLE,
Secrétaire du Parquet,
Affaires Criminelles."

(Fayolle, Secretary of the Public Prosecutor, Criminal Cases.)

Provided with this stern talisman, he went to an engraver's, had a seal made to correspond with it, and had this delivered to him. Being in possession of these threatening weapons, he wrote a letter to Dagrín, bearing the stamp of the above mentioned terrible seal, and summoning him to appear at the bar of the Procureur de la République.

By means of these deceptions, Collin hoped to work on the mind of Dagrín, and through him on Gorre's; but he had forgotten to pay for the seal he had ordered; the engraver went to the Public Prosecutor's to demand payment for it, and the fraud was detected.

Let us add that during the proceedings a charge of breach of trust was made against the defendant by a woman named Betton, who had entrusted him with government bonds yielding an income of fifty francs, which he was to sell, and the amount of which (less two hundred francs which were lent him) he was to employ for the purchase of another bond. He kept all. Collin therefore appeared before the police tribunal under an indictment for counterfeiting a magistrate's seal, for using the counterfeited seal, and finally for attempted blackmail and breach of trust.

The facts were patent. The defendant was overwhelmed by the evidence; his tricks and his fraudulent manoeuvres had turned against him. The judges were lenient toward this rascal, whose craft and effrontery they could not but admire. Collin was condemned to only three years of imprisonment: one year for having counterfeited a public seal and for having used it fraudulently, one year for attempted blackmail against Dagrín, and one year for breach of trust against Madame Betton.

As for the very knot of the question, the speculation on the miracle, the sale of the photographs, and the miraculous medallions, after the facts had been duly established, no farther mention was made of them. Collin was not found guilty on this head. There is an old precept that "Devant le peuple, il ne faut pas manier les casseroles du sanctuaire." (The saucepans of the sanctuary must not be handled before the people.)—*ELLIE RECLUS, in Evening Post.*

TRINITY CHURCH LEASES.

THE BRIGHT THAT HAS FALLEN UPON PROPERTY ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE TOWN.

At a large meeting of the tenants of Trinity Church, last evening, Mr. Weyman in the chair, the Hon. George M. Chapman said:—

We have assembled to join in a respectful petition to our landlord for a reduction of ground rents upon about seven hundred lots in the central part of the city, which, from the depreciation of property and rents, have become too grievous to be borne. Our landlord is a great religious corporation which bestrides the city from the Battery to Houston Street, and from Broadway to the Hudson River, holding \$80,000,000 of property under a grant somewhat like a feudal legacy of the Middle Ages. The Trinity Church charter was annulled by the Legislature after the Revolution, and a bill was introduced to secularize the estate; but, before its passage, the church called to its aid Aaron Burr, who obtained the present charter, and secured from the corporation for sixty-nine years the lots you now occupy. He sold his lease to John Jacob Astor, who cut up the property, and leased it in lots to our predecessors. They and we have covered the ground with buildings, have graded, paved, and sewered the streets; and, in short, everything that has been done to improve the property has been done by the tenants.

You own all the houses and improvements, and this great religious corporation owns only the naked land.

Trinity Church exists and holds its property in trust by the will of the people of the State, expressed through their servants at Albany; and the Legislature can at any time, for cause, repeal its charter, secularize its immense property, realize upon it, and apply the proceeds to the public good. The property of this corporation is nearly, if not quite, valuable enough to pay the debt of the State and of every town and city within its limits; but with that fact we have nothing to do.

Trinity Church has held the land for one hundred and fifty years. Up to a very recent period, it was liberal to its tenants,—so liberal, indeed, that their leases were considered to be nearly equivalent to the ownership of the property in fee, and mortgages upon it were frequently taken by money lenders. Under the present policy, it cannot be mortgaged or sold at any price.

This sixty-nine year lease to Aaron Burr expired May 1, 1868, and the property reverted to Trinity Church. You were then told that the vestry needed a little time to deliberate as to whether they would sell out the fee of the land to the owners of the buildings, or follow their old practice, and grant twenty-one year leases at a rental of five per cent. on the appraised value of the land with renewals. They told you that in the mean time they would grant leases for two years at a five per cent. rental on the present value of the land, with taxes and water rents to be paid by the tenants, the leases to be renewed at that rate until they could mature some plan to sell or to grant twenty-one year leases to the owners of the houses, who, they acknowledged, had a vested right to purchase or to hold a perpetual lease on the original terms. Relying upon their representations, you accepted their terms. The rent fixed was not unreasonable, when we consider that it was soon after the war, when gold was at 250.

When these two-year leases expired, they were renewed; and the renewals have continued at the same rental, despite the fact that gold is down, money value is doubled, and our well-to-do tenants have left us. When we asked for a reduction of our rents, equivalent to the rise in money and the consequent reduction in the value of property, we were told that we had signed away all our rights to our property, except the right to tear down our houses and remove the lumber, and that we had no rights which Trinity Church was bound to respect.

Twelve years ago the property was in flourishing condition. Hudson Street was a great thoroughfare, and the chief centre of the furniture and upholstery trade. The refusal of Trinity Church to give leases longer than two years has driven these and other great industries from the street, and has converted one of the fairest portions of the city into a region of tenement houses, making the property unsalable at any price, reducing the rental of both houses and land below the ground rent exacted by the church, and compelling us to pay all taxes and water rents, or abandon \$2,000,000 of our property in houses to the corporation.

A short time ago one of the vestrymen told me that he happened to pass through this part of the church property, and was struck with its squalid and dilapidated condition. He said that it would be a godsend if a fire would sweep over it, and wipe it out. It would not be a godsend to the insurance companies, nor to the church; for at present you could not find tenants who would be willing to take the ground rent free, and put thereon such buildings as the church requires.

The rent now exacted is more than seven per cent. per annum upon the whole assessed value of the property, land, and houses; and fourteen per cent. ground rent upon their land. In addition, they throw the whole burden of the city taxation upon us, besides the water rents. There is no other landlord that would attempt to take such advantage of his tenants, and wring out of them more than the whole income of their property. When we complain, we are told that we may surrender our leases, and receive about one-tenth of the value of our buildings; and several of us have been obliged to accept these terms.

At the close of Mr. Chapman's address, it was resolved that a committee of five should be appointed to wait upon the vestry of Trinity Church, and ask,

in the name of one thousand families, a reduction in their ground rents. On motion of Dr. Philip E. Donlin, of Houston Street, the committee were instructed to petition the Board of Assessment to reduce the assessment upon all real estate in the city.—*N. Y. Sun, March 13.*

COL. GEORGE W. FLOWER was standing in the square at Watertown, the other day, when he spied a farmer who some weeks ago had sold him some very "crooked" hay. The party in question is an active professor of religion, and a most zealous worker for his own pocket. The man's profession and practice being in such marked contrast caused the Colonel to eye him with dislike. When he came up, the Colonel charged him with deception in the matter of hay. The skinfint stoutly denied the charge. The Colonel drew himself up to his full height, and disdainfully observed: "I am a soldier, sir—not a liar!" "So am I a soldier," whined the promoter of "crooked" hay. "You!" ejaculated the Colonel, in a tone of disgust! "What kind of a soldier are you?" "I am a soldier of the Cross," said the skinfint, with a detestable flourish of the hand. "That may be," said the Colonel, dryly, "but you've been on a furlough ever since I knew you."—*Carthage (N. Y.) Republican.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY.

BY S. P. PUTNAM.

I have not pierced beyond the tomb,
And caught the secrets there;
I cannot see a shining world,
And blessed angels fair;
The oracles of Nature still
To farthest star are dumb;
Its flashing wonders give no voice
Of any life to come.

We know death only as a sleep,
What may be is untold:
From its wide blankness not a beam
Hath o'er our pathway rolled,
We know this life; we know no more;
Beside the falling sod
Our vision fails; it sees no soul
Upspringing to its God.

Yet, when we press the silent lips,
And shroud the form so dear,
We do it with a wondrous hope,
And not in pain and fear;
We lay the body in the dust,
Yet still our love proclaims
That what in love is beautiful,
In deathless glory flames.

Our heart is greater than our sight,
Our reason than our sense;
For thought is first, and thought is last,
Its own bright evidence. |
It makes the world where science toils;
And shall that world still bound
The height and breadth of its vast fire
Whose secret is not found?

From realms of thought our life aspires,
The glowing deeps within;
And all the amplitude of stars
Shines with a light akin.
The music of the sea but throws
An echo to the mind,
Of what its very nature prompts
That it is unconfined. |

Thus knowledge fails; but faith is winged
With hope and love divine,
And force and matter, sweeping on,
Give no destroying sign;
So still affection's wealth of joy
And conscience' fervor bright,
Beyond the grave exultant flow,
Unchecked by its brief night.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 6.

Chas. S. Adams, 25 cents; Theophilus Brown, \$10; American News Co., \$5.06; Jonathan Watson, \$10; F. A. Angell, \$3; Ezekiel Walker, \$3.20; L. S. Haggood, \$3.20; Daniel Johnson, \$3.20; Rev. G. A. Thayer, \$3.20; John Bantlin, \$3.20; W. H. Hamlen, \$3.20; J. A. J. Wilcox, \$4.23; James Shaw, \$3.56; S. W. Varney, \$1; C. A. Gurley, \$50; Frank L. Pope, \$3.20; Elizabeth Butterworth, \$3; Cash, \$1.25; H. C. Orth, \$3.20; Abraham Roth, \$3; George Lewis, \$3.20; C. Whitaker, \$5; F. Loeber, \$3; M. M. Pratt, \$2; J. B. Tenney, \$1; L. F. Robinson, \$2; Joseph Michl, \$6.40; J. W. Goodrich, \$3.20; Warren Griswold, \$10; B. B. Griswold, \$10; Jos. S. Hill, \$10; J. G. Jenkins, \$4; Rev. J. H. Allen, \$3.20; Enoch Plummer, \$3.20; Lydia M. Plummer, \$10.

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

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N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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

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

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

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 OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
 WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. M. D. O'BRYEN, GEORGE JACOB
 HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
 CARY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B.
 MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BRUCE F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
 WARREN KELSBY, Editorial Contributors.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names.	Residence.	Amount.
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When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work *immediately*, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,

Chas. R. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

ANOTHER JOURNAL is to enter the liberal field, despite the discouragements of the times. Mr. Oliver Hull Lowrey has issued the prospectus of the *Liberal Age*, a new weekly, to be published at 41 South Clark Street, Chicago, at \$2.00 a year. The first number is announced for May 1. It is to take "Anti-Christian and Scientific" ground, and promises various well-arranged departments. The prospectus gives a favorable idea of it in the main, but further notice must be reserved for its first issue.

A CALL TO ORGANIZE IN NEW YORK.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Will you be so kind as to publish the following lines in THE INDEX?

More than a week ago, several liberal friends assembled privately to discuss the importance of forming another auxiliary Liberal League in the city of New York. A committee of four gentlemen agreed to make the necessary arrangements for a more extensive meeting in a central location of our city, the express purpose of which is to organize. The arrangements have so far been made, and the meeting will take place Friday evening, the 12th of this month, in the parlors of the Liederkrantz Building, at No. 35 East 4th Street. Several speakers are invited to state the object and aim of our gathering. Questions pertaining to the necessity and importance of organization will be freely discussed. The means and ways by which we can best further and give prominence to the liberal ideas of our age will be carefully considered.

There are numbers of able liberal friends in our city, and we would like to invite them, through the columns of your paper, to a fellowship in this great movement of organized liberalism. We want their help, their presence, their sympathy at our next meeting. Only a little effort from our liberal friends in and around New York is demanded. Let us assemble, let us meet, let us exchange our hopes and our misgivings; let those who are still doubtful as to the necessity of organized liberalism be fired by the enthusiasm of those who consider this movement of vital importance, which requires, however, some insight to be appreciated. We desire to see the readers of THE INDEX and other liberal friends, whose abode is in New York or in its neighborhood, at the next meeting of Liberals, Friday evening, the 12th inst., at the Liederkrantz Building, No. 35 East 4th Street, New York city.

Yours truly, CLARA NEYMAN.

NEW YORK, April 4, 1878.

GENERAL DIX ON TRINITY CHURCH.

Six or seven weeks ago, a friend in New York city wrote to us that, suspecting some injustice had been done to Trinity Church in our article of January 5, and relying on the fairness of THE INDEX, he had invited Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., rector of Trinity Church, to send a statement of his own on that subject for publication in these columns; that Dr. Dix had replied to him, expressing a desire to send such a statement, but doubting whether THE INDEX would publish it; and that he (the writer) desired to know whether he would be authorized to give Dr. Dix a definite promise of publication on our part. To this letter we immediately replied: "Of course I shall be willing to print any article the Rev. Morgan Dix may send on that subject, and just as he writes it. This you may say to him, for I mean no injustice to any one. Equally of course, I shall feel free to publish any statement on the subject on the other side that I may be furnished with," etc.

Since that time we have been daily expecting to receive the proposed statement, and for this reason have refrained from noticing any of the press comments on our original article, preferring to present the objections to our article in the most authoritative form. Last Friday Causten Browne, Esq., of this city, a personal friend of General Dix (who, as is well known, is ex-Governor of the State of New York, Comptroller of Trinity Church Corporation, and father of Rev. Morgan Dix), called at THE INDEX office and very courteously placed in our hands the subjoined article. In order to give as great prominence to these criticisms as to the original article criticised, we publish it here on the editorial pages, and with leaded type, contrary to our usual practice with occasional communications; for in so important a matter nothing less would satisfy the genuine spirit of fairness and the honest love of truth. Without further explanation we append General Dix's letter:—

OFFICE OF THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY CHURCH,
 No. 187 FULTON STREET, NEW YORK,
 April 2, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX, BOSTON, MASS.:—

Sir,—An article in your paper of the 5th of January last, to which my attention has very recently been called, professes to state some "ASTOUNDING FACTS ABOUT TRINITY CHURCH."

As these alleged facts have no existence, I ask, as an act of justice to Trinity Church, the use of your columns to correct the misstatements which have been imposed on you. I present them in the order in which I find them.

1. "Trinity Church owns a vast amount of real estate in New York city, lying compactly between Broadway and the North River, and extending nearly two miles in length, and from one-fourth to three-fourths of a mile in breadth. The whole district enclosed by a line running eastward from the North River through Cortland Street to Broadway, thence northward seven squares to Warren Street, thence one square westward to Church Street, thence eleven squares northward to Canal Street and (continuing on Green Street) seven squares still northward to Amity Street, thence six squares westward to Sixth Avenue, thence four squares northward to Greenwich Avenue, and thence seven squares southward on Christopher Street, where the line strikes the North River once more,—all this immense district lying in the most valuable part of the city belongs to Trinity Church, together with considerable territory south of Cortland Street concerning the exact boundaries of which we are left in some doubt."

The district embraced in the boundaries above described contains, as nearly as can be calculated, five thousand lots of the usual dimensions in the city—twenty-five feet by one hundred. The whole number of lots belonging to Trinity Church is seven hundred and fifty,—about one-seventh of the number in the above described district. The property of Trinity Church is, therefore, overstated about six hundred per cent. In other words, of the five thousand lots four thousand two hundred and fifty belong to individuals, and not to this Corporation.

The seven hundred and fifty lots belonging to the latter do not lie "compactly" in the district referred to, but are scattered over it singly or in small groups.

2. "The value of this enormous amount of real estate is, at a low valuation, fully SEVENTY MILLIONS of dollars."

This estimate is obviously founded upon the misapprehension that Trinity Church is the owner of

the whole district referred to, instead of one-seventh part of it.

Thus the whole of the real estate of this Corporation, according to the estimate of your informant, correcting his statement as to its extent, would be but ten millions. This, however, is an exaggeration. The income derived from it last year was \$456,786.45,—less than the legal interest of seven millions of dollars. This year it will be much less; and the whole property is productive, except the ground occupied by seven churches, four cemeteries, four school-houses, a rectory, an infirmary, and a very few vacant lots. No reasonable estimate would place it at a higher value than seven millions.

3. "If we correctly understand our informant, Trinity Church pays no tax on the land itself, though the lessees pay taxes on the buildings they have erected upon it under long leases."

The entire inaccuracy of this statement will be seen by the following extract of a letter, which I addressed to General Grant in March, 1876, to correct a like misapprehension on his part:—

"The fact is, that the Corporation of Trinity Church is taxed, under the laws of this State, precisely in accordance with the suggestions in your message to Congress. Its property consists of church edifices, cemeteries, school-houses, an infirmary, a rectory, and several hundred lots of ground, which, with the exception of a few used for parochial purposes, are leased partly for short, and partly for long, periods. On the short leases the Corporation pays the taxes; on the long leases the taxes are paid by the lessees. I paid in September last, as Comptroller of the Corporation, on the former, \$46,943.91; and we estimate the amount paid on the latter at \$80,000, making over \$100,000 paid to the city this year for taxes, besides a considerable sum for assessments. We pay taxes on every foot of ground used for secular purposes. We pay on our rectory, in which the rector resides, on the office, in which the business of the Corporation is transacted, although it is within the boundaries of St. Paul's Cemetery. In fact, nothing is exempt except the church-edifices, the cemeteries, four school-houses, in which free schools are kept, and an infirmary, in which the sick receive gratuitous treatment."

I will only add that I have, as Comptroller of Trinity Church, paid to the city for taxes on its real estate since Oct. 1, 1877, the sum of \$64,107.97.

4. "According to the official records in the offices of the Chief of Police and the Excise Commissioners, the real estate of Trinity Church supports SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FOUR LIQUOR-SALOONS, or gin-mills, and NINETY-SIX HOUSES OF PROSTITUTION (ninety-two white and four colored), with many others suspected to be such."

The utter recklessness of this accusation cannot be better illustrated than by the statement of the fact that the alleged number of liquor-saloons and houses of prostitution is eight hundred and sixty; exceeding by one hundred and ten the whole number of lots owned by Trinity Church. If the accusation were true, there would be a liquor-saloon on every lot belonging to this corporation, and on ninety-six of its lots a liquor-saloon and a house of prostitution. The charge is destitute even of a shadow of foundation. The number of lots of which the corporation has the entire control is four hundred and eighty-three. On two hundred and fifty-nine of these the lessees own the houses; on two hundred and twenty-four the houses belong to the church. The former are leased for two years, and the latter for one. On all the leases of these four hundred and eighty-three lots there has been for years a covenant on the part of the lessee that no intoxicating liquors shall be sold on the premises. It is as follows: "That he, the said party of the second part (lessee), his executors, administrators, and assigns, and each and every under-tenant or occupant of the said premises, or of any part thereof, shall not, nor will at any time during the term hereby demise, sell, or expose for sale, any strong or spirituous liquors, wine, ale, or beer, or take or have a license for such sale."

This covenant is rigidly enforced, and I say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single liquor-saloon or "gin-mill" on any one of these four hundred and eighty-three lots. It is proper to add that there are two hundred and sixty-seven lots held for long terms on old leases; over these the Corporation has no control; but a ground rent is regularly collected, and the Vestry have no knowledge, nor do the records of the Police or Excise Department show that any one of them is used for either of the purposes alleged by your informant.

To put this calumnious accusation against Trinity Church effectually at rest, I addressed letters of in-

quiry to the Police and Excise Commissioners, and have received the following answers:—

POLICE DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
300 MULBERRY STREET, NEW YORK,
March 30, 1878.

Dear Sir,—In response to your letter of inquiry of the 18th instant, I transmit the enclosed report, which I trust will prove satisfactory.

Very respectfully,

WM. F. SMITH, President.

GEN'L JOHN A. DIX.

POLICE DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
300 MULBERRY STREET, NEW YORK,
March 30, 1878.

GEN'L WM. F. SMITH, President Board of Police:

Sir,—Referring to the letter of Gen'l John A. Dix to you, dated March 18, 1878, the undersigned have the honor to report:—

That the letter calls attention to the following statement as having appeared in a newspaper published in Boston: "According to official records in the offices of the Chief of Police and the Excise Commissioners, the real estate of Trinity Church supports SEVEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY FOUR LIQUOR SALOONS, or gin-mills, and NINETY-SIX KNOWN HOUSES OF PROSTITUTION (ninety-two white and four colored), with many others suspected to be such."

The Records of the Police Department do not state nor show that the real estate of Trinity Church supports seven hundred and sixty-four, or any other number, of liquor-saloons or gin-mills, or ninety-six, or any other number, of known or suspected houses of prostitution.

Having a very general knowledge of the records and reports of the Police Department and its officers, it is our belief that the name of Trinity Church does not appear on them at all.

Very respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. WALLING, Supt.
S. C. HAWLEY, Chief Clerk.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF EXCISE,
296 MULBERRY STREET, NEW YORK,
April 2, 1878.

JOHN A. DIX, Esq.:

Sir,—Yours of the 18th March duly received, and I am instructed by the Board of Excise Commissioners to send you the information requested.

I would respectfully state that the official records in this office do not show the granting of any license to parties selling liquors, or saloon-keepers occupying property owned by the Corporation of Trinity Church.

By order,
CASPER C. CHILDS,
Clerk to the Board.

I might well be pardoned the strongest expression of indignation at these calumnious accusations against Trinity Church; but I forbear, from the belief that you have published them without any suspicion of their untruth, and that you will cheerfully give the same publicity to their refutation.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

Inasmuch as we possess no original knowledge on the subject discussed in the above letter, but, as we stated at the time, relied on information furnished by another person in whose good faith we had and still have the utmost confidence, we refrain for the present from all comment on the statements of General Dix, except to point out that the original assertions respecting the number of liquor-saloons and brothels self-evidently grew out of the supposition that Trinity Church owned the whole territory described in our article. In order to show that the charge of "utter recklessness" on this point does not in the least affect ourself or our informant, it becomes necessary for us to state on what authority we gave that description of the real estate owned by Trinity Church.

Our immediate informant, whose own name it is unnecessary to give, even were we authorized to give it, furnished us with a map of New York city, "upon which," he wrote, "is outlined by the Hon. Clinton Roosevelt (an old and prominent lawyer of that city, and who is conversant with every inch of property owned by that corporation) the property owned by the Trinity Church Corporation. To any one conversant with the city of New York, there need be no difficulty in forming an estimate of its value. When I stated to Mr. Roosevelt that I had been guilty of making the assertion that the Trinity Corporation owned property in the city of New York worth seventy millions of dollars, upon which were situated more houses of prostitution and gin-mills than upon the combined ecclesiastical property of the rest of the city, and I had called upon him to learn whether I had been guilty of misrepresentation, that I might correct my statement, he unhesitatingly declared that I had told the truth, and he would direct me to the facts. The map enclosed is, or was, outlined by that gentleman. Upon his suggestion I employed a detective, who had access to the offices of the Chief of Police and the Excise Commissioners, and the following is his report, obtained from the records of those offices: From the Police Department, the number of known houses of prostitution situated upon the property so outlined is ninety-six (ninety-two white and four colored). The number of known

liquor-saloons, taken from the office of the Excise Commissioners, is seven hundred and sixty-four."

This information and the map referred to were what we relied upon in writing our original article. So extraordinary a discrepancy as that between the statements of General Dix and Mr. Roosevelt (both of whom we believe to be honorable gentlemen) respecting the amount of real estate owned by Trinity Church astonishes us; and we must leave it unexplained as it stands. If there is "utter recklessness" in the description of that property given by us, it was certainly not our own. The confidence expressed by General Dix in our intention of publishing only the truth in this matter is not undeserved; we should scorn to let either prejudice or partiality color any statement of ours on a question of fact. We can only wait for further light, expressing profound regret if inaccurate information has led us into injustice to Trinity Church.

DEMOCRACY versus COMMUNISM.

"The highest ideal of a democracy is that which secures to every citizen equality before the law, freedom of person, freedom in the family, freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion, freedom of speech, freedom of trade, freedom of labor, freedom of property, freedom of action when not injurious to the State or to society, a share in the election of his rulers, and in the making of the laws by which he is governed, and in the voting of taxes which he is called upon to contribute: which provides that the enlightened will of the majority shall be the rule of all, while none shall be restrained, but for the general good; which, combining the strength of a whole people, has for its first object security for the rights and liberties of every member of the State."

But such an ideal of freedom is decried by communists as "individualism." Their scheme utterly ignores liberty. The individual man is no more than a mechanical part of the whole community; he has no free will, no independence of thought or action. Every act of his life is prescribed for him. Individual liberty is surrendered to the State. Everything that men prize most in life is to be taken out of their hands. Their religion, their education, the management of their families, their property, their industry, their earnings, are dictated by the ruling powers. Such a scheme of government, if practicable, would create a despotism exceeding any known in the history of the world. It was one of the evils of the religious creeds that the dignity of human nature was abused until the nobler aspirations of men were humbled to the dust. In civil life, communism aims at the same abasement of the human character. But, in the one case, men at least humbled themselves before God; in the other, they are required to prostrate themselves before their equals among men, for the sake of an arbitrary scheme of government in which all are called upon to sacrifice their liberty for the remote and speculative good of the community. "For the sake of equality," said Mably, in his treatise *De la Legislation*, "the State ought to be intolerant." And in this scheme of affected equality, the higher natures are subjected to the lower. According to Louis Blanc, "*De chacun suivant ses facultés: à chacun suivant ses besoins.*" (*Histoire de dix Ans.*) In other words, no man is to profit by his own strength, abilities, or industry, but is to minister to the wants of the weak, the stupid, and the idle. To want much and to do little would be the aim of the communist economy.

The natural effect of such theories would be to repress the energies of mankind: and it is their avowed object to proscribe all the more elevated aims and faculties of individuals, and all the arts and accomplishments of life. Babeuf even denounced intercourse with foreigners as dangerous to principles of equality! Heine, writing from Paris in 1840, thus spoke of the communists: "Truly, only with fear and trembling can I think of the time when those dark iconoclasts shall attain empire: with their horny hands they will break up those marble statues so dear to my heart; they will shatter all those fanciful playthings and gewgaws of art which poets loved so much; they will cut down my laurels and plant potatoes there," etc., etc.

Since critics of communism have shown that equality could not fail to deprive nations and society of their highest distinctions, of genius, of learning, of the arts, of invention, of cultivated taste and manners, its professors have not shrunk from confessing their jealousy and hatred of those aspirations which have ever been the pride and glory of mankind.

Doctrines so repugnant to any existing scheme of

society and to human nature might be regarded as the visions of some eccentric Utopia. But the dreams of philosophers in ancient and modern times were to be reduced to a terrible reality in France. It was too late to construct an ideal community with the general consent of its individual members. Society was already established upon the basis of property and public and private rights; and the communists were resolved to subvert it. Whether by social contracts, or progressive taxation, or prohibitory laws against accumulation, or a legislative division of property, or by force, the aim of all alike was the redistribution of property for the common enjoyment of the community.

In the first revolution, the political principles of communism were so widely spread through the mass of the working-classes, and received so much recognition, that their dangerous power continued to threaten every successive government, and is still the dread of France and of Europe. Its dangers becoming more formidable in every revolution, culminated in the brief reign of the Commune in Paris in 1871, which revealed the power of the communist party, and the disastrous operation of their subversive principles. Meanwhile, the social theories of communism assumed a new revolutionary character. It had been the aim of the early revolutionists to overthrow thrones and aristocracies in order to insure liberty and equality. It was the further aim of the communists to crush capitalists and the middle classes, thus fulfilling the foreboding of the gifted De Tocqueville: "*Pense-t-on qu'après avoir détruit la féodalité, et vaincu les rois, la démocratie reculera devant les bourgeois et les riches? S'arrêtera-t-elle maintenant qu'elle est devenue si forte, et ses adversaires si faibles?*" (*Democr. en Amérique.*) Communism was accepted by working-men as a revolt against capital. It was in this spirit that they took part in the revolutions of 1830, of February, 1848, and in the terrible insurrection of June in the same year. For a time they were utterly routed and cast down. The strong rule of the second empire left them no hope of a successful resistance in France, and at length they resolved to advance their ends by a general combination among the workmen of Europe.

By far the most mischievous and dangerous fanatics of European democracy are the socialists and communists. But as their wild schemes for the reconstruction of society are repugnant to all the principles of liberty, and to the eternal instincts of mankind, they must not be confounded with the recognized principles of political democracy which may be expressed as summoned up by Cicero in his *De Republica*: "*Non in ulla civitate, nisi in qua summa potestas populi est, ullum domicilium libertas habet.*"

While rational liberty has been gaining ground in many European States, its principles have been discredited by the violence and dangerous designs of democratic and socialist factions. One of the most repellant characteristics of the extreme democratic party throughout Europe is its irreverent spirit. Without veneration for the religion, the history, or the traditions of their own country, without respect for its great men, they are possessed by an overweening confidence in themselves. Without toleration for the opinions or regard for the interests of others, they pursue their own objects with obstinate resolution. They seem to hate their own governments more than a foreign enemy. Their patriotism displays itself in the abuse of their rulers. In every international dispute their own country is in the wrong. All who are not with them are against them, and are reviled as corrupt and wicked. Such a spirit naturally repels noble minds, otherwise earnest in the popular cause and confident in the people. As the frantic democracy of the French revolutionists of 1793 outraged the sober friends of liberty throughout Christendom, so the disciples of that school in France and other countries—red republicans and communists—have since alarmed the higher and middle classes, who are now associated with the government of their country, and have become the strongest defenders of property and order against the excesses of democracy.

An "International Association of Workmen" was established in 1864, for mutual defence against employers of labor in all countries. But it was not enough to combat the power of capital by combinations of working-men. Capital itself was their natural enemy and must be overcome. It had made workmen slaves, and it was now their turn to subject it to their own uses. Socialism and communism were uppermost in their councils. All rights of property were to be confiscated in the interests of the many. They declared that the emancipation of

labor, in all countries, was the end to which every political movement should be subordinate, and that it was their duty to recognize the rights of man and of citizen. War was thus declared against capital, and societies of workmen were affiliated in all parts of Europe. Newspapers supported the movement, and proclaimed its objects with even less reserve than its leaders. *L'Egalité* warned the *bourgeois* that they were about to be swallowed up, and that the triumph of the workmen, upon the ruins of capital, was at hand. *L'Internationale* contended for the collective proprietorship of the soil, cooperative work-shops, and the exclusive taxation of the rich. The same journal affirmed that the working-classes had overthrown the nobility merely to put the *bourgeois* in their place, and that the domination of the *bourgeois* was the slavery of the *proletariat*. This journal at another time stigmatized the aristocracy and the *bourgeois* as wild beasts, and declared a social revolution as the aim of the Association.

Congresses were held at Geneva; Brussels, Basle, and elsewhere, in which the principles of the Association were boldly avowed. At the Congress at Brussels, in 1868, the President, Eugène Dupont, declared: "The clergy say we wish neither government, nor army, nor religion. They say, truly, we wish no more governments, for they crush us with taxes; we wish no more taxes; we wish no more armies, for they massacre us; we wish no more religions, for religions stifle intelligence." The Congress at Basle, in 1869, declared that society had a right to abolish individual property in the soil, and restore it to the community, and that it was necessary to exercise that right.

Local sections of the Association also, from time to time, published their sentiments to the world. The Marseille section, in April, 1870, wrote: "Let the State, the Church, and the *bourgeois* combine for a work of impotence and ignominy,—the avenging people will confound them in a common ruin." In the same month the workmen of Lyons, addressing their countrymen, bid defiance to capital and to employers of labor, and promised to the working-classes possession of the soil, the mines, and the work-shops. "Henceforth no employers, none but workers." In the trial of communists by the Correctional Tribunal of Lyons, in April, 1874, evidence was produced in proof of the dangerous doctrines of the prisoners. One of them had said: "God and property can only make tyrants and slaves, and that is why I declare against both." In a pamphlet entitled *Social Liquidation*, it was written: "Massacres ought to be the sole thought and occupation of the working-man, whose interest it is to rid himself completely of those who live by his labor." Other evidence to the same effect was given.

The leaders of this mischievous Association were the chief promoters of the movement of the Commune of Paris in 1871; and their dangerous activity has continued to disquiet many European States. They have found little favor among the working-men of England, as is proven by the following extract from a report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, in 1873: "The council could not shut their eyes to the fact that the International Working-men's Association has departed from its original design, by having degenerated into a political society which, through its leaders, has been permitted to be used as the mouth-piece of the disaffected from all parts of Europe; and therefore from this fact decides against any representative from our society attending the Congress at Geneva." Other associations of English working-men evinced the same alienation from the International Society. (See *London Times* of Sept. 6, 1873.) Elsewhere they have been rigorously repressed, as dangerous conspirators against the peace of society and the rights of property.

"Proudhon, one of the apostles of communism, in a memorable phrase, '*Propriété c'est le vol*,' denounced property as theft; and every government, every proprietary class, and all friends of liberty and order have combined to put down his disciples as robbers. Whatever disorders may spring from this wide-spread conspiracy, society will be strong enough to repress and to punish them; their brief triumph will endanger public liberty and encourage political reaction. The natural advancement of society will be checked, and even a revival of absolutism may be endured for the sake of peace and order."

Thus writes Erskine May in the introduction to his recently-published *Democracy in Europe*; and his succinct statement regarding the objects of communists in Europe may be accepted as equally true of their motives and purposes in America.

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY.

Communications.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

BY IVAN PANIN.

No question which has puzzled the heads of statesmen has such a venerable pedigree as the "Eastern" one. When, in the ninth century, the Varangians embarked from Scandinavia on their rude boats, crossed the Baltic Sea, and, by the favorable river-system of Russia, approached Constantinople, which very often the weak emperors could not defend against these daring seamen, birth was given to the problem which required centuries for its solution. When, a hundred years later, Oleg nailed his shield to the gates of Byzantium as a memorial of his victories over the Greeks, he left there a shrine which his successors considered their sacred duty to visit,—with an accompaniment of an innumerable army. Igor twice compelled the Greek emperors to pay him tribute; while his son, Swiataslav, even removed his residence from Kiev to Pereiaslavl on the Danube so as to be nearer the monument Oleg left. And when Vladimir, whom the Russian Church admitted into the society of saints, wickedly fell in love with a Greek princess, and being too proud to ask her hand, resolved to conquer the queen of his affections by force of arms, the marriage ceremonies were celebrated on Greek territory, a Russian army bearing witness to their union.

During the dark period of Russia's history, the Eastern question disappeared, but was not solved. And we see it revived when the proud Catharina, on her arrival at Cherson, ordered the inscription put on its gates: "Here is the road to Constantinople." When she proposed to Joseph II. of Austria the partition of European Turkey, the astonished monarch exclaimed: "But what shall be done with Constantinople?" A question that has been ringing ever since in the ears of European statesmen.

From the geographical position of Russia, we see that it may hope for commercial prosperity only from the undisturbed and undisputed possession of the Black Sea; and as long as the Dardanelles are not watched by Russian coast-guards, the prospect of Russian commerce is not very hopeful. We can, therefore, understand why the Eastern question is of such importance to Russia. It is not a question of sentimentality,—to help the suppressed Christians; nor is it wholly due to misdirected ambition that the longing after Constantinople is cherished. It is, however, another question whether Russia is justified in using the means I am about to describe for solving the problem. Among candid, honorable people there can be only one answer,—that of condemnation!

A few months before the commencement of the present war there appeared in Constantinople a pamphlet, which has since gone through a second edition, and has been translated into German. By official documents, it proves that Russia sent powder, volunteers, and even women to seduce the leading men, in order to effect a rebellion of the Servians and Bulgarians against Turkey. Heaven and earth were set into motion to execute this infamous deed, and it finally succeeded. A sum of fifty thousand roubles, yearly, was appropriated for the noble Ignatieff to organize this criminal scheme. The Tsar, indeed, issued solemn proclamations, regretting the "Turkish troubles." Before the rest of Europe he plausibly lifts his hands to heaven and laments the bloodshed produced among the subjects of the Sultan. But General Ignatieff has accomplished his task. With an appointment of imperial councillor in his pocket, he laughs in his sleeve; and from his comfortable seat on the Neva he triumphantly looks upon the result of his labors,—the war between the sick man on the Baltic and the sick man on the Bosphorus.

The same Russia which declared war with the purpose of ameliorating the condition of Turkish subjects—Russia with its civilizing mission,—had to see the day when in the streets of Moscow were found huge bills demanding a constitution like that of despoiled Turkey.

The fact is, there is nothing perfect on this sinful earth,—not even a perfect tyranny. Thus, though the Russian monarch is an absolute ruler, even he feared the ominous signs of an unknown something, which, however, plainly indicated that his throne rests not on a safe basis. The government, therefore, attempted the remedy which proved so fatal to Napoleon III. By military glory it hoped to dazzle the eyes of the disaffected, and turn their attention from the inward weakness. It wanted but little, and the disastrous affair at Plevna would have been the Sedan of the Romanoffs. The otherwise tame nobility of Moscow dared even to address the emperor, begging him to remove his brother, who proved to be utterly unfit for the high position to which he was appointed. The emperor, of course, refused to accept such a disloyal utterance. This is, however, an important sign of the times. And even now, amid the constant clash of victorious arms, the courts are holding daily sessions over hundreds of so-called conspirators, to be tried for crimes known only to those initiated in the mysteries of the Code of Laws.

But we live in an age when human conscience acquires great elasticity. Moral considerations are ushered into a small side-room, while flattering attentions are paid to considerations of mere success. It is not asked whether, in the bloody contest now going on near the banks of the Danube, Russia is right. Is it successful? Is the question, the answer to which is most sought; for success is now the standard for right. The successful thief is admired for his ingenuity, and the successful robber for his executive ability. Well, Russia is successful, it is victorious. It will find, perhaps, some day the keys of the Bos-

porus in its possession. But what is the price of that so-called success which so dazzles the masses? Let us see:—

Even in times of peace, the unhappy country has to maintain an army of about three-quarters of a million men, composed of the very flower of the population. Hands that are urgently called to the uncultivated soil, muscles required in the factories, mills, and other industrial establishments, are kept idle to serve in the army,—maintained for the purpose of man's slaughtering man; for the purpose of satisfying the vanity of a tyrant, whose ear is deaf to the groans of widows and the tears of orphans; whose eyes are closed for the blood-drenched soil, for the crippled invalids filling the hospitals; whose heart is dulled against the sight of deserted villages, depopulated cities, and empty regions.

The Russian government itself admits the loss of one hundred thousand men since the commencement of the war. How many more victims will be required to complete this expensive success it is now difficult to tell. But in regard to the financial cost of the war, we have some official data. Until November 20, 1877, Russia made three loans, necessitated by the glorious aggrandizement policy, amounting to four hundred and fifty-two million roubles. To this must be added a portion, if not the whole, of the two hundred and forty millions of credit notes paid by the imperial bank for the interest on previous foreign loans. The Russian rouble cannot circulate now, unless its owner has provided its back with a stamp of ten copecks, or one-tenth of a rouble. Adding to those sums the new debts contracted since November 20, 1877, we find that the so-called Russian success has been bought at the price of one hundred thousand men, one billion roubles, in round numbers; and, in addition to that, it sustains, and will have to sustain, a loss in industry which is beyond computation. Thus we have the sum total of the grand success!

"LA RELIGION LAIQUE."

BY BISHOP FERRETTE.

Consulto involvit veritatem Antiquitas,
Ut sapiens intelligeret, erraret rudis.

PRÆTORUS.

When on the day of Pentecost the Apostles, filled with the Holy Ghost, began to speak in "tongues" (that is in allegorical figures), some of the bystanders, who did not appreciate that esoteric language, irreverentially asked whether those men were drunk. Hear the answer which Peter gave: "The case is not, as you imagine, that these men be drunk. But this is what was said by the prophet Joel, 'And it shall be in the last days, says God, that I shall pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh' [not upon priests and prophets alone]; 'and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your elderly men shall dream dreams; and even upon my handmaidens and my men-servants shall I pour out of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy.'" Is it possible to say more clearly that the advent of Christianity is that of "THE LAY RELIGION"?

The Gospel of John distinguishes itself from the three others as the lay Gospel. It makes no mention of the sacraments which, in the early Church, and indeed in the Church of our time according to canonical strictness, are secret initiations which nobody can know anything about except those who have actually received them. The Gospel of John presents Christianity in the only aspect in which it can be presented to those who have not been initiated to its esoteric form through baptism. Yet the esoteric and exoteric forms cannot be supposed to differ in purport: otherwise, nothing would be more frequent in ecclesiastical history than the unheard-of occurrence of converts stepping out of the baptismal font at the first mention of doctrines so astounding, if grossly and carnally meant, as those of Trinity and the Real Presence. Now this exoteric Christianity, which exoteric Christianity merely expresses in another language, what is it according to Saint John? "In the beginning was Reason (Logos), and Reason dwelt with God, and Reason was God; and Reason was made flesh and dwelt among us." In other words, Jesus is nothing else but that innate rationalism which, from the beginning of the world, is the light of every man coming into this world, that very same rationalism incarnated in a man.

I do not mean to say that Christianity, being in substance mere rationalism, and having in fact never been presented to the world in any other light by the Fathers of the Church, has no dogmas, or that its dogmas are not mysterious. On the contrary, its dogmas are nothing else than *mysterious* or *initatory*: they are initiations through symbols into the truths which reason teaches in a simple form, into those other truths of which reason feels the existence, but for which she can find no adequate formulas, and into the practical fellowship of the initiated believers. Nor do I mean to say that Christianity, being a lay religion, has in no sense a priesthood. It has a priesthood composed of all the baptized members; for if among those some happen to be deacons or presbyters or bishops, that is an inner concern with which the outer world, so to speak, has nothing to do. To this priesthood, in which the Spirit of Christ will always abide with phases of light from age to age, is mystically entrusted the salvation of mankind. But lest the claim should be deemed in any sense self-assuming or high-handed, let it be well understood that the first word of that priesthood in constituting itself in the Holy Spirit was, as its last word is, that the Spirit of God is poured upon all flesh, and that Christianity is a lay religion.

It is because the Spirit of God is not limited to the particular body constituting the historical Church that I deem the above hints sufficient to enable sensible men to see three things at least.

The first is the absolute superfluity of heresy, the

dogmas and sacraments as they are being susceptible of any interpretation which the progress of science or the perfectionment of mankind may suggest or require.

The second is the absolute beastliness of Protestantism, which would bring us back to a dead letter, when we have in the midst of us a living priesthood whose heart throbs with the same pulse as the heart of mankind, and whose steps can accommodate themselves to the steps of mankind from infancy to manhood.

The third is the pardonable mistake of those rationalists who think it indispensable for themselves to blame Christianity, when they are themselves nothing but a part of its evolution. I have seldom seen so clear, able, and amiable an *exposé* of what those men believe, as was given in THE INDEX, March 21, under the heading of "Free Religion in France," in the form of three extracts from M. Charles Fauvety's monthly *La Religion Laïque*. Any one who has read the Fathers of the Church, and especially the Christian Apologists of the three first centuries, will easily perceive that the profession of such views would have been in those times deemed a sufficient qualification for baptism. That the Nicene Creed itself means nothing else must be plain enough to any one who has any idea of the manner in which antiquity interpreted its religious formulae. Even to this day the clergy of every Christian Church is in great majority composed of men who openly or secretly interpret in a broad sense the dogmas which they preach, and who could not on any other terms reconcile for a single instant their conscience with the position which they occupy. But leaving priests alone, so as to narrow the subject to what is announced in my title, I give it as the result of my very extensive acquaintance with laymen both in the Orthodox (Oriental) and in the Latin Church, that nine out of ten persons who conscientiously adhere to either church see nothing in its dogmas but that *Religion Laïque* which M. Fauvety upholds. If by this expression, the Church, we understand the Christian people; and if by asserting the infallibility of the Church, we mean at least that the Christian people are not universally deceived as to the nature and purport of the religion which they profess, no other conclusion is possible than that *La Religion Laïque* is the only true, recognized, and Orthodox Christianity.

MRS. BESANT'S TRIAL.

DEAR INDEX:—

The literary element is necessarily very little thought of in a paper like yours, attending so busily to the deeper questions of life, that matters of mere style become a very secondary consideration. But there is another than literary view of the book I would mention. Possibly, before this reaches you, some other hand will have done the work involved in reading and commenting upon the small but closely-printed pages, from the press of the "Free Thought Association" in England,—*The Trial of Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh*. With the details and issues of that trial your readers are already familiar; but this is, I believe, the first connected account, giving its course from day to day, and including the defence and summing up of both parties. However thoroughly one may differ from the modes of thought prevalent in the "Free Thought Association," or deprecate the tone too often found in their discussions, Mrs. Besant represents a quiet and intense devotion to a noble purpose which must command the respectful admiration of friends and enemies alike. Not only is the book a record of facts, but it contains also one of the most convincing and powerful arguments ever made by woman,—an argument lasting some three days, and conducted with a force as well as delicacy which marks an era in the history of such cases. Through the whole runs a pathetic, entreating *womanliness*, a quality indescribable, but producing its full effect upon the Lord Chief-Justice, who treated her, so far as his position admitted, with an almost chivalrous respect, shielding her all he could from the attacks of the coarse-grained, coarse-tongued Solicitor-General. It was a cruel position, bravely held, and the moral lies open to all. Pleasant or unpleasant, under every problem of the present age, pauperism, education, marriage, the labor question is this one underlying fact, inexorable as all facts, and demanding an answer we shall one day be forced to give. Radical or Conservative, Free Thought or Orthodox, must face it sooner or later; and no better key to solution can be found than in the quiet, convincing statements of a woman who knows whereof she speaks; has sacrificed to her belief something quite as dear as life; and who knows to the full every phase of sadness and misery making up the struggle for existence in this "year of our Lord" 1878.

CAMPBELL WHEATON.

NEW YORK, March 22, 1878.

"UNHISTORIC RELIGION AND BORROWED CONSCIENCES."

Mr. D. W. Vaughn, of Providence, delivered yesterday (March 31) an excellent address upon the above subject in the vestry of the Bell Street Chapel, under the auspices of the Free Religious Society of Providence. It is sentimentally said that Christianity is a quotation. It is a borrowed faith, and so are the consciences of the people that profess it. Mr. Vaughn spoke of the innumerable instances there are around us of persons who cannot be induced to depart from certain requirements of their church, yet who entertain lax ideas of truth, and possibly of honesty. These, he said, are borrowed consciences, a product of ignorance and superstition in the combined proportions to cause the laws of bigotry and fanaticism to pass for religion. Religion is a part of man's nature as much so as his chyme or his chyle. God, by this faculty, reveals himself to man.

Historical religion, or Christianity, as to-day understood, has had various characteristics at different epochs of its history. The change began not long after the translation of the Bible by Tyndall and Coverley, and its whole tendency was towards theocratic ideas of God and government. The people became the people of a book, and that book the Bible. It affected their language with its cumbrous phraseology, and usurped their whole attention. That influence which to-day is exerted by countless books, reviews, essays, newspapers, tracts, etc., was, at this date, all furnished by this one single book. Ere long theological controversies commenced,—an inevitable consequence of the theocratic dogmatism of the Book. Venomous discussions followed between churches that followed Luther and those that followed Calvin. The nation became so many theologians.

There are no greater examples of moral grandeur to-day than there were a thousand years ago. The teachings of the early philosophers are the summit of morality now. The sayings of Confucius are the admiration of the world; yet knowledge has been steadily advancing and widening its borders.

Unhistoric religion is faith in the moral sentiment. It is a belief in the affirmations of the soul which are the direct inspiration of the Almighty, and which outrank all other revelations, no matter how sacredly believed in, nor how time-honored.

Contrasting the religious teaching of to-day with that of the Bible, Mr. Vaughn said the stern old Hebrew prophets never called upon the people "to get religion," but "to get wisdom." The English hell is the terror of not succeeding, of not making money; and this is, par excellence, the American one.

The pure ethics of Jesus transcend all others. He showed that deep philosophic insight into man's being and that conception of his possibilities which proclaim him the sublimest moral teacher of the world. It is this very revelation of Jesus, this conception of man's real dignity and value in God's providence which are to regenerate the world, redeem it, and save it, and not a contrivance of sick theologians to meet the requirements of a morbid conscience.

True religion is the development of man's whole nature. To be a great soul hereafter, one must commence to be one here.

NEW YORK STATE ORGANIZATION.

We hope soon to have a *working* Liberal League County Committee in every County of New York State. The committee for the City and County of New York will consist of five members; other counties of three members.

Prof. A. L. Rawson has been named as the chairman of the New York city committee, and writes: "I will act as suggested, and send names as soon as it is practicable to consult the right men. The work is too important to trust with indifferent persons."

Gen. Robert Avery, of Nyaok, has been named as chairman of Rockland County, and writes: "I accept with much pleasure the chairmanship of a Liberal League County Committee, and name as my associates Horace G. Knapp and William W. Hinton, of this place. We mean to organize a Local League soon, and hope to be some service to the cause of freedom."

J. G. Reynolds, Esq., of Bombay, has accepted the chairmanship of the County of Franklin, and has appointed as his associates Alvin Russell, of Bombay, and Joseph W. Brown, of Moira. Mr. Reynolds writes that a League will soon be organized in his county.

Dr. Freeman Lyon, an earnest, intelligent liberal of Bloomingdale, is the chairman of the Essex County Committee, and has chosen as his associates Luther T. Bryant and Royal Ferrigo, of Bloomingdale. The committee will immediately move for the organization of a Liberal League.

Other counties will soon have their committees perfected. Within thirty days there should be a Liberal League Committee in each of the sixty counties of this State; then each committee should see that at least one Local Liberal League is at once organized in its county. That would give us sixty Leagues in the State and a representation in the next Liberal League Congress of *three hundred members*. If every liberal will do his and her duty before September, the Empire State can accomplish this and more. Friends, will you make the effort?
H. L. GREEN.

LIBERAL LEAGUES.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., April 1, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

A few days since, I sent to the Board of Directors of the National Liberal League an application for a charter for the prosperous Liberal League at Linesville, Penna. This morning I have sent an application for a charter for "The First Liberal League of Indians," at Xenia; and I am just informed of the organization of a Liberal League of some forty members in Elmira, N. Y., that will make application for a charter soon. From the city of Buffalo comes the most encouraging news. A League of some seventy-five members has just been organized under the name of "Liberal League No. 1 of Buffalo," which meets every Friday evening, and which will immediately apply for a charter; and that is not all from Buffalo. The old "German Freethinkers' Association," numbering over one hundred members, have recently received a bequest of two thousand dollars, and have now decided to take out a charter as an auxiliary Liberal League. So that Buffalo, as well as the city of Rochester, her near neighbor, will have two Leagues. And now I will reveal a secret that may cause two Boston Liberal Leagues to look well to their laurels. The Spiritualists of

Boston are preparing to organize a third Liberal League in your city; and I predict if they do it will from the start take the lead as to numbers at least, if not in earnestness and enthusiasm. May that be the case! The more the better.
H. L. GREEN.

P.S.—The Tompkins County Liberal League, by its able and well-directed monthly public meetings at Ithaca, is producing valuable results for our cause in Central and Western New York, and throughout the country generally.

SUNDAY LEGISLATION IN LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 17, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

During the past year, quite an active movement has been in progress, on the part of Church and temperance organizations, to enact Sunday ordinances in the parishes, and a general law for the State. In perhaps ten parishes, all places of business, with exception of druggists, physicians, etc., are ordered closed under heavy penalties. In St. Mary's parish where an ordinance was adopted, the police jury afterward temporarily suspended it to accommodate the labor interests of planters in the sugar-making season.

The present session of the Legislature, petitions and bills for Sunday laws have been received in unusual numbers. A bill to regulate labor was checked in the Senate by the following effective speech of State Senator Zacharie:—

The Sunday Labor Bill.

"Senator Zacharie replied to the advocates of the Sunday labor bill with great effect yesterday. Senator Stamps moved its adoption, and Young to indefinitely postpone, when Mr. Zacharie spoke as follows:—

"Mr. President,—I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without availing myself of it to place myself on record against all such legislation. Sir, the very basis of republican government, I mean of American republicanism, is this principle: that the Church and State are perpetually divorced; that legislative authority is without right to force upon any man any religion or religious observances. Our government is formed for Jew and Gentile alike, and I am at a loss to understand by what process of reasoning a majority can force upon a minority a religious observance. If this be proper, I know not what may be the next step; it may be a law compulsory to force people to attend church. Sir, this projected law is not only un-republican, but it is unchristian. The very genius of Christianity consists in winning its way by affection and persuasion. Here, sir, is an attempt to adopt the Mohammedan method, and to lead the sword of justice to enforce upon unwilling consciences a semblance of a religious observance which they do not desire. In eighteen centuries by these methods of gentleness, catching its spirit from its founder, the Divine Master, Christianity has spread and dominated over nearly three-quarters of the habitable globe.

"Those are no true friends of the religion of Christ who seek now to resort to the force of law to compel an adherence to its doctrines or observances. I have trusted, sir, that such ideas should never prevail in this section of the country, where tolerance, liberality, and the utmost freedom of conscience have always been maintained; and I hoped that in this blending of the races here, at the mouth of this great river, the principle would never be touched, but should remain forever inviolate; that each citizen should be left to worship God according to his own conscience, without let or hindrance or control from the government.

"The bill was recommitted."

As Senator Zacharie is a prominent political leader, and dealt a sturdy blow for free religion at the proper moment, I thought it advisable to introduce him to a more intimate acquaintance of THE INDEX family.
Very respectfully,
EMERSON BENTLEY.

LITTLE LESSONS FOR LITTLE FREE-THOUGHT LEARNERS.

What is religion? A force in Nature regulating the moral function of the mind.

What is a church? A business corporation of individuals organized to utilize this force.

What is God? An impersonation of this force.

What is the devil? An imaginary opponent of this force; need for argument.

What is hell? A perversion of language recently abolished.

What is an idol? An ideal impersonation of this force in visible form.

What is a Catholic? A person who believes the Church the mother of religion.

What is a Protestant? A person who protests against this; and sees religion the parent of the Church.

What does this force ultimately produce? Manhood.

What is business? Buying in the lowest, and selling in the highest market; and formulating these transactions in a set of accounts that he who runs may read.

What force regulates business? The law of supply and demand.

What is the tendency of this law? To create business at the expense of men.

Which does society need the most,—men or business? Men could not exist without business, and business could not exist without men; one should balance the other.

How is a panic caused? By society ignoring this balance, and rushing to the business extreme.

What is the antidote? The other extreme: more manhood.
R. G. T.

DORCHESTER, Mass.

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support.

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It is the object of THE INDEX to give public utterance to the boldest, most cultivated, and best matured thought of the age on all religious questions, and to apply it directly to the social and political amelioration of society.

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Every liberal should subscribe for THE INDEX as the best popular exponent of Religious Liberalism. Every Christian minister, and every thinking church-member, should subscribe for it, as the clearest, most candid, and most scholarly exposition of the differences between Free Thought and Evangelical Christianity, and as the best means of becoming well informed of the arguments and the movements which the Church will have to meet in the future.

Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America--that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,--is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large. And later still 'I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest.'"

Send \$3.20 for one year, including postage, or 80 cents for three months on trial.

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"One purpose of this volume is to give an answer to the question, What is the meaning of the Free Religious Association?"

Proceedings of Fifth Annual Meeting, 1873. Contains essays by J. W. Chadwick on "Liberty and the Church in America," by C. D. B. Mills on "Religion as the Expression of a Permanent Sentiment of the Human Mind," and by O. B. Frothingham on "The Religion of Humanity," with addresses by Rowland Connor, Oella Bursleigh, Lucretia Mott, A. B. Alcott, C. A. Bartol, Horace Seaver, Alexander Loos, and others.

Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1873. Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Sign of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,--as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"--together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keesh-n Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "the Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,--together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Laaker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

Any one of the above pamphlets of "PROCEEDINGS" sent to any address for Five cents received in postage stamps; and more at the same rate. Sold also for Five cents at the office.

For series of Important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

These publications are for sale at the office of the Free Religious Association, 231 Washington Street, Boston. The Annual Reports for 1866 and 1871 cannot be supplied, and the supply of others previous to that of 1873 is quite limited and at special rates. Orders by mail may be addressed "Free Religious Association, 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass."

WM. J. POTTER, Sec. F. E. A.

INDEX TRACTS.

No. 1.--Truths for the Times, by F. E. Abbot, contains the "Fifty Affirmations" and "Modern Principles." Mr. CHARLES DARWIN, author of "The Origin of Species," says, in a letter to the editor not originally intended for publication, but subsequently authorized to be used: "I have now read 'TRUTHS FOR THE TIMES,' and I admire them from my inmost heart; and I agree to almost every word." New Edition. Price 10 cents; 12 copies \$1.00.

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1873 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 434.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SCHOOL REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 3, 1878.

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

GLIMPSES.

THE FIRST official act of King Humbert was to commute eighty-five death sentences, with the declaration that he was happy to begin his reign by the virtual abolition of capital punishment.

THE LAST eminent defaulter, S. Angier Chace, of Fall River, was a member of the Central Congregational Church. Single cases prove nothing; but dishonest church-members have become painfully common of late.

MR. POTTER'S essay on "Christianity and Modern Civilization," which we are permitted by the author's kindness to publish this week, adds another to the many papers of superlative value which have given a quite peculiar character to THE INDEX; and it must rank with the ablest and the best. There is a comprehensive and judicial quality in Mr. Potter's thought which is scarcely equalled among the other radical writers of the day, and which is above all price in the estimation of those whose main desire is to know what is true. His essay should be not only pondered, but studied; and study of it will yield rich returns.

THE VENERABLE and beloved radical, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, has kindly copied for us the following form of exorcising rats, used by the priests in Norway: "I do exorcise you, pestiferous rats, by God the Omnipotent Father [sign of the cross], and by Jesus Christ his Son [sign of the cross], and by the Holy Ghost proceeding from both [sign of the cross], that forthwith ye depart from these fields, vines, and waters, nor longer abide in the same, but that ye go away to places where you can do no mischief to anybody. And, in the name of the Omnipotent, and all the Court of Heaven, and the holy Church of God, be ye accursed wherever ye go; wasting within yourselves, from day to day, and decreasing, so that no remnant of you may be found anywhere; saying that it be needful for the good and salvation of man. May God, who is to come to judge the quick and the dead, and the world by fire, bring this to pass! Amen."

IT IS AMUSING to learn that the promulgation of the "Jasperian theory" of the universe, in Richmond, Va., has given rise to a fierce theological war among the colored people of that vicinity, and given its author, the Rev. John Jasper, colored preacher, a great notoriety. At the second delivery of his sermon, in which he "proved" that the sun moves round the earth, he attracted an immense crowd, representing, says a report, the *crème de la crème* of Richmond society, both ladies and gentlemen, including some of the high State officials. When he brought out his strong points, there were such remarks heard as, "Dat's so," "He's got de Bible on dem," "Now I knows de sun is movin'," "Yes, Lord," "Honey, you's tellin' the truth," and "Give it to dem, Brother Jasper!" When the preacher, describing the passage of the children of Israel over the Red Sea, said, "Den de lynch pin in Pharaoh's chariot comed out," a sister in the gallery cried, "Dar my Lord."

THE NEWARK *Daily Advertiser* not long since gave this significant hint not to lecture in the State of New Jersey: "It is not only the peripatetic lecturers who are hungry for the shekels of the people, but the guardians of the law themselves, who are apparently unaware that there is a law in this State which it is expected some people shall obey and others execute. It may be found in Nixon's Digest, under the head of 'Crimes,' Section 22; and it reads after this fashion: 'If any person shall wilfully blaspheme the holy name of God, by denying, cursing, or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the Christian religion, or the holy word of God (that is the canonical scriptures contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments), or by profanely scoffing at or exposing them, or any of them, to contempt and

ridicule, then every person so offending shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine, not exceeding two hundred dollars, or imprisonment, at hard labor, not exceeding twelve months, or both, at the discretion of the Court.' So it would appear that this is not a free country, after all, and that liberty does not include the license to abuse everything that other people consider decent and sacred. Perhaps there are some people who will make a note of it."

IT IS STATED by the San Francisco *Post* that among the recent arrivals on the steamship, "City of Peking," were two priests from the interior of Japan, claiming to be endowed with miraculous power. They are on their way to the Paris Exposition with a party of their countrymen, conducted by two English gentlemen who have for several years resided in Japan. A reporter interviewed these gentlemen last evening. They told him that the priests are religious enthusiasts, who profess through the power of faith and by the medium of prayer to be enabled to do the most remarkable things—such as are recorded in the Christian Gospels as in the power of the followers of Jesus—referring to those passages which speak of their being able to remove mountains, and to swallow deadly poisons without harm. One of the miraculous things that these priests are able to do is to walk with naked feet over the edges of swords ground to the keenness of a razor, and also over a bed of live coals. They never attempt this without a formal and fervent appeal to their divinity for protection; and they assert most positively that it would be impossible for them to perform the works they do without divine interference in their behalf. They intend to exhibit their remarkable powers in Paris during their stay, and will challenge the devotees of the Christian or any other faith to do the things that they do. In answer to an inquiry whether they would exhibit their powers in this country, the gentlemen said that such was not their intention.

"YESTERDAY'S VOTE in the State Senate," says the New York *Tribune* of April 10, "on the bill for the taxation of clergymen, shows that no proposition to put church buildings and land on a level with other property, with respect to taxation, is likely to be received with favor at Albany at present. The discussion of the bill covered this whole question; and strong feeling was shown against church taxation. An amendment providing for the taxation of all churches worth over \$5,000 was rejected; and the bill itself was killed by almost a three-fourths vote." A report of the proceedings in the same issue is as follows: "There was a strong debate in the Senate to-day over Senator Raines's bill for the taxation of clergymen, Senators McCarthy, Goodwin, Hughes, Ecclesine, and Edick earnestly opposing the passage of the bill. 'Altogether,' as one senator remarked, 'the piety of the senate was thoroughly proved.' Senators Raines, Marvin, and Sessions made speeches in favor of the bill. Senator Ecclesine was especially violent in his attack upon the bill, declaring it an attempt to tax God's temple. He also said that it would be unjust to tax a class of the community who were doing so much good—the poor clergymen. Senator Raines replied that it was the modern spirit to make all things and persons equal. Seamstresses and poor laborers ought to be protected as well as the poor clergy. He had yet to learn that it was a precept of the Christian religion to confiscate the property of an unbeliever to support the Christian religion. The bill was killed; the enacting clause stricken out by a vote of twenty to eight. Previously an amendment offered by Senator Sessions, providing for the taxation of all churches worth over \$5,000 in value, was rejected." It ought to be evident to all that this righteous reform of church taxation can only be carried by extensive organization of the liberals. The result of this attempt ought to give a great stimulus to the Liberal League everywhere.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

Christianity and Modern Civilization.
A LECTURE DELIVERED IN HORTICULTURAL HALL, BOSTON, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION, MARCH 3, 1878.
BY WILLIAM J. POTTER.

Modern civilization and modern Christendom are territorially nearly coterminous. Modern civilization had its origin within the already-occupied domain of Christianity; and for a number of centuries the two have developed together. From these simple facts, our discussion takes its departure. Out of these facts has arisen the wide-spread popular opinion—which is also not infrequently shared and defended by persons of culture,—that modern civilization is the direct and legitimate product of Christianity; that Christianity is the parent, modern civilization the child; that wherever the former goes, the latter follows. They are bound indissolubly together, it is alleged, as cause and effect.

I propose in this lecture to examine this opinion. I ask you, solely in the interests of truth, to inquire with me whether this popular judgment rests upon solid foundations. Often the opinion takes very extreme form. It is common to hear it declared by Christian preachers, and to read it in essays by zealous partisans of the Christian faith, that we owe to Christianity all the specially distinguishing and most desirable features of modern society,—not only the religious progress, the moral advance, the humanitarian and philanthropic spirit of our times, but the general circulation of knowledge, the literary activity, the vast material and commercial enterprise, the social and industrial progress, the triumphs of science and art, the increase of civil and personal liberty. All these characteristics of modern civilization are frequently claimed to be the fruit of Christianity. Other persons, holding essentially the same opinion, but more conversant with the actual course of historical events and more prudent in statement, would refrain from any such specific computation of the products of Christianity to be found in modern civilization, and would be content with the claim that Christianity was present as the chief and most powerful force among the social elements from which modern civilization sprang, and thus became the inspiring and controlling genius of it; and hence, though not directly the special creator of all these great secular results above-named, it may yet be claimed to have been indirectly their vital cause. So common and so deeply-rooted is the opinion that modern civilization grew out of Christianity, and that without Christianity modern civilization would not have been, that the question is sometimes asked, How will you explain the stagnation of Asia, where civilization began centuries before the origin of Christianity, and while Europe was barbarian, if it be not true that the civilization of Europe is owing to the inherent superiority of Christianity over the prevailing Asiatic faiths? As if Christianity had only to set its foot in a country, and, without any regard to the character of the population or to their existing traditions and institutions, civilization would follow! Now the only legitimate way to examine this question is to study the facts of history. It is not a metaphysical question; not a question primarily or chiefly of theology. It is not a question concerning the a priori probability of a religion, which is assumed to have had a supernatural origin, and to continue under supernatural protection, being able to produce a certain recognized condition and temper of society. The question is one of historical facts. It involves, it is true, a philosophy of history; but it is a philosophy of history that rests upon the actual social processes and events which are open to the investigation of the historical student, and not a philosophy based on any preconceived theories.

And the first question that meets us is the simple one, When did modern civilization begin? By what particular events is this important era indicated? We know when Christianity began, and how. That is, we know well enough for all purposes of our present discussion; though, if it were necessary to consider the whole rationale of the origin of Christianity, we should probably have to trace its lineage back considerably farther, and to more complex sources than is done by those historians who date the birth of Christianity at the birth of Jesus. But where shall we date the birth of modern civilization? Mr. Buckle in one place says that modern civilization is not yet three hundred years old. The French his-

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

ARTICLE I.
SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to

torian, Guizot, in his important lectures on "The History of Civilization in Modern Europe," dates modern Europe back to the fall of the Roman Empire,—at the end of the fifth century. Yet these two authors, though seemingly in these statements so far apart, are in essential agreement as to the real sources of modern civilization. But, for the time being, one was looking at the building definitely framed and erected; the other at the first rude preparations, the mere clearing of the ground for it. Close students of history do not find the different ages and epochs of human development to be separated from each other by such clear lines of demarcation as are popularly supposed to exist. They discern the hidden social forces that may be long working under the soil before any great event appears to mark an era. Guizot was right, and Buckle would indorse him, that modern Europe cannot be understood without going back to consider the social materials that existed at the fall of the Roman Empire,—aye, we may add, without a close study of the Roman Empire itself before it fell. But, at its fall, one civilization, the old Roman, came to an end. Infirm and tottering from inward disease, it was buried under the irruption of the barbarian tribes from the north of Europe; and no civilization arose to take its place until the modern civilization appeared. Yet nearly a thousand years elapsed after the fall of Rome before there was any definite appearance of a civil order entitled to be called a new civilization; nearly a thousand years of transition when Europe had no civilization,—unless we can call the sway of the Christian Church, which was the ruling power of this time, a period of ecclesiastical civilization. It was, in fact, a period of mental stagnation, of moral darkness, of social disorder,—a period during which the various forces of barbarism, civilization, and religion that had come into violent conflict were recovering from the shock of the collision, and were mutually adjusting themselves to the new conditions.

This was the period of the so-called "Dark Ages,"—ages not so dark as they were once painted, perhaps; ages when there was still some stirring of life under the soil in preparation for the things that were to come. Hidden away in obscure corners, and under the rubbish of the vast ruin, were some noble products of the buried civilization, in which the spark of life was not dead, but sleeping; and in that vast mass of mobile barbarism which had rolled down from the north there was a power of vital assimilation and growth which held already in prophecy a new order of things. Yet the period in the main, compared with what had gone before, and with what has come after, is rightly called the "Dark Ages." It was nine hundred years after the sun of one civilization had set in Europe before the sun of another civilization had appeared sufficiently near the horizon to declare the coming day. Popularly speaking, the end of these Middle Ages and the dawn of the era of the Protestant Reformation marks the beginning of modern society; and this is sufficiently exact for giving us a date. But we must not be led astray by it into the argument that the Protestant Reformation was the cause of modern civilization. All philosophical historians of the Protestant Reform carry that movement back much beyond Luther's time and vigorous activity, and trace it to causes not wholly connected with the moral condition of the Roman Church nor exclusively religious. The Protestant Reform is not the cause of modern civilization, but it is one of the first and most momentous consequences of a train of social forces which produced them both; and this train of forces may be followed back to the moment when human reason began to arouse from its long slumber, and to assert again its supremacy in human affairs. This, to speak generally, was somewhere about the twelfth century; though several centuries followed before this self-assertion of the human intellect gathered strength enough to make a desperate struggle for its rights; and then long periods of further conflict before it won its place as leader of the new civilization.

And this brings us to a more important question than that of determining the precise era when modern civilization began,—to the question, namely, of the distinguishing characteristics of modern civilization. But the question, though very important to our discussion, is not difficult to answer. All good observers of the events and movements of the age in which we are living, with power to generalize their observations, are on the jury for deciding this question. What, then, shall we say are the dominant peculiar qualities of present civilization? They are marked; and we can hardly miss them, or disagree concerning them. First and foremost, as in a sense the parent of all the rest, is the characteristic to which I have just alluded in tracing modern civilization to its origin,—namely, the self-assertion of human reason, in opposition to the claims of a merely traditional authority, whether put forth in the name of political or ecclesiastical power. From this assertion of the supremacy of the human intellect follows the practice of mental liberty, or of free inquiry, in the whole domain of human thought, and the claim to civil and personal liberty in the domain of government. Then, for other marked features of modern civilization, more or less nearly allied to this of free mental activity, we have the wonderful advance in natural science and in inventive skill, and the consequent marvellous power which man has gained over Nature; the general spread of knowledge among the people; the growth of nationalities and of the doctrine of international rights for their mutual protection in respect to each other; and of individual welfare as the object of each nation within its own domain; the vastness of commercial and material enterprises; the widening range of industries; the increase of domestic and social material comforts; the eager pursuit of wealth; the absorption of hu-

man thought upon secular interests; the spirit of a practical philanthropy,—a philanthropy that aims specially at bettering man's condition in his earthly life, and that shows itself both in voluntary philanthropic organizations and in civil legislation for benevolent ends. These, I think we shall agree, are the most distinguishing features of modern society. We cannot call modern civilization specially religious, though religion flourishes under it, as it has under other civilizations. As distinguished from the age immediately preceding in Europe, it is decidedly a secular civilization. Nor can we say that our modern civilization is characteristically moral, though there has been moral progress under it. But other civilizations have been quite as moral according to their own standard of morality; and there are nations to-day reckoned without the pale of modern European civilization that are quite as moral as those within it. Nor should we put philanthropy at the head of the list of characteristics by which modern civilization is specially distinguished. It occupies an honored but subordinate place in comparison with the other features I have named. But with respect to these—the free activity of human reason, the vindication of individual independence, the growing supremacy of natural science, the power of man over Nature, the zeal for wealth, the commercial and industrial enterprise, the pursuit of individual well-being, and the recognition of individual rights in national existence—there can be little doubt. These are the features that come prominently to our view when modern civilization is named.

Now if modern civilization be the product of Christianity, we might naturally expect to find these same distinguishing features, or at least the elements of them, in the Christian religion. But, with the exception of the spirit of philanthropy, not one of them do we find there. None of the most peculiar and dominant characteristics of modern society is a specially controlling quality of Christianity. There could hardly exist, indeed, a more complete contrast between any two systems of active impulse and thought than exists between Christianity and modern civilization. But there will be some demur to this statement. And since it is a statement that brings us very near the centre of our theme, we must at once recognize the difficulty that meets us here and causes this demur.

The difficulty consists in the problem of determining what Christianity is: a modern problem, let me add, which has originated in those liberal and elastic interpretations of the Christian faith which tend to erase all clear lines of distinction between it and other religions. If we cut historical Christianity into several sections, and look only at each section separately, we shall see, indeed, several kinds of Christianity. By this process of dissection, the Christianity of the organized Christian Church is one thing, the Christianity of the New Testament quite another thing. And then in historical organization there are Roman Christianity and Greek Christianity and Protestant Christianity,—all different. There are, in fact, two Christianities in the New Testament itself, one in the teachings of Jesus, and another in the teachings of Paul; and we might even find a third in the mystic spiritual philosophy of the Fourth Gospel; that is, there are these three kinds of Christianity in the New Testament, if we do not look for the vital bond that joins them into one. But the difficulty of bringing a statement of what Christianity is that would satisfy all minds greatly subsides when we consider more definitely the nature of our previous question: Did Christianity produce modern civilization? For no definition, no mere statement of what Christianity is—whether Protestant or Roman Catholic statement, primitive, apostolic, or modern liberal,—would help us to a conclusion, unless we justified our definition or statement by a thorough presentation of the historical contents of Christianity. What we have to do, in any case, is to study the actual character of Christianity as it has been unfolded in its centuries of historical existence. We have to look at the social forces, impulses, and agencies it has specially set in operation, the motives it has appealed to, the direction it has given to human activities, the kind of thought it has aroused, the doctrines it has predominately taught, the spirit it has inculcated and produced; and we have especially to observe what were its prevailing tendencies, what its efforts, teachings, and doings, at the time when the elements of modern civilization were beginning to crystallize. Did the Christian religion, beginning in Judea eighteen or nineteen centuries ago, develop by natural process, through the gradual growth of these centuries, the essence and characteristics of modern civilization? That is the real question to which we now come; and to answer it we have to note the character and progress of Christianity all along the line.

Of course, in the limits of this lecture, we can but rapidly sketch the main points in this part of our argument, gleaning from a large field, to which only a book of many chapters could do full justice. And first we must look at Christianity at its beginning,—at Christianity in the New Testament, which, for the scope of the present question, at least, may be considered as essentially one.

In the teachings of Jesus, as we gather them from the Evangelical narratives, we have a system of morals of exceptional purity and beauty, a very elevated spiritual sentiment, a devout and confident tone of religious trust, and a few simple principles of religious doctrine which may mostly be summed up in the sentence, "Believe in the goodness of God, and do good to your fellow-man," and which look startlingly small and childlike by the side of the vast edifices of dogma that have since been built in his name. We see, withal, a man of wonderful gentleness and sympathy, especially towards the sinful and sorrowing, living and teaching in the very pathos of

tenderness and charity, yet holding a defiant and revolutionary attitude towards the outward ecclesiastical authority of Judaism, combined with a claim, rather vaguely defined and asserted, to the office of the expected Jewish Messiah. In a word, we have in the character and teachings of Jesus a religious prophet and reformer of the highest order. But what one of the specially dominant features of modern civilization do we find in his teachings and example? The ethics of Jesus, the whole spiritual aim and tone of his life, and the entire spirit and inculcations of the New Testament as a whole, are, indeed, directly and expressly opposed to some of the most characteristic and ruling tendencies of modern society. Who must not admit that the general teaching of the New Testament, and of Jesus in particular, discourages rather than fosters the spirit of material enterprise and commercial profit; that it rebukes the desire for wealth; that it chides even the natural prudential anxiety which looks ahead for to-morrow's means of livelihood; that it was not concerned to discover new facts about Nature or man, nor to stimulate mental activity, nor to invent new methods for the amelioration of man's physical condition, nor to promote intellectual aspiration and culture?

In this primitive Christian era, the idea of the responsibility of individual man for the general material and moral condition of this world does not appear to have dawned. Alms-giving was the one mode of individual obligation thought of for the relief of poverty. The supernatural agencies of prayer and miracle were the means most depended upon for remedying the disorders of the world. The main emphasis of religious teaching was, "Have as little as possible to do with this world; it is not the divine kingdom devout people are seeking; come out of it, and so live a life of moral purity and spiritual trust, of devotion and self-abnegation, as to merit an entrance into the true kingdom that is coming." Modern civilization says, "Prudently care to-day for to-morrow's necessities." The Christianity of Jesus replies, "Take no thought for the morrow, saying what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed." Modern civilization says, "Set all possible industries in operation to supply man's physical needs and to improve his physical condition." The Christianity of Jesus replies, "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be given you." Modern civilization says, "Girdle the earth with commerce, and join the nations in the bonds of trade." The Christianity of the New Testament says, "Go ye and teach the gospel to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Modern civilization says, "Disease is the result of violated physical law: For remedy, learn the law and obey it." The Christianity of the New Testament says, "Disease is an arbitrarily inflicted penalty for moral transgression; it is sometimes possession by demons; the remedy is prayer, repentance, forgiveness of sins." Modern civilization in sickness sends for a physician. The Christianity of the Apostle James in the New Testament says, "Send for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over the sick man, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord." Modern civilization says, "Be individually independent; acquire property, and have your own." The Christianity of the New Testament says, "Hold all things in common; and, as to money, the love of it is a root of all evil." Modern civilization says, "Better, if possible, your condition; lose no opportunity to rise in the world; be free, by all means, even if you have to fight for it." The Christianity of the Apostle Paul says, "Let every man abide in the vocation where he is; and it matters little whether he be bond or free, married or single, rich or poor, in sorrow or rejoicing. Let him have no distraction nor care about any of these worldly things,—for the fashion of this world passeth away." These primitive Christians believed literally in the speedy coming of the end of the world.

I am not now passing judgment on these inculcations on one side or the other. Nor does the question we are considering call upon me to explain how this primitive Christian teaching may have been adapted to the conditions of the time; nor to enforce the possible moral lesson, that modern civilization might be better if it were somewhat tempered by the spirit of this primitive Christianity. The important point, for our present purpose, is to note the complete unlikeness, the world-wide contrast, between the temper of the New Testament Christianity and the temper of modern civilization,—with a view to answering the question, whether it seems probable that they are related to each other as cause and effect.

We may observe, again, the same contrast in respect to the type of virtues most strongly emphasized in the two epochs. The virtues specially inculcated in the New Testament are self-denial, self-sacrifice, gentleness, charity, docility, patience, contentment, resignation, long-suffering, passive endurance, and submissiveness. Not that virtues of another type are not approved in the New Testament; but these are made so predominant that they have come to be popularly styled the "Christian virtues." And yet, though they have always held their supremacy in the moral teaching of the Christian Church, and have had the advantage of being enforced in innumerable pulpits and religious books, they are not the virtues that modern civilization has specially encouraged. These dominant virtues of the Christian Church have lost ground just in proportion as the characteristic qualities of modern civilization have strongly asserted themselves; and in their place a new type of virtues has come to the front. These are self-respect, self-assertion, self-reliance, moral independence, manliness, pride of character, love of truth for its own sake, heroic conquest of obstacles, aspiration for mental culture, ambition for moral worth and dignity,

serene acceptance of the inevitable. All these virtues, and the class to which they belong, are allied to the very essence of modern civilization, and grow out of its central principle of mental and moral liberty. We are not asked now to say which we think the better, these or the so-called "Christian virtues." It may be that they will yet modify each other to advantage; but we are asked only to note the great difference between them, and to consider whether there appears to be any hereditary relationship between the two. When the New Testament says, "Give to him that asketh thee; and, if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," the social science of modern civilization answers, "Indiscriminate alms-giving makes paupers"; and upon the tracks of the thief who has taken your coat, modern society sets a detective. When the New Testament says, "Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also," modern civilization replies with standing armies and equipments of war, more terrible and deadly than the world has ever before known. Indeed, a recent Orthodox writer, considering the wide discrepancy between the peace-doctrine of the New Testament, and the practice of war by modern Christian nations, and considering also the New Testament doctrine with regard to property, very frankly says, "When the question is put,—how, while human nature official and unofficial is what it is, are these theories to be turned into actual facts?—there is no answer which political economy, even under Christian manipulation, can give, which it will do to date this side of the millennium." Whether this be so or not, it is certainly a fact that any persons who should attempt to live at this era strictly according to the individual and social ethics inculcated in the New Testament, the features of which we have been now considering, would appear wofully out of place in the midst of the agencies and forces of modern society. The sect that has most nearly illustrated in principles and mode of life the New Testament type is perhaps (barring their aversion to marriage) the Shakers. But, however great their virtues, they are according to the common judgment of mankind an anomaly in modern civilization. If such a type of character, formed so closely on the ethical teachings of the New Testament, had been largely in the ascendant throughout modern Christendom, it is safe to say that modern civilization could not have existed.

Again, the doctrine of mental liberty,—the freedom to inquire, to doubt, to think, to hold and express opinions untrammelled by any outward authority,—this principle, which is so central and controlling an element in modern civilization, is a conception which has hardly any recognized existence in the New Testament in the sense understood to-day. The early Christian movement, relatively speaking, brought mental emancipation; there can be no doubt on that point. But it was an emancipation that was wrought through an intense moral enthusiasm, through a new direction given to the religious emotions and to the spiritual imagination, and that scarcely touched at all the realm of thought. Once or twice, indeed, Jesus seems to have been on the point of grasping the pure idea of intellectual liberty,—as when he exclaimed, almost impatient at the child-like dependence of his disciples upon the authority of his word, "Why judge ye not of yourselves what is right?"—and when he uttered his bold discourse, a defiant challenge of Jewish authority, on the free use of the Sabbath day. But a little study of the context discloses the fact, that the liberty in these cases was not based on the absolute rights of human thought, but on the abrogation of the Mosaic law by the proclamation of another law equally authoritative, the Messianic,—under which, not reason, but faith, was to be the main thing. In like manner, Paul taught a grand doctrine of liberty; and he did it with magnificent vigor and success. And it was a doctrine that had a vast and momentous result; it was spiritual liberty from the enslaving ritual of Judaism; liberty from the rigorous and petty demands of an external polity; liberty especially from the narrow and intolerant exclusiveness of the Judaism which refused communion with the Gentile races. But it was always the liberty wherewith Christ had made free; and Christ, through faith, was to be received as the new representative of supernatural authority. The mental and religious conditions of Judea in that age could not admit the conception of the absolute freedom of human thought.

Christianity took a long step away from the Judaism of the time; it broke many fetters. It brought a sense of freedom to many souls that had felt themselves bowed down under a burden of sins, for which the Mosaic law exacted a punishment from which they were now released. It lifted up the lowly, the weak, the poor, into places of hope and joy. It introduced a purer morality, a loftier enthusiasm, a sincerer faith, and a splendid consecration of human energies to living convictions; and as such it can never fail to win the reverent admiration of all morally earnest souls. It combined several important anterior streams of national religious sentiment, which gave it breadth and strength. It made emphatically a new religious era; marked a new departure in the history of religious development. But it did not strike the key-note of mental liberty. That service was reserved for a later and riper day. It was not so much an intellectual as a moral movement,—not chiefly an appeal to the reason, but to the emotions. It was a religious agitation that displaced one authority, which had proved itself incapable of meeting the spiritual conditions of the time, and enthroned another authority, better adapted to the epoch, and which surprised its own first adherents with its capacity, as time proceeded, to gather disciples and organize churches. But that it was not the leadership of mental liberty, but only the superior power of a new authority, is proved by the fact, that, after the inspiring enthusiasm of the first agitation had subsided,

and there succeeded, in the early Christian centuries, the mental effort to interpret the contents of the new religion, the first and only allowable question was, not what is conformable to reason, but what was taught by Jesus and his immediate apostles.

Looking, then, at the Christianity of the New Testament—at its principles of social economy, at its prevailing type of virtues, at some of its distinguishing moral precepts, and at its relation to the principle of intellectual liberty—we certainly do not recognize here the characteristic lineaments of modern society. And if our discussion were to rest here, we assuredly could never believe that between this Christianity and modern civilization there is any relation of parent and child.

But the discussion cannot rest here, for Christianity did not rest here. We are asked to consider that Christianity was then but a child, confined chiefly to the home of its birth; and we are bound to consider into what kind of manhood this child grew up, as the years went on, and it travelled into other countries, and gained a larger outlook upon the world,—in other words, it is claimed that the elements of modern civilization were there in primitive Christianity, and that in the progress of historical development, from these elements, as seeds, sprang the tree on which has appeared the blossom of modern civilization. And the vast difference in appearance between the blossom and the seed does not disprove the statement that the one has come from the other. So far as we have yet advanced in our argument, this claim may be true. Powerful as is the law of heredity, we do not often see the exact lineaments of the parent in the face of the child. Man may even outgrow the features of his own childhood. We must look, therefore, into historical Christianity, and see if we can trace this process of natural growth by which modern civilization came as the product of the Christian religion.

The natural development and growth of Christianity—to which, however, the spread of Buddhism presents a parallel case—is, indeed, one of the greatest surprises of history,—a dramatic surprise. When we study the simplicity of Christianity in the teachings of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, and in his life of plain human benevolence, and then look at the religion again in the vast and powerful organization of the Roman Catholic Church when modern civilization began, we can hardly believe that we are looking upon the same thing. The difference, certainly, in outward aspect, between modern civilization and the Christianity of the New Testament is no greater than is the apparent difference between the Christianity of the New Testament and the Church of Rome in the fifteenth century,—between Jesus and Pope Alexander VI., Christ's recognized vicegerent on earth in the year 1500.

It was once my fortune to be in Rome on Christmas day, and to witness the spectacle of the religious services in St. Peter's. Several thousand people were gathered in the hospitable spaces of Michel Angelo's grand edifice. At the signal of martial music, it was announced that the papal procession was at hand. The pontifical guard of Swiss soldiers, in their fanciful motley array, and with glittering spears upright, swept down the broad nave, and divided the crowded assembly to either side; then stood in their armor like a fortified wall between the people and the advancing dignitaries of the church. They came, a long and varied line, coarsely-clad monks and cardinals in satin and gold, portly bishops in purple, and friars who were lean with fasts and vigils, priests of many orders and colors,—a numerous host, many of them bearing in their hands the jewelled crowns and all the costly insignia of the ecclesiastical power; and at last, borne on the shoulders of stalwart men, high above the heads of all, in a regal chair gorgeous with golden glitter, clothed in robes of royal magnificence, sat the pope. On each side high officials, brilliantly decorated, marched to guard his person, and to wait upon his needs. As he passed, the people fell upon their knees in homage, scarcely daring to lift their eyes to look upon his face. It was Pius the Ninth. He has just joined another procession,—that which is ever marching into the valley of the shadow of death, and in which pope and monk and humblest, poorest layman are equal at last. Peace to the kind old man's ashes now, even though as living pope he declared war on the deepest convictions of modern living men! But as I gazed on that Christmas spectacle, in the midst of the splendors of St. Peter's, I could but wonder whether Jesus would recognize in this man of royal and military pomp his successor, and in the scenic display of this ecclesiastical festival his religion. Yet between these two men, wide apart as they appear, and between the Judea of Jesus and the Rome of Hildebrand and Pius ninth, there is a direct organic historical connection. We can trace the lineage right through the intervening centuries,—not, indeed, by the uncertain line of papal succession, but by the thread of the Messianic idea. This is the bond of vital principle which connects these extremes together, and preserves the historical identity between them. The Messianic idea, inherited from Judaism and applied to Jesus,—the conception of Jesus as a divinely commissioned royal ruler sent upon earth to inaugurate the kingdom of God—this was the central, organizing principle of primitive Christianity, under which its religious doctrines and moral precepts and spiritual enthusiasms were marshalled to one object, and by which individuals were gathered into churches, and individual churches were united in one spirit and one body. Christ, though crucified, was still recognized as the spiritual head over all; but it was natural that in an organized visible Church, the growing divine kingdom, there should be a recognized visible head as the earthly representative of Christ,—natural, too, and logical, when once the primitive promises were admitted, that this visible earthly representative of Jesus should come even to be regarded as officially

clothed with the divine infallibility which it was believed Jesus himself possessed. Hence it is not difficult to see how primitive Christianity, simple as its elements seem, having begun to organize on the conception of Jesus as Messiah, though the first disciples ventured but timidly to confess him to be the Christ, might yet have grown, in time, into the imperial sovereignty and splendor of the Roman Catholic Church. And so we must not too hastily conclude, because primitive Christianity and modern civilization appear so wide asunder in character, that they, too, are not connected as cause and effect. We must examine the historical evidence between these two terms. We must see if we can trace the primitive Christian blood in the lineage of modern civilization.

And this examination will reveal two things: two special points among many: it will reveal that the primitive Christian blood did come down by direct descent, as we have just intimated, into the Roman Catholic Church,—though not without most important admixtures from foreign sources; from which admixtures came the modifications effecting many of the vast external differences we have just noted between primitive Christianity and the papal Christianity of the Middle Ages and the present time. The examination will also reveal that these commingling elements from foreign sources continued to increase as time elapsed, and to become more powerful, and that finally they disrupted the Church; and that the same foreign elements, the same social tendencies and forces that became strong enough to break asunder the Roman Church were the chief agencies in producing modern civilization. The Christian Church, as we shall see, did not carry these agencies in its own bosom. She resisted them, when she saw their logical result, with all her might. They came from without, and proved too strong for her power to check or subdue.

For the first two centuries of its existence, and to a considerable extent during the third, the Christian Church preserved its primitive standard of simplicity. It grew rapidly, but it was still unworldly. Its attitude towards the civil power was that of submission, not ambition. Its spread was a magnificent illustration of the contagion of a pure moral enthusiasm. Its prominent doctrinal picture, of sin and hell on one side, with but one way of escape, of heaven and happiness on the other, won, by the Messiah's suffering, for all who would accept him, startled the fears, and aroused the hopes, of people in masses. The Church had no help from earthly government, but was, instead, the object of suspicion and persecution. It appealed to no sword but the sword of the Spirit. It maintained its own high moral code, and stimulated even unbelievers to a purer habit of living. It courageously assailed the appearance of moral corruption in its own limits, and with remarkable success. By a purely peaceful propaganda, it passed into many lands, girdling the Mediterranean Sea. It had no country of its own, and wished for none; inculcated no spirit of patriotism, no national pride. It cared for men's souls, not for their nationalities or race. As its founder had declared, its kingdom still remained not of this world. It was an ideal kingdom—a kingdom of faith and charity and peace—a sublime hope, an ecstasy of vision. As it travelled from its Eastern birth-place to the West, it imbued somewhat of the Greek philosophy; and, as it spread through the Roman Empire, it caught the transcendent ability of that power for practical organization. But with all its growth, and its wonderful advance in organization, and the development under Greek influence of a more theologically elaborate creed, it retained in large measure, for nearly three centuries, its inner moral and spiritual character uncorrupted; while the Messianic idea was still the vital centre of the movement.

But during the third century, from their vastly increased numbers, Christians began to be found not infrequently in public civil offices, and even in the Roman armies; and thus they began to be susceptible to the temptations of temporal power. And when, near the beginning of the fourth century, the surprise came which gave to Christianity the throne of the Cæsars, its triumph was also its defeat and its fall. With power came the evils of power. I need not trace the long story. It is one of the saddest stories of all history. But there are two or three things concerning it that need to be said. After the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, it was a thousand years before the light of modern civilization had much more than dawned. During this thousand years, the Christian Church held, not undisputed, but triumphant sway. What happened under this thousand years of imperial Christian sovereignty? For one thing, the Roman Empire, the most magnificent monarchy that human power has ever constructed, went to pieces in Italy, overrun by barbarians; and eight hundred years of mental imbecility and civil disorder followed,—the Dark Ages. For another thing, the Byzantine Empire was founded in the East, with a capital at Constantinople, on new soil free from pagan traditions, with ethics, it was professed, to be drawn only from Christian sources. And of that Christian government, Mr. Lecky, a very fair historian towards Christianity, thus sums up the judgment of history: "Of that Byzantine Empire, the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, without a single exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilization has yet assumed. . . . There has been no other enduring civilization [it continued eleven hundred years] so absolutely destitute of all the forms and elements of greatness, and none to which the epithet mean may be so emphatically applied. . . . The history of the empire is a monotonous story of the intrigues of priests, eunuchs, and women; of poisonings, of conspiracies, of uniform ingratitude, of perpetual fratricides."

Such was the result of the Christian attempt to

transplant the Roman Empire to virgin soil, free from pagan contamination. If there be any civilization which can be properly called the sole product of Christianity, it is this period of Byzantine civilization. Yet it would be manifestly unjust to judge the moral standard of Christianity by the immoralities of the Byzantine Empire; and it would be also unjust to hold Christianity wholly responsible for the fall of the Western Empire at Rome and for the Dark Ages that ensued. Yet I think Christianity must by the verdict of history share that responsibility,—the responsibility both for the corruption of the Eastern Empire and for the downfall of the Western and the ensuing darkness. The cause, in part, was the immoral and barbarian nature of the populations nominally under the sway of the Church. After Christianity took the sceptre of temporal power, vast numbers of people were baptized in the Christian name who had experienced little or no conversion of heart; nations were converted in mass by the example or command of their rulers, and the moral character of the Church suffered in consequence. But the cause of this long period of imbecility and corruption is also, in part, to be found in the fact that Christianity had not the intellectual ability required for the task of imperial government which it had assumed. It had had no mental training for the work. It possessed no such intellects as had adorned and led the defunct civilizations of Greece and Rome. It had not encouraged mental culture nor national loyalty, nor military heroism nor statesmanship. At the outset it had attracted the ignorant, the credulous, the simple, the poor, the suffering and sinful, but not to any great extent the cultivated. This was one of its most boasted glories. It was rather disposed, for centuries, to condemn culture as pagan and sinful. It preached salvation by faith, not by culture; addressed the heart and the spiritual imagination, not the reason. Hence, when it mounted the throne, its constituency was largely from the ignorant and superstitious classes. The men of finest ability and culture and training mostly stood aloof; and, with an empire on its hands to govern, Christianity had not the men with mental capacity to govern it. The issue showed the disastrous weakness of Christianity on the intellectual side.

And thus, when the sun of Roman civilization went down, human intellect, for the time, went down with it; and the character of Christianity cannot escape a large share of responsibility for the long intellectual night that followed. For several centuries whatever of civil and social order there was in Europe, excepting during the Saracens' occupation in Spain, was under the guidance of the Christian Church. It was ecclesiastical government and ecclesiastical order of society. All the intellect of the period was turned to questions of theology, and in large measure to mere quibbles of theology, to ecclesiastical organization, and spectacular religious ceremonies. Superstitions of the wildest sort, legends and traditions of the most incredible character, were held for truth, even among the most learned. But few except priests were even learned enough to read and write. During all this time, while the Church had supreme sway, hardly a book was written that added anything to the mental or literary riches of the world. There was no art save some architecture of Oriental splendor in Constantinople reflected from the neighboring land of the Moslems. The spirit of demolition rather than construction prevailed. There was slight industrial progress and little advance in social habits of life. Mental doubt and error were condemned as gull, and ecclesiastically punished. A blind, unquestioning belief in the teachings of the Church was regarded as the highest of duties. For three or four centuries, says Buckle, there were only three or four men in Europe who dared to think for themselves. And the moral degradation of the time corresponded to the mental. The lofty ethical standard of Christianity was trailed in the very dust of its religious triumphs. Some of the moral annals of this period, reciting acts of Christian sovereigns and priests, of men and women direct from Christian baptism and the Lord's Supper, it makes the blood run cold to read.

Here, surely, is not a very promising soil for modern civilization to spring up; and yet this condition of Christian Europe brings us close to the time when intimations of the coming revival of society began to appear. The light did not come full day at once. There was to be a long twilight first. But upon this long night of mental and moral darkness, while mediæval Christianity governed Europe, the twilight was at hand. And the test-question now comes. Did the light of the new day break from the Church?

To this question we must answer *No*. The doors and windows of the Christian Church were barred against the light, whether from without or within. The dawn of the new day of civilization, not to speak of some previous prophetic streaks of light, came with the *Renaissance* in the fourteenth century. "The history of the *Renaissance*," as defined by its able historian, Symond, "is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit, manifested in the European races"; and again, as "the emancipation of reason for the modern world." These definitions define also the central principle of modern civilization, as previously indicated. But the *Renaissance* did not spring from any impulse given in the Christian Church. The Christian Church adopted some of its results at last, but its causes were outside of Christianity. It was in the Christian Church that reason was enslaved, and the power that broke the fetters was not in that Church. The *Renaissance* had two special sources; one of them the revival of Pagan literature, the old classics of Greece and Rome, which had long been slumbering in monasteries unread or uncared for; the other, the importation into Europe of a rationalistic spirit from Mohammedanism in Spain. We owe, therefore, the

primary impulse of the *Renaissance*, and hence of modern civilization, to non-Christian sources. The restoration of Pagan learning, which was especially favored by the capture of Constantinople by the Mohammedans, who brought to light and put into circulation the rich stores of Greek classics hidden there, acquainted Christian Europe with the mental greatness and brilliancy of the past civilizations on whose ruins the Church had built its power, and aroused a new mental vigor and ambition. These classics had lain there in the dust of monasteries all through the period of Byzantine sovereignty; but the Byzantine Christians were too busy in political intrigues to study them, or too deeply enamored of the theological wrangling to understand their worth. It was reserved for Mohammedanism to set these treasures free, and to introduce Christian Italy and Greece to their great Pagan ancestors. It was the just claim of Mohammedanism, too, that it had kept the knowledge of classic literature while Christian Europe was in ignorance of it. And it was partly from this cause, and partly from its native culture of reason, that Mohammedanism was able from its vantage ground in Spain to start a rationalistic movement in Europe. The Moslems were cultivating learning, making progress in the sciences, encouraging philosophical speculation, while Christian Europe was in mental stagnation and darkness. Moslem scholars were accustomed to doubt, to inquire, to think freely; while the Christian Church was condemning doubt as a sin deserving eternal punishment. But there is a contagion in free thought. The spirit of Mohammedan Rationalism got across the Pyrenean mountains. The books and speculations of Moslem scholars began to find some eager readers here and there, in Christian countries. Christian Abelard was a disciple of Mohammedan Averroes. The Albigenses were a Mohammedanized Christian sect. Wickliffe in England, it is believed, had felt the influence of Saracen free thought. The intellect of Europe was astr again with new life. It was re-vitalized, through the *Renaissance*, from two intellectual centres,—from the resuscitated Pagan literature raised from its grave alive with all its old inspiration, and from the free thought of Mohammedan Rationalism. A French historian says "the great achievements of the *Renaissance* were the discovery of the world and the discovery of man." The new mental life that had come—impulse and inspiration of modern civilization—brought with it these two discoveries. It revealed the material world to the eye of Science, and said, "In the name of truth, take possession of it!" It revealed to man's consciousness the power and dignity of his own thought, and said, "In the name of liberty, take possession of thyself!"

Closely allied with the mental stir of this new time, and illustrative of it, there came in rapid succession several most important inventions and discoveries. The telescope was invented in 1250. The compass was discovered in 1302. Paper began to be made of rags in 1319. Gunpowder came in 1320. Printing, most momentous of all, invented earlier, was put to real use in 1438. And America was discovered, revolutionizing both commerce and theological science, in 1492. All of these events had a most important bearing in promoting the new intellectual activity, and in determining the conditions of modern civilization; though in the limits of Christendom they did not occur through any special fostering of the Church. Some of these inventions and discoveries had been previously made in other parts of the world, but they were new to Christendom.

Another very strong element that made itself felt in the new tendencies and spirit of European life was the native independence of the Teutonic mind. It was an inherent temperament of the race, a quality of the stock and blood, which, now that its long-waited-for era had come, would take its destined place, and marshal the interests of modern society under its leadership. That barbarism, which, in its restlessness, its love of activity and conquest, swept down from the North of Europe, and overwhelmed the civilization of the Roman Empire, possessed a robustness of mentality and an ingrained loyalty to liberty whereby it was to make grand atonement for its wrong against mankind, by putting itself in time at the head of a new civilization, which should make more conquests by science than Rome ever made by the sword, and should push around the globe an empire of free thought and free citizenship such as Rome never knew in its palmiest days. Guizot says, "It was the rude barbarians of Germany who introduced this sentiment of personal independence, this love of individual liberty, into European civilization; it was unknown among the Romans, it was unknown in the Christian Church, it was unknown in nearly all the civilizations of antiquity." And he adds—and I ask you to note that this is no anti-Christian sceptic who so speaks—"The spirit of Christianity wrought a change in the moral character of man, opposed to this principle of independence; for under its influence his mind struggled to extinguish its own liberty, and to deliver itself up entirely to the dictates of his faith. But the feeling of personal independence, a fondness for genuine liberty displaying itself without regard to consequences, and with scarcely any other aim than its own satisfaction,—this feeling, I repeat, was unknown to the Romans and to the Christians. We are indebted for it to the barbarians." Here, then, is another of the most powerful impulses of modern civilization—an element vastly more important than the brief space here allotted to it would seem to indicate—which has no source, no ancestral relationship whatever, in Christianity.

But the argument against Christianity being the parent of modern civilization is rendered still stronger, when we consider the attitude of the Christian Church towards this new intellectual life that was welling up in all parts of Europe. If the rising civilization was her own child, Christianity was guilty of

the most brutal attempts at infanticide. But the Church was consistent with her past record. She knew that the rising mental movement, the new birth of human reason, was not from her loins. She knew that it was a foreign foe, and that, if she did not slay it, it would slay her. The Christian Church exerted itself to the utmost to crush the mental activity which resulted in the new civilization. So far as the *Renaissance* created art, the Church gradually accepted it, and endeavored to turn it to her own advantage. But so far as it brought science, and stimulated liberty of thought, and started theological doubt, she declared war against it, and pursued it with relentless persecution. She stamped out the heretical Albigenses with the iron heel of her soldiers; she burned Giordano Bruno, for teaching that the earth went round the sun; imprisoned and tortured Galileo for telling what his telescope revealed; hunted down heresy, wherever it appeared, with fire and sword; and finally invented the diabolism of the Inquisition by which spiritual detectives were set to eaves-dropping at the houses of scholars, and all opposition to the authorized creeds of the Church, even a mere heretical thought which had made no public utterance, was to be punished with death. The Christian Church set itself deliberately to the task of extinguishing intellectual liberty—the very life-spark of modern civilization. But why multiply words to enforce this argument, when the same spirit, lacking the sword, exists in the same Church to-day? The late Pope, less than fourteen years ago, sent forth a famous Encyclical Letter, in which he branded as heresies to be denounced and resisted, "the notions of liberty of conscience and of worship, of liberty of the press, of the independence of the secular government from the ecclesiastical, of the equality of laymen and clergymen before the law, of the right of a people to make their own laws and elect their own magistrates, and to educate their own children outside of the Catholic Church." When such an anathema as this is put forth by the head of the Church of Rome in our own day, against some of the most cardinal principles of modern civilization, who can venture to say that modern civilization is the product of Christianity, since the whole of Christianity bearing on the question, when modern civilization began, was embodied in that Church?

But did Christianity make no contributions to modern civilization? Certainly she did; for no moral nor social force can absolutely cease, any more than can material force. But Christianity made no such important and preponderating contributions as to entitle it to be called the creator of modern civilization. Far from it. What the Christian Church did in the middle ages that was of value to the after life of Europe consisted specially in her far-reaching and potent practical organization; which, however, she got originally not from her own intellect, nor from any primitive revelation in Judea, but from the Roman Empire. But she deserves the credit of adapting this organization to her uses. In the collision and crash

[CONCLUDED ON PAGE 187.]

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"CHARITY," OR JUSTICE?

A response to the last line of "A. O.'s" beautiful "Invocation" in THE INDEX, 6 Sept., 1877, p. 423: "And live in lenient charity."

Not "Charity," beloved friend,
Is what I crave for,—what I aim
To plant in all men's minds, to end
The strife of sects, the heart's deep pain.

I stand where we together stood
In earnest times, in days of yore;
I hear again the Man of Good
Proclaim societarian lore:

"Let us have Justice!" was the cry
Of him who taught us how to feel
For other's woes, perchance to die,
Thereby to save the common weal.

"Man's character for him is formed
By circumstance; he cannot choose
But love the good, hate the deformed,
Or move as he is moved; or lose
His childhood's faith, if later life
Should bring him light. The soul of man
Requires no priestly aid, no zealot's strife
To save it; no, these are its ban."

No; nor needs man "Toleration"
(Mark the usurping tyrant's term.)

The man who truly would be free,
Who has within him hopes that burn,
Scorns e'en the term of "charity"

For his great thoughts; his soul doth yearn
For "Justice"; "Justice—the light of love."

"Justice for all" and "Liberty." B. R.

NEW SOUTH WALES, February, 1878.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, &c.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 13.

C. N. Bovee, \$4; Rear-Admiral Maxey, \$48.71; J. Church-ill, \$1.60; John Shackleton, \$3.20; Mrs. E. L. Bigelow, \$3.25; John W. Griffith, \$3.20; F. P. Partridge, \$1; Dr. E. Evans, \$3.69; John Logan, \$2.10; Miss T. F. Von Arnim, \$3.20; W. D. Le Sueur, \$2; John Hiatt, \$5; M. F. Whitehead, \$3.25; Mrs. C. B. Hoffman, \$2; Prof. Felix Adler, \$20; G. B. Stebbins, \$1; E. M. Warner, 50 cents; J. H. Philco, \$2; A. M. Lathrop, \$3; Doeringer & Co., \$5.75; J. R. Hawley, \$1.70; Carroll Wright, 25 cents; Dr. G. W. Topping, \$2.25; Charles Richardson, \$3.20; Mrs. M. J. Egan, \$2; Gen. A. J. Warner, \$10; E. G. Horr, \$7; J. D. Van Slyck, \$3.20; Mrs. L. E. Johnson, \$3.40; M. H. Howard, \$1.60; Henry Damon, \$3.20; F. P. Churchill, \$2; Miss E. Homer, \$3.20; Mrs. G. R. Russell, \$3.20; A. Williams & Co., \$7.48; A. T. Lilly, \$3.20; James Damon, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 18, 1878.

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

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HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names.	Residence.	Amount.
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When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work immediately, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,

Chair. Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

UNDER A SECTION of a city ordinance punishing vice and immorality, George M. Howell, a druggist, was tried before Judge Ford at New Brunswick, New Jersey, February 27, charged with selling cigars on Sunday. The City Attorney appeared as prosecutor, and the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department and one Honsell as witnesses for the city. The defence objected to the trial proceeding, on the ground that it was illegal and without warrant of law, on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction, and that the section of the ordinance under which the complaint was made was null and void. The defendant also objected to any evidence of the sale of cigars in his store on Sunday, February 10, by his alleged clerk, until the prosecution had first shown that the sale was especially authorized by him. In conclusion, defendant's counsel moved to dismiss the complaint, on the ground that no power is given in the city's charter to pass such an ordinance; that, it being lawful to keep open the store on Sunday, the defendant being allowed to sell one article cannot be prohibited from selling any other which he had a right to sell on any other day of the week. Each and every objection was overruled by the Judge; and the druggist was mulcted in the sum of \$30 for the offence. The case will be appealed. These statements rest on the authority of the Philadelphia Herald.

THE BOSTON EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE have had a long debate about prison chaplains, two conflicting reports on that subject having been offered by the majority and minority of a committee. The majority were in favor of substituting a "teacher of [Christian] morality" for the present chaplain (which would really be only a change of name), and providing for religious instruction by volunteers from all denominations. The minority favored the present system. These resolutions were finally adopted:—

On certain points concerning State chaplaincies—however we may differ on others,—the Evangelical ministry here are agreed; namely, in opposition to denominational chapels and paid denominational chaplains in our State institutions; therefore the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Boston and vicinity sets before the public the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That we wholly and emphatically protest against denominational chapels in our State institutions.

Resolved, That we wholly and emphatically protest against paid denominational chaplains in our State institutions.

Resolved, That we earnestly call upon the government of the State and upon the good people of this Commonwealth to prevent these mischievous institutions from being established in Massachusetts.

This means simply a protest against "denominational," but not against "unsectarian Christian" chaplains. The only sensible course is to exclude both.

MORE ABOUT TRINITY CHURCH.

Since our last issue, we have been gratified by the receipt of the following letter from General Dix, which, as it gives additional information upon the subject under discussion, should in justice be laid before our readers:—

OFFICE OF THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY CHURCH,
 No. 187 FULTON STREET, NEW YORK,
 April 11, 1878.

DEAR SIR:—

I thank you for the satisfactory manner in which you have given my letter to your readers. Mr. Roosevelt ought not to have made so great a mistake in regard to the extent of the property of this Corporation. Its affairs were investigated by the Legislature of the State more than twenty years ago, and everything concerning it was a matter of public record. The street number of every lot it possessed was given and the value stated as ascertained by two disinterested persons. The whole number of lots was stated at nine hundred and eighty-five, but many of them were not more than twenty feet front—some less,—so that the number of full lots, twenty-five feet by one hundred, was not far from what it is now. The largest estimate of the value of the property was six millions, one hundred and eight thousand, one hundred and fifty dollars. Differing with you widely in opinion in regard to religious matters, it is gratifying to know that you have no desire to advance the cause you advocate on any other grounds than those of fairness and truth.

I propose to send by mail the Year Book of Trinity Church and a communication which I addressed to the Legislature in 1857. When you have leisure to look at them, I hope you will be satisfied that we are using the ample means in our hands to promote the cause of morality, as well as religion, by our ministrations among the poor.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Esq.

We return our acknowledgments to General Dix for the pamphlets mentioned, which have been safely received. One is the "Year Book and Register of the Parish of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, A.D. 1878. Published by Authority," etc. The other is a "Communication from Hon. John A. Dix to the Select Committee of the Senate on the Report of Trinity Church. New York: 1857." These documents give interesting information. The latter, especially, exhibits the grounds on which Trinity Church would justify her exemption from taxation, so far as she enjoys it, as being a public benefactor. Referring to some resolutions which he had introduced into the Vestry in 1854, General Dix said:—

"Their design was to rescue the lower part of the city—that portion which has not only an immense body of resident poor, but which receives into its bosom the greater part of the destitute who seek a refuge here from hardship in other countries,—to rescue this combined mass of permanent and temporary indigence from the utter spiritual abandonment with which it was threatened by the removal of those to whose wealth and liberality it had been accustomed to look for sympathy and pecuniary aid to more congenial districts. The plan comprehended not only the spiritual instruction of the adult inhabitants of this deserted district—once the seat of nearly all the wealth of the city,—but the education of their children, and, to the extent of the means of the Corporation, a ministration to their temporal wants. Trinity Church, with its endowments, fortunately growing more valuable with the progress of the city, was to stand in the place of the individual opulence which has fled from a district where," etc.

"Though the plan has not been formally adopted, it has been practically acted on; and it is due to my associates in the Vestry to say that they have responded to all appeals in behalf of the destitute districts below Canal Street by as liberal an expenditure as the income of the Corporation, crippled by a heavy debt and burdened by large annual contributions to other churches, has admitted. The clerical force of the parish has been nearly doubled; the Sunday-schools have been greatly enlarged; parish schools for the gratuitous education of children have been established; by far the greater part of the pews in Trinity Church, one hundred and four out of one hundred and forty-four in St. Paul's, and a large number in St. John's, are free; efforts have been put forth to bring into the church those who have not been accustomed to attend any religious worship; Trinity Church is opened twice a day throughout the year for divine service; a mission office has been established to receive applications for aid; lay visitors are employed to seek out want and relieve it; missionary agencies have been instituted in connection with the Commissioners of Emigration; the whole lower part of the city has been virtually made a field of missionary labor; and a degree of energy has been infused into the ministrations of the church, temporal and spiritual, which compensates in a great degree for the lost support of the religious societies removed to other districts."

"The State, nay, the whole country, has a deep in-

terest in this question. The city of New York, embodying as she does, to a great extent, the commercial and financial power of the Union, must exert a sensible influence upon the moral and intellectual character of all with whom she is brought into association. The slightest agitations on her surface undulate in all directions to the great circumference of which she is the centre. On Trinity Church are devolved, in the order of events, the spiritual instruction and guidance of the district by which she is brought most directly into contact with all that lies beyond her limits. If this duty is not faithfully performed, no voice should be raised in palliation of the delinquency. On the other hand, if any of those who have withdrawn from this part of the city the wealth which Providence has, in such disproportion, bestowed on them, shall seek to deprive the destitute whom they have left behind of the sole resource for spiritual instruction and for the alleviation of temporal want—if they shall succeed, by misstating the condition and unjustly impeaching the motives of Trinity Church, in defeating her efforts to carry out the great system of labor with which she is occupied,—they will incur the gravest and most odious of all responsibilities, that of consigning one of the most important districts in the Emporium of the Union to an intellectual and spiritual death."

Here we find clearly stated, by one of the most distinguished members of the Corporation of Trinity Church, their own general conception of the benefits which they undertake to bestow upon society at large,—the general ground, therefore, on which they must claim exemption from taxation for any portion of the large property under their control. Turning to the Year Book of 1878 to learn how far this general plan is carried into effect, we find that Trinity Parish to-day contains seven churches,—Trinity Church, St. Paul's Chapel, St. John's Chapel, Trinity Chapel, St. Chrysostom's Chapel, St. Augustine's Chapel, and St. Cornelius' Chapel; and that it makes annual donations to eighteen other churches, amounting in all for the year ending August 1, 1877, to \$47,660.19. It also sustains a multiplicity of educational and charitable organizations, of which the entire activity seems to be directed by strictly ecclesiastical conceptions of "education" and "charity." Provision is made to a certain extent for the temporal wants of the poor, the sick, the aged, though apparently with a large discrimination in favor of members of the various Parish organizations. The education of the three hundred boys of the Trinity Church Parochial School includes "religious instruction according to the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer"; the girls at St. Paul's Chapel Parish School "are thoroughly and assiduously instructed in the principles and doctrines of the Church. The child is regarded, all through her school term, as a candidate for confirmation and communion; and, on leaving the school, the effort is made to keep her in connection with the Church by placing her in some Bible-class or Guild." In a word, the whole administration of the Trinity Church property appears to be devoted, as was indeed to be expected, to the furtherance and propagation of Christianity, according to the strictly Episcopalian form of faith; and whatever secular good is attempted or done appears to be merely subordinate and incidental to this central, dominant purpose.

Now, accepting as conclusive General Dix's denial of last week that any portion of the estate of Trinity Church is used for the support of vicious establishments, we are "satisfied" that, as he states in the foregoing letter, the Vestry "are using the ample means in [their] hands to promote the cause of morality, as well as religion, by [their] ministrations among the poor,"—that is, according to their own Christian conception of morality. But that does not dispose of the whole matter. The "public" work of the Corporation is neither more nor less than active propagandism of their own religious faith and creed; it is not public in any proper sense of the word, nor does it promote any genuine public interests to any considerable degree or in any but incidental ways. It is of no advantage to the State that Trinity Church should be kept busily at work in New York City making converts to Episcopalianism and strengthening its own power thereby; and it is a positive wrong to the people to tax them for any such purpose. If the Corporation chose to do this work of proselytism at their own cost alone, paying an equitable tax on their whole property to the State, there would be no cause of complaint; they would only be exercising their undoubted rights. But it is a very different matter to do this purely sectarian work at the public expense, which is the result of exemption from taxation to whatever extent. So far as Trinity Church is exempted from taxation, she legally defrauds the State and legally robs the people; so far as she defends this exemption, she justifies legal fraud and robbery, teaches a corrupt morality, and makes herself an example of evil and a fountain of public

demoralization. She is not permitted, it seems, to enjoy exemption on all her property; so much the better for public justice and good morals. But she enjoys it on a considerable part, and to that extent exerts a mischievous influence on society. How large is this part?

There needs to be a much more frank and full statement on this question than any that has been made. Trinity Church Year Book for 1877 (for a copy of which we are indebted to a friend) says that "the property, in all probability, is not worth more than from seven to eight millions"; General Dix last week estimated it at seven millions. Accepting this estimate, at a rate of taxation of two and a half per cent. (which, we are told, is less than the rate of taxation in New York City), Trinity Church ought to pay \$175,000; whereas General Dix says that he has paid only \$64,107.97 for the current year. Even on the acknowledged value of the productive part of the property, there seems to be an under-assessment of taxes; which is exemption from taxation precisely to that extent.

But this estimate of seven millions as the value of the Trinity Church property is a very unfair one. If any private tax-payer were to make a tax-return on the principles of the Year Book, he would be exposed to very ugly suspicions. We quote the Trinity Church Year Book of 1877: "In estimating the value of the property, the calculation ought to be limited to what yields an income. . . . Leaving out of account the unproductive part of the estate, and estimating that portion only which yields an income, the value of the property is comparatively small; small in comparison with the inflated and erroneous opinions about it. 'Sixty millions of dollars' is the stereotyped phrase at present in vogue; the property in all probability is not worth more than from seven to eight millions."

The value of all the exempted part of the estate is here thrown out as valueless! For instance, the whole block bounded by Broadway, Church, Vesey, and Fulton Streets is avowedly counted out as of no value whatever! It is in this way that the immense property is ciphered down to "seven or eight millions." The community has a right to demand the honest figures, the actual market value of all the land and buildings belonging to the Corporation. We affirm that such statements as we have just quoted from Trinity Church Year Book show that the necessity of defending their unjust exemption has demoralized the minds of the Corporation,—that they here resort to a device for evading criticism which they would blush to use as private men. There is not one of them who would sign and swear to a similar statement of his own property, throwing out the "unproductive" portion as of no value; there is not a tax-assessor who would permit such a return. Trinity Church, by her own confession, possesses a vastly larger and more valuable estate than she wishes to be the reputed possessor of; and by setting afloat such misleading statements as that she only owns "seven or eight millions" she knows (or ought to know) that she is deceiving the public at large. All that we want in this matter is strict honesty and strict justice; and we can never profess to be "satisfied" with less.

ABOUT MEANNESS.

This is a word of many meanings. It is worthy of remark that the adjective *mean*, of which *meanness* is the derivative noun, and the verb *mean*, which expresses what a word or person signifies or intends, and of which *meaning* is the derivative noun, probably came from the same root, *man*. In one direction the root sprouts thus: *man*, *many*, *mean*. The powerful few despise the subject *many*; and to them whatever pertains to the *many* is *mean*. In another direction, the root sprouts thus: *man*, *mind*, *mean*. This is the intellectual sprouting of the root, as the other was the physical. Thus we have from the same root *man*, an adjective which expresses the average quality of human nature, but which, through the happy egotism of human nature, always means, to one who uses it, something beneath himself, and a verb which implies that the mind is the man, and that just as the mind is the man, the meaning is the soul of the word; that is, to all intents and purposes, the word.

The word *meanness* (manyness) has many meanings, because men view *man* differently. To some, he is merely an animal,—a beast of prey, by force or stealth. To others, he is a mind, a meaning, a soul, using vital animal powers for intellectual and moral purposes. To them, a man as a mere beast of prey is as much *boah* as a word without meaning. To the former class, to be poor is, of course, to be mean;

not to take every advantage afforded by both body and mind to become rich and powerful is to be mean. To the latter, nothing is mean but baseness of mind, laziness, filth, injustice, want of honor, tricky greediness, and the use of superior strength to set aside the rights of the weaker.

It seems to me a pity, and not indicative of progress, that the "Improved Webster's Dictionary," which bears the names of two Noahs, should have dropped out of the definition of *meanness*, which was in the first edition, the following excellent remarks: "Poverty is not always *meanness*; it may be connected with it, but men of dignified minds and manners are often poor." "All dishonesty is *meanness*." "4. Sordidness; niggardliness; opposed to LIBERALITY or CHARITABLENESS. *Meanness* is very different from frugality." The emphasis above on the words *liberality* and *charitableness* is as the first Noah left it. There is also dropped out of the two-Noah Dictionary the remark, "*Meanness* in men incurs contempt." And, really, there seems to be some reason for dropping this; for it almost seems to be true, that *meanness* has ceased to incur contempt. Who despises the great railroad managers who deal so meanly with their bond-holders? Who despises legislators and statesmen who shave the notes of the government in the hands of the people? Who despises the great life-insurance presidents who rob the poorer policy-holders for the benefit of the richer ones, and count their receipts over twice for the sake of making their expenses appear less, and bribe examiners with the money of their policy-holders? Who, above all, despises the *meanness* of the great teachers of theology in trying to get a religious test smuggled into the Constitution of their country, which would deprive it of the public services of any future Jefferson or Lincoln or any kind of freethinker not base enough to be a hypocrite? Who despises the *meanness* of those uncharitable Christians who would compel men that do not believe in that cruel God of the Bible, who is absurdly said to have allowed his own Son to be sacrificed to redeem men from his own wrath, to listen, themselves in legislative halls and their children in schools, to prayers,—prayers paid for partly by their money,—prayers which to them are rank blasphemy? Considering that all Christians are not only protected, but by exemption from taxation on their churches subsidized, in worshipping God in their own churches, according to the dictates of their own consciences, it seems the utmost depth of *meanness* and bad manners to oblige pagans, infidels, philo-sophers, savants, and their children, in senate and school, to listen to and pay for what to them is a foolish waste of time, at the best. But it does not "incur contempt" among Christians, as it surely will, if Christianity should ever acquire the right to claim the Golden Rule as its property. E. W.

A FUNERAL ADDRESS.

Mr. B. F. Underwood has kindly sent us the following copy of his remarks at the funeral of an early friend of THE INDEX, Dr. B. Michener, of Adel, Iowa, who died in that place on March 10, 1878. We regret not to have received the obituary notice published in the *Dallas County News*, which was mailed to us at the same time.—ED.

Our brother was worn out by age and illness, when death kindly came to his relief, touching his weary heart, and taking him from the empire of the living to the silent realm wherein he will rest forever more. We are now about to commit our dead to the care of mother earth, in whose bosom he will sleep the quiet, unbroken, everlasting sleep of death.

Suns will rise and set, moons will wax and wane, generations will come and go, empires will flourish and decay, bringing hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, suffering and death to all who live and the millions yet to be; for these are the common lot and heritage of man. But no vicissitude of earth, no event of time will ever disturb our brother's rest, or wake him from his dreamless sleep! for, his career finished, his conscious life ended, he belongs now to that vast realm whose monarch permits no sound, not even a whisper or a sigh, to disturb the dead's repose, or to break the silence that reigns supreme throughout his wide domain.

What though the storms of winter sweep wildly over him, or the lightnings flash and the thunders roll above his narrow home; what though the tramp of armies and the roar of battle shake his grave, or the earthquake sinks him deeper in the bosom of mother earth; what though the globe itself, waxing old, dissolves and passes into the great mausoleum of worlds, as our brother, growing old, died "to mix forever with the elements" of earth,—the great mau-

soleum of man,—he will heed not, he will hear not, he will feel not these conflicts and commotions. The convulsions of Nature, even a world's dissolution, will be no more to him than the decay of a flower on his grave, or the mouldering of the marble that marks his burial-place.

The influence of his upright character and useful life will remain with us and be a legacy to the living of all ages, as long as the race of man endures. Farewell, brother. Careful hands and loving hands will deck thy grave, and keep thy monument whole, and thy memory green.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 185.]

of the barbarian invasions, when everything went by the board, the Christian Church stood, and became almost the sole bond of society for a number of centuries. By extending over the half-converted barbarians its ecclesiastical government, it helped to discipline them to self-restraint, which came but slowly, and taught them coöperation in common aims and interests; and thus it prepared the way for a better government to follow. In spite also of the glaring moral corruption of the mediæval church, it preserved in good measure the ideal moral standard of its better days; and this standard, when the mental revival came, was brought finally to bear successfully against existent vices. And it is but just to say that modern civilization, though not the product of Christianity, has doubtless been elevated and strengthened by the Christian standard of morals and philanthropy,—not so much by its special precepts, for these have been largely rejected by modern society, as by its demand for purity of heart, for sincerity in conduct, and for lofty disinterestedness of aim. These are virtues, however, not to be credited specially to Christianity,—for they are to be found in other religions; they are to be credited to humanity. So, too, we must say of the spirit of brotherhood and philanthropy,—that it is not specially Christian, but human; and though Christianity is to be credited with having given it special emphasis, and brought a certain temper thereby into modern civilization which otherwise might have been deficient, yet modern civilization on the other hand, by its knowledge of natural laws, of social science, of political economy, is giving direction and methods to philanthropy such as the Christian Church by all its revelations never discovered, and, before social science gave her the key, never thought of adopting.

We may sum up the argument, then, not only with the special statement that modern civilization is not the product of Christianity, that it is as much pagan as it is Christian, that it has within it Roman jurisprudence and Mohammedan science and Grecian classics quite as much as it has of Jesus and Paul and Judea, and that it has more of Anglo-Saxon love of freethought and free bodies and free souls than it has of anything else,—we may sum up the evidence presented not only by these special statements, but we may say more generally, that behind all religion, behind all civilization, is the human mind—the human mind, open to the boundless realms of truth, open to the boundless inspirations of honor and goodness. The development of the human mind is the stream which bears them both, religion and civilization, on its current. Religion is the inspirer, but civilization, which is but another name for applied knowledge, is the leader. Religion is the wind that fills the sail; but civilization is the strong hand that holds the helm. That is allied more to the heart, this to the intellect. According as intellect is benighted or educated, religion is degraded and degrading, or enlightened and elevating. Religion can powerfully aid civilization, by bringing into individual character and life consecration and devotion to the highest ends of human existence; and civilization in turn may benefit and serve religion, by rectifying its doctrines, and keeping its thought abreast with the freest science. The facts of its history prove that Christianity has been modified by the intelligence and character of the people adopting it quite as much as it has modified them. It has taken color and shape and temper from the nations and races through which it has passed. Modern civilization, since the era of its birth, has been making a new Christianity. Protestantism is the product of modern civilization; or, at least, they are twin-children of the same parentage. And, as the civilization advances, this new form of Christianity is becoming more and more modified, until already the ancient authority of the Church and of Christ is reduced in some quarters of the Protestant fold to the thinness of shadows. A noted Episcopal clergyman of New York has recently said that every new truth discovered becomes a part of Christ's truth, and is to be counted as gospel. And another clergyman of the University of Cambridge, England, says that some of the distinctive precepts of Jesus in the New Testament are not to be obeyed, because, "through facts of modern knowledge and experience, Christ teaches us to-day just the opposite." So the human mind today sits in judgment on the words of Jesus, and, even in the Christian Church, virtually discards his authority, barely saving the form of ancient allegiance by a quibble of words. Yet these are signs that the time is approaching when Christianity, in order to preserve its true place and influence in the world's history, will abdicate its own authority, and in appeals to the human heart will even yield its name to the broader title, *humanity*. The Christian Church has thus far been guided by Paul's exhortation, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free." But a greater than Paul or than Jesus—the spirit of modern civilization—now exhorts, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith the truth shall make you free."

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

NO. XXIV.

The detailed criticism of the Wakemanian vertebration, or of the main stem of scientific classification as propounded by Wakeman, would carry us into too much particularization for my present purpose. There is one point, however, upon which, even here, I would suggest an improvement, both upon the ground of intrinsic correctness and because its ratification will tend to a furthering of reconciliation, especially with Elsberg. Wakeman, following Comte, divides the whole larger science of anthropology, hominology, or man-lore into I. sociology,—Elsberg's synanthropology,—and II. ethics, or "morale," which concerns the conscience and deportment of the individual man, in his relations with other men, or society.

The point of rectification here is, that there should be recognized a threefold, instead of a twofold division of the great, all-embracing science of man. There is first, man singly considered,—man as an individual, or in his individual character and properties; secondly, man collectively, or society as a grand organism, having an expansion in space, and a continuity, protension, or history in time; and thirdly, ethics, which is then the science of the integration and inter-relationships of the former two. Ethics is purely a science of relations between the individual and the community; and it is obvious that a science of pure relation cannot be properly introduced until the *termini* of the relation have first been posited. The final one of Comte's series of *Universal Laws consecrates* (in the French sense) this principle. (See *Politique Positive* Vol. IV., p. 180—French edition.)

I have, in *The Basic Outline of Universology*, furnished the name mon-anthropology, for the science of the individual man. Elsberg, accepting it, has suggested syn-anthropology as better than sociology to denote the science of society; and Comte had already introduced morale (ethics) in this connection, but with no very exact definition. Elsberg has contented himself with the two terms monanthropology and synanthropology; and Wakeman with the two terms sociology (synanthropology) and ethics. Elsberg has omitted the third term, ethics; and Wakeman has omitted the first one, monanthropology. They are thus both out of harmony with the fulness of discrimination requisite, as it seems to me; and, at all events, out of harmony with each other. The harmony is restored, in both senses, by admitting the threefold discrimination. Wakeman might, perhaps, better sacrifice Haeckel's somewhat doubtful subdivision of biology—called protistology—than to omit monanthropology.

Upon strictly *a priori* grounds, there should be a science for the one man; then for the many; and then for the relations of the one and the many. I am not aware of Elsberg's reasons for omitting ethics (Comte did so, also, originally, and admitted this branch as an afterthought); but I believe that Wakeman is "ahy" of monanthropology, on the ground that man, considered out of his relations with society, is simply a particular species of living being; and that therefore his physiology, anatomy, etc., belong to the general science of biology. This idea, urged a little further, would, however, swamp sociology, in the same manner; for animals and even plants have their consociate as well as their individual lives, and man in every aspect is first a living creature, and only afterwards, or from another point of view, something more than, or different from, ordinary living beings. That other point of view is not, distinctively, his tendency to an aggregative life; but it is his difference, in a quite discrete degree, from other living beings, in the general dignity and rank of his nature.

If even it be granted that ordinary human physiology, anatomy, and hygiene fall properly within the general scope of biology, there is still a large special department of single-man-lore, which has been extensively cultivated under the name of anthropology; but which, inasmuch as it omits all special treatment of society, as such, and of ethics, should be confined, by the prefix *mon-* (monos) to the domain of individual man. Of this so-named science of anthropology, intermediate between human physiology and psychology, the name of Joseph R. Buchanan, an American scientist and real discoverer, of great astuteness and breadth of scope, stands preëminently representative. It includes phrenology, sarcognomy, psychometry, the temperaments, etc.

Recurring to, and re-stating the most general aspects of universal scientific classification, which so far result from the comparison we have made of the different most prominent systems of classification, the primary practical *schema*, that of Comte and Wakeman, eked out and modified by that of Vander Weyde and Stuart-Glennie (vertical and vertebral—*ex hypothesi*), constituting the vertical axis of the great globe of conception, may, and should be denominated *altitudinology*; the Spencerian *schema*, reaching from the back-lying and thickened concretes to the frontwise thinness of the abstract, protensive or forth-reaching, is *longitudinology*; and the side-wise presentation, named by Elsberg *aspectology*, is the *latitudinology* of this grand exhibit. The exhibit itself, grand as it is, is still, however, only static, in space, or existential. The changes which occur in *time* are unprovided for in it. While it collectively is, therefore, the statology, the science of those changes is the motology of being. These are denominated by Comte (in respect to society) the *staticus* and the *dynamique*, or, again, *solidarity*, and contin-

uity, instead. Of natural science at large, Elsberg makes the corresponding division into physiography, for the science of objects in respect to "their spacio or static existence, or the state of their existence at a definite time, i. e., the present," or as answering to the question, "How are you?" And physiogeny, or the science of objects "in respect to their development in time, or their tempic, i. e., their motic or sequential existence," or as answering to the question, "How came you so? or what were you before?" To all this he makes the exceedingly important addendum and suggestion, That every "ology" has its "ography" and its "ogeny." A strict compliance with his injunction, to use these terminations in these specific senses, would remove a great deal of confusion from our scientific literature.

It again results, from this analysis, somewhat unexpectedly perhaps to the reader, that *latitudinology* (the *aspectology* of Elsberg) is metaphysics, or our old friend "philosophy" under a new guise; and that Elsberg is wrong in transferring this term (metaphysics) to his and Spencer's "abstract science" (including mathematics and logic). This last, in conjunction with metaphysics, is *abstractology*; and singly, it is *physo-abstractology*, Elsberg's physiology being then *physo-concretology* (the science of dead and living real objects). This identification of *latitudinology* with metaphysics is made as follows: The substantial (hylic), the morphic, and the dynamic of Elsberg have been previously identified with the real (and good), the true, and the beautiful of Wakeman. We have only now to recur to the great masters of metaphysical philosophy to discover that the subdivisions they have made, as most fundamental of their immense field of speculative investigation, have been precisely those of this newly recognized, *aspectological* department of science; if not in explicit terms, still really so.

Kant, the greatest of masters in the metaphysical sphere, treated the whole field of philosophy in three *Kritiken*; which are: I. Of the pure reason, which is obviously of the TRUE; II., PRACTICAL REASON; and III., Kritik of the judgment. This third or last proves, however, to mean "judgment of the laws for the emotion of satisfaction and dissatisfaction"; that is to say, *æsthetic determination*, or the mental criterion of the beautiful. Metaphysics concerns then primarily, or in the first division of its scope,—the true, the practical, and the beautiful. (The good [and evil] fills the distinct branch called ethics.)

I have previously identified, in a preliminary way, form with the true, substance with the good, and the practical with action or achievement; but more specifically I may now quote Schelling's sublime generalization, on this head, of the three potencies of the ideal, as I., the assimilation of matter (substance) into form, for the true; II., the assimilation of form into matter (substance) for the good; and III., the absolute assimilation or smelting of these two, for the beautiful. (*Schlegel's History of Philosophy, Stirling's Translation*, p. 301.) But what is still more important for our present purpose, we have the authority of Schwegler for the assertion, that the three parts of Schelling's *Transcendental Philosophy* correspond completely with Kant's three *Kritiken* (*ib.* p. 286). Now these three parts are respectively: I., theoretical—the true; II., the practical; and III., philosophy of Nature, design, and art—the beautiful.

Let us now recast the scale of these several grand aspects of the ideal, as follows (reading upward):

5. The BEAUTIFUL; design, art.
4. The PRACTICAL.
3. The GOOD.
2. The TRUE, "theoretical," "pure reason," form.
1. The REAL, the hylic, substance.

It will then appear that of the authors cited all except Wakeman having attempted to condense these "aspects" into a series of three, Elsberg has, virtually, taken the first, the second, and the fourth; while Kant and Schelling have taken the second, the fourth, and the fifth; and Wakeman has, I think, taken them all, at various times, but not quite systematically. It also appears that Elsberg and Wakeman, by a mere enlargement of scientific classification, have come out, it would seem quite unconsciously; upon the *beat* of the metaphysicians, in its most transcendental attitudes—the realm in philosophy of the (of late) much-reviled absolute, as contrasted with the relative. The relativity-domain furnishes Schelling's nature-philosophy—the realm of the ordinary sciences.

Twenty years ago, Lewes, the English historian of philosophy, performed the funeral services over metaphysics as a dead thing, giving it no place as science any longer; and the empirical scientific world followed in his wake. Quite of late he has reconsidered that somewhat rash judgment, and revokes it, reinstating metaphysics as a legitimate scientific arena, and introducing *metempirics*, as the name for what he meant to condemn. At the same time, scientific classification by the mere enlargement of its own borders finds itself embracing the metaphysical domain. I am not aware whether Wakeman is aware that his "Infinology" is, again, this "aspectology" and the dread region of transcendental metaphysics itself. Let, however, all apprehensions be allayed. We have in all this merely a new swinging of the pendulum, back towards philosophy; which, however, must now rise to the higher plane of a broad scientio-philosophy, and show itself competent to the reconciliation of all past dissensions.

Recurring to the scale of ideal aspects, and introducing Schelling's modification, they may be most perfectly exhibited as follows:—

- I. OBJECT; THE OBJECTIVE.—(*Naturalist.*) Compounded of SUBSTANCE (objective reality) plus FORM (material shape)—matter, the material, THE REAL.
- II. SUBJECT; THE SUBJECTIVE.—(*Scientist.*) Compounded of FORM (mental, the categories of thought) plus SUBSTANCE (the objective materials

of thought, imparted through the senses, from objective reality),—mind, the ideal, THE TRUE.

III. SUBJECT-OBJECT; THE SUBJECTIVE-OBJECTIVE.—(*Artisinal.*) MIND-and-MATTER, in co-existent and co-actionary relation with each other; subject to another tri-grade distribution as follows:—

III., 1. *Artismo-naturalist.*—MATTER affecting mind, THE GOOD (or, in a state of inversion, the evil).

III., 2. *Artismo-scientist.*—(Useful, Technological). MIND affecting matter, THE PRACTICAL (or inversely, the impractical; or misconceived purpose).

III., 3. *Artismo-artisinal.*—(Fine-art-like, the true artisinal). MATTER-and-MIND, perfectly correlated, or harmoniously adjusted to each other,—THE BEAUTIFUL (or, inversely, the hideous or ugly).

These are the infinities; and such is the completer explication of what, with its new names, is *aspectology* and *infinology*, and with its old names metaphysics, and transcendent or speculative philosophy. The work of reconciliation is then, here again, immensely forwarded. Physics and metaphysics need no longer stand aloof from each other. To marry these great segments of human knowledge is no small achievement; it is, however, a preparation only for still more important conquests over the dissension and dissensions of humanity. In the next article, we shall make the transition to the social, the religious, and the more practical spheres of being.

THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM.

NEW YORK, March 28, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—When the President was on his way to the White House, he said, referring to the duties to devolve upon him, that, "he placed trust in Almighty God, who rules the destinies of nations." If this be true, the President is a quasi Pope, and rules this nation under the direction of a personal god. I do not doubt he spoke from conscientious motives; but I object to his promulgating these errors in the capacity of a public officer. This theory was long since exploded in Europe, and should not be resuscitated here.

It was this creature of the imagination which he calls Almighty God that the framers endeavored to relieve from the cares of State. Any well-informed Englishman will tell you that the Queen reigns by virtue of an act of Parliament, not by "God's grace." I believe that the remarks of the President have the smell of the monarch about them, and a very ancient kind of monarch at that.

Be that as it may, he has already been charged with breaking up a legislature and deposing two governors. The *effete* idea that we must have a ruler, has a lodgment in the American mind; but when the question is more thoroughly understood the royal executive will be dethroned. I wish to submit the following in respect to President and Cabinet-making:—

I.
The presidential powers of appointment and removal are monarchical. He has at his absolute command an immense army of office-holders. This alone has developed patronage-bribery into a science. It reduces the election of the President to a pitched battle for power. While the Queen of England must sign her own death-warrant if the Parliament so direct, the President vetoes any bill he desires. This is one-man power. This great error crept into the Constitution by mistaking an ancient theory of the British Constitution for its actual workings. The consequence is, that our Congress is too unimportant, and our executive is too strong.

II.
The country is puzzling its brains over what should be the term of the President. The answer is, that he should not be elected for any fixed period. As it is now, no matter what he turns out to be, we must endure him. Whether his works are good or bad, he can only be removed by impeachment, and that is regarded as next to revolution. We elect a person of unascertained diminutiveness to serve in a time of unapprehended greatness. This is a lottery.

III.
One of the first things a President does is to conceive of a policy, which he often attempts to enforce against the will of the people. Why should a mere ministerial officer have a policy? Our Presidents play the role of principals when they are but agents.

IV.
Under our presidential system there is no continuous course for a statesman. If he becomes prominent in the legislative branch, strange as it may seem, he is practically disqualified for the executive.

V.
Our Cabinet Secretary lurks in his office and need do nothing in public. There is no way to find out his qualifications. This secret and irresponsible concave is a fit adjunct to the present form of the Presidency.

VI.
Under the system of presidential governments the most available man is selected. King Caucus declares that the best men of the nation be stricken off the list of candidates. The wire-pullers agree upon a man who has little experience in the science of government. The Vice-President who has twice become President in ninety years is generally a still less competent man. The machinery of our colleges is most complex. The whole of the vast engine is rickety and out of joint. The framers intended to remove the election away from the people, but we have drifted away from their conception. In my opinion, if the decision of the Electoral Commission is to stand, the death-knell of liberty has been rung in this country. By its provision a few desperate and ambitious men

in an obscure State can control the destinies of the nation. The reign of fraud and the shot-gun is now secure.

VII.

But I am asked what I would substitute for the presidency. As destruction is but a form of construction, I have already indicated what changes I would make. But to be more specific:—

- 1st. The civil service to be regulated by law.
- 2d. Abolish the rotten borough system of the senate.
- 3d. Vest in the senate and house supreme legislative and executive power.
- 4th. Dispense with the office of president and substitute a federal council, its presiding officer to be called president of the council.
- 5th. Each of the members of the council to have a seat in the house.
- 6th. Each of the members of the council to act as chief of his respective department.
- 7th. The council to be elected by a concurrent vote of the two houses of congress.
- 8th. The council to hold office at the will of and to be required to conform to the controlling majority in congress.
- 9th. The right of interpellation to be acknowledged. It would be impossible to point out all the advantages of this proposed system in a short communication. The American idea, as formulated in the declaration, is that the supreme power should be vested in the people's representatives in congress. By the adoption of the foregoing plan, the government could select a proper executive council for any emergency,—in time of war a war council, and in time of peace a peace council. The supreme power would be centered where it could be found,—not scattered in coordinate branches as it is now. The strongest men of the nation would belong to this council. The friendly relation of the council with congress would be incessant. Congress would lead and guide them; there would be no conflict as now. The president would be stripped of his monarchical power. The inducement to use fraud and force for the purpose of controlling the civil service would be removed. The proposed council would be the embodiment of the intelligence; the genius, the brain and the conscience of the nation. Amend the constitution in the way proposed, and the question of the election of president, which every four years agitates the whole country, would disappear; and the demoralising, destructive, insensate, and complicated death-struggle, known as a presidential election, would pass away forever.

Respectfully, H. C. LOCKWOOD.

"PURIFYING" LIBERALISM.

TO MR. HENRY CLAY NEVILLE, of Ozark, Mo.:

THE INDEX of the 21st March contains your communication on "The Purification of Liberalism," in which you protest against allowing some of the liberals to be considered representative men in the world of free thought. You seem to be actuated by a desire to imitate the policy of the churches, and make a selection of those who shall be spokesmen for you, and whom you would be willing to associate with as liberals. Any person brought up in the Church can see precisely how you think and feel on this subject.

Now there is not an organization on earth, religious or political, in which there are not some who feel and complain as you do of those with whom they are compelled to associate. Republicans loathe and abhor Republicans, and charge them with doing more harm than good to the party. Democrats ditto. Among the churches the presumptuous and conceited clergy who push themselves forward as the Lord's ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary are exceedingly disliked by others who condemn their methods, their impudent and supercilious claims. These personal animosities are as bitter among the saints as they are among other people. There are no more unpopular men among the clergy of Brooklyn and New York than Talmage and Beecher, their more Orthodox brethren believing them both to be doing the Church infinitely more harm than good. There is an elective affinity based upon a congeniality of taste which runs through all organizations, and which, by its tendency to exclusiveness more or less, hinders them from accomplishing the general purpose each has in view. Of course the same thing is observable among the liberals. But what are you going to do about it? You can do nothing.

The grand object in view by the class of men called Liberals, Radicals, or Freethinkers is, if I understand it, twofold: first, to preserve and increase the secularity of the Constitution and Government of the United States, and to lead the States in their school systems and general legislation to conform to this principle; secondly, by discussion, through the press and rostrum, to enlighten the American people on the questions at issue between them and the Christian Church, and to show that the Church and her claims are an obstacle to the cause of human progress which can be and ought to be removed. Association and co-operation are absolutely necessary to carrying out these purposes. Hence organization of Liberal Leagues with these specific ends in view. Those who join these Leagues do not constitute themselves into a mutual admiration society, or bind themselves to indorse what each other may say or do, even in the advocacy of the specified objects of the League. We have nothing to do with our co-laborers except as we have with our fellow-Republicans, Democrats, or Nationals, with whom we may cooperate in politics. We have no right to inquire into the private character of our fellow-leaguers, or what they think on temperance, spiritualism, materialism, or free love. These are all side issues. If you want to go from Ozark to New York by railroad, instead of your private carriage,

you must associate, for the time being, with all sorts of people on the train as travelling companions. Some will be pleasant persons to associate with, and others may be exceedingly repulsive. But you cannot put the latter out, for as travellers who have paid their fare, you are all on terms of perfect equality until you arrive at New York. Then the mutual toleration is at an end.

In like manner the liberals tolerate each other in their opinions on subordinate subjects, and in unpleasant traits of character, in consideration of securing harmonious co-operation on those higher points on which they are fully agreed. It would be very desirable indeed if every radical were a highly cultivated gentleman in his taste and manners. But as we are all striving with might and main to push the car of progress up the hill to the summit level, we will be glad of every man's help, even if he shock us sometimes with his profane speech, or puff tobacco-smoke into our faces, or tread roughly and inconsiderately on our toes. The League is not a church with a creed and code of church morals, licensing and ordaining its public teachers. It is a voluntary association like a political party, and every man has a right to join it and be its advocate, whether he have brains and morals or not. I read much in our radical papers which I consider is of no use whatever in promoting the cause. I read much which I exceedingly dislike. But we live and move on different planes. One method of advocacy which would displease and disgust me is the very one which will please and profit another man on another plane. I grate my teeth in anger, but remain silent, because we want to get the car to the top of the hill; and to accomplish this we must have the help of those whose ways and manners offend us, but who are as much interested in the cause of progress as we are. I have often admired the harmonious working, in the glorious cause of intellectual freedom, of the antipodes,—the spiritualists and materialists. How diametrically opposite their views are in regard to the question of a future life! Yet they get a hearing in each others' papers, and are kind and considerate to each other, because, with all their differences, they perfectly agree on the living, practical questions now before the public, which affect the right of every sane human being to think and act according to the convictions of his own conscience. So holy a cause as this ought to lead men to be kind and considerate to each other on subjects that are mere theories, while it unites their hearts and hands in the greater matters of practical importance. We are denizens of this world, at all events, for sixty or seventy years, whether there is another world or not; and as we value our liberty and independence of thought and action above everything else, it is an honorable ambition in us to transmit the same blessing to posterity. And in the carrying out of this purpose, which requires vast co-operation, we must not be squeamish and particular, as we might be in inviting a number of guests to dinner. In matters of mere opinion, and in social life, we may choose our associates; but when a great thing is to be done like that which the radicals propose in their Leagues of effort, we must gladly accept the help of every man whose strong hand goes with his good will.

A. B. B.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., March 24, 1878.

"THE ETHICS OF JESUS."

Recent numbers of THE INDEX contain an article which appeared in the February number of the *Radical Review*, entitled "The Ethics of Jesus." The article is ingenious only in its deception. The writer asserts that "Jesus is the central figure of the Christian system," assigns to him in that system a place "as a part of Deity," and then attempts to destroy his divinity by undermining his superior position as a teacher of morals.

All intelligent persons assert the humanity of Christ; some deny his divinity. I am no stickler for his place in the Trinity; and, as the article professes only to define his position as a teacher of ethics as compared with other men, I, too, will pass that by.

After comparing the moral teachings of Jesus with the precepts of ante-Christian sages,—namely, Mencius, Socrates, Buddha, and Confucius, and others of a far remoter date,—the writer draws the following main points in his conclusions:—

First, that the ethical teachings of Jesus were not original, having been taught by others before his time. And,

Secondly, that they were inferior to analogous teachings of other masters, because Jesus did not wholly teach virtue for virtue's sake, but supported his teachings by the selfish incentives of rewards and punishments.

I quite agree with the writer that the teachings of Jesus were not original with him at the time he expounded them. And I will go farther than the writer, and say they were not original with the contemporaries of Jesus nor with Mencius nor Socrates nor Buddha nor Confucius, nor with the still more ancient sages,—Hebraic or what not; but, not to look for a higher source, nor to a more remote period, they were co-existent with the consciousness of man to know good and evil, whether the origin of that consciousness was six thousand or six hundred thousand years ago.

As to the other point, that the ethics of Jesus were inferior to the moral precepts of those other great moral teachers, we can only judge from the subsequent effects of those teachings. Added to the moral precepts of those great ante-Christian sages the hope of reward, as inculcated in the ethics of Jesus, and we find with that "selfish incentive" the world has progressed to a higher and more permanent civilization than ever known before. The moral precepts of ante-Christian sages did not save the civiliza-

tion of India or Greece or Rome; the ethics of Jesus have not yet destroyed ours.

Reward is the essential element in the progress of physical and moral life. It is the hope of the soul, the inspiration of love, the eye of conscience, and the motive of life. Virtue cannot be taught without the hope of reward, for the reward of the virtuous is the enjoyment of virtue. That the soul longs for, hopes for, and seeks for reward is not more beautifully or pathetically expressed than in the closing lines of the writer's essay. He says:—

"For not alone from the slopes of Palestine rises the lofty mountain peak to reflect the glorious dawn of moral truth to the darkened world beneath; but rather, as we journey backward up the stream of Time, do we discover one height of progress answering to another, until we stand admiringly before a glittering chain of snowy summits, from whose sunlit glory we catch the refulgent beams, and in whose lustrous splendor we find our inspiration and our hope." Hope of what,—of reward? GORDON A. STEWART.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

PAXTON, Ill., March 8, 1878.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

A little affair occurred in our church-ridden town, Wednesday evening, which in itself is of no importance; but, as moving straws determine for us the direction of the current in a sluggish stream that otherwise would not be manifest, it assumes significance as pointing to the growing encroachment of the churches upon the secular power of the government. As a beacon, warning the people against this danger to their liberties, THE INDEX stands almost alone.

A difficulty had arisen as to the propriety and good effects of a certain rule which had been introduced by the principal into our public school, and was disapproved by most of the other teachers. The contention had been waxing for some weeks, and many in the town had become warmly partisan. At the prayer-meetings on Wednesday evening, all the churches in town, save one (and this with great propriety declined), appointed committees of its members to meet and confer with the school directors and teachers on the matter of difference between them. The meeting was held the next day. Thus the churches as churches assumed to act, at least, as an advisory council in a matter wholly secular and beyond their jurisdiction. The items of grievances specified in the Declaration of Independence did not more unmistakably point to the coming revolution, than the signs of the times foreshadow a coming conflict to be fought with carnal weapons between ecclesiasticism and secularism. This government can no more permanently remain partly secular and partly ecclesiastical, than it could continue to be partly free and partly slave. This is boldly stated by ministers who are laboring to get God into the Constitution; and the dogmas of the Church make this the only consistent ground. The Bible is everything, or it concerns us only as a literary production.

Very truly, L. B. FARRAR, M.D.

FREE MASONRY.

NORFOLK, Va., March 24, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

IN THE INDEX of March 31 in a communication of "E. W.," the author I think does not understand "Masonry." He speaks of the "secrecy" of the order. Let me say that all the rules, precepts, in fact the fundamental law of masonry, are published and can be bought at most book-stores, by any one. They are really a mutual protective association, bound to assist each other only when the sufferer shows a disposition to help himself. As regards secrets, each member has a letter of recommendation, not written, but committed to memory; this is his pass, and must be kept secret as a protection against imposition. Beyond this, Masons have no secrets more than other people in general. Again, "E. W." says: "We read of no female Pope." I have read of the female Pope Joan; but the time of her existence was so long ago, I will not vouch for its truth. I am not writing for controversy, for in the main I agree with him; but I do think he has attacked Masonry without a full knowledge of its tenets, and would advise all to examine Masonic text-books before commenting too harshly.

Respectfully, L. SPAULDING.

ST. LOUIS can well lay claim to the champion juvenile prodigy of the year. Emma McCann, eight years old, was suddenly taken sick the other day, and in a moment threw up a silver dime. The mother was surprised, but as the child recovered thought no more of the matter, until, two hours after, she was again taken sick, and added eight more dimes to the amount of legal tender possessed by the household. A physician was sent for, but before his arrival four more dimes and a five-cent piece were coined and put into circulation in the same mysterious way. The next day four more dimes were issued by the precocious child, who, to vary the monotony, and to show her ability to perform other remarkable feats, threw up two glass beads and a fancy glove-button. Thus, in two days, this prodigy added no less than \$1.75 to the finances of the family; and had not they given her medicines out of a mistaken notion that she had previously swallowed the coin, she might still be turning out money—perhaps gold dollars by this time—and a choice assortment of miscellaneous articles adapted to general family use. It would seem that another feature of the insidious silver scheme has been revealed by the above singular case, and a breed of children possessing unlimited coinage abilities has been found which will flood the country with cheap money.—*Boston Journal*.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support.

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EDITOR: FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

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

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, APRIL 25, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 435.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture at Independence, Kansas, April 28, 29, 30; and at Iowa City, Iowa, May 23, 24, and 25.

THE LATE "Boss Tweed" is now claimed as having been a diligent reader and admirer of the Bible! We surrender him to the Orthodox without a regret.

A FRIEND informs us that a lady has just bequeathed \$400,000 to Cardinal McCloskey for the Church, and suggests that such bequests should be prohibited.

THE "HOLLIS STREET SOCIAL CLUB" gave private theatricals in the Hollis Street Chapel in this city, a week or two ago. A correspondent pertinently inquires: "Why tax theatres?"

THE "APPEAL" of the Massachusetts State Committee of the National Liberal League ought to be read attentively by all interested in that growing movement. It is as good for other States as for this.

MR. PARKER PILLSBURY lectured on "Ecclesiastical versus Civil Authority," before the Liberal League of Milwaukee on April 10, and declared that Presidents Lincoln, Grant, and Hayes have all more or less favored the Christianizing schemes of the National Reform Association.

THIS ITEM appeared in the Boston Advertiser of April 15: "An adjourned meeting of persons interested in the establishment of a Liberal League in Malden was held last evening at Bailey's Hall. Mr. A. A. Knights occupied the chair. The committee on organization reported a constitution, which was adopted with slight amendments. Officers were elected as follows: President, the Rev. D. M. Wilson; Vice-President, Loring Moody; Secretary, Dr. W. W. Gleason; Treasurer, Mrs. Annie M. Moody. It was voted to hold the annual meeting on the third Thursday of May."

WE REPUBLISH this week two papers of great historic interest and also of great present value, as exhibiting clearly the ideal which animated the minds of two of the most illustrious among the founders of the American republic,—Madison and Jefferson. For the opportunity of printing these papers, we are indebted to the Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany, who very kindly sent to us from his private library the fifth volume of the Correspondent, a sixteen-page weekly published in Philadelphia some fifty years ago, with a suggestion to reproduce these papers in THE INDEX. What "statesman" of the present breed ventures publicly to take the ground here defended by these great men?

THIS STATEMENT is made by the Providence Press of April 13: "The Western heirs to the estate of the late Anneke Jans, whose property in New York, held by the Trinity Church Corporation, is said to be worth from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000, have formed themselves into an association for the purpose of prosecuting their claim to the property. It is claimed that Mrs. E. H. Wallace, of Cincinnati, one of the original heirs, has found the lease under which the Trinity Church acquired the property, which lease was for ninety-nine years, with power of renewal; but which was not renewed in 1838, as it should have been, according to the claim of the heirs, but seized upon as the property of the corporation. The case has been before the Supreme Court of the United States, and Mrs. Wallace will move for a rehearing on the ground of the discovery of this valuable paper."

THE BOSTON POLICE made a descent on some rooms in Nassau Hall building on Sunday, April 14, and captured some Chinamen occupied in gambling. This exploit elicited the following communication in the Advertiser under the heading—"Heathen and Christian Gambling": "The feat of our police last Sunday evening in arresting twenty or more Chinese for gambling on the Sabbath, and the infliction of \$10 fine upon each for the offence, seems indefen-

sible when all the circumstances are considered. Surely Sabbath-breaking cannot be imputed to the heathen man, who has yet, it may often be, to learn even of the institution of the Sabbath, and to whom, therefore, it can have no more sanctity than the commands heard in the joss-house have to a Christian man. How then, in equity, can we criminally indict him for disregarding it? How pass by the Jew, who pleads liberty of conscience, and is permitted to keep open shop? Or, if the sacred majesty of the law be pleaded by the police, in the name of decency why not first enforce its penalties against its Christian violators? Why not make the violators of the law everywhere, who have friends, feel and be taught its lessons first? After that it will be full time to take in hand the poor and friendless heathen. Until then such acts are an outrage upon justice, and call for public inquiry and public condemnation. What lessons such an experience must teach these men of Christian law, and what new barriers it will put in the way of our true Christian workers who shall seek his spiritual well-being! FAIR PLAY."

REV. MR. ELDRIDGE, pastor of the Congregational Church, East Weymouth, Massachusetts, gave a sermon on April 7, which contained the following passage, as reported in the Weymouth Gazette of April 12: "If there is a work of hell carried on on earth, it is the dissemination of obscene literature among the young. Comstock, the Christian man who has waged war on this crime, declares that years past tens of the vilest matter have annually been sent to tens of thousands of children in our schools, to defile their imaginations, inflame their passions, and initiate these little ones in a course of vice. Just when Comstock had his hand ready to throttle this gigantic iniquity, a bill [petition] is handed in to Congress to protect it, and on the list the name of Robert Ingersoll stands first. 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' saith the Scriptures; and now look upon these flowers of infidelity, and tell me what it is worth?" That is a specimen of the attacks on Liberalism which have been directly invited by the petition referred to; and they will multiply like mushrooms. Of course we all understand that very few of the liberals who signed it really intended to protect the kind of literature above referred to; but, misled by unwise counsels, they blindly blundered into petitioning for the total repeal of the "obscene literature" laws, and not simply for their radical modification. They will have to pay for this blunder by being held up (falsely, of course) by their opponents everywhere, as champions and defenders of the vile stuff described above. The consequence in all likelihood will be that, instead of securing the repeal of those vague and dangerous laws, they will fail to secure even the least modification of them. The blunder of despoiling the necessary discriminations we pointed out at the time will react most mischievously on the liberal cause everywhere; it gives Anthony Comstock and his backers exactly the argument they wanted. We have drawn an avalanche of angry and absurd abuse on our head, by giving timely warning of the trap into which the petitioners have been decoyed, and we expect more of the same sort; but those who appreciate the wisdom of our warning will multiply just in proportion as sober reflection takes the place of indiscriminate excitement among the liberals of the country. Liberals who have signed that petition, you cannot afford to stand before the people as the apologists or defenders of the kind of literature above referred to; you cannot defend your own undoubted rights, if you persist in confounding free thought with free nastiness; you have got to make the discriminations we have pointed out, and the sooner you do it, the better it will be for yourselves and your cause. You may vilify us all you please; but you will regret your own vilifications at last, for they will only make your miserable mistake all the sooner visible to the world.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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

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

ably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

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

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

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

Madison's Protest against State Christianity.

A MEMORIAL AND DEMONSTRANCE, DRAWN BY JAMES MADISON, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, IN 1785.

TO THE HONORABLE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA.—

We, the subscribers, citizens of the Commonwealth, having taken into consideration a bill printed by order of the last session of General Assembly, entitled, "A bill for establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian religion"; and conceiving that the same, if finally armed with the sanction of a law, will be a dangerous abuse of power, are bound, as faithful members of a free State, to remonstrate against it, and to declare the reasons by which they are determined. We remonstrate against the said bill—

Because, we hold it for a fundamental and unalienable truth "that religion, or the duty which we owe to the Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." The religion, then, of every man, must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is, in its nature, an unalienable right. It is unalienable because the opinions of men depending on the evidence contemplated by their own minds cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable, also, because what is here a right towards men is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him. This duty is precedent both in order and time and in degree of obligation to the claims of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the governor of the universe. And if a member of civil society who enters into any subordinate association must always do it with a reservation of his duty to general authority, much more must every man who becomes a member of any particular civil society do it with a saving of his allegiance to the universal sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society; and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. True it is that no other rule exists by which any question which may divide society can be ultimately determined but by the will of a majority; but it is also true that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

Because, if religion be exempt from the authority of the society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative body. The latter are but the creatures and vicegerents of the former. Their jurisdiction is both derivative and limited. It is limited with regard to coordinate departments; more necessarily, it is limited with regard to the constituents. The preservation of a free government requires, not merely that the metes and bounds which separate each department of power be invariably maintained, but more especially that neither of them be suffered to overlap the great barrier which defends the rights of the people. The rulers who are guilty of such an encroachment exceed the commission from which they derive their authority, and are tyrants. The people who submit to it are governed by laws made neither by themselves nor any authority derived from them, and are slaves.

Because, it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait until usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle; and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much soon to forget it. Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other sects,—that the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute threepence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment, in all cases whatsoever?

Because, the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law, and which is more indispensable in proportion as the validity or expediency of any law is more liable to be impeached. "If all men are, by nature, equally free and independent," all men are to be considered as entering into society on equal conditions,—as relinquishing no more, and therefore retaining no less, one than another, of their natural rights; above all, are they

to be considered as retaining an "equal title to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to those whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offence against God, not against man. To God, therefore, and not to man, must an account of it be rendered. As the bill violates equality by subjecting some to peculiar burdens, so it violates the same principle by granting to others peculiar exemptions. Are the Quakers and Menonists the only sects who think a compulsory support of their religions unnecessary and unwarrantable? Can their piety alone be entrusted with the care of public worship? Ought their religions to be endowed, above all others, with extraordinary privileges, by which proselytes may be enticed from all others? We think too favorably of the justice and good sense of these denominations, to believe that they either covet preeminences over their fellow-citizens, or that they will be seduced by them from the common opposition to the measure.

Because, the bill implies, either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of religious truths, or that he may employ religion as an engine of civil policy. The first is an arrogant pretension, falsified by the extraordinary opinions of rulers, in all ages, and throughout the world; the second, an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation.

Because, the establishment proposed by the bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion. To say that it is a contradiction to the Christian religion itself; for every page of it disavows a dependence on the power of this world; it is a contradiction to fact, for it is known that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid, but long after it had been left to its own evidence and the ordinary care of Providence: nay, it is a contradiction in terms; for a religion not invented by human policy must have preëxisted and been supported, before it was established by human policy: it is, moreover, to weaken in those who profess this religion a pious confidence in its innate excellence, and the patronage of its author; and to foster in those who still reject it a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies to trust to its own merits.

Because, experience witnesses that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less, in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution. Inquire of the teachers of Christianity for the ages in which it appeared in its greatest lustre; those of every sect point to the ages prior to its incorporation with civil policy. Propose a restoration of this primitive State in which its teachers depended on the voluntary rewards of their flocks—many of them predict its downfall. On which side ought their testimony to have the greatest weight, when for, or when against their interest?

Because, the establishment in question is not necessary for the support of civil government. If it be urged as necessary for the support of civil government, only as it is a means of supporting religion, and if it be not necessary for the latter purpose, it cannot be necessary for the former.

If religion be not within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be said to be necessary to civil government? What influence, in fact, have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society? In some instances, they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of civil authority; in more instances, they have been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance have they been guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the public liberty may have found an established clergy convenient auxiliaries. A just government instituted to secure and perpetuate it needs them not. Such a government will be best supported by protecting every citizen in the enjoyment of religion, with the same equal hand which protects his person and property; by neither invading the equal rights of any sect, nor suffering any sect to invade those of another.

Because, the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a lustre to our country, and an accession to the number of our citizens. What a melancholy mark is the bill of sudden degeneracy? Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution. It degrades from the equal rank of citizens all those whose opinions in religion do not bend to those of legislative authority. Distant as it may be, in its present form, from the inquisition, it differs only from it in degree; the one is the first step, the other the last, in the career of intolerance. The magnanimous sufferer under the cruel scourge in foreign nations must view the bill as a beacon on our coast, warning him to seek some other haven, where liberty and philanthropy in their due extent may offer a more certain repose for his trouble.

Because, it will have a like tendency to banish our citizens. The allurements presented by other situations are every day thinning their number. To superadd a fresh motive to emigration by revoking the liberty which they now enjoy would be the same species of folly which has dishonored and depopulated flourishing kingdoms.

Because, it will destroy that moderation and harmony which the forbearance of our laws to inter-

meddle with religion has produced among its several sects. Torrents of blood have been split in the Old World by vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord, proscribing all differences in religious opinion. Time has at length revealed the true remedy. Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, has been found to assuage the disease. The American theatre has exhibited proofs, that equal and complete liberty, if it does not wholly eradicate it, sufficiently destroys its malignant influence on the health and prosperity of the State. If, with the salutary effects of this system under our own eyes, we begin to contract the bounds of religious freedom, we know no name that will too severely reproach our folly. At least, let warning be taken at the first fruits of the threatened innovation. The very appearance of the bill has transformed that "Christian forbearance, love, and charity," which of late mutually prevailed, into animosities and jealousies, which may not soon be appeased. What mischiefs may not be dreaded, should this enemy to the public quiet be armed with the force of law?

Because, the policy of this bill is adverse to the diffusion of the light of Christianity. The first wish of those who ought to enjoy this precious gift, ought to be that it may be imparted to the whole race of mankind. Compare the number of those who have as yet received it with the number still remaining under the dominion of false religions, and how small is the former! Does the policy of the bill tend to lessen the disapprobation? No; it at once discourages those who are strangers to the light of truth from coming into regions of it, and countenances by example the nations who continue in darkness, in shutting out those who might convey it to them. Instead of levelling, as far as possible, every obstacle to the victorious progress of truth, the bill, with an ignoble and unchristian timidity, would circumscribe it with a wall of defence against the encroachments of error.

Because, an attempt to enforce, by legal sanctions, acts obnoxious to so great a portion of citizens tends to enervate the laws in general, and to slacken the bands of society. If it be difficult to execute any law which is not generally deemed necessary nor salutary, what must be the case when it is deemed invalid and dangerous? And what may be the effect of so striking an example of impotency in the government on its general authority?

Because, a measure of singular magnitude and delicacy ought not to be imposed without the clearest evidence that it is called for by a majority of citizens; and no satisfactory method is yet proposed by which the majority in this case may be determined, or its influence secured. The people of the respective counties are, indeed, requested to "signify their opinion respecting the adoption of the bill, to the next session of Assembly." But the representation must be made equal, before the voice, either of the representatives or of the counties, will be that of the people. Our hope is, that neither of the former will, after due consideration, espouse the dangerous principle of the bill. Should the event disappoint us, it will leave us in full confidence that a fair appeal to the latter will reverse our sentence against our liberties.

Because, finally, the "equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience" is held by the same tenure with all our rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of Nature; if we weigh its importance, it cannot be less dear to us; if we consult the "declaration of those rights which pertain to the good people of Virginia, as the basis and foundation of government," it is enumerated with equal solemnity, or rather with studied emphasis. Either, then, we must say that the will of the legislature is the only measure of their authority, and that in the plenitude of this authority they may sweep away all our fundamental rights; or, that they are bound to leave this particular right untouched and sacred. Either we must say, that they may control the freedom of the press, may abolish the trial by jury, may swallow up the executive and judiciary powers of the State, nay, that they may annihilate our very right of suffrage, and erect themselves into an independent and hereditary assembly; or we must say that they have no authority to enact into a law the bill under consideration. We, the subscribers, say, that the General Assembly of this Commonwealth have no such authority; and that no effort may be omitted on our part, against so dangerous an usurpation, we oppose to it this remonstrance, earnestly praying, as we are in duty bound, that the supreme law-giver of the universe, by illuminating those to whom it is addressed, may, on the one hand, turn their councils from every act which would affront his holy prerogative, or violate the trust committed to them; and, on the other, guide them into every measure which may be worthy of his blessing, may redound to their own praise, and may establish more firmly the liberties, the prosperity, and happiness of this Commonwealth.—From "The Correspondent," a weekly journal edited and published by George Houston: Philadelphia, April 4, 1829.

THE REV. B. S. TAYLOR, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Sandlake, N.Y., instead of preaching a sermon, last Sunday, made this announcement: "The Board of Trustees have not paid my salary, have taken no notice of my demands, circulated no subscription paper, nor made any other effort to fulfil their obligations to me. I am badly involved in debt, and do not propose to continue preaching for nothing. I therefore declare the pulpit vacant until God in his mercy can send you a minister who can live on air and wear buckskin breeches of his own make."

JEFFERSON'S RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT.

The following Act was submitted to the Virginia Assembly by the illustrious JEFFERSON, and exhibits in lively colors the opinions of that eminent man on a subject which is deeply interesting to every citizen of this free country.—[Ed. Correspondent, Philadelphia, June 27, 1829.]

An Act for establishing Religious Freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia, in the beginning of the year 1786.

Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishment or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who, being lord of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher, not of his own persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and as withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that, though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough, for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that Truth is great, and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons,—free argument and debate,—errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them:—

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer an account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are the natural rights of mankind; and that, if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

THE JOURNALISTIC SABBATH.

The following communication was received yesterday:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PIONEER PRESS:—

We, the subscribers, respectfully ask you to discontinue the publication either of the Sunday or Monday morning edition of your paper, in view of the following considerations:—

First—We fully appreciate the great influence which the press of this city has heretofore exerted in behalf of the public morals; and we are, therefore, all the more pained to have its influence now exerted for Sabbath desecration. Not that we regard other corporations or institutions which require unnecessary work on the Sabbath as any less guilty than yourselves, but that we consider the influence of the press as greater than any,—perhaps than all combined.

Second—Our petition is not laid against the Monday edition as such, but against the publication of a paper upon seven days of the week, without any intermission as should respect the day which the Christian community accounts sacred. Inasmuch as the

Monday edition was the seventh, it is but the occasion of this remonstrance.

Third—While there are many of the subscribers who would much prefer the discontinuance of the Sabbath edition, believing that it involves the desecration of the day, and others who believe that the sanctity of the day can be as well conserved by the discontinuance of the Monday edition, yet we are confident that it is neither to your own best interests nor in accordance with the wish of the better class of your subscribers, that you should continue the publication of seven editions per week; and we hope that you may, therefore, see fit to comply with this request.

St. PAUL, Feb. 18, 1878.

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|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| David R. Breed, | John Stafford, |
| Maurice D. Edwards, | Edward J. Funk, |
| David Tice, | H. J. Crist, |
| E. J. Hielscher, | S. W. Lloyd, |
| J. Schneider, | Wm. McKibbin, |
| H. Baittcher, | Wm. R. Marshall—I hope |
| J. S. Pillsbury, | the Monday morning |
| D. Burt, | edition will be discon- |
| H. P. Van Cleve, | tinued. I heartily favor |
| H. M. Knox, | one day's rest and ab- |
| Edwin Treasure, | stinence from labor in |
| R. Marvin, | seven. |
| Robert P. Lewis, | Pennock Pusey—For rea- |
| T. F. Masterson, | sons similar to above. |
| A. P. Heichhold, | H. R. Brill, |
| Wm. W. Billson, | David Day, |
| Henry J. Horn—I believe | A. E. Clark, |
| the Monday edition | Thos. Cochran, Jr., |
| especially objectionable | Wm. F. Mason, |
| on account of work done | L. A. Gilbert, |
| on Sunday in preparing | D. W. Ingersoll, |
| that edition. | Edward Corning, |
| A. G. Manson, | D. D. Merrill, |
| C. G. Lewis, | J. W. Griggs, Jr., |
| Romaine Sheire, | George H. Hazzard, |
| J. P. Allen, | J. A. Allen, |
| J. B. Spencer, | A. J. Goodrich, |
| J. H. Murphy, | H. H. Sibley—In my |
| C. A. Eaton, | judgment there should |
| H. C. Burbank—I favor | be an intermission of |
| the discontinuance of | labor one day in each |
| the Monday morning | week, in justice to em- |
| edition. | ployés in the printing- |
| Horace Thompson—In | office and elsewhere, |
| favor of omitting Mon- | and in deference to the |
| day morning's paper. | religious sentiment of |
| J. C. Green, | the community. |
| W. P. Donaldson, | John S. Prince, |
| Fred. G. Hawes, | E. F. Drake, |
| J. D. Pollock, | A. H. Wilder, |
| C. S. Rogers—In favor of | John Way, |
| omitting the Monday | R. W. Johnson, |
| morning paper. | H. S. Fairchild, |
| W. L. Wilson, | Gates A. Johnson, |
| G. W. Sherwood, | E. Walther, M. D.—In |
| W. J. Dyer—In favor of | favor of discontinuing |
| the omission of the | the Monday morning |
| Monday paper. | edition. |
| Henry Schurmeier—In | C. Meyer, |
| favor of omitting Mon- | J. W. Nabersberg—To |
| day morning paper. | discontinue Monday |
| F. Knauff, | morning paper. |
| J. H. Schurmeier, | C. Gotzian, |
| Henry Gotzian, | Stephen F. Buneman, |
| A. H. Lohliker, | Martin Pfaff, |
| J. F. Tostevin, | Jacob A. Weiss, |
| J. C. Quinby, | Wm. H. Stormer, |
| Charles E. Magraw, | C. D. Strong—My views |
| W. R. Tostevin, | are same as those ex- |
| C. W. Hackett—In favor | pressed by Governors |
| of omitting Monday edi- | Marshall and Sibley, |
| tion. | and H. J. Horn. |
| Fred. S. Swisher, | Wm. H. Johnston. |
| Henry Cross, | |

The *Pioneer Press* feels deeply grateful for the kindly interest in its business affairs and in its morals which is exhibited by the gentlemen whose names are attached to the above communication; and we can best reciprocate it, perhaps, by endeavoring to show them that their solicitude on our behalf is quite unnecessary. They request us to discontinue the publication of either our Sunday or Monday edition on grounds which present a curious confusion of ideas, and which would seem to be hardly consonant with the Christian morality for the interests of which they are so much and so properly concerned. They are careful to inform us that they do not object to a Monday edition as such, but to "the publication of a paper on seven days of the week without such intermission as should respect the day which the Christian community accounts sacred." But as some of them hold that it is the Sunday edition, and others that it is the Monday issue which involves the desecration of the Sabbath, they have kindly consented to compromise the matter by permitting us to choose either of these two modes of desecration which we may deem most expedient; and we are afraid that, in their amiable desire to make things agreeable all around, they have thus compromised away the whole ground of their opposition to seven papers a week. As the Sunday edition involves a certain amount of labor in the wee sma' hours of Sunday morning, and the Monday edition requires considerable labor on Sunday night, the dilemma is a fearful one for a conscience which is burthened with the belief that the Almighty has set apart a definite astronomical period of time from midnight of Saturday to midnight of Sunday as a day sacred to religious observances, meditation, and rest; and we should be deeply pained if we thought our evangelical brethren were willing to compromise with sin in the manner they propose, by permitting us to choose which end of this astronomical Sabbath we shall desecrate with the impety of newspaper work. But, of course, it is implied in the very terms

of such a compromise that both parties are agreed in attaching no peculiar sacredness to any given period of time—that they thus give up the doctrine of an astronomical Sabbath even while seeming to maintain it,—and only insist on the observance of one day of rest in seven, including one end or the other of Sunday, which end being a matter of individual preference. After such an example of latitudinarianism on the part of the religious teachers, the elders, and the deacons, to whom we naturally look for guidance in these matters, they can hardly be surprised that we accept their interpretation of the requirements of Sabbathical morality in all its logical consequences, and that we agree at once with those who hold that it is no desecration of the Sabbath to issue a Sunday morning paper, and also with those who account it no sin to issue a Monday morning paper; and they will not fail to see how beautifully we are carrying out their own sensible spirit of compromise by supplying those who regard the one edition as a mortal sin with the other edition which they look upon as innocent, or at least as venial. Indeed, if we had had any misgivings or doubts on the subject of the propriety of issuing a paper every day of the week, they must have been entirely dissipated by the enlightened views which have been laid down for our guidance in the above communication by our evangelical friends and counsellors. They give us to understand that the setting apart of one day of rest in seven, whether the days of labor trench on the astronomical Sunday or not, will fulfil the requirements of Christian morality as respects the Sabbath. We fully accept this view of the matter, and it will perhaps surprise them to learn that the *Pioneer Press* conforms its conduct and the management of its affairs, as far as possible, to the rule here laid down. As a matter of fact, the employés of the *Pioneer Press*, with very few voluntary exceptions, are required to labor but six days in the week. All our business arrangements look to the giving of every one connected with the establishment, as far as possible, one day of rest in the seven. They have in fact already the same alternative which Messrs. Breed, McKibbin, Cross and their associates request that they should have. They choose for themselves whether they shall work on the early hours of Sunday morning or on Sunday night, and thus everybody's convenience and conscience are respected; everybody has his Sabbath or day of rest, and the same choice is given to those who, for reasons of conscience, prefer a Monday to a Sunday paper, or vice versa. In practice, therefore, they will perceive that the *Pioneer Press* fully conforms to the rule which the subscribers of the above communication have been good enough to lay down for our guidance, and they would probably have deemed their communication superfluous if they had taken the pains to inquire into the facts. In the mean time, if it should at any time hereafter suit the convenience of the *Pioneer Press* to make any changes in its business arrangements for the public benefit, we need not say that it would add to the satisfaction we always feel in our humble efforts to serve the public if we should be so fortunate as to meet the approval of gentlemen for whom we entertain so much esteem and respect as the signers of the above communication; and if not, any advice they may choose to tender us for the better management of our private business will always be received with the respectful consideration which is due to their friendly solicitude for "the best interests" of the *Pioneer Press*.—*St. Paul Pioneer Press, March 2.*

OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY.

MR. EDITOR:—

It is amusing to observe the chagrin and disappointment which the report of Senator Johnstone, on the transportation of the mail on Sunday, has caused among the whole corps of *Orthodox* editors. Some of them, indeed, are so extravagantly outrageous in their remarks as to assert that Sabbath-breaking ought to be punished as severely as house-breaking, or even murder! Were it not that the great body of the people entertain more correct ideas of the nature of civil polity than these fanatics, it is evident that, with all their pretended "good-will" for their species, they would not be slow in *practically* illustrating their novel principles of criminal jurisprudence. This is frequently said to be an age remarkable for its improvements in the arts and sciences, and the extensive diffusion of knowledge. And I believe, speaking generally, that it is so. But if we compare the ideas entertained as to the observance of Sunday nearly a century ago by the Puritans of New England (of whose bigotry and rigid fanaticism we have heard so much) with those of modern Puritans, we shall find the result to be in favor of the former. Although they never overlooked an infraction of the Sunday law, the punishment was so slight, so trivial, as to indicate that they had still remaining in their breasts some portion of the milk of human kindness. To illustrate what I now state, I have extracted the following account of the proceedings against the captain of a vessel, charged with violating the Sabbath, from a London publication entitled the *Gazetteer*, and dated Dec. 20, 1774. This account, the main circumstances of which were afterwards published in Burnaby's *Travels Through the Middle Settlements of North America*, also serves to show, that those who make the greatest pretensions about the sanctity of the Sabbath, or the most forward in urging the punishment of transgressors, are generally the least circumspect in their own conduct:—

About forty years ago, many of the chief saints at Boston met with a sad mortification,—yea, a mortification in the flesh. Captain St. Loe, commander of a ship of war, then in Boston harbor, being ashore on a Sunday, was apprehended by the constables for walking on the Lord's Day. On Monday he was carried before a Justice of the Peace: he was fined;

refused to pay it; and for his contumacy and contempt of authority, was sentenced to sit in the stocks one hour, during the time of change. This sentence was put in execution without the least mitigation.

While the captain sat in durance, grave magistrates admonished him to respect in future the wholesome laws of the Province; and reverend divines exhorted him ever after to reverence and keep holy the Sabbath day. At length the hour expired; and the captain's legs were set at liberty. As soon as he was freed, he, with great seeming earnestness, thanked the magistrates for their correction, and the clergy for their spiritual advice and consolation; declaring that he was ashamed of his past life; that he was resolved to put off the old man of sin, and to put on the new man of righteousness; that he should ever pray for them as instruments in the hands of God of saving his sinful soul.

This sudden conversion rejoiced the saints. After clasping their hands and casting up their eyes to heaven, they embraced their new convert, and returned thanks for being made the humble means of snatching a soul from perdition. Proud of their success, they fell to exhorting him afresh; and the most zealous invited him to dinner, that they might have full time to complete their work. The captain sucked in the milk of exhortation as a new-born babe does the milk of the breast. He was as ready to listen as they were to exhort. Never was a convert more assiduous, while his station in Boston harbor lasted; he attended every Sabbath day their most sanctified meeting-house; never missed a weekly lecture; at every private conventicle he was most fervent, and loudest in prayer. He flattered and made presents to the wives and daughters of the godly. In short, all the time he could spare from the duties of his station was spent in entertaining them on board his ship, or in visiting and praying at their houses. The saints were delighted with him beyond measure. They compared their wooden stocks to the voice of heaven, and their sea-convert to St. Paul; who, from their enemy, was become their doctor.

Amidst their mutual happiness, the mournful time of parting arrived. The captain received his recall. On this he went round among the godly, and wept and prayed, assuring them he would return, and end his days among his friends in the Lord. Till the day of his departure, the time was spent in regrets, professions, entertainments, and prayer. On that day, about a dozen of the principal magistrates, including the selectmen, accompanied the captain to Nantasket Road, where the ship lay with everything ready for sailing. An elegant dinner was provided for them on board; after which many bowls and bottles were drained. As the blood of the saints waxed warm, the crust of their hypocrisy melted away: their moral see-saws and the Scripture texts gave place to double entendres and wanton songs; the captain encouraged their gaiety; and the whole ship resounded with the roar of their merriment. Just at that time, into the cabin burst a body of sailors, who, to the inexpressible horror and amazement of the saints, pinioned them fast. Heedless of cries and entreaties, they dragged them upon deck, where they were tied up, stripped to the buff, and their breeches let down; and the boatswain with his assistants, armed with dreadful cat-o'-nine-tails, provided for the occasion, administered unto them the law of Moses in the most energetic manner. Vain were all their prayers, roarings, stampings, and curses; the captain, in the mean time, assuring them it was consonant to their own doctrine and to Scripture, that the mortification of the flesh tended towards the saving of the soul, and therefore it would be criminal in him to abate them a single lash. When they had suffered the whole of their discipline, which had stayed them from the nape of the neck to the hams, the captain took a polite leave, earnestly begging them to remember him in their prayers. They were then let down into the boat that was waiting for them; the crew saluted them with three cheers; and Captain St. Loe made sail.—*Philadelphia Correspondent, April 11, 1829.*

THE SEAL OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

Some of our readers will be interested in the discussion called out by Dr. Holmes' sonnets, sent with a letter to the Harvard Club of New York at the February meeting. The sonnets have been printed, but it would be difficult to repeat his verses too often; and they are accordingly given again with his exegetical letter, and the comments of Dr. Osgood and Mr. Sargent, the president of the club:—

HARVARD.

"CHRISTO ET ECCLESIA." 1790.
 TO GOD'S ANOINTED AND HIS CHOSEN FLOCK:
 So ran the phrase the black-robed conclave chose
 To guard the sacred cloisters that arose
 Like David's altar on Moriah's rock.
 Unshaken still those ancient arches mock
 The ran's-horn summons of the windy foes
 Who stand like Joshua's army while it blows
 And wait to see them toppling with the shock.
 Christ and the Church. Their church whose narrow door
 Shuts out the many, who if over-bold
 Like hunted wolves were driven from the fold,
 Bruised with the tails those godly zealots bore,
 Mindful that Israel's altar stood or old
 Where echoed once Araunah's threshing-floor.

1643. "VERITAS." 1878.

TRUTH: So the frontlet's older legend ran,
 On the brief record's opening page displayed;
 Not yet those clear-eyed scholars were afraid
 Lest the fair fruit that wrought the woe of man
 By far Euphrates—where our sire began
 His search for truth, and seeking was betrayed—
 Might work new treason in their forest shade,
 Doubling the curse that brought life's shortened span.
 Nurse of the future, daughter of the past,
 That stern phylactery best becomes thee now;
 Lift to the morning star thy marble brow;
 Cast thy brave truth on every warring blast!
 Stretch thy white hand to that forbidden bough,
 And let thine earliest symbol be thy last!

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

February 21, 1878.

Dr. Holmes sent, with his regrets for his absence

in person, the following few words of explanation of the sonnets:—

At the first meeting of the governors of the college under the charter of 1642, held in the year 1643, it was "ordered that there shall be a college seal in form following," namely, a shield, with three open books, bearing the word *Veritas*. This motto was soon exchanged for *In Christi Gloria*, and this again shortly superseded by the one so long used, *Christo et Ecclesie*. The latter change took place, as President Quincy believed, "during the presidency of Increase Mather, when a violent struggle was making to secure the college under the influences of the old-established Congregational church." The date (1700) which I have assigned to the last motto must be considered as only approximate.

The Harvard College of to-day wants no narrower, no more exclusive motto than truth—truth which embraces all that is highest and purest in the precepts of all teachers, human or divine; all that is best in the creeds of all churches, whatever their name, but allows no lines of circumscription to be drawn round its sacred citadel under the alleged authority of any record or of any organization. This is what I mean to express in these two squares of metrical lines, wrought in the painful prolixity of the sonnet,—a form of verse which suggests a slow minuet of rhythms stepping in measured cadences over a mosaic pavement of rhymes, and which not rarely combines a minimum of thought with a maximum of labor.

May I venture to remind you, Mr. President, that it is nearly fifty years since you, as editor of a college magazine, gave a kindly welcome to the earliest printed verses known as coming from my pen? I was as a bird on the wing then, hardly knowing whither I was flying, with the morning sun behind me, with all the wide world and the unmeasured years before me. Now I am on my nest, and the evening shadows are fast falling around me. I am sure, that you, at least, will be as indulgent to my falling as you were to my forming voice; and for those around you, I will trust their hearts and their memories,—for we are children of the same mother, and to-day we forget all else in the one feeling of brotherhood.

The allusion in the last paragraph is to the magazine called *The Collegian*, published by the undergraduates of the classes of Dr. Holmes's time, of which Mr. Sargent, now president of the club in New York, was at one time the editor. To the suggestion of the sonnets, Dr. Osgood has made the following answer, to which Mr. Sargent felt called upon to add "one word more":—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:—

The account of the seals of Harvard University, which was published in your paper of February 24, with Dr. O. W. Holmes's striking sonnets, interested many readers; and it was read by Harvard graduates with especial attention. There is much to be said in favor of returning to the old seal of 1643, with the inscription of "*Veritas*" upon the three open books; and upon some of the new Harvard buildings this has been done without giving up the present motto upon the border, "*Christo et Ecclesie*." I am authorized to say, however, that there is no purpose or wish on the part of the college to change its seal, and that, while the spirit of the institution is unsectarian, and able ministers have gone from its walks into Roman Catholic, Congregational, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Unitarian churches, a positive and practical Christian influence is exerted upon the students; and one of the most learned, wise, and earnest men, the Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody, is professor of Christian morals, and to all intents and purposes the chaplain of students and their adviser and friend. The regard in which Dr. Peabody is held may be known by the enthusiasm with which his name was greeted at the late Harvard dinner here.

Allow me to say in conclusion, on behalf of many graduates, that much good might be gained by putting the price of tickets to the Harvard dinner in New York hereafter at five dollars instead of ten dollars, and lessening at least in equal proportion the length of the speeches, and thus relieve at once the pockets and the ears of the majority of guests who abound more in brains than in bullion.

SAMUEL OSGOOD.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:—

The letter of Dr. Osgood in your impression of this morning in reference to the seals of Harvard College calls for a reply, for which I beg the courtesy of your columns. When Harvard College was, to many intents, a mere theological school—and we are told that the maintenance of the learned profession to which Dr. Osgood belongs was the "prime object" of its foundation—there was a significance in the legend which claimed her exclusive devotion to "Christ and the Church." Harvard College is now a national university, in which young men are not merely trained for the pulpit, but are also educated for the various pursuits which graduates of recent years have raised to the level of the so-called "liberal professions." There is no more propriety in continuing the use of the present seal, in view of the present relations of the university to education, than there would be in substituting jurisprudence, medicine, journalism, agriculture, or civil engineering for Cotton Mather's "*Ecclesie*." In the absence of any action by the college on this subject—first brought before the alumni by Dr. O. W. Holmes in his letter to the Harvard Club of this city, at their recent annual dinner—I am not aware that any one can be "authorized" to say that there is no purpose or wish on the part of the college to change their seal. The most that can be fairly said is, that the college has not hitherto been called upon to discuss the subject. That the restoration of the original seal, in its grand simplicity, would be favorably entertained by a considerable portion of the college, we have reason to

know. The price of the tickets to the annual dinner, to which Dr. Osgood alludes, is a matter for discussion in the club, and not in the newspapers. The valuable suggestion in this regard, and that as to the length of the dinner-table speeches, so far as they imply a reflection on the dinner committee and on invited guests, would have come with an ill grace from any one but a gentleman of whom it can be said with so much truth as of your esteemed correspondent, that he never taxed club or congregation with too long a speech, and never indulged in an unwelcome appeal to their pockets. Our chief reason for regretting that the speeches were not shorter was that we were thus deprived of the pleasure of a discourse of Orthodox proportions from the doctor himself.

JOHN O. SARGENT.

—*Boston Advertiser*, March 26.

THE STORY OF "MARY'S LITTLE LAMB."

This is the last week of the spinning-bee at the Old South Meeting-house, and the children will be interested in the following story, which is substantially correct, except that the lamb fed upon a more singular beverage than milk; namely, catnip tea. Mary has, at some inconvenience, promised to come each day this week, if possible, so as not to disappoint the children. Friday will be her seventy-second birthday:—

Who would have believed that the little pet lamb which followed Mary everywhere would now be helping to save the Old South Church? All children know the old song:—

"Mary had a little lamb,
Its fleece was white as snow,
And everywhere that Mary went
The lamb was sure to go."

And many of them know that there is in Boston an old church on Washington Street, at the corner of Milk. The land upon which it stands is worth a great sum of money; and as the property was offered for sale there was much danger that the house would be torn down to make room for a block of stores. The old church has been so famous in the history of Massachusetts that there was a strong feeling against tearing it down, and to save it a number of women of wealth bought it, pledging over \$400,000. For months they have been hard at work in a great many ways to secure money enough to pay for it. For several weeks past "Aunt Tabitha" has held a spinning-bee in the church. Three or four old ladies, who were famous spinners in their young days—when it was the custom to wear homespun garments,—have had their hutchels and reels and wheels, and have spun for the people. A great many have watched them at their work each afternoon. To add to the attractions of the exhibition, the old ladies have been dressed in the styles which were common when they were young, and have worked in an old-time kitchen with its open fire-place and glowing logs.

Among the visitors one day was the real Mary, who, when a little girl, had the pet lamb for her own. She was very willing to tell the story. Suppose we listen with the rest. Little Mary's name was Mary Sawyer, and she lived in Sterling, Mass. She is now Mrs. Tyler, of Somerville, a vigorous lady over seventy years old. One morning she went out to the barn and found two little lambs, which had been born in the night. One was so weak and small that her father said it was of no use to try to raise it. Mary's tender heart pitied the tiny creature, and she begged her father to let her try to save it. He gave it to her care, promising that if it lived it should be her lamb. Mary took it into the house, wrapped it up, laid it in a warm place, and fed it carefully with milk. All day she watched it, and all night too. In the morning how glad she was to hear her father say that the lamb would live!

It was no wonder that the pet lamb loved its small mistress, and wanted to go everywhere with her. The day that it went to school, and was turned out, it happened that a young man was there, who saw the whole, and wrote out the story in the verses which the children know so well. The lamb lived and thrived and had lambs of its own; it ran in the fields with the cattle, till one day a cow, with sharp horns, while playing, tossed it into the air, and it fell bleeding at the feet of Mary, who happened to be in the field. With deep grief she watched its life go out. From the lamb's wool a quantity of yarn had been spun, and Mrs. Tyler brought some of it to Aunt Tabitha's bee, and sold it at twenty-five cents for each piece; so that up to last week, Mary's little lamb had earned *sixty dollars* toward paying for the Old South Church in Boston. This is the true story of Mary's little lamb.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 19, 1878.

BISMARCK'S recent speech would not have been characteristic, if it had not contained a *mot* which all Europe would remember. This was the exclamation, "Beati possidentes," which has already passed into history, as one of the keenest sayings of the keenest of diplomatists. With fine irony, *The Pall Mall Gazette* contends that this maxim cannot be regarded as one of the "authorized beastitudes," nor even as a "pious quotation." A correspondent, however, takes up the matter quite seriously, and proves that the Prince's wisdom is Scriptural; being based upon Matt. v. 5, in the Vulgate: "Beati mites, qui niam possidebunt terram." This he regards as a syllogism, of which the implied major is, "Beati possessuri terram," "Blessed are they who are about to possess the land," and he can scarcely avoid the inference, "Blessed are they who possess the land," or "Beati possidentes terram," which he assumes to be signified in a more compendious form by "Beati possidentes."—*New York Tribune*, March 16.

Poetry.

A BABY KNIGHT.

BY HENRIETTA E. ELIOT.

One day, as I sat looking out
Across the shady street,
I saw two funny little tois,
With pretty air discreet;
Which seemed to say, "We're out to-day
Alone, without a nurse!"
A little boy, scarce out of frocks,
Swinging a tiny purse;
And leading with his other hand
A chunky two-year marse,
Who held, with all the pride of trust,
A small brown paper parcel.
"Ah, yes," I thought, "the little folks
Have been for sugar-plums;
I hope they got their money's worth:
They sometimes cheat at Blum's."
"But who would cheat—"my heart stood still!
A clamor filled my ears,—
While round the corner heading rushed
A maddened drove of steers!
I caught the look of mortal fear
Upon one little face;
And, with a blind desire to help,
I darted toward the place.
Right through a parting in the drove
I ran, I scarce know how,
And safely reached the other side;
I wonder at it now.
But then I had but one clear thought,—
To get across the street;
The high board fence that side the way
Gave no place for retreat.
And there the babies were alone;
That was enough, I flew,
And found them, thank the Lord! still safe,
And giving to my view
A sight for angel's gladdest tears!
So pitiful and brave,
It might be put with all sweet deeds,
Since Jesus came to save!
The boy held baby to the fence
So close she could not stir,
And stood himself with arms outstretched,
Between the beasts and her.
And Oh, the wonder of his face,
The sweetness, strength, and pain!
Ah! may God shield, I ne'er see face
So beautiful again!
His wide blue eyes were tense with fear,
But his mouth was firmly set,
Though the pavement, not two feet away,
With muddy hoofs was wet.
I snatched both children in my arms,
And there I held them fast
For two long seconds, till the herd
Had all rushed madly past.
And then I spoke out cheerily,
To calm the beating heart
Of the pale and o'er-wrought little boy
Who'd done so good a part.
"Indeed," I said, "they wouldn't dare
To hurt your little sister,
When you took such brave care of her!"
And then I stooped and kissed her,
To give me time to choke away
The tears that only waited.
"How could you be so brave, my child?"
His eyes again dilated.
The horror all came back again,
His sweet voice grew nsteady;
But he answered, in clear childish speech,
"Why, I had little Lyddie!"
"I guess if I had been alone,
I would have cried out, may be;
But I kept remembering mamma said,
"Take good care of the baby."
"And so I prayed to God real hard,
And stood on the outside;
For nurse says, when cows run like that,
They'll kill, unless we hide."
The baby hero's simple words
Must end this simple story;
His upturned face, while speaking them,
Needed no ring of glory
To perfect it; and this true tale
Needs not that I should try
To make it fine, with trailing robes
Of wordy drapery.

PORTLAND, OREGON, 1878.

—*Christian Register*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 20.

H. D. Sisson, \$5; D. B. Tripp, \$6.40; Wm. E. Sutton, \$3.20; Mrs. John Hurst, \$3.20; Dr. J. E. Jones, \$3.20; Geo. M. Olcott, \$3.20; Rev. S. B. Stuart, \$3.20; J. D. Oppenheim, \$3.20; E. H. Neyman, \$3.20; M. H. McKay, \$3.20; W. H. Williams, \$3.20; Chas. P. Tenney, \$3.20; Gustav Losser, \$3.20; Wm. Blanchard, \$4.14; J. C. Lutz, \$5; Joseph Brockway, \$5.20; Cash, \$20; O. Wilhelm, \$6.40; Harrison Bliss, \$3.20; J. H. Clark, \$2.25; Z. S. Wallingford, \$3; Sam'l Warbasse, 70 cents; L. F. Robinson, 25 cents; J. T. Sunderland, 10 cents; Geo. D. Henck, \$3.26; Am. News Co., \$6.10; Mrs. E. R. Francis, \$3.20; A. H. Waite, \$3.20; E. W. Dickinson, \$3.20; James Parton, \$3.20; W. T. Newton, \$3.20; Dr. C. B. Michener, \$3.05; Jesse Cook, \$1; Dr. L. F. Babb, 50 cents; L. G. Hoffman, \$3; Mrs. Albert Angell, \$3.25; Thos. F. Hamilton, \$5.47; T. W. Higginson, \$20; B. F. Horton, \$1.60; Geo. A. Farr, \$10; Robt. J. Turnbull, \$50; J. C. Kearns, 50 cents; R. C. Bassett, \$7; C. N. Overbaugh, \$5; John Trank, \$1.60; J. S. Shaller, \$3.50; E. B. Peckham, \$6.74; J. H. W. Tooley, 85 cents; Jno. Briggs, \$3.20; T. G. Hovey, 87 cents; Wm. Smith, \$6.40; Mary S. Osborne, \$3.20; Dr. C. A. Bartol, \$3.20; Nathl. Little, Jr., \$10; S. T. Libbey, \$1.10; Chas. Nichols, 50 cents; R. Marston, \$3.20; E. H. Sargent, \$1.25.

The Index.

BOSTON, APRIL 25, 1878.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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 MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names.	Residence.	Amount.
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When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work immediately, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,

Chair. Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

THE BOSTON Daily Advertiser of last Saturday, taking its cue from the fact that the Massachusetts Legislature only refused by a vote of 73 to 71 to recognize Good Friday as a State occasion by adjourning over that day, recommends that Good Friday be substituted for the obsolescent Fast Day now appointed annually by the Governor. Who cannot see that such a substitution would greatly strengthen the mischievous belief that the State as such is bound to acknowledge Christianity? And who cannot see that it is the cunning scheming of ecclesiasticism which now seeks this substitution? We print the Advertiser's editorial here in full, in order to show to the careless liberals of Massachusetts what rapid progress the ideas of the God-in-the-Constitution party are making even in Boston itself:—

Fast and Good Friday.

The discussion in the House of Representatives on Thursday, on the motion to adjourn over Good Friday, suggests the question why our annual Fast Day, which has degenerated in Massachusetts into a meaningless holiday, should not give way to an official recognition of the anniversary of the day upon which, according to the highest authority, our Saviour suffered? This is the custom in Connecticut, and it is said to satisfy Christians of every denomination; while with a large part of the community the day has such a solemn significance that it is redeemed from the glaring inconsistencies which distinguish our Fast Day. All religious people denounce the misuse of our old-fashioned Fast Day in the present times. As a holiday it may have use; as the continuation of an old New England custom it perhaps ought to be supported; but its observance as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer is little better than a mockery. Its origin as an annual holiday was doubtless designed to take the place of the English observance of Good Friday, just as Thanksgiving Day was a substitute for Christmas Day. But its religious character is rapidly dying out, while the respect and desire for the observance of Good Friday is steadily increasing. By appointing Good Friday as an annual Fast Day we should fall into accord with the greatest part of Christendom, and the solemnity of the day itself would tend greatly to do away with the almost profane inconsistency between the character of Fast Day and the way it is kept. An annual Fast Day, too, without regard to the condition of public feeling, preserved simply as a national custom, is now an anachronism; the observance of Good Friday as a Fast Day commends itself to most Christians as eminently proper. We believe there have been governors of Massachusetts who, recognizing this, have been ready to appoint the annual Fast Day on Good Friday; but both Catholic and Episcopal clergymen have been opposed to it for fear that what to those churches is a sacred and solemn anniversary would be desecrated in a worse manner than non-observance of it is. We believe their fears would prove in a great measure to be groundless. The community is too religious to lose sight of the origin of the day. So far from Good Friday being degraded into our present meaningless Fast Day, Fast Day would be purified and elevated into a venerable and religious commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ.

TRINITY CHURCH ASKED TO ARBITRATE.

The subjoined letters concerning Trinity Church have been received since our last issue, one from the Hon. Clinton Roosevelt, and the other from a gentleman who desires us to withhold his name from the public for the present; and we judge it no more than just to give them the same prominence accorded to the letters of General Dix. The public will doubtless read them with equal interest.

NEW YORK, April 15, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—A number of years ago I was applied to to prosecute the Corporation of Trinity Church in behalf of the heirs of Bogardus, they paying me a fee for the same of \$1000.

I declined to follow the tracks of all those proceedings, in holding the church as the original Corporation, and concluded to demand an answer by which the statutes of limitations might bar the action, and therefore endeavored to compel an answer under the Act of 1784, by which they became Trustees of the heirs of Bogardus as well as the City of New York; nor has it been possible for the mother Church of Trinity Parish to defend legally against this charge. However, Judge McCune published, or the church published in his name, a most wonderful document in which Trinity claimed to be not at all responsible for the immoralities committed on the property she holds. I made a case for appeal which, on advice of other counsel for the heirs, was not accepted, since which time the undersigned has had nothing to do in the case as counsel. But a stranger to me came some time ago and asked of me the boundaries of the church property, which, not recollecting exactly, I referred him to one better acquainted with its limits, and wish to have it understood that, until I receive what the lawyers term a "refreshment," I prefer to be considered out of the case.

Yours respectfully,

CLINTON ROOSEVELT,
 No. 11 Wall Street, New York.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—The writer of this article was requested by the Hon. Clinton Roosevelt to give an outline of the property originally known as the "King's Farm and Garden and the Bogardus Estate," which property was claimed by the Corporation of Trinity Church, of which the Hon. John A. Dix is Comptroller, to have been granted said Corporation by "Royal favor."

The boundaries of these lands, as the city is now laid out, commenced near Cortland Street, running north along the line of Broadway to Reade Street; west to South Fifth Avenue; north and north-west until it reached Christopher Street; thence to North River, and thence to place of beginning. The dividing line between the "King's Farm and Garden" and the "Bogardus Estate" was near Chambers Street. It is presumed this will not be denied by the Hon. John A. Dix.

The entire letter of the Hon. John A. Dix is one of special pleading, as will be seen from certain facts, a few of which are here given, which he well knows to be true,—hence the occasion on his part for "the strongest expression of indignation at these calumnious accusations against Trinity Church."

The title to the property in question has always been in dispute, the said Corporation holding the same originally as Trustees for the State of New York and the Bogardus heirs; and as Trustees they never could or can acquire title. Hence long leases were given by them at a small rental. This will account for the smallness of their income; if they have but seven hundred and fifty lots in their possession, it can readily be seen where the balance are, and how seven hundred and fifty lots cannot support "seven hundred and sixty-four liquor-saloons or gin-mills and ninety-six known houses of prostitution"; also, as the present leases that are made for one and two years should contain the clause against "liquors," when there is such a just cause of complaint against it.

Whenever an inquiry has been attempted by the Legislature to examine into their affairs, it has either been stifled, or the said Corporation has denied the right of such examination, and boasted that "they had a political weight that was not to be disregarded."

Whenever any action has been brought to test the rights of the respective parties, every means has been used to avoid a direct issue of the facts and to crush out the party attempting it. A most singular fact is that the press of New York would publish every-

thing to favor the said Corporation and nothing from the opposite side.

A fair, honorable, and Christian offer was made to the said Corporation, as a *professed Christian body*, through their attorney, the Hon. G. M. Ogden,—“to submit the entire matters in controversy to a Referee, so as to avoid scandal and place them forever at rest,”—which they positively declined; and the same offer is again made by the same party in this public manner, that the said Corporation may vindicate themselves honorably, and not by special pleading and denunciations of those whose characters may bear as close scrutiny as their own, if they are not possessed of the same amount of wealth.

These facts are perhaps sufficient, unless the Hon. John A. Dix, or those associated with him, deny the same in your paper; when, with your permission, the writer will refer to matters which may not be quite so pleasant.

JUSTITIA.

It will be noticed that Mr. Roosevelt refers to "a most wonderful document in which Trinity claimed to be not at all responsible for the immoralities committed on the property she holds." Is not such a "claim" an admission that such "immoralities" were actually committed there? And how is such an admission to be reconciled with General Dix's letters?

It will also be noticed that the boundaries of the "King's Farm and Garden and the Bogardus Estate" are substantially as given on the outlined map which we followed in our original description of the property, and that Trinity Church claimed this property, containing (according to General Dix's calculation) about five thousand lots. Has Trinity Church sold the four thousand two hundred and fifty lots of which she now disclaims ownership, or, holding them still as Trustee, does she evade responsibility for the immoral uses to which they have been put by taking advantage of a mere quibble? Or what is the explanation of the enigmas? We must dissent from the opinion expressed by "Justitia" that, "if they have but seven hundred and fifty lots in their possession, it can readily be seen where the balance are." This is a point which we, at least, are quite incapable of seeing without further light.

Moreover, it will be noticed that the title of Trinity Church to the original estate is disputed; that the land is stated to have been on that account let on long leases at a small rental; and that the value of the whole property cannot, consequently, be determined by reckoning the actual income as the "legal interest" of that value. If "Justitia" is correct, it is evident that "seven or eight millions" is an undervaluation even of the "productive" portion of the property.

Lastly, it will be noticed that the Corporation is directly charged by "Justitia" with boasting of its "political weight" in order to defeat examination of its affairs by the Legislature of New York; and that it is indirectly charged with "using every means to avoid a direct issue of the facts, and to crush out the party attempting" to test its title to the property it holds. It is also asserted that the press of New York, for some reason not stated, have refused to give both sides a fair and equal hearing before the public.

Since, therefore, "Justitia" (whose name is at the service of the Corporation whenever they desire it) renews explicitly and formally the offer "to submit the entire matters in controversy to a Referee, so as to avoid scandal and place them forever at rest," we cannot but hope that the Corporation will unhesitatingly accept this fair and peaceable offer. The charges made are of the utmost gravity; they can be effectually disposed of in no better way. The public have immediate interests of the highest character in securing the establishment of the truth, whatever it may be, with respect to these charges; and it is only as a mouth-piece and defender of these public interests that THE INDEX has taken up the matter at all. The "New York press" may or may not be influenced to become partisans of one side in this controversy; but THE INDEX is of no side except that of the truth. It is solely as a friend of the truth that we now invite the serious attention of the Corporation of Trinity Church to the above offer of arbitration; and we shall await its reply with the greatest interest.

IDEALISM.

THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—As it is possible that Mr. Fiske, who is so sharply attacked by Mr. J. G. Whyte in the INDEX of the 4th inst. may not find leisure to reply for himself, I would just like to make a remark or two on Mr. Whyte's communication.

He says he was "much astonished" to find Mr.

Fiske saying that "no one had ever refuted" the idealist philosophy, and proceeds to ask if it is possible that the author of "Cosmic Philosophy" has never read Mr. Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*, in which "no less than nineteen chapters are devoted to the complete refutation of the Berkeleyan hypothesis and idealism in general."

Now if Mr. Fiske had said that no one had ever tried to refute—that no one had ever written nineteen chapters in attempting to refute—the idealist philosophy, there would be some pertinence in Mr. Whyte's question; but seeing that Mr. Fiske had simply ventured the assertion that no one had refuted, i. e. had succeeded in refuting, the idealist philosophy, it does seem a little out of place to ask a man so well known as a profound student of the evolution philosophy whether he has ever read Mr. Spencer's *Psychology*. Does it absolutely follow that the man who reads Mr. Spencer must be convinced by his arguments? One would think so, to judge by the tone of Mr. Whyte's question; but read a little further, and you will find that Mr. Whyte himself takes the liberty of doing that which he thinks it so outrageous in Mr. Fiske to have done. Here is "the law of equal liberty" with a vengeance. When Mr. Spencer undertakes to refute idealism, Mr. Fiske must bow in humble submission, and own himself convinced; but when Mr. Spencer undertakes to refute materialism, Mr. Whyte stands erect, and calmly observes that Mr. Spencer "has entered on much refined and subtle reasoning"—of a very inconclusive kind. All that Mr. Spencer has to say on this head, Mr. Whyte can dispose of by a very simple consideration indeed. Did it never occur to him that other people may have found those portions of Mr. Spencer's arguments with which he agrees just as inconclusive as he finds the portions which (as he would say) "refute" materialism?

Now for a question or two. In what sense are Berkeley and Mill more the successors of the medieval schoolmen than Descartes, Locke, Hume, Hamilton, Spencer, and Clifford? What proof, or beginnings of proof, has Mr. Whyte, that those predecessors of Mr. Fiske's (his own predecessors never did anything of the kind) who burnt witches and heretics were adherents of the idealist philosophy? It would seem as if Mr. Whyte, after wading through those nineteen chapters, had emerged with the impression that to believe in ghosts and demons is to be an idealist. Yet he surely does not need to be told, that the great multitude of those who believe in spirits to this day would laugh as long and loud, or turn away in as complete disgust, or in as complete despair, as he possibly could himself, at the first hint of the idealism of Berkeley or Hume.

I would conclude by expressing the hope that Mr. Fiske may be able to answer for himself, in the columns of THE INDEX, and explain—which I think he would not have much difficulty in doing—how his idealism, with all its "insanities," survived the reading of the celebrated nineteen chapters.

I remain, dear sir, yours very truly,

WM. D. LE SUEUR.

THE MENACE TO THE CONSTITUTION.

We invite particular attention to the following communication, which shows that keen observers of the deeper currents of the time are multiplying. In THE INDEX of January 31, there was a full exposure of the ulterior consequences of the Bible Amendment alluded to,—a measure which ought to arouse the whole liberal element to determined activity in behalf of the Liberal League:—

The Conspiracy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The telegraph reports a possible basis of agreement between the President and the leaders of his party in Congress, one of the points being a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting appropriations to sectarian schools, etc. This, on the face of it, seems well enough (if there is any demand for it, which is not entirely clear); but such a measure would be made to include the Edmunds Amendment, sanctioning the use of the Bible in the schools, which would not be well enough. If this proposition be included in the final basis of agreement between the President and his friends, it will be the first definite move toward the formal establishment of Protestant Christianity as the religion of the country. The argument will be that the amended Constitution recognizes the Bible; that the Bible is the basis of Christian unity; that divisions in the Church are denominational merely, not sectarian; and that "non-sectarian" Christian teaching in the public schools, in accordance with the Bible, is implied, if not guaranteed, by the Amendment. The scheme needs watching, as one step in the conspiracy against civil and religious liberty.

S. B. MCCracken.

DETROIT, Mich., April 16, 1878.

AN APPEAL TO MASSACHUSETTS LIBERALS.

BOSTON, 231 Washington St., April 25, 1878.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

You must be painfully aware by this time of the existence of a growing ecclesiastical party in this country, officered by a large number of the most eminent men of all professions, and actively working to incorporate the Orthodox creed in the United States Constitution. We refer to the organization known by the wily and misleading name of the "National Reform Association," the objects of which, if successfully carried out, would involve grave encroachments on our political and religious rights as American citizens. This organization represents, in a new and active form, the ecclesiastical power already too strongly entrenched in our laws and institutions, particularly in and by the exemption of church property from taxation; the enforcement of Bible-reading and other religious exercises in our public schools; the support of sectarian chaplains by public money in our legislatures, prisons, asylums, etc.; the enforcement of oppressive Sunday laws, and so forth. All these practices constitute a practical UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE, and are radical violations of the spirit of our National Constitution. It is the avowed object of the "National Reform Association" to defend and extend the abuses, which would otherwise be gradually outgrown, by securing such an amendment of the Constitution as shall (in their own language) "suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government, of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and of his revealed will [i. e., the Bible] as of supreme authority, and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all Christian laws, institutions; and usages of the government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

Already has a Constitutional amendment been proposed for the second time in Congress which, if adopted, will have the effect of recognizing the Bible in the public schools as there by "Divine right," and of protecting church property in its present unjust exemption from taxation. Already has the motto "In God We Trust" been stamped on the national coinage, through the same spirit of ecclesiastical encroachment. Already has the successful attempt of the same spirit to shut on Sunday the great Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia been followed by renewed zeal for the enforcement of obsolete and oppressive Sunday laws all over the country. In our own legislature, a bill for equitably taxing Tremont Temple in this city has just been defeated. And in many other ways the determination to refuse recognition of our equal rights as citizens is constantly manifesting itself afresh.

Fellow-Liberals, are you willing to look on quietly and see this secular government gradually but surely transformed into a vast machine for propagating the Christian religion, or any other religion? Do you wish to see the mighty influence of the State perverted into an instrument of cunning priestcraft to sweep into the churches the unwary and timid multitudes who never resist a supposed public opinion? Will you give a new lease of life to usurping ecclesiasticism by allowing it to triumph in this, its latest and most desperate struggle to subvert our political and religious rights? We are convinced that you do not desire this and will not permit it. But how are you to prevent it? Individually you are powerless against the strong arm of aggressive and well-organized ecclesiasticism, availing itself of public heedlessness of the dangers lurking under its plausible but false pretences of "National Reform." But by acting together you can avert these dangers and preserve the republican government founded by our forefathers on the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE. Let us tell you how:—

The National Liberal League was organized at Philadelphia on the Centennial Fourth of July, for the express purpose of vindicating this great principle of the Total Separation of Church and State. Numerous Auxiliary Local Leagues are springing up all over the country in furtherance of the same object. Massachusetts has already some of these, and more are needed. Every town and village should have one or more. The State Executive Committee, recently constituted, urges every fair-minded citizen to engage at once in this great work. Next autumn the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League is to be held, at some point not yet determined, to take efficient measures for the common cause; and every Local League, organized under the National League, will have the privilege of sending five delegates. Call your neighbors, state the issues, and invite them to unite with you in forming a Local League. No expense need attend your meetings until you have outgrown the accommodations of a private house, beyond the ten dollars requisite for procuring a charter from the National Liberal League. Send your application for this, signed by ten persons and accompanied by this small fee, and you will at once be enrolled in the growing army of freedom. Blanks and tracts specially prepared for your use will be furnished at once at cost price. We will gladly render any assistance in our power. When a sufficient number of Local Leagues is formed, a State Convention will be called to organize a State League. As this is a work neither aggressive nor partisan, but defensive and humanitarian, and designed only to promote a genuine human brotherhood by establishing mutual justice and universal reverence for equal rights, we are confident you will meet us with a hearty response.

Yours for freedom and right,
W. H. SAYWARD,
D. G. CRANDON, } ; Mass. State
E. A. SAWELLE, } Exec. Comm.
G. H. FOSTER, } of the N. L. L.
A. B. BROWN,

Communications.

THE "METRIC REFORM"—IS IT NECESSARY?

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your issue of January 17, your valuable contributor, Julius Ferrette, makes an earnest protest against the attempt to introduce the decimal system of weights and measures into this country. Are his objections well taken? With great deference to his recognized dialectic ability, it must be confessed that the general impression, which his article leaves upon the mind, is not unfavorable to the movement he is assailing. In an opening paragraph, he presents a description of the metric system so clear and concise that a person of average intelligence, who had never heard of it before, could fully master it in an hour; while several perusals of the remainder of the paper seem insufficient to furnish a satisfactory opinion as to exactly what sort of a scheme he would like to see continued or adopted. In one place he appears to recognize the value of the decimal ratio by proposing its application to some base selected from the present English system; in another, he condemns it on account of "its extreme poverty, so far as factors are concerned." Or does he really imagine that people could be induced to carry in mind and use in computations either one or the other of two varying systems according to the divisors which they might need to employ? The attempt to introduce such a double system would prove to be about as futile as the effort hitherto has been to keep up the actual circulation of both varieties of a bi-metallic currency. There would not, however, as between gold and silver, be any fluctuation in relative value. The experience of various nations gives us reason to confidently expect that, whenever a decimal system is given anything like a fair trial, it will speedily push its rival to the wall. But again, such a combination, were it possible to establish it, would be a very unprofitable investment. What is needed is, that the tables of weights and measures in use should be so few, their bases so related, and the ratios of their denominations so simple, that it may be practicable to acquire and retain an accurate conception of their actual values. It is a notorious fact, that a large number of the terms at present employed in concrete numbers convey almost no meaning at all to nine minds out of every ten. This disadvantage would be greatly increased by such an additional complication as Bishop Ferrette would seem to desire. He is certainly correct in saying that we could, if we chose, apply the decimal ratio and notation to some base selected from our present denominations—for instance, "five links of goodly Gunter's chain." But if it is anticipated to make this the prevailing system—and, as it has been said, it would be quite impossible to keep two different systems in actual use—such a partial concession to the tendency of the times would be quite in keeping with the proverbial self-complacency of England, but not at all worthy of Yankee good sense. If we are to have a decimal system at all, it would hardly seem wise to adopt one which would differ just enough from that in use by a large portion of the rest of the world to make our scientific works unintelligible or confusing in foreign countries and vice versa, and to complicate and hinder instead of simplifying and encouraging international intercourse. And it must be borne in mind that the constantly increasing use of the metric system, and the very general adoption which it seems destined to attain, is a strong argument in its favor. Originating in France less than a century ago, and but slowly overcoming the prejudices which arrayed themselves against it in its native land, it is already employed to some extent in almost every part of the civilized globe. It is in practically exclusive use in Austria, Belgium, Brazil, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, and Switzerland. Sweden adopted it in 1876, and has passed a compulsory law which is to take effect in 1889; and Norway is likely to soon follow the example of her neighbor. There are obligatory laws which, however, are only incompletely enforced in the Argentine Confederation, Ecuador, Mexico, and Uruguay. It is legal, though other measures are also in use in Chili, Costa Rica, Peru, the United States of Columbia, and Venezuela. Greece uses it with a modified nomenclature. An imperial commission in Russia has reported in its favor, and its use in the custom house was ordered in 1870. Our own government legalized it in 1866, and employs it in the mint; and the coast-survey, and even Great Britain, has condescended to adopt it in the construction of some state railway in India. When Mrs. Partington succeeds in mopping up the Atlantic Ocean, there may seem to be some prospect of our making headway against so cosmopolitan a movement with a mongrel system of our own. If the English-speaking nation wishes to extend its "language and institutions over the whole planet," as your contributor confidently predicts it will succeed in doing, prudence dictates that it should accept such suggestions from its neighbors as will assist in making its civilization acceptable to the rest of mankind.

"The greatest objection, however, which can be made to the decimal system, pure and simple, is its extreme poverty, so far as factors are concerned. It cannot divide by three without an irreducible fraction."

But how many of the ratios found in the old system are exactly divisible by three? Not one in the *avoirdupois* table—which is the only one Mr. Ferrette would retain in measures of weight—and only two in linear measures. The advocates of the old regime ought to be allowed to extract all the consolation possible from the fact, that "three feet make a yard" as a partial return for the penance they pay in sub-

mitting so contentedly to the absurdly inconvenient "five and a half yards make a rod." And it is a valuable commentary on the claims set up for the number twelve as a convenient ratio, that engineers almost universally abandon the duodecimal for the decimal division of the foot. Right here is to be found the most satisfactory answer to this general objection to the metric system. The judgment of the race is uniform in favor of the decimal ratio in abstract numbers, and almost as pronounced in behalf of its application to concrete numbers wherever this receives a fair trial. Bishop Ferrette says that this is due to the fact that men have ten fingers. If the theory is correct, the advantage of this ratio is not at all diminished; for the probability is quite small that the phalangeal extremities of the human body will ever vary from their present number.

It is urged, that the foot is a desirable unit of length, from its having a natural foundation in the human body. Shades of St. Crispin! What a god-send to cobblers, if this were only true! But the stern fact remains, that the average length of the human foot, according to Dr. Thomas Young, is only 9.768 inches; or, according to another series of experiments made by Dr. B. A. Gould, upon sixteen thousand American soldiers, only 10.058 inches. President Barnard pertinently remarks, that "this approaches much more nearly to a quarter of a metre than to a third of a yard!" As to the origin of the English linear foot, there seems to be no question that it is simply a third of a yard, (which has always been the English unit of length), and received a name which is misleading instead of helpful. The desirability of analogies between the denominations of length and the various parts of the human body is not to be ignored; but these can be found as accurately for the metric as for the old system. To quote again from President Barnard, who has published a very learned and exhaustive treatise on this subject, "the breadth of the palm is a decimeter; the breadth of the little finger at its extremity is a centimeter; a pace is practically nine-tenths of a metre;" and the distance from the tips of the fingers, when the arm is extended horizontally sideways, to the opposite breast, or the angle of the jaw or lobe of the ear on the opposite side of the head—measuring around in front of the face, across the lips—is a metre.

"In its decimal subdivision, the foot has again a most lucky relation to our ordinary standards of weights, one cubic decifoot of water weighing just one ounce, *avoirdupois*.

Our arithmetics ordinarily make this loose assertion, but as a matter of fact, according to the relation established under authority of law, between our denominations of weights and measures, a cubic foot of water, at maximum density, weighs only 998.0067 ounces. Here is seen an illustration of the difference between trusting to a Providence which is only personified "luck," and making an intelligent use of one's powers for the accomplishment of a desired result. In the metric system, the gramme is exactly the weight of a cubic centimeter of distilled water at its maximum density.

"Should I undertake to unfold all the wealth of possible applications contained in our American system of weights and measures, I should have to write a volume."

Very likely. Quite a respectably large volume is needed to give a mere statement of the various unsystematizable tables and scattering denominations which that "system" includes. But even your contributor would do away with our Troy and apothecaries' weights, as well as such useless duplicates as "gills, pints, quarts, gallons, pecks, hogheads, bushels, chaldrons, and pipes." And yet the apothecary's *drams*, if not his *scruples*, are quite as "indiscernibly identified with the habits, the history, the literature" of the English-speaking nation as are the denominations of the *avoirdupois* table, which is so very un-Anglo Saxon as to bear a French name. If we are to make such great changes as even Bishop Ferrette would indorse, why not go a step farther, and place ourselves abreast with the remainder of the civilized world?

HENRY DOTY MAXSON.
MILTON, Wis., March, 1878.

THE PRINCIPLE OF COMMUNISM—ITS UNIVERSALITY.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I had occasion in a late INDEX to controvert some mistaken views on Communism. Let me now add a few considerations, in an affirmative way, to quiet the nerves of fearful adversaries.

There were brave men before Agamemnon; and there were sociologists, and discoverers in human development before even Herbert Spencer, and especially before John Stuart Mill, who was in no sense a sociologist, but only a logician, metaphysician, and political economist. Their authority is good as far as it agrees with the facts, and no farther. "They didn't know everything down in Judea"; and there are some small scintillations of wisdom outside of England. There were Owen, St. Simon, Comte; and, head and shoulders over all, Charles Fourier. But I am not going to pit authority against authority. The facts that are thick as blackberries right before our eyes are good enough authorities, and sufficiently convincing proofs of all the positions I have taken upon the subjects of communism and socialism. The facts which I presented in my last article are conclusive as to social growth and its continued and farther-on tendency. "A. W. K." does well, and exhibits discretion in not attempting to controvert those facts.

Let me now give another series of facts as to the presence, the prevalence, and, I may almost say, the universality of communism right about us in our every-day life. Communism is one of the common-

est things under the sun; and all opponents are themselves surrounded by it, and even practicing it and subsisting upon it to an unknown, unobserved, and (if they could know it, they might think even to an) alarming extent.

First, there is the common air of which all alike breathe; and the common waters of which all drink, and the common earth on which the whole race dwells. All Nature is common to all men and women alike.

Then the institutions which have grown up among men are all common to the individuals participating in them. The streets and highways are common to all travellers. What a state of things that would be where every man, journeying on business or pleasure, must hew out his own private path to church, or tavern, or market town, through fear of the communism which must inevitably pervade the frequented road! The very existence of railways depends upon the communism which universally prevails. Railway companies elaborate time-tables, and appoint the departure of trains for months and even years ahead, in the undoubting confidence that the people will come together from all quarters in common, at the appointed hours and places, and fill their cars; and not a train could or would run, if only one person could be carried in it. Not a ferryboat could cross those great rivers between New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City but for communism; and it is to communism that we owe the low price of one, two, and three cents for passage.

We drop our letters in the common boxes; and millions of them are dispatched in all directions thousands of miles distant for the trifling sum of three cents each. Nothing of the kind would be possible but for great numbers, and the principle of communism that pervades them all. The fewer the numbers, the less the communism, and the higher the price must be. My existence as a letter-writing animal makes your postage cheaper, and your existence lessens the cost of mine. When you take passage for Chicago, you cannot help cooperating with me and with all the rest of the passengers, in making it possible to carry us cheaper and cheaper as our numbers increase.

Then there are the common schools, where the children assemble in common rooms, under common teachers, using common books; and it would not be possible to have good schools for all the children without communism. There is also communism in every church whose congregation assembles in one building, under one preacher, with common Bible, prayer, and hymn-books; and the very Orthodox and official name of it is "communism." There too is the very air in the Church,—how very common that is! I have known a congregation to shut up all the windows and doors, and then sit there, and worship, and breathe that air over and over again, each brother breathing the air that a sister had breathed, each sister inhaling the air that had been in a brother's lungs; and every one of them practicing communism, in that common air, at a most deadly rate. I have known men to get into a bar-room, railway car, or ferry cabin, and, besides breathing each other's breaths, I have known them to smoke each other's smoke over and over again, thus adding nicotine to carbonic acid, and making a most nauseating amalgam of communism generally.

The great steamship lines could not exist one day but for the principle of communism; nor could our immense factories, nor extensive trading establishments. Not a ton of coal could be mined and sold for three, four, or five dollars per ton, if there were not millions of common consumers to buy it, and each purchaser makes it cheaper to all the rest. Not a newspaper on the globe could be published for any such paltry sum as two to ten cents per copy, but for the millions of readers and the communism that pervades them all. Gas and water could not be supplied to cities, but for the communism of millions of consumers.

The very ballot which executes the free man's will so like lightning falls, as the common snow-flake falls, into a common ballot box; and the \$50,000 President, and the \$8000 Cabinet Ministers, and several hundred \$5000 Congressmen, thence resulting, could not be enjoyed by "we the people," if there were not millions of us to be governed, and to share the expense.

Then there are hotels—especially the large boarding and family hotels. A common kitchen, laundry, parlors, and dining-rooms are the indispensable requirements of every family hotel; and that so oft-asserted impossibility has become an every-day success, several families living amicably and agreeably under one roof. All that is needed to develop the modern family hotel into a full-blown community,—that bugbear of people who have what they are pleased to call opinions, but no knowledge of the subject—is to drop out the proprietor, and let the boarders own and run the concern themselves, through their own appointed agents, sharing the expense according to cost. A nursery, hospital, school, and trades and manufactures added, would still farther develop it into an industrial, self-sustaining community with all the modern improvements, and in the most perfect order. This development social evolution is slowly and surely accomplishing, urged on by the "servant-girl" difficulty, adulteration in supplies, high prices at retail, and all the thousand vexations that pursue and will never cease to harass the isolated family.

These are only a few of the many examples of the already wide-spread prevalence of communism. It is ever present in every enterprise. It is as inherent as form is to substance, and as inexpugnable as shadow from light. Its action is restless, too, whenever it appears, and beneficent also in all good enterprises, and can be bad only in bad causes. Monopolists can make use of the communism of millions of customers

to fill their own pockets; but the antidote to monopoly is coöperation among the customers themselves, with unlimited sway allowed to the principle of communism.

If the principle of communism, then, is so powerful and beneficent whenever it appears in society as it is, whence comes the scare, whence the starting eyeballs and dishevelled hair, whenever communism is mentioned in circles of fashion and to ears polite? Where is the danger attending one or two more applications of the principle of communism to this outgrowth, or that farther-on step, in social evolution? If the shriekers would descend a moment into their own meditative consciousness, if they have such a convenient outfit about them (or rather in-fit within them), and would really consider the situation, they would soon see the groundlessness of their fears, and would give their free consent to let social progress go on and have its perfect work.

To the "A. W. K.'s" then, who clamor—"Show us a successful application of communism,"—I answer, as the well-informed captain of one vessel did to the thirty captain of another who had been drifting about in a fog, and hailed him for water: "Dip it up yourself; you are in the Amazon!"

THEOBALD C. LELAND.

NEW YORK, April 11, 1878.

THE "SOUTHERN QUESTION."

EDITOR INDEX:—

I have just read Morris Einstein's article in THE INDEX of March 28, entitled "The Southern Question"; and in the main I think it is a very timely communication. If we are to discuss political questions from a partisan stand-point, why not give both sides a hearing? Why not give us a leading article on the gross violation of the principles of right and justice which was committed when R. B. Hayes fraudulently took his seat in the Presidential chair, and thereby shook the confidence of mankind in republican institutions, as being the best means of securing justice and popular liberty? Why not give us an editorial on the evil which the loss of confidence and respect for the decision of the highest tribunal in the land (on account of their partisan and unjust decision of the Presidential question) has caused to our republican institutions? I would think that your acknowledged love of justice would prompt you to point out this terrible evil which the greatest fraud of the nineteenth century has inflicted on our country. My sense of justice would demand that you present both sides of this question, or that you ignore it altogether. As long as fraud sits enthroned in the Capitol, every true lover of justice and liberty must hang his head in shame and despair for the liberties of his country. Where is there one who, when the decision of the Supreme Court goes against him, will not jeer at the Court, and point to the decision of the Electoral Count as a justification of his conduct? The judicial ermine is trailed in the dust of partisan politics; and as a consequence, all our interests suffer, through lack of confidence, from centre to circumference.

I have read Mr. Tomlinson's lecture in THE INDEX, and freely admit that it is a very able presentation of his side of the question, though it is one with which I do not agree; but I do not propose to discuss this or any other political, partisan question. The object of this article is simply to put myself on record with Mr. Einstein as opposed to the discussion of all partisan politics in THE INDEX; or, if we are to have such discussion, let both sides have a hearing. Let us not vote not to go behind the returns, if we are to consider the question at all.

H. NYE, M.D.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., April 5, 1878.

[If we had received a lecture on the other side written as ably and in as thoroughly courteous and unpartisan a temper as Mr. Tomlinson's, we should have printed it just as willingly; but none such was offered. That fact answers most of the "why not" of our esteemed correspondent. As to the propriety or impropriety of publishing articles in THE INDEX on this, that, or the other topic, let us quote from our "Prospectus" of November 1, 1869: "The editor will speak for himself alone, and so will each contributor; neither will commit the other. The only tests in the acceptance of articles will be ability, fairness, courtesy, and pure moral tone: in the application of these tests, the editor will take all responsibility. No article will be rejected because of its opinions as such." We are not aware that we have ever in a single instance violated these principles. But we have been again and again blamed for not violating them! For instance, "R. C." contributed to THE INDEX during the year 1876 weekly notes on "Current Events" which offended many subscribers, and cost the Index Association their subscriptions, simply because they could not tolerate an honest difference of political opinion; and we received from a professed liberal on this account the most insolent and malicious letter we ever received from anybody. Now it is precisely the opposite opinions which offend another class of our subscribers, though we are glad to say that not one of them has stopped his paper, or written a less temperate protest than Mr. Einstein's or Dr. Nye's,—for which we proportionally respect them. But liberals themselves have generally only half-learned the lesson of liberty; and THE INDEX seems still solitary in the resolute inflexibility

with which it adheres to the ideal of freedom presented in its "Prospectus." Rather than abandon or modify it in any degree, we would see every subscriber stop his paper, and would go cheerfully about other business. Our subscribers must get used to hearing their dearest convictions controverted, for we do not hesitate, and have never hesitated, to publish articles controverting the convictions which are dearest to us; we ask in this matter no more than we habitually concede. Let us all learn such reverence for truth that we may listen more attentively to those who oppose than to those who echo our own thoughts—for that is the way in which truth is won.—ED.]

"RELIGIOUS" vs. "SECTARIAN."

WASHINGTON, March 15, 1878.

DEAR SIR:—

It always strikes me when I read "liberal religious" papers that they make a mistake in applying the terms "religion" and "religious" to organizations that are purely sectarian or political. Thus in "the Demands of Liberalism":

Section 4, you have, "we demand that all religious services" in place of sectarian services.

Section 6, you have again "religious" in place of sectarian "festivals," etc.; and Section 9, "to Christianity or any other special religion" in place of special opinion.

Religion, it seems to me, is the culmination of all the highest moral sentiments in conjunction with intelligence, viz., justice, benevolence, veneration, hope, etc., with reason.

When, as in sectarian or political organizations for mere worldly power and advantages, as in all church or temple systems, veneration is active for the most part with the lower sentiments, viz., acquisition, combativeness, excessive self-conceit, dogmatic assurance, etc. Such mere VENERATION for their own interested personal opinions cannot be called RELIGION, because it always dwarfs itself into the wrath and fierceness of persecution.

The religious man is an extremely rare creature. Man, as yet little more than a mere animal, venerates or adores only the objects of his own opinions and interests, and unblushingly "curses" modes of worship or thought different from his own. He has not religion enough to respect the diversity of opinions and forms which it has pleased the Creator to establish in every part of the world. Impelled by his avarice, his lazy pride, and his ambition, he curses the peaceful who live as God has placed them, and blesses the cut-throats whom he launches forth to destroy or subject others to his sway.

When a pious pope and his pious adherents curse in solemn conclave all others differing from their ignorance, they publicly proclaim their own irreligious character. Why then should they with their denunciation of religion be styled religious,—a name that implies the highest moral sentiments?

When a man from the pulpit revels in depicting the "wrath of God" in the horrors of hell, and dilates with evident pleasure in the supposed sufferings of his fellow-creatures, why should such a man, manifesting himself through the lower faculties to be a demon, be called a minister of God,—a pious man, a religious man?

It is time, I think, to separate the sheep from the goats. The goats have had a brutally good time long enough. Let them be classed with the criminals they belong to. Respectfully, JAS. M. McDONALD.

[The word "religious" was used in the Demands of Liberalism in its commonest, not in its truest or most philosophical sense; for otherwise the breadth of the Demands would not be understood. The defence set up for the various "services," etc., against which the protest lies is that they are not "sectarian," but are "religious." To ask only for the abolition of "sectarian" services, etc., would have the effect to leave things as they are—the fact being that all so-called "religious services," as usually conducted, are really "sectarian."—ED.]

"DID HE RISE?"

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS. By W. S. Bell. New York: D. M. Bennett. 1878.

To the Christian believer there is something absurd in the attempt to invest this question with the significance of historic doubt, since it is answered dogmatically every Sunday in prayer, praise, and sermon, to make no mention of the week-day and evening efforts, when special anthems publish the glories of "a risen Saviour," making him "victorious over death and the grave."

But all these ministrations of the Church, Catholic and Protestant, have failed to convince W. S. Bell, of New Bedford. He appears to see in them the "substance of things hoped for" rather than the evidence of an historic fact. He meets the issue as a matter of experience, and goes back to interrogate the actors in the drama of New Testament times. His integrity as a thinker and his happiness as an individual require this re-examination before the answer of the ages can be either conclusive or final to him.

Mr. Bell is correspondingly pointed and direct in his issue. He comes before the public with the Text-book of Christendom as authority, and the principle—"Truth is a unit, and always consistent with itself"—for a guide. The issue centres on the assumption of "the resurrection of Jesus." The witnesses to be examined are the friends of the "risen Saviour"; the testimony to be analyzed is the language of the New Testament. The result is, that eighteen supposed-to-be-reliable persons are brought forward as evidence,

Mark furnishing three, Matthew two, Luke, three, John four, and Paul six (pp. 10, 11.). The conclusion reached is, that, "Upon this most momentous question every one of the Christian writers is at variance with every other" (p. 11).

This is the language of Amberly, and is credited to his *Analysis of Religious Belief*. But it foreshadows the more general conclusion of Mr. Bell; who says,—"We have pointed out the facts of the record, which show beyond question that the story of the resurrection is a myth, . . . and that all theology resting upon this myth must be false" (p. 49). But he does not part with his reader without assuring him that there is consolation for all the losses incidental to the progress of the intellect in the fact that truth remains; and that morality, virtue, and science continue to be beautiful and useful to the sons and daughters of men; in brief, that "the stores of the universe are inexhaustible"; and that all these are working together to enrich human affection and replenish the earth."

The detail of the points developed, and the argument by which Mr. Bell reaches his conclusions must be read in their logical connections. It would occupy too much space to attempt to re-produce them here. It is simple justice, however, to add, that the argument is prudently worded and convincingly stated; and (what is no less to the credit of the author and the merit of the essay) that the issue is seriously, consistently, and logically supported, without any attempt at cheap wit or flippant commonplace. He also shows he has kept good intellectual company, and quotes from Amberly, Renan, Leslie Stephens, Greg. Mansel, and Farrar in illustration and support of his conclusions. He reports his examinations briefly, but fairly; and parts company with the witnesses only when they fail to be evidence for "the Resurrection of Jesus."

The limitations of the work, as well as the exclusive character of the witnesses, confined the inquiry to the physical re-appearance of Jesus, as that is the test-fact in the resurrected man and "ascended Savior." Were it otherwise, the singularity of the phenomena would disappear; for Pagan spirits were believed to rise above death and the grave, and ascend into heaven. Here is an example. It reads so like a Christian story, that it might find place in an Orthodox tract without offence to the Young Men's Christian Association; nevertheless, it occurs in a letter written by Seneca to his friend Lucilius. Seneca says: "I write to you, Lucilius, from the Villa of Scipio Africanus, after rendering due homage to the manes and the tomb of that great man, wherein, I suspect, his ashes repose. I have no doubt of his soul being returned to heaven, from whence it came; and this opinion I hold, not because he commanded mighty armies, but because he possessed great moderation and great piety,—virtues which were more to be admired in him when he left his country than when he defended it." (Quoted by the Rev. Edward Berwick, in his *Memoirs of the Life of the Elder Scipio Africanus*; Appendix IV., p. 187. The italics are those of the present writer.)

Brief as this extract is, it contains most of the points supposed to be peculiar to the resurrection drama of the New Testament; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Bell, or some other thoughtful student of comparative religion, will add a well-written chapter or two in explanation of the resemblance; for though Mr. Bell commences his examination with Mark, and confines his examination to the physical transformations of Jesus, yet something remains to be said why the apocalyptic image of John became the "spiritual body" of Paul, and was materialized into the "flesh and blood" theory of the later writers of the New Testament. The more, as the present survey of Mr. Bell is so logically suggestive of the nothingness of "the resurrection of Jesus," that something seems due to the history of the myth; as otherwise, the conclusion will be alike unfriendly to the evolutionary philosophy of progress, and the implied wisdom of the self-improvement efforts of mankind.

J. H. W. TOOHEY.

AN EARNEST YOUNG LIBERAL.

MR. ABBOT:—

I am so much pleased with the following letter from an earnest young liberal, that I send it to you for insertion in THE INDEX. The times demand hundreds of such young men. Many older liberals can learn their duty from this letter:—

"ITHACA, N. Y., April 13, 1878.

"MR. H. L. GREEN:—

"Dear Sir,—I am a student of Cornell University, and feel a great interest in the spread of freethought. I am from St. Lawrence County, and have not heard of the appointment of a committee for the organization of Liberal Leagues in that county. Thinking I might possibly help you a little in the promotion of the cause, I have taken the liberty to write to you. There are several places in the county where Liberal Leagues might, I think, be organized. The places are Ogdensburgh, a city of about twelve hundred inhabitants; Potsdam, of about five hundred inhabitants; and Gouverneur, Canton, and Norwood, large villages, but somewhat smaller than the first-named places. It would be well to have a member of the committee in each of the large towns, Ogdensburgh, Potsdam, and Gouverneur. The other places could be easily visited from Potsdam.

"I am quite well acquainted with the liberal people of Potsdam. Among the more prominent liberals are Dr. L. E. Felton, S. E. Crane, W. H. Faulkner, Theo. H. Swift, C. E. Sanford, and George Swain. Mr. Crane is probably the most energetic worker for the liberal cause among those named. He is a Spiritualist, and has made himself somewhat odious to a certain class by his advocacy of liberal ideas. He is bold, yet careful. He is justice of the peace, and has considerable influence.

"Dr. Felton is an enthusiastic Rationalist, but has never been much engaged in reform movements. If he could be made to see the importance of the work, he would do well. The same may be said of Franklin, Swift, and Sanford, who are young lawyers. Mr. Crane would probably devote more time and energy to the work than any of the others; but the others, if interested in the work, would be more likely to secure the support and good-will of the leading business and professional men of the place.

"Although the people of Potsdam have many churches, and are quite a church-going people, I think, if rightly managed, a prosperous League might be supported. There are a good many people in the place who, as Ingersoll says, 'believe in God and pay their pew-rent.' I think by a careful organization these might be secured. I shall visit Potsdam during the summer vacation, and will do what I can to stir up an interest in the work. If I can assist you in any way in the future, I shall be glad to do so. If this letter will be of any service to you, I shall be satisfied; if not, I shall feel that I have but done my duty in trying to help you. With best wishes for the liberal cause, I remain your friend,

"FOREST P. RANDALL."

I am sure Mr. Randall can be of great help to the liberal cause. There is a Freethought and Liberal League Committee in St. Lawrence County; namely, Messrs. J. B. Armstrong and Joseph Stadholm, of Ogdensburgh, and Mr. S. E. Crane, the gentleman named in the above letter, of Potsdam. I hope our young friend's letter may stimulate them to renewed action.

H. L. GREEN.

A "SAINT" OF FREE RELIGION.

MR. EDITOR:—

It is generally supposed that "Free Religion" blunts the finer sensibilities of our nature, crushes all tenderness, and dries up the fountains of usefulness. Having met with many practical refutations of this, I will write of one. We have in this city an "infidel" so-called by his Orthodox friends; yet he is generous, upright, alive to the claims of society, and active in every beneficent scheme. He not only aids all who apply for assistance, but seeks opportunities for doing good. Compassion beams in his face, flows from his lips, and glows in all his actions. As his means increase, his influence widens, and his devotedness to deeds of mercy grows more intense. To do good is his aim and delight. He is sought for in all charitable purposes; and his name is sure to be found on the list of benefactors. At his own expense he has purchased and fitted up a building for the practice of the kindergarten system, and without the assistance of others meets all the bills; yet he is not a wealthy man, but is dependent upon his employment for subsistence. Such goodness ought to shame those who traduce "Free Religion," when it is thus shown to ennoble the character, lead to the practice of humanitarian principles, and adorn the life with a galaxy of bright deeds. This man is unobtrusive in his charities. He works in secret, not letting his left hand know what his right hand doeth; and, if others did not speak of his generous acts, they would remain secret. How like the representative man, who said "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Respectfully,
T.
MEADVILLE, Pa., April 5, 1878.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE ON CAPE COD.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

On Tuesday evening, April 2, I was permitted to meet with, and lecture to a goodly company of gentlemen in East Dennis, Mass., on the necessity of the Liberal League movement. The lecture was supplementary to what was said on the previous Sunday.

The result was, that the names of a dozen of the most active and responsible townsmen of Dennis and vicinity were put on record as members of a Local Auxiliary League. The length of the lecture made further organization inconvenient that evening; but additional members and more time will enable these interested to complete the good work thus begun.

These new Leaguers, be it remembered, are old workers for progress and the right, and are supporters of an association that meets every other Sunday afternoon and evening. Education rather than religion is the essence of the enterprise; nevertheless, they invite Religionists, Spiritualists, and Scientists to address them, their watchword and rallying cry being "Liberty and Union."

I hope much from this fresh expression of radical energy in the extreme east of the Cape, and doubt not it will prove itself equal to the issues of the National Liberal League and the Conscience Party.

Coöperatively yours,
J. H. W. TOOHEY.

GERBERT SMITH, according to Mr. Frothingham, was not so much a newspaper reader as a newspaper student. He was a man of vast and varied information, and his knowledge was always available for use. But his library of eighteen hundred volumes was a most miscellaneous, hodge-podge affair. The Greek and Latin classics were conspicuous by their absence. A single work of Darwin completed the scientific department. Somebody presented him with a copy of Campbell's *British Poets*, which he evidently had not read, and this exhausted the poetical department. It was a strangely unintellectual library for a man of remarkable intelligence to own, composed of reports, digests, and other things with which a merely literary man or scholar would not lumber up his shelves. But Mr. Smith read the newspapers regularly and diligently, and sucked out of them the nutriment his mind needed for its sustenance, and the material it required for use. The daily paper, the great circulating library of the people, was his educator and resource, and the arsenal from which he drew the facts he knew how to use with so much effect.

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 To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1878.

WHOLE No. 436.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JULY 8, 1876.

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

GLIMPSSES.

THE PAINE HALL Liberal League will hold their monthly meeting next Sunday evening. Good music will be had, and an address by the editor of this journal. All are invited.

THE ORTHODOX press complains that the Sabbath Bill was defeated in the Pennsylvania Legislature by a parliamentary trick. If this is true, a bad measure was defeated by means as bad, and "honors are easy."

A BILL has passed both houses of Congress to annul the act of the New Mexico Legislature of January 18, 1878, by which the Jesuits were incorporated as a society, and empowered to hold an unlimited amount of real estate exempt from taxation,—an act which was passed over the Governor's veto, as explained in THE INDEX of March 14.

SAYS THE BOSTON Post of April 22: "A petition was presented in the House yesterday, proposing to change the motto 'In God we trust' on the new silver dollar to 'In God's name we trust.' It was referred to Alexander Stephens' Coinage Committee." So there are some Christians who trust more in God's name than they do in God himself! The only thing worth noting in this petition is the tendency it illustrates to extend the encroachment on the secular principle already marked by that motto. Little by little will that spirit grow until it has become insufferable. What infatuation it is not to "resist the beginnings of evil!"

ANOTHER Liberal League has been organized in New York City, auxiliary to the National League. Mr. F. W. Christern was elected Treasurer *pro tempore*, but the election of other officers was postponed to a future meeting. Mrs. Clara Neymann, to whose unselfishness, energy, and earnestness the formation of this League is largely due, has a communication about it in another column. If the other liberals of New York will only show half as much devotion to freedom as this brave and gentle lady, they will soon make this League a power felt throughout the land.

THE INTELLECTUAL EVENT of last week in this city was Ralph Waldo Emerson's lecture at the Old South Church, on the evening of April 24. His subject had been announced as "The Superlative," and it was understood to be a new lecture. Although the *Advertiser* said next day that "there were no children there," one young boy was present to see and hear the man whose name means more than that of any other living writer of America; and, on being smilingly asked afterwards to tell what was the leading idea of the lecture, he gave as good an answer as could have been given by the oldest and closest listener: "It was to avoid exaggeration in speech and action." Mr. Emerson spoke with the same simplicity and dignity as of old, and gave the same impression of reserved power; we felt that the now aged seer had lost nothing of that which has made him great in the eyes of all who know in what true greatness consists. It does not speak well for Boston that the rant and cant of Joseph Cook should draw larger houses than the wisdom of New England's loftiest mind; but when was wisdom ever rated at its true worth by the populace? May Emerson long remain to delight his "fit audience, though few."

HOW MANY liberals keep a keen eye on such things as these? On Monday, April 22, in the United States Senate, Mr. Herford, from the Committee on Claims, reported favorably on the House bill for the "relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Charleston, West Virginia"; on motion of Mr. Bailey, it was "ordered that the Senate bill for the relief of book-agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church South be taken up as soon as the unobjected cases on the calendar were disposed of"; and "the President *pro tempore* presented the petition of George

W. Partridge and two hundred and sixteen others, citizens of Michigan, praying for the passage of Senate joint resolution No. 13, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States respecting an establishment of religion and the free exercise thereof; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary." This was undoubtedly the Edmunds Bible Amendment. Here is an ominous record for a single day of Congress, in a country where Church and State are supposed to be separate! The attention of liberals is drawn off to the more attractive spectacle of speculative contests, while their opponents, determined to rule in practical matters, are steadily and stealthily intrenching themselves in precedents, usages, and the laws.

IT IS NOT pleasant to see so many secular papers threatening the enforcement of the so-called "dead letter" laws against blasphemy—that invented sin which has no existence except in the artificial morality of clericalism. Says the *Baltimore American* of April 19: "This is not intended for an advertisement, but we merely ask for the sake of drawing out public opinion on the subject, how would it look to see Bob Ingersoll defending his own case in a criminal accusation under the laws of Maryland? Section 12 of Article 30 of the Code of Public General Laws enacts that, 'If any person, by writing or speaking, shall blaspheme or curse God, or shall write or utter any profane words of and concerning Our Savior, Jesus Christ, or of and concerning the Trinity, or any of the persons thereof, he shall on conviction be fined not more than one hundred dollars, or imprisoned not more than six months, or both fined and imprisoned as aforesaid, in the discretion of the Court.' Now here is the statute, plain, straightforward, and emphatic, by means of which Maryland soil may be tabooed to the feet of the revolutionary lecturer, and an expedition across it on a Pullman car made a venture fraught with danger for him. We seriously suggest that Colonel Ingersoll should be obliged to deliver a free discourse in court on this subject as a diversion from his pleading at the bar of public opinion." Yet liberals see "no danger," and are mostly apathetic towards the attempt to abolish such dangerous laws as the above.

THERE IS at least one Christian minister in whose work every genuine liberal must take pure delight. This is the Reverend Willard Parsons, of Sherman, Pennsylvania,—and we call him "Reverend" with no touch of irony, for he is to be revered. Why? Because last year, moved only by his own tender sympathies, he devoted his time and energy during the summer to securing a season of rest, good food, fresh air, and kind hospitality for sickly and poor city children among his own people and neighborhood. It was a blessed work of mercy, love, and human kindness, and did incalculable good. Whoever would know all about it should send twenty-five cents to the American News Company, New York City, for the May number of *Sunday Afternoon*, or order it of his own newsdealer. In this magazine, Mrs. Eleanor I. Lovett, herself an invalid of many years whose warm heart goes out in pity and tenderness to the wretched so beautifully befriended, tells in a simple but touching manner the whole story of this noble beneficence. She says: "Sixty persons have been taken one hundred and eighty miles away from New York, and kept in mountain air two, three, four, five, and even eight weeks, at only the cost of one hundred and eighty-seven dollars and sixty-two cents. There were three adults, seventeen young people between the ages of twelve and twenty, and forty children under twelve." All this good work, as shown by Mr. Parsons' quoted letters and post-cards, was prompted and governed by simple humanity; there is no cant mixed up with it, so far as he is concerned. And that is why one should stand uncovered in the presence of the Reverend Willard Parsons.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to

any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

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

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

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

Free-thought.

THE FREE-THINKER OF YESTERDAY AND THE FREE-THINKER OF TO-DAY.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF MINNEAPOLIS, JAN. 13, 1878.

BY REV. W. C. GANNETT.

A new type of man is wanted in religion,—a man wholly free in thought and honest in word, but wholly reverent in feeling and broad in sympathies. That is what might be called the "freethinker of to-day." He is coming. He is in making,—but making as they make costly furniture, in pieces. The freedom and honesty are being made in one shop, the breadth and reverence in another. It takes the second generation, and more than one generation, to make the several parts of a costly new man and get him finally put together. But Nature grants no patents and monopolies. She throws all improvements open to the trade. Each shop borrows hints from the neighbors' successes, and the average article produced grows finer. The Orthodox shop appropriates some of the heretic shop's freedom, and the heretic borrows some of the Orthodox shop's reverence. The Methodist shop offers feeling, and the Episcopal shop provides good taste. The Unitarian shop furnishes breadth and common-sense, and the Swedenborgian shop its sense of mystic and poetic meanings. The Calvinist contributes his sense of God as moral law, and the Universalist his sense of God as love; and the Radical his trust in reason, his hearty welcome to new thought, and his blunt honesty. And thus the type of the religious man improves as a hundred years go by.

When we say, therefore, that to-day a new kind of man is wanted in religion, it is not meant that freedom, honesty, reverence, and breadth do not now exist in even large measures and noble combinations, but this, that the day in which we live demands a measure and a combination of these qualities that has never yet been struck out as a type by any Church or sect or circle of religious thinkers.

THE ORTHODOXY OF YESTERDAY.

To-day and a hundred years ago,—these are the words to emphasize; for the day has greatly changed since the freethinker won his early reputation so deservedly as the Ishmaelite of Christendom. He had to win it. Not to be a martyr, he had to be Ishmaelite, his hand against every one, because every one's hand was against him. There were noble men and tender women not a few within the churches of a hundred years ago; and the freedom was already beginning in the persons of those who urged with strong and stronger urgency, "Let us shorten our creeds; the fundamentals in religious doctrine are few." But, looking at the general mind, it was a rough and hard and crude and literal age in matters of religion. The first protest of Protestantism was not yet quite finished. Protestantism, you know, was by no means a movement to freedom, only a movement towards it,—a first step. Each national Church into which Northern Europe split in the revolt from Rome, and each sect of non-conformists that splintered off inside the churches, national, would fain be a little Rome,—these child and grandchild churches inheriting the Mother Church's theory of a One True Rock, and setting up their baby-house Zions everywhere. The baby-house Zions were inevitable. Peoples trained for a thousand years to rest on such a rock could not think of safety off of rocks; and there they still sat, a hundred years ago, on Bible rocks instead of the Old Church rock,—on Bible rocks all fortified with creeds. This first attitude of Protestantism was not yet abandoned. To stand for reason in religion was dangerous, even if it left you Orthodox. To claim the right of boldly saying No to the dominant church creeds was self-banishment from good society; to claim the right of free inquiry into the Bible-statements, the right to sift and test and, if need be, reject its contents, was tantamount to irreligion. Only the reckless would adventure that.

In our own land, church-thought was, if anything, more rigid than in the older lands. In New England, hardly elsewhere, there were some "moderate Calvinists," as they were styled; and they were the frontiersmen of orthodoxy. To be an open "Armenian," i. e., to believe in man's free-will rather than in God's predestination as determining salvation, was to put both feet well across the line. To be a "Socialian,"

i. e., to think that Jesus Christ was not God absolute, but a man, exalted above archangels, however, by supernatural commission and endowments,—if you thought that, it was a secret you had better not whisper to your best friend. To be an "infidel," i. e., to doubt the fact of that commission, the reality of a miraculous Christian revelation, and own up to the doubt,—that was to be a man who was pointed out to children on the streets, and gibbeted in pulpit sermons.

Nor was it only that beliefs such as these words indicate prevailed: the temper of mind, also, that logically went with these beliefs prevailed; for the thought of mind is one thing, the temper of the mind is a somewhat different thing. You can believe a noble doctrine like a bigot, hard and coarse and literal; you can believe a narrow and fearful doctrine like a noble man. Two brother ministers met of a Monday morning. "What did you preach about yesterday, John?" "Hell; I preached on hell," was the answer. "But O John!" and the eyes filled, and the voice trembled, and the hand was laid on John's shoulder. "John, did you preach it tenderly?" A century ago, the thought was, for the most part, believed with the bigot's temper. Belief was exalted above life. Did you disbelieve the Church, the churchmen preached hell at you, and did not do it tenderly. It sent you there with short shrift, and with a good deal of open hallelujah, that he was not as this publican who didn't believe the Word of God.

Let me give a picture or two from American life a hundred years ago: Hosea Ballou was born in 1771 in a little New Hampshire town. He tells us: "When I was a youth, it was the sentiment of all Christian people, as far as I knew, that not more than one in a thousand of the human family would be saved from endless destruction."

When Dr. Channing was a little boy, his father took him in the chaise one Sunday to hear a famous preacher in the neighborhood. The lost world, the helplessness of man, the need of grace and prayer to escape the woe,—this made the theme. As the boy listened, his heart sunk within him; he wondered at the quiet people. In the church-porch, after meeting, as they passed out, greeting each other, and buzzed and praised the sermon, he heard his father say to a friend with satisfied decision, "Sound doctrine, that, sir?" Then it was all true, was it? The little fellow could not raise his head in the chaise on the way home to ask about the horror, when, in the silence, as they jogged on together, he heard his father—whistle, whistle! And when they reached home, he saw him take off his boots, draw an arm-chair to the fireside, and begin to read a newspaper. And so young Channing got his first lesson in Unitarianism. This was in cultured Newport life; and culture then, as now, liked a sound doctrine at church without too close an application at the home.

But in Philadelphia, about the same time, John Murray met a minister of the Seventh-Day Baptist persuasion. He told me, says Murray, that "he passed on foot nine miles upon the return of every Saturday to preach." I asked him how many his congregation contained. "About a hundred." "How many of this hundred do you suppose are elected to everlasting life?" "I cannot tell." "Do you believe fifty are elected?" "Oh, no; not twenty." "Ten, perhaps?" "There may be ten." "Do you think the non-elect can take any step to extricate themselves from the tremendous situation in which the decrees of heaven have placed them?" "Oh, no! they might as well attempt to pull the stars from the firmament of heaven." "And do you think your preaching can assist them?" "Certainly not; every sermon they hear will sink them deeper and deeper in damnation." "And so, then, you walk nine miles every Saturday to sink ninety persons out of a hundred deeper and deeper in never-ending misery?"

AS IS THE ORTHODOXY, SO IS THE HERESY: YESTER-DAY'S FREE-THINKER.

Such was the established orthodoxy, and such its temper a hundred years ago. No wonder, then, that the freethinker of that time was crude and coarse and hard. As is the orthodoxy, so is the heresy. Greek met Greek. It was crudeness against crudeness, coarseness against coarseness, hardness against hardness. He was sentenced to perdition by a Bible-text literally interpreted. What wonder that he delighted in hunting through the Bible for contradictions and absurdities and immoralities—there were plenty of them,—and harling them as literally at the heads of priests and church members, and believing that thereby he had sent them to all the hells of common-sense?

What wonder to one who thinks how the Roman Church then had its mill-stone tied to the throat of France to choke all utterance; its hands upon her eyes to shut out light; its bandage on her ears to shut out truth,—what wonder that the watchword of Voltaire and his friends, in their long struggle with that Church, was "Ecrasez l'Infame!"—"crush out the wretch!" What wonder that Thomas Paine wrote his strong, rank sarcasm? People should remember why he wrote it. Here is Mr. Paine's creed: "I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. . . . The world is my country; and to do good is my religion." And he wrote his famous book to overthrow Christianity, indeed, but to overthrow it in order to uphold religion; in order to get that creed of his believed by men who were throwing all religion to the wind; in order to stem French "atheism," by showing that there was a religion free from the absurdities of Christianity. Because the injustice of Christians has made Paine a scapegoat and an ogre, his followers have treated him as followers always treat a martyr. It is a blazing piece of folly to reverse him as some still seem to reverse him in 1877, as the last and best and all-

sufficing speaker in religion; but it is a burning shame, also, that his memory is not honored in our Independence Hall among the other fathers,—his bust not there because of the good work which he did for America in her darkest days. He did not add belief in the Philadelphia religion, and spoke out his disbelief in the same bold, terse, ringing way in which he waked the country to its courage by the pages of his *Crisis*.

We owe these men something besides scorn. Coarse and crude and hard and unpoetical they were; not the kind of men you care to meet. To them a spade was a spade, and a foolish story was a foolish story, and six days were six days. "A primrose by the river's brim, a yellow primrose was to him, and it was nothing more." A Bible verse to them was three lines of print, and it was nothing more. A dogma, hallowed through the centuries was a queer, perhaps a devilish dogma to them, and it was nothing more. They had one eye blind and one eye seeing. They saw nothing in the popular faith besides the blemishes; but their plain common-sense revolted angrily against the imposition on them of the Bible chapters as the truth of God; and that revolt was part of the revolt of reason in that age. They denied much then, when few denied it, that you and I, and many far more Orthodox than we, are now denying with equal sense of error and of moral shock. And to-day, we are denying it at ease, and even with honor, in part because they denied it then so boldly through difficulty and dishonor. We owe them thanks, and even a certain admiration, but not copying to-day. They were the freethinkers of a hundred years ago.

THE ORTHODOXY OF TO-DAY.

Why not copying to-day? Because between their time and ours the thought and the temper of the thought inside of churches and outside have so greatly changed; and the free-thinker, in order to be free-thinker, still must change in correspondence. We have glanced at the religious world of a century ago; let us glance in the same quick way at the religious world that lies around us to-day. I know right well that there is much to bear and much to sorrow over and laugh over in the rigidity around us still. I know that men and women like ourselves are hardly welcome to do even the good Samaritan's work by those afraid of our Samaritan name. I know about Prof. Swing in Chicago, and young McCune in Cincinnati, and how dangerous it is in almost all communions, even among the Universalists, and sometimes the Unitarians, to utter freely your farthest thought. I know all this, and know that there still is need of staunch bravery and of frank criticism, and strong appeal to our neighbors' better natures, and to their common-sense and sense of manliness and honor as against their creeds and their establishments. But I also know—and do not you?—that these hundred years, and specially the fifty years just gone, have made freethinking in religion almost respectable, and half-free thinking almost popular. Our Orthodox friend will claim to-day outright that it is "reason" brings him to his Bible faith; our cultured Catholic friend that none is so "free" as she in kneeling to a Pope infallible. Look at these three signs as signs of the Church tendencies to-day:—

1. The fact of approach, instead of farther separation, between those churches kindred in their faith and constitution: there is the Young Men's Christian Association, the laymen's church, whose wide walls hold in fellowship so many of the churches separated by the usual names. The several Presbyterian families are yearning towards each other in Pan-Presbyterian congresses. The Methodists north and the Methodists south are calling across to each other to be friends again. The Episcopalians are longing to clasp again the successful sister Methodism; and three Episcopal churches, English, Greek, and old Catholic, have met and tried, though tried in vain, to re-adjust the patchwork of the old historic creed, that all might lie down together under it. Even the Trinitarian and Unitarian Congregationalists have exchanged public courtesies; and half-a-dozen of the great church bodies long undangered have sent representatives to the general Evangelical Alliance.

2. There is a distinctly broad church party within more sects than one; a broad church party among the Presbyterians even, though a small one; among the Baptists, though again a small one; larger among the Episcopalian; larger yet among the Methodist; perhaps most marked among the Congregationalists, who in 1871 refused with a very striking refusal (since it closely followed the strained assent of only six years previous) to longer indorse their venerable creed as true except "for substance." Who are the most popular preachers of the day? There can be no doubt. Such men as Beecher, Murray, Swing, Phillips Brooks. Or again, which are the most popular religious papers? Those broadest in their sympathies, freest in their orthodoxy. Ask the young ministers who from time to time give up the Orthodox Congregational pulpit to enter the Unitarian about the men they have left behind them, and they will say, "I can name you ten, twenty, fifty ministers thinking just about my thoughts, but who believe they are staying at the post of duty in staying where they are inside the old Church and broadening it, rather than seeking a broad place for themselves outside.

3. Beside the presence of the broad church parties, think of the immensely changed tone of orthodoxy in its general utterance and emphasis; how much less literal it uniformly is in its insistence on the dogmas, the Christian evidences, the Bible's inspiration; how much less gloomy and savage and threatening in its appeal! Christ was judge a hundred years ago, now friend. Hell was many degrees hotter and many leagues bigger and its census roll far longer, and the smoke of its burning made lurid and shadowy much wider tracts of human life, and crackled in many more sermons and pamphlets a hundred years ago

than now,—though craters still exist. Are you thinking of Moody and Sankey? They themselves are proof of what I mean. Once the revivalist's instrument was a whip, now it is a magnet. Once it was fear that was appealed to, now the love of Christ is urged—Christ's blood, instead of sinners in the hands of the angry God. And among the more thoughtful class of Orthodox, the centre of gravity is ever shifting, if I am not mistaken, from one of the two great Christian emphases to the other; from the doctrine of vicarious atonement to the doctrine of the incarnation; from the Cross to the mystic Emanuel, "God with us" in flesh; and thus Orthodox itself is harmonizing itself somewhat with the Pantheistic tendency of modern reverence.

Observe the growing reverence for man as a child of God; for this life and its opportunities of good and pleasure, and for this earth in and by itself, not merely as a portal to the heavens. More and more religion is being tested by life-tests rather than by mere belief-tests; and what kindly recognition is given to at least a great deal of our heretic goodness now! A poet like Whittier is the poet laureate of American religion by general assent. And the week-day press—a better gauge of religious tendencies than the religious papers—widely represents a demand for freedom and for fellowship in churches.

SCIENCE OF HISTORIC CRITICISM.

But for the signs of tendency that are most significant of all perhaps, we must look at the two great intellectual forces outside of the churches that are accomplishing so much of this change inside of them. Science has almost remodelled the universe before our minds during this last century, stretching it in time till the six thousand years of Bible record seem like an hour, stretching it in space till the little world of Bible thought seems like a hillside pasture, stretching it in mystery and beauty till every land seems Holy Land and every bush aflame with the touch of God. The comparative method in history has wrought almost as great and as ennobling a change in all our views of man and man's origin and life and destiny on earth. By its aid men have travelled far into other languages and other scriptures, and brought home facts about the other great religions and the beginnings of their own; and it has become impossible to avoid the thought, that miracles and revelations and God-descents in the Christian faith at home might be explained on the same principle by which we explain them in the heathen faith abroad—as the guess of the childlike human mind facing the mystery of things and bending low in awe. And as in science, so here again in history, not the great wonder and beauty have vanished in the little, but the little wonder and crude thought have given way to grandeur. Human nature and human history seem marvels to-day, such as they never seemed before.

Now these two forces of science and historic criticism have been playing for fifty years upon the old Church dogmas, as the forces of light and heat play upon the hard seeds in the earth—not destroying them, but softening them, and drawing out and up the hidden truths to flower. Only so destroying them. But indeed this is destruction. Each dogma is a seed, which dies that it may live. "This mortal puts on immortality, and this corruption puts on incorruption." So all around us in the churches we see the creeds bursting with germination, the hard shells dropping off, the nobler meanings coming forth. Imagine this process, already well begun, to go on for another fifty years; instead of the Bible chronology and its accompaniments, on which even our own generation was partly fed, imagine the new views of the universe and of man's history to get thorough possession of the school-books and be taught our little men and maidens from five years old and upward; imagine it working down through people's heads into what is so well called "common-sense."—Imagine this, and remember all those other signs of tendency already visible in the various orthodoxes around us, and let us answer. *Need the Free-Thinker of to-day be what his brother was a hundred years ago,—coarse and hard and crude and violent?* The religious world of a hundred years ago, and that that lies before our eyes, are widely different; the free-thinker then to be free-thinker still must greatly change in correspondence with this new environment.

As a result of this new science and new history, the whole idea of progress in religious thought has radically altered. The idea a hundred years ago was revolution; the idea to-day is evolution. The method a hundred years ago was combat; the method to-day is growth. The theory then was, that man had absolute truth or absolute error. Not to be with this Church was to be against this Church, tooth and nail. Not to be with that band of unbelievers was to be against those unbelievers with all kinds of social and pulpit maltreatments. The theory now is, that truth is yours in part and mine in part; that era is truth in the making; that absolute truth does not exist for the human mind; that all minds in their earnest seeking see visions, more or less complete, of that which the highest mind is seeing, and that to-morrow's vision for the highest will be better, truer, than to-day's.

THE FREE-THINKER OF TO-DAY.

To be to-day's free-thinker, then, I should suppose that a man must recognize these facts of change, and accommodate his spirit, his emphasis, his whole proceeding to them. There is need, great need, of the free-thinker still. There always will be. His title is one of the patents of nobility that will never be extinguished. He must still stand for reason in religion, for perfect rights of free inquiry there. This principle he must champion against all comers—freedom in faith-making is even more important than the faith; just as in politics freedom to make and better laws is more essential than any given good law, even though to that law we owe the day's peace and happi-

ness. Dear as a certain great conviction is, dearer yet is the path by which we reach and may ennoble it. We believe in God; but we word a greater faith in saying we believe in freethought in religion; for this gives us not only what we now name God, but that right of search that will make "God" more and more to us forever.

Again, to be to-day's free-thinker he must still be honest, too, with perfect honesty—honest about his thought, honest about the very names for that thought. Is he "non-Christian," he will say so. Is he "materialist," he will say so. Is he "radical," he will say so. Even if to him those names are a matter of small moment, even if all thought seems trifling to him compared with larger moral emphases, yet since to others the names and trifling thoughts so largely count, he will be simply himself before all eyes—just what he is, and no one else,—his mind naked; his conscience on his breast as well as in it. Not for him that esoteric and exoteric way—the thinking one thing in the silence of his brain, the saying, hinting, half-divulging another thing upon the pulpit or by the death-bed. His simple self, not as opposed to other people's selves, but as the only thing there is for him to be. If he can be that in all consciousness, so far is he the true free-thinker of to-day.

Again, to be to-day's free-thinker, he must be free from what? From religion? Nay, from all that is not religion. But that is a theme too large to enter on: we pass it by. Free from what? From other folks' traditions? Yes, that was said; for that is reason in religion. But still more free from his own personal traditions. We mean from those biases of education, temperament, taste, circumstance, which more than all things else count to make a man narrow and hard in mind. There are two bigots—the Orthodox and the radical bigot; and they are twin illiberals. To be free in thought to-day, one must be large in heart. Sympathies with other minds are the doors to knowledge and understanding for one's own mind. To take another's thought at its best and not its worst; to see its inner meaning to the person who believes it; to estimate it largely by its moral stimulus as well as by its intellectual rightness; to distinguish between the substance and the symbol of a doctrine, its deep intent and aim and drift and the outside crudeness and error, perhaps the superstition of its formula; to reverence another's reverences even when they are not your own, because to him they are what yours are to you, holy and God-suggesting; to recognize the law of relativity in minds, and that some minds cannot take your symbol any more than you can theirs, for a thought which may be common to you both, and to be able to translate faith-symbols like two languages into one another; to be fully possessed of the idea of evolution and belief in all the bearings of that idea; to perceive that in Nature's method growth is four-fifths, crisis and cataclysm one-fifth, and to proportion one's own emphases accordingly; to have for one's order of emphases in religion: (1.) Life before thought, and (2) in thought the unities before the differences as both practically and scientifically of the larger import; to be not mainly negative but mainly affirmative in one's talk about religion, not mainly critical but mainly sympathetic; and to be always humble in talking about the mysteries of the eternal and the universal—these are the marks by which the free-thinker of to-day, the new type wanted in religion, will be known. The greatest freedom in religion is the greatest fellowship; the truest free-thinker is the truest Catholic; that will be his motto.—*Minneapolis Tribune.*

THE WRONG OF DEMONETIZATION.

BY GEN. A. J. WARNER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The remarks of the editor in THE INDEX of April 4 would seem, perhaps, to impose upon me the duty of sustaining the criticisms made by myself, or tacitly admit the position untenable. I like answers that are directed to the heart of questions, and will endeavor not to evade nor ignore the bearing of any fact.

But first permit me to correct a misapprehension of what I said by "F. S. C." I think those who have taken the trouble to read what I have written in relation to silver will see that I carefully included the condition of *free coinage* when I said that an ounce of silver coined could have no greater value than an ounce uncoined. With coinage free and unrestricted, this is very true; and no profit could accrue, under such conditions, to the bullion dealer, not shared generally by the public. I have, however, nowhere affirmed or admitted that an ounce of silver may not be made to have a greater value when coined than uncoined. Quite the reverse of this is true. It is certainly within the domain of legislation to give to an ounce, or to 412.5 grains of coined silver, many times the value of the same weight of silver uncoined; or many times the value of 25.8 grains of gold even. It is only necessary to sufficiently *limit the coinage*,—that is, the number of dollars coined,—and prevent counterfeiting, and make the silver so coined the only legal tender in payment of debts, and alone receivable for taxes and dues to the government, to almost indefinitely raise its value *within the country so limiting it.*

Suppose, for illustration, the coinage in the United States to be limited to one hundred millions of silver dollars (412.5 grains, or for that matter any less weight), and that no other money were coined or issued, and nothing else made legal-tender, or receivable for dues to the government, but such coined dollars, would not their value be greater than the same weight of silver bullion? Most certainly it would. It has been estimated that from seventy to eighty per cent. of the entire value of silver, and nearly as large a per cent. of the value of gold, is due exclu-

sively to their use as money. On precisely the same principle, the entire value of an inconvertible paper money may be said to be due to its use as money, and by *limiting the quantity* of either metallic or paper money, and at the same time increasing its use, its value may be proportionally increased. It is on this principle alone that an inconvertible paper money has value at all; and if limited in volume to the quantity of metallic money a country would have if there were no other, it would possess the same value as certainly as that a vessel made of *papier-maché*, of a capacity of 231 cubic inches, would contain a gallon the same as if made of gold. Indeed, with both paper and gold now legal-tender money in this country, a greater value is given to coined silver than the same weight of silver bullion has, and this will last until coin enough is added to our present money volume to raise it to the level of the currency of the world, when this difference must disappear, and it would disappear at once with the restrictions on coinage removed.

The fact that silver bullion is at a discount as compared with paper is in itself ample proof—proof too of the most positive kind—that, as compared with bi-metallic money, our circulation at this time is deficient rather than redundant, and that if left to self-regulation,—that is, the restrictions on coinage removed,—the equilibrium would soon be restored by an inflow of silver. For further and better elucidation of this principle, allow me to refer my readers to the chapters of Ricardo on *Currency and Banks*, and on *Seigniorage*, the latter of which, together with his other chapters on the Report of the Bullion Committee in reply to Bosaquet, published in 1811, Mr. J. R. McCulloch says, "is one of the best essays that has appeared on any disputed question of political economy"; and of the same question, in another essay, "This is a principle of great importance; for it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that, provided the supply of paper notes declared to be legal-tender be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold, or raised to any higher level."

The proposition that "There is no necessary connection between the amount of such (bank) notes that can be issued and kept at par and the amount of gold and silver in the vaults of the bank or the world" cannot possibly be what "F. S. C." meant to say.

On the close relation between volume and value, or rather on the dependence of value upon quantity of money, as compared with use or employment, turns the whole question of the ethics and economy involved in silver demonetization, or remonetization. When gold and silver are declared to be money, or money metals, and there left, and no other currency is substituted for them, the quantity of money any country will possess will be determined solely by the laws governing the distribution of these metals over the world. The principles governing this distribution are given in almost all works on political economy, and need not be repeated here. Also, when a paper currency is made convertible into metallic money, the volume or quantity of the whole, coin and paper, any country can maintain in circulation is determined by the same laws. In 1861, this total volume consisted in round numbers of \$487,000,000, including bank-notes, coin in circulation, coin in reserve, etc.

If for the increase of population, accumulated wealth, etc., and the increase of the precious metals for the world, we allow as an equivalent increase of currency fifty per cent., it would give us \$730,000,000 as an equivalent currency for 1878. Taking this as our distributive share of the currency of the world, and if paper is made convertible, that quantity and no more will circulate in the United States. Any excess will flow to other countries by the exportation of the metallic part, as certainly as that a vessel already full will overflow if more be added.

But suppose metallic money be reduced from gold and silver to gold alone. Is it not as clearly apparent that our distributive share of metallic money would be lessened as it would be if half the waters of the ocean were annihilated or drawn to the moon that the various seas would contain proportionally less water than they do now? If \$730,000,000 would be our distributive share of the world's money with both gold and silver, supplemented as it is by the inconvertible paper now in use, it could not be much, if any more than half that, or say \$360,000,000, with gold alone as the currency of the world. And if made up of part coin and part convertible paper, that would be substantially the limit, too, of such a volume. Nothing is plainer, then, than that the value of gold itself depends largely on the coordinate use of silver as money.

Now for the application of these principles to the President's Message with "measure for measure."

Was our debt created on the basis of such a volume of money as would be our distributive share of metallic money with bi-metalism for the world, say \$730,000,000, or on the basis of gold alone, with, say, but \$360,000,000 as our distributive share? Or was it with any understanding or right to expect that metallic money should be reduced to one metal? If so, then there is an end to the argument; and I yield the point, notwithstanding the hard bargain driven on the part of the lender, that "we cheat our creditors" by remonetizing silver.

On the other hand, if debts were *not* created on that basis, nor with a stipulation that the money volume should be so reduced, but, on the contrary, on the larger basis of bi-metalism, and of the larger volume as our distributive share of metallic money, than by parity of reasoning it must be admitted, I think, that they who seek to secure the payment of loans made by one measure according to another, increased in value by a wholesale contraction of the money volume, stand wholly unjustified.

The whole question turns on this point: Does the demonetization of one metal increase the value of the other as a standard? If so, then gross injustice would most plainly be wrought by demonetization.

That demonetization of silver in Germany and other parts of Europe did, and that the general demonetization of silver if only extended to Europe and the United States, would, by increasing the use of gold (the quantity remaining substantially the same), necessarily enormously enhance its value is a principle so patent and so universally admitted that it were a waste of time to dwell on it.

There is not a money dealer in Lombard Street, or on the Bourse, or in the Marts of Germany, that does not know Ricardo by heart, and that did not know perfectly well what would be the effect of silver demonetization, with twenty or twenty-five thousand millions of public debts, more than half of which are held in the few States where the demonetization movement had its origin. The money interest is always beforehand with the great body of the people; and that such a movement as silver demonetization was an innocent, benevolent effort in the interest of an improved money system may do to tell to confiding innocents, but will not be accepted by the knowing.

The President in his veto message says: "It is well known that the market value of that number of grains [412.5] standard silver, during the past year, has been from ninety to ninety-two cents as compared with the standard gold dollar." Granted; but this is due quite as much to the increase in the value of gold caused by the demonetization of silver, as to the comparatively lessened value of silver, resulting from the same cause. Besides, silver has not declined in value as compared with commodities, but has risen not less than thirty per cent. That is, an ounce of silver will exchange now for at least thirty per cent. more of other property, on the average, than four years ago. Again, from the Message: "Thus the silver dollar authorized by this Bill is worth from eight to ten per cent. less than it purports to be worth." This is an error. It is exactly what it purports to be, a dollar consisting of 412½ grains of standard silver. It does not purport to have, nor did our government ever obligate itself or undertake, before a limitation was placed on coinage, to give to 412½ grains of silver the same purchasing power that 25.8 grains of standard gold might have.

The stipulation was always understood to be coin of 25.8 grains of gold or 412.5 grains of silver; the purchasing power of either no government undertakes to guarantee, any more than a man who borrows wheat and returns it guarantees that it shall sell for the same price when he returns it as when he borrowed it. The lender of anything always assumes that risk.

Quoting from the Message again: "\$1,143,493,400 of the bonded debt now outstanding was issued prior to February, 1873, when the silver dollar was unknown in the circulation of this country." True; but nevertheless silver, in a lower ratio than with us, was money as well throughout nearly all Europe as over the rest of the world, and as much kept down the value of gold in the United States as though it had been actually in circulation here. In my former article, I think I made this point plain.

Again from the Message: "If it is now proposed, for the purpose of taking advantage of the depreciation of silver, in the payment of debts, to coin and make a legal-tender a silver dollar of less commercial value than a dollar, whether of gold or the paper which is now the lawful money of this country, such a measure, it will be hardly questioned, in the judgment of mankind, will be an act of bad faith." This may, perhaps, be best tested by a specific case for which dates and names can be furnished, and which is not at all an exceptional one. In 1864, a gentleman took from this part of Ohio to New York \$10,000 in coin, gold and silver; I presume principally gold, as that was then the *cheaper* metal. This he sold for some over \$27,000 currency; \$27,000 of this he invested in six per cent. bonds at par, having enough left to pay the expenses of his trip. On this original investment he has received as interest, in gold, \$810 semi-annually, or in all \$21,870. If this interest, as paid, had been put out again at six per cent., and compounded, it would amount now to \$35,844. But leaving out the question of reinvestment, in thirteen and a half years he has received twice the original sum invested, and that, too, in coin increased in value, if not each year, at least in the whole time by thirty or forty per cent., as compared with coin in 1864, or as compared with other property. This increase is due, in part at least, to the gradual withdrawal of paper, resulting in the increased use of metallic money.

Now, according to the President, it would be accepted as "bad faith" to this creditor not to demonetize silver and thereby double the value of gold, in which alone he would have all future interest, and finally, the principal sum paid! But it has been gravely said these men were impelled by patriotism to come forward and offer their money when the credit of the government was doubtful. Well, suppose that to be the case. Soldiers, or many of them, were *compelled* to serve in the front of battle,—to have their patriotism tested at the cannon's mouth—at \$13 per month, payable according to the terms of enlistment, in coin. But they took, in full payment, \$13 in paper, when that paper would not buy \$5 in silver! It may rightly perhaps be claimed that this was a necessity; but if so, I insist that in the same connection life should not be counted less than meat, the body less than raiment. These men have, many of them, since labored and saved; and by investing savings, and using credit, have partially procured homes, houses, and farms. How many instances now can be pointed out all over this country, where homes so acquired and half or two-thirds paid for,

have been lately swept away under the sheriff's hammer for the balance due? Why is it so? Why is property in every part of the country so depreciated and taken for debts, on the average, at half or one-third its former value? One answer only can be made, and that is, by changing the money volume its value has been changed, and a new standard set up, a different scale; an enlarged measure is applied to property, while debts remain the same. Obligations made by one scale are enforced according to another and greater. What justification has ethics to offer? If by a single inch the yard-measure should be increased by Acts of Congress, as it might be, the courts would compel adjustment of contracts according to the equities of the case; but when the value of money is increased one-third or one-half, by reducing the volume, there is, it seems, nowhere a remedy; and sadly it has to be admitted that thus far the highest word that ethics has to offer is "It would be bad faith to the creditor" not to give the flesh with the blood.

Again, the President says, "The standard of value should not be changed without the consent of both parties to the contract." This is plain justice; let it be kept.

Finally, there is one, and only one, claim in the President's Message that even apparently involves any equity on the other side, and that is respecting bonds sold or exchanged since 1874, or after the fraudulent demonetization of silver. On this point there can be no question, as I view it, that for the government making such a loan to change by legislation the value or the kind of money specifically stipulated or rightfully understood to be alone receivable in payment of such loans cannot stand justified. But there is, in the case of this part of the national debt, first, the legal question of the terms in which lawfully such loan could be made at all, and, second, the equities involved, if any conflict is found between the law and the equity.

No officer of the government—and no more the President or the Secretary than anybody else—can make or issue bonds binding the government or the people except as authorized by law. All investors in public funds well understand this. The Act authorizing the five, four-and-one-half, and four per cent. bonds left nothing in doubt, nothing to construction as to the payment of such bonds. They were to be payable, principal and interest, in "coin of the standard value of the United States," on said July 14, 1870, the date of the Act. This condition is set out in the face of the bonds. This is the stipulation on the part of the people, as to all these bonds. The Secretary had not the shadow of a right to promise anything different; and this all purchasers of bonds knew or ought to have known. That the Secretary did hold out other promises, or partial promises, there is too much reason to believe; and for it he deserves severest censure. But that, as the agent of the people who, through their representatives in Congress, stipulated on what conditions bonds might be issued and sold, the Secretary or the President had the least authority or right to change the terms of the stipulation cannot be for a moment sustained. In this connection, however, I must deny that there was ever any saving of interest by these transactions. There was no time when silver could not have been borrowed at as low a rate of interest as gold. Interest does not depend upon the kind of money. It is as low in francs as in dollars or pounds sterling; as low in paper to be repaid in paper as in coin to be repaid in coin; as low in silver to be repaid in silver as in gold to be repaid in gold.

But whatever may be rightfully claimed on this one point, as to the remainder of the public debt, and debts generally, there shines the broad equity clear as the sun, that the measure by which one lends should be the measure by which payment should be made and accepted.

And the economic fact stands irrefutable, that by the reduction of metallic money from both metals to one, with, at the same time, the great reduction in the volume of paper money, has produced a sweeping change in the value of money as compared with all things which go to pay debts, affecting beyond calculation all property rights and all money obligations.

Then it is irrefutably follows, as a matter of ethics, that to exact payment by a measure greater than was meted out or agreed is as unjustifiable as any other form of confiscation; hence, instead of being accepted as an act of "bad faith" not to further change the value of the measure by which payments are to be made, the Acts by which such injustice has already been, and still is being wrought, would be more fitly designated as Acts permitting the spoliation of one class for the benefit of another, and will be so known, and take their place in financial history along with kindred acts of unscrupulous monarchs like Hellogabalus and Phillip le bel.

The effect upon labor, on production, wealth, trade, and commerce, of appreciating money, to be carried on through a term of years, although vastly greater and working vastly greater injustice even than the effect on debts, is not treated here for want of space, and because it is not taken into consideration in the President's Message, but which, nevertheless, ought not to be left out of view in this connection.

The loss to the nation as the direct consequences of the appreciation of money,—a loss that falls, too, principally upon producing classes,—from the idleness of capital in the form of mills, factories, furnaces, tools, and machinery designed for reproduction, as well as of money, and the idleness of labor with it, can hardly have been less than a thousand millions a year since 1873; which is a sum equal to our net savings in the most active years of production. This means no aggregate net gain to the nation. If so, then the large gain to one class through the increased value of money and capital invested in pub-

lic securities measures a corresponding absolute loss to another class.

A whole volume of political economy lies in this one fact, that when money is undergoing appreciation, it is made profitable to hold it in idleness for the growth given to it, and both hazardous and unprofitable to employ it, because all other property while money rises must decline. It is the buried talent that at such times gives increase. They reap who have not sown, and they gather most who have not sown. Any wonder, then, that a deep sense of wrong should pervade the public mind? But space forbids further expression on this point, which, although perhaps more an economic question, is not without its moral side also.

The fault in the East on these questions apparently arises, if one may be allowed to judge, from having submitted them to the arbitrament of conscience before they had been subjected to due examination at the bar of judgment.

MARIETTA, Ohio, April 12, 1878.

HENRY THOREAU.

His figure was familiar in the village. He was a man of the ordinary height, always very plainly dressed, but without any oddity of costume. His habitual gait was rapid; and whether or not his known fondness for Indians affected the observer, his movements seemed not unlike that of an Indian. His features were large, the nose very prominent, and his complexion fair. He was not shy, and was always ready to talk; but he was serious, although wholly without melancholy, and had no small talk or twaddle. The personal impression that he made was that of entire composure and self-possession, with a frosty, grave cheerfulness, earnest, without affectation of devotion,—a man with a serene, perpetual consciousness of the richness and beauty of life and Nature. He seemed to need no relaxation of mind or body; sat upright in his chair; and, although with entire appreciation of humor, he made no jokes. It was the impression of this inflexibility, a rigidity without intention, which was inevitably, but unconsciously, a rebuke of frivolity, this constant but natural tension at concert pitch which made Hawthorne half-impatiently call him "that cast-iron man." He was not indignant with conventional forms; he was merely unconscious of any force in them; yet he never offended good breeding. He evidently thought that civilization had so loaded life with artificial embarrassments that its freshness and vigor and enjoyment were lost; and the simplicity of the Indian and the easy satisfaction of his few wants seemed to him to offer to the educated man the opportunity of the real knowledge and pleasure that elaborate civilization made impracticable.

Yet there was not a touch of cynicism in his nature. He could not be disappointed or embittered. Swift would have been as strange to him as Rochester. The embarrassment or the attempted embarrassment of his life from the usages of society was instinctive. He made no fuss about it. He did not self-consciously and ostentatiously protest. To pay taxes was to support an unnecessary and cumbersome machinery, which, among other absurd and unjust things, undertook to return innocent persons to slavery. To get money to contribute to this unworthy purpose, time and labor must be spent that might be devoted to some useful end, to the acquisition of knowledge, to peaceful contemplation, and he therefore declined to do anything so ridiculous. The officers naturally enforced the law, and he went cheerfully to jail, and stayed there until a neighbor procured his release. If he had been asked how society could hold together if nobody should pay taxes, he would certainly have answered that he did not know; and still less did he know that it was desirable society should hold together for the purpose of doing injustice. But there would be no heat, no personal feeling of any kind, in the discussion, and he would unquestionably have mounted the scaffold with the same composure and good humor that he went to jail.

Thoreau's true life was in the observation and the suggestion of Nature, and of these his books are the record. His distinction among observers is that while he had the eye of the naturalist, he had the mind of the poet. He had a healthy and refreshing delight in every detail of the spectacle of Nature, and no less an exquisite perception of its infinite symbolism and correspondence. His eye and his mind are simultaneously busy. There is no such comprehensive observation as his recorded in literature, united with a style so racy, so incisive, and so pictorial.—*Editor's Easy Chair in Harper's.*

ARE MEN restrained by what you call religion? I used to think they were not; now I admit they are. No man has ever been restrained from the commission of a real crime; but from an artificial one he has. There was a man committed murder. They got the evidence, but he confessed that he did it. "What did you do it for?" "Money." "Did you get any money?" "Yes." "How much?" "Fifteen cents." "What kind of a man was he?" "A laboring man I killed." "What did you do with the money?" "I bought liquor with it." "Did he have anything else?" "I think he had some meat and bread." "What did you do with that?" "I ate the bread and threw away the meat; it was Friday." So you see it will restrain in some things.—*Ingersoll.*

MAN IS GREATER than these phantoms. Humanity is grander than all the creeds, than all the books. Humanity is the great sea; and these creeds and books and religions are but the waves of a day. Humanity is the sky, and these religions and dogmas and theories are but the mists and clouds changing continually, destined finally to melt away.—*Ingersoll.*

Poetry.

THE IDOL. [FOR THE INDEX.]

Shrouded was my life in midnight,—
Shrouded in the pall of midnight,
With no star to light the gloom;
Longing was I for the gloam-light,
E'en the mist-like breaking mornght,
But to break the living tomb.

For my soul there was no idol;
And my soul, without its idol
That would bind it evermore,
Wandered powerless in the dreamlands,
Culled alone the buds in dreamlands,
Culled alone the flowers in dreamlands,
Waiting for its own adore.

Faith had told me she was coming,
That the night should find its gloaming,
In her smile should come the day;
But Faith fled before the midnight;
In her path had gone the sunlight;
Hope with her had fled away.

Then the midnight broke with morning;
When I thought there was no dawning
Came an angel mid a halo
Such as earth ne'er knew before.
From those eyes it was the heart's beam,
From those cheeks the heart's own gleam;
It was the idol of my dream,—
Swept the queen across the floor,
Drove the midnight from my door.

Daring earth she stood beside me;
And I know no night betides me;
Dare I with the idol soar:
For that halo crown was glowing—
Round that brow of love is glowing—
In love's light of evermore.

Spoke her beauty deeds and daring,—
Deeds of love that all are sharing;
That the world the brighter grow:
But the earth had bound her loving
More to make her beauty moving
Other hearts to strike the blow.

Yet beside me past the morning,—
Till the sunlight flowers were blooming,
Till the gloom of night was gone,—
There, as if it was her mission
But to give my soul fruition,
She seemed to live for me alone.

Then I found it was to save me,
That in mercy she had gave me
This bright dream for all my soul;
And her eyelid drooped in sadness,
That my life then knew love's madness,
And her heart had bound my soul.

There did claim my soul the idol,
There did bind my soul the idol,—
Sealed my life forevermore;
Just because there was no other,
Never yet could live another
Like the idol I adore.

For the angel 'neath that eyelid
All my heart and soul has guided
Where the midnight is no more;
And I'll keep her picture ever
In my soul this side the river,
And to light the other shore:

Keep in faith the soul that made it,
Keep in love the heart that made it,—
Made the beauty I adore:
For when faith in her is dying,—
With the heart's ideal dying,—
Never can the song-heart soar.

Earth had told me I was dreaming,
That the idol was but seeming;
But a dream it is no more,—
Like the prophets who lived dreaming,
With their visions* only seeming;
And they live forevermore.

Tell me those who never loved her
That the trifer's heart has moved her,
Yet I'll drive the thought away;
For I know the earth-world bound her,—
Only that its chains had bound her,
Has the idol fled away.

For I named the idol Cora,
Just because her heart was Cora,
Lived in light of love alone;
And though Christ-life bind the idol,
Yet as Nature made the idol
Lives by me the heart that's down,—

An ideal pure and holy,
Like a queen yet meek and lowly,
Stands beside me and says on,
On and upward in the battle;
Scorn the earthy in life's battle,
And the victory shall be won.

This for all the idol gave me,
The bard's own idol worship gave me,
And just knew my soul's her own;
And eternal worship living
In my life for all this giving;
There the idol reigns alone.

ROCK GALE.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 27.

M. L. Hawley, \$3.20; F. E. Abbot, \$1.00; W. A. Clark, \$3.20; A. D. Newcomb, \$2; Allen Greeley, \$3.20; J. O. King, \$3.20; Frank Cheney, \$3.20; A. B. Harford, \$1; George Hles, 25 cents; Dr. S. N. Whistler, \$2; Mrs. Julia Webster, \$2.50; H. O. Southworth, \$6; Mrs. Lucy S. Richardson, \$2; Mrs. John H. Sweet, \$5; Wm. R. Agnew, 25 cents; H. Van Pelt, \$1; Mrs. Sarah D. Hawes, \$5; J. J. McIntosh, 10 cents; Hon. Thomas Davis, \$5; John Hammond, \$3.75; John Badcock, \$3.52; Sarah E. Whitney, \$5; Rev. J. W. Winkley, \$3.20; T. B. Skinner, 10 cents; G. A. Stewart, 10 cents; A. J. Griffin, \$4; Rev. George Batchelor, \$3.20; A. J. Grover, \$1; F. Plimpton, \$6; Rev. J. C. Learned, \$3.20; Jos. T. White, \$3.20; Anonymous, "F." \$10; T. B. Skinner, 10 cents; C. C. Biles, \$3.20; H. E. Parsons, \$3; Mrs. M. A. Stewart, \$3.20; W. S. Cunningham, \$6.40; C. K. Matthews, \$3.20; Mrs. W. J. Rutch, \$3.25; J. P. Bradley, \$3.20; Hon. G. F. Talbot, \$5.20; Horace Hunt, \$3.20; Henry Whitmore, \$3.20; Mrs. Lita B. Sayles, \$3; E. M. Berry, \$3.20; R. Wilkin, \$6.40; Deacon Mundy, \$6.40.

*In the sense of poet.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 2, 1878.

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WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names.	Residences.	Amount.
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When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work immediately, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,

Chair. Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

THE NEW YORK Tribune, although sufficiently Orthodox in the main, have an evidently heterodox paragraphist on its editorial corps, to judge by the following item: "It is eighteen hundred and odd years since a Christian gentleman named Paul wrote to one Timothy, 'I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.' And now as many as twenty-nine women are advertised in the Chicago papers as conducting religious services and preaching on a single Sunday."

ON THE OCCASION of his recent visit to the West, Prof. Felix Adler was reported in the Milwaukee News as follows: "Mr. Adler called attention to the fact that Milwaukee papers had termed him a 'Jewish rabbi.' He desired the announcement to be made that he was not a Jewish rabbi, but a leader of ethical culture in New York. His society, he said, is entirely non-sectarian in character. Its chief aim is to apply the principles of the humanitarian religion to the practical problems of life. It seeks to supply a higher moral education to the young, free kindergartens to the children of the poor, and to assist the working-men of our great cities in achieving a more elevated and worthy position. This society, he said, stands out of Judaism and Christianity, but seeks and welcomes the cooperation of the best elements in both. It claims that the aim of all religion should be to deepen and broaden the moral life of the times."

HERE IS Australia, indulging in the luxury of ridiculous proclamations of a supposed religious character:—

Proclamation by His Excellency Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependencies, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

Whereas, It is deemed fitting that the inhabitants of New South Wales should testify their thankfulness to Almighty God for his great mercy in sending the welcome rain with which the colony has recently been blessed: Now, therefore, I, Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, as such Governor as aforesaid, do, with the advice of the Executive Council, hereby appoint Friday, the first day of March proximo, to be observed as a special day of prayer and public thanksgiving throughout New South Wales; and I further invite the clergy and ministers of religion of all denominations, and all other of Her Majesty's subjects in the colony of New South Wales, to observe the day appointed as one of special thanksgiving to Almighty God for his great mercy in delivering the colony from the suffering and loss attending a long continued drought.

Given under my hand and seal, at Government House, Sydney, this twentieth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, and in the forty-first year of her Majesty's reign. By command,

MICHAEL FITZPATRICK.

TEACHING MORALITY IN THE SCHOOLS.

Senator Burnside has brought forward in Congress the following bill—"To introduce Moral and Social Science into the Public Schools of the District of Columbia":—

Be it enacted, etc., That the school officers shall introduce as a part of the daily exercises of each school in their jurisdiction instruction in the elements of social and moral science, including industry, order, economy, punctuality, patience, self-denial, health, purity, temperance, cleanliness, honesty, truth, justice, politeness, peace, fidelity, philanthropy, patriotism, self-respect, hope, perseverance, cheerfulness, courage, self-reliance, gratitude, pity, mercy, kindness, conscience, reflection, and the will.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the teachers to give a short oral lesson every day upon one of the topics mentioned in section 1 of this act, and to require each pupil to furnish a thought, or other illustration of the same, upon the following morning.

SEC. 3. That emulation shall be cherished between the pupils in accumulating thoughts and facts, in regard to the noble traits possible, and in illustrating them by their daily conduct.

That morality is grounded in the nature of things rather than in any revealed or unrevealed "will,"—that it can be and ultimately will be unfolded into a science, coördinate in basis and method with all other sciences,—and that a simple, useful, and interesting manual of morals, wholly independent of what is called "religion," will one day be written, such as all good people will be glad to see taught in the public schools,—these are convictions which we have cherished for several years. But until morality has been thus reduced to a truly scientific form, dealing with the ethical relations of life and society as facts to be studied like all other facts, and presenting the rules of right conduct as resting for their authority on a profound comprehension of these facts, we look with misgiving on any such proposal as this most thoroughly well-intentioned one of Senator Burnside. The people at large are not by any means sufficiently enlightened to understand the scientific conception of morality, or to permit any attempt to teach it on scientific principles. Their minds are too deeply imbued with the superstitious notion that morality rests somehow on the Bible, and that it cannot be effectively taught except by teaching the Bible. Although Senator Burnside's bill, therefore, exhibits an admirable ideal in his own mind, shows that he himself is quite capable of treating morality as wholly distinct from theology in all its forms, and seems to have been drafted with a scrupulous regard for the requirements of the secular principle of government, we should be sorry to see it pass at present, simply because the people who must execute it will by no means rise to the level of his own high purpose. They will certainly pervert this bill to ends for which it is not designed, and take advantage of it to plunge the nation still deeper into the political recognition of Christianity.

The danger we have in mind is expressed in the *Christian Statesman's* comments on this very bill. This astute organ of the National Reform Association clearly sees its chance to turn the bill, if it becomes a law, to the advantage of the party seeking to Christianize the Constitution; and the majority of public functionaries will easily allow themselves to be made the instruments of carrying out this ulterior design. Read carefully the closing sentences of this passage from the *Statesman*, especially the last one, which we have italicized:—

"All these are important elements in any system of moral training; and if it were possible, through the schools, to train our future citizens to practise them, an inestimable blessing would be conferred on future generations. All sound philosophy of education, however, forbids us to expect that mere teaching about virtue has any powerful tendency to make men virtuous. We must supply motives of sufficient strength to overcome the temptations which are continually presented to the mind. The American people has been receiving a solemn and emphatic lesson in the futility of merely secular or material motives, if relied on as the mainstay of morality. One of the secular papers published on the last day of 1877 an awful catalogue of the defalcations which had occurred during the year. It showed that nearly a hundred millions of dollars had been stolen within a twelve month by men in offices of trust. It was not knowledge of the distinction between these virtues and their opposites which these men lacked, but motives strong enough to constrain them to obey a rule which they well enough understood. Such motives are supplied by religion. They can be drawn from no other source. If the secularists should succeed in driving the Bible from the place which it has held in the schools of the District of Columbia since their first establishment in 1805, they will do more than in any other way is possible to thwart the purpose of Senator Burnside's bill. If that bill had included provisions for the more careful and thorough instruction of the children in the Bible, it would more effectively have served its own purpose. Probably, if the bill prevails, the now famous example of the Trustees of Girard College will be followed. The

will of Stephen Girard provided for instruction in the best system of morals; and the Trustees decided that that system was found in the Bible, which is accordingly carefully taught in the institution."

No—the public mind is not yet enlightened enough to grasp the conception of scientific morality; and, until it is, such a law as Senator Burnside proposes would be unscrupulously perverted by the clerical party to their own interests. For the present it is better to trust to that constant, though insensible, tuition in morals which children to-day receive in the public schools, wherever these are wisely managed. It is an impossibility for a faithful, conscientious teacher not to exert a healthy moral influence over the young minds committed to his or her charge. The discipline of life is teaching us all, every day of our existence, more and more about our true moral relations to each other; that is the mode in which children imbibe their earliest moral ideas, and a well-conducted school is, like a well-conducted home, necessarily a moral teacher of all the virtues enumerated by Senator Burnside. It does not take preaching or set lessons to educate children in their moral natures; they learn chiefly from the influence and example, often unconscious, of those who surround them. The public schools are a place for formal instruction in positive knowledge alone,—in those branches of knowledge which have been already reduced to scientific principles. Morality is at present conceived by the American people as merely an humble but useful adjunct of "Divine Revelation"; and just so long as this crude, grotesque, and ignorant notion rules their minds, it will be altogether expedient not to confide to ordinary Boards of Education or School Commissioners the very grave and delicate task of forming the moral ideals of the youth of the nation.

REMINISCENCES OF TRINITY CHURCH.

The following spicy letter from the Hon. Clinton Roosevelt, of New York, was received last Friday, and will interest our readers:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Your imp made a misprint, in the letter which I thank you for publishing in your INDEX of 25th inst., in omitting a *not* in the fourth line from the beginning of the second paragraph which should read as follows:—

"I declined to follow the tracks of all those preceding me in holding the church as the original corporation, and concluded to demand an answer by which the statute of limitations might not bar the action."

If not too much trouble, I would thank you to repeat the whole letter, if you have the space to spare. But allow me to refer once more to an allusion in your valuable paper to my humble name.

Your informant (who appeared to me to be a very fair and honorable man) will probably remember that I showed him the list of lots and property referred to by Gen. Dix, as being in the boundaries of the map obtained from one of the Bogardus heirs to whom reference has been made; but there appears to have been a misunderstanding after all. I have a copy of Mother Trinity's account to the Legislature which has been referred to by Gen. Dix, as one such as he may send to you. But I showed the list to your informant as containing all my information on this point. I did recollect, however, that the "King's Farm and Garden" and the Dominie Bogardus Bowery extended from the Battery up to Christopher Street; but how the line between Broadway and the rear line of these tracts turned and returned was beyond my recollection.

There is one little scrap of scandal which I have often heard repeated in connection with the line along Christopher Street upon the north. The present writer's father gave that street to the city; for what purpose, do you fancy? It was to hold out at arm's end old Mother Trinity. For a certain rector—whose name I would mention, were it not that it might wound the feelings of some inoffensive citizens descended from him, or related otherwise—used to go at night with his wardens and vestrymen, in cartmen's frocks and blackened faces, and tear down their neighbors' landmarks, to get in possession; and the writer's father, one of the old merchants of this city, had too much upon his hands with his business to stop to fight for his possessions. He recollected the old proverb, "When you sup with one who hides his cloven foot, use a long spoon." He desired to keep good old Mother Trinity at arm's end.

But I have never had a quarrel with the old lady. However, in former times, at least, Church Street

contained more houses of ill-fame than perhaps any other in the city; and it may be that it was the recollection of this fact that gave the impression to your informant that the moral status of the good old mother was as low as ever. I believe, however, it has been improved ever since the actions begun by the undersigned's advice were first commenced.

In that case it would seem ungrateful on the part of Trinity to find fault with her tutors. But a great-uncle of the present scribe, John Roosevelt, in 1714, made the first assault as leader of the vestrymen and wardens, who had a very poor opinion of the first Rector Vesey, who had gone to England to obtain from the Lord Bishop of London certain favors for the church by way of easing up demands of rent for the "Queen's Farm and Garden"; an action having been commenced by the attorney, Gen. Mopperson. It seems the rector had absented himself without leave of absence, and the city fathers elected as wardens and vestrymen would not pay the stipend they allowed him from the city treasury, unless he informed them what he had been after. And even when he had obtained an order to pay over, the wardens refused to pay his salary until they should first learn whether he had acted fairly in his application to the Lord Bishop of London.

But as to the title to the property thereby obtained, let the curious consult the representations of Col. Morris and Col. Hethcote, who were the agents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and members of the church. Their hostility to the Rector Vesey was more bitter than any more modern iconoclast has yet exhibited; for he had been brought up at the feet of a noted Presbyterian of New England, and the old cavaliers detested him most heartily. But I must stop with these reminiscences, or some will fancy I have been "refreshed," or yet indulge a bitter grudge for the assaults I have endured thus far without redress. Indeed, for some time past, I have stood between three cross-fires, if not four. But, you know, "The keen vibrations of bright truth are hell."

Respectfully, CLINTON ROOSEVELT.

HISTORY OF COMMUNISM.

The theory and principles of Communism have been discussed from time immemorial. They are to be traced in the ancient Institutes of Menu. They were recognized in the laws of Sparta, of Crete, and of Carthage. Jesus of Nazareth distinctly inculcated their maxims; and the Christian communities of the first two centuries of our era are among the most admirable essays of this nature of which history has any record.

The society of the Essenes—of which, according to his own statement, the Hebrew historian Josephus was a member, in his earlier life—are reported to have held their property in common, to have renounced marriage, to have lived an austere life, to have taught the essential equality of all men, to have contemned logic, metaphysics, and physical science as useless, to have inculcated abstinence and labor as the chief duty of man, and, in a word, to have anticipated most of the speculations and practical precepts of our modern communists. Philo, who lived about the time they appear to have attained their highest point of development, has left us the fullest account of their peculiar doctrines. Their number at the time of the commencement of the Christian era is estimated at about four thousand. They sought a retreat from the corruptions and conflicts of their age, and found it in the lonely deserts on the western border of the Dead Sea. They wore a white robe, prayed and meditated continually, made frequent abstinences, and practised medicine. It is more than probable that, in the long interval in the life of Jesus, of which no authentic record exists, he had come in contact with the Essenes, and derived no inconsiderable portion of his doctrines from them. Plato and Aristotle, Strabo and Plutarch, among the ancients, make allusions to the communistic creeds of their days. Toward the close of the middle ages, Plato's ideal "Republic" was imitated by an Italian monk, Tommaso Campanella, who deserves to rank with Fourier or Jean Jacques Rousseau, for the genius and energy which he brought to the advocacy of socialism. Campanella conceived the project of an universal, spiritual, and temporal monarchy, founded upon the principles of the earlier Christians, and designed to restore perfect unity to both Church and State. His was one of the foremost minds of his generation; and his eminent learning procured him the honor of banishment from his country, on a charge of sorcery. His scheme was given to the world under the title of *Civitas Solis, seu Idea Reipub-*

licæ Philosophicæ. He was accused of entering into negotiations with the Turks, to obtain their assistance in procuring secure possession of Calabria, in order that he might be able to reduce his system to practice. He passed twenty-seven years of his life within prison walls, but was released in 1626, and became a protégé of the great Cardinal Richelieu; dying in Paris at the age of 71. Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England under Henry the Eighth, composed his *Utopia* in the preceding century. The "New Atlantis" of Bacon, the *Oceana* of Harrington, the *Free Commonwealths* of Milton, the *Mendus Alter* of Hall, Defoe's "Essay on Projects," the *Bastille* of Morelly, and the *Salente* of Fénelon, are all to be included among the speculative publications upon this subject. Auguste Comte affirms that the French Encyclopædists were anticipated by the English philosopher Hobbes in their socialistic views and publications. Guizot, in his *Democracy in France*, thus speaks of communism: "The ideas of the social republic are not new. The world has known them ever since it existed. Its views have risen up in the midst of all the great moral and social crises, in the east as in the west, in antiquity as in modern times. The second and third centuries in Africa, and especially in Egypt, during the labors attending the propagation of Christianity; the middle ages in their disorderly and tempestuous fermentation; the sixteenth century in Germany during the course of the religious reform; the seventeenth in England, in the midst of the political revolution—have had their socialists and their communists, thinking, speaking, and agitating like those of our own day.

The leaders of the first French Revolution avowed the doctrines of this school, and partially carried them into effect. In the Jacobin club, in 1792, Danton, Robespierre, and Billaud-Varenne proclaimed that the governing power rested with the sovereign citizens alone, and that to them should be given the property of the rich. Marat preached an entire subversion of society. Mallet Dupin says, "This social contract, which breaks up societies, was the Koran of the elaborate speech-makers of 1789, of the Jacobins of 1790, of the republicans of 1791, and of the most atrocious rascals." After the 10th of August, 1792, socialistic principles were still more generally proclaimed. "The rich," exclaimed Marat, "have so long sucked the marrow of the people that they are now suffering retribution." The cry of the working-men was to raise the condition of the poor, by relieving the rich of their superfluities. "Everything belongs to the people, and nothing to the individual," said Isoré, one of the commissioners of the convention, at Lille.

In 1793, the convention decreed, on the motion of Barère, the right of every man to employment, graduated taxation upon the rich, and the division of the municipal lands of Paris among the poor. And much of the legislation of this period was leavened by the same principles. Later writers continued to maintain the like doctrines, which became more and more popular with the *ouvriers*. Disputes with their employers had embittered their feelings; and while, in the Revolution of 1799, the nobles and the clergy had been the objects of communistic fury, in the later Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 the *bourgeoisie* had taken the place of the aristocrats, and capitalists were regarded as the greatest of tyrants. In 1843, the principles of socialism were partially carried into practice; and since that time they have been widely extended throughout Europe and America by the International Society, and by various and influential French and German writers. Among the former we may mention as most prominent Proudhon, Blanqui, Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux and Reybaud; while the latter are principally led by Karl Marx and Dr. Jacobi. Plato had been the first writer to regularly systematize the communistic idea which he propounded in his celebrated *Republic*. Diogenes of Sinope succeeded to Plato in its formal promulgation; Sir Thomas More and Campanella proposed the same labor to themselves in their respective works; and, finally, Fourier and Rousseau did their best to popularize communism; the genius of the latter, undoubtedly, having done more to render socialism attractive to the educated classes than all the efforts of other modern writers combined.

After the Essenes and the early Christians, the Anabaptists were the first to attempt to reduce the creed of the communists to actual practice. In France, Babouf, Mably, and Morelly labored to perfect a practical scheme of social life; and Fourier improved upon their efforts. Except, however, that they have been known to exist in the shape of primitive customs among certain barbarous and semi-civil-

ized races (as originally all the cultivated lands were held by tribes in common, instead of belonging to the individual members), the fundamental ideas of communism—that is to say, the denial of the right of individuals to create large personal fortunes, and transmit them through their own descendants, by virtue of recognized public laws asserting the right of children to the inheritance of the property accumulated by their progenitors—have never been accepted by any considerable number of intelligent human beings; and socialism in modern times had never been able to obtain actual ascendancy in any considerable community up to the year 1871; but the exposition of the intolerant motives animating the hearts of its prominent expounders in that memorable year deserves an article by itself.

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY.

JOHNSON'S CYCLOPEDIA.

The need of a good Cyclopædia, giving accurate and full information on miscellaneous subjects in a condensed shape, is felt by everybody, especially by those whose time is too precious to be wasted in wading through verbose volumes or in hunting up rare ones. Of course there is no substitute for a large and well-selected library, either public or private; there is no "royal road to learning," and he who would master any subject thoroughly must take the time to do it. But no man can master all the subjects of which, nevertheless, it is very useful to know something; and the works which help him to this knowledge are the best luxuries of civilization. The true place for "comfort" is a well-furnished home in which have been accumulated all the articles suggested by individual convenience or taste; yet on a journey one experiences the necessity of a trunk or valise in which the most important of these articles can be transported from place to place. So a great library is the scholar's favorite haunt, since there alone he can find full provision for his mental wants; yet in this hurried journey of life many a man with intellectual tastes finds himself so busy and scant of leisure that he can afford to spend few hours in great libraries, and is very glad to enjoy in his pilgrimage the comforts of that valise of the mind—a Cyclopædia.

Several years ago we purchased the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and (to confess the truth) have regretted the purchase ever since. It has proved far less serviceable than we expected, and has seldom furnished the special information for which we consulted it. Of course it contains very much that is valuable; but, as a matter of fact, we have searched its pages again and again without finding what we wanted. Its twenty-one large volumes and elaborate Index are cumbersome to shelve and to handle, and supply only a small part of the knowledge which an educated American desires especially to have within reach. Hence we have learned from experience to desire possession of a thoroughly accurate and trustworthy Cyclopædia which shall be specially prepared with reference to the wants of American readers. The Appletons have published one which has undoubted merits, but also grave faults; and the field has been open for a far better one.

Having recently received two volumes of *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopædia* for notice, we believe that the want above alluded to is better supplied than by any other which we have ever examined. It originated in the persistent suggestion of the late Horace Greeley, who wrote several of the articles himself, and who well described the Cyclopædia adapted for general and practical usefulness, when he said that it should consist of "not more than four volumes—three would be better; and this book should have every general article abridged as much as possible, or, as they say in Vermont, 'bolloed down.'" And again: "I don't care upon whose shoulders Humboldt's cloak may have fallen, or if he had one, even; but I simply want to know when and where he was born, what he did, and when he died. The rest would be good for nothing except to lumber up the book. The lives and labors of men are the best kind of history, and the history that is needed; but lengthy dissertations upon them in a book of reference would be misplaced." In all this Mr. Greeley did but speak with great good sense. Condensed information, facts and figures and dates, are what one seeks from a reference book. If he wants more than this, he will of course consult special treatises on the subject that interests him; but it is extremely useful to have always at hand a closely-packed manual of this "bolloed down" knowledge. In this great and surpassing virtue of condensation, Johnson's Cyclopædia certainly excels its only American rival; it is complete

in four volumes, while Appletons' has sixteen; and, although it contains nearly as many words, it is claimed to treat twenty thousand subjects more than the latter,—a fact which is sufficient evidence of the great degree of brevity which has been attained in treating them.

Particularly with respect to the geography, statistics, and biography of our own country, Johnson's book is rich and full. In these, as in all other articles, a novel plan has been adopted which is calculated to ensure the greatest possible accuracy. Instead of making the editors responsible for all the work of their collaborators, the writers of all important articles sign their own names to their own work; and, being thus obliged to bear personally the discredit of any blunders they may have committed, they have had every conceivable motive to avoid them. Moreover, the general system has been to engage for each leading topic the writer who has already made himself a special authority in that department; and the errors into which even the best compilers so frequently fall are thereby avoided. We cannot speak too highly of this great feature of Johnson's Cyclopædia. It at once creates confidence in the reader's mind in the accuracy of the information imparted, when he sees at the end of the article the name of some distinguished expert in that subject, and is not obliged to make allowance for the carelessness of irresponsible penny-a-liners dealing with the matter at second-hand.

It is true that the persons selected have sometimes owed the invitation to mere official position rather than to any intellectual ability; an instance of which, in the first volume, is found in the two-page article on "The Evidences of Christianity." The writer of this article, which is a disgrace to the work, is Charles W. Shields, "Professor of History in the College of New Jersey"; and we never perused an article manifesting such mental imbecility from the pen of any man who could write "Professor" before his name. The first sentence is a perfectly fair sample of the whole: "The Evidences of Christianity, by the very fact of their existence, afford a strong presumption in its favor"!!! Yes—exactly as the evidences of astrology, or witchcraft, or any other absurdity, "afford a strong presumption in its favor." It would be cruelty to quote more of such a travesty on thought. Fortunately for the public, the class of subjects requiring from the nature of the case more or less intellectual incapacity to treat them with the necessary subserviency to popular prejudice is a small one; we have seen nothing else so pitifully feeble-minded as the article of this "Professor."

Readers of THE INDEX will not be indisposed to think well of this excellent and faithfully elaborated Cyclopædia by the fact that Mr. Frothingham was one of the Associate Editors, and, in the division of labor rendered possible by the large number of editors, took charge of the department of "The Fine Arts, Liberal Christianity, Biographies," etc. They will also not unnaturally place much confidence in the testimony of Mr. Samuel Johnson, the scholarly and learned author of *Oriental Religions*, who wrote to one of the publishers: "On close examination, I am confirmed in the very high opinion I expressed to you last evening of the value of Johnson's *New Cyclopædia*, as a library of Scientific and Practical Reference, brought down to latest dates. Some other departments, such as Religious Beliefs and general New Testament Literature, are not so satisfactory, either as to thoroughness or freedom from bias. In most respects, however, the book seems to me to be of great and permanent value, and fills a place hitherto vacant in private libraries."

JONATHAN EDWARDS wrote: "The world will probably be converted into a great lake, or liquid globe of fire,—a vast ocean of fire in which the wicked shall be overwhelmed; which will always be in tempest, in which they shall be tossed to and fro, having no rest day or night, vast waves or billows of fire continually rolling over their heads, of which they shall forever be full of a quick sense within and without; their heads, their eyes, their tongues, their feet, their loins, and their vitals shall forever be full of a glowing, melting fire, fierce enough to melt the very rocks and elements; and also they shall eternally be full of the most quick and lively sense to feel the torments; not for one minute, nor for one day, nor for one age, nor for two ages, nor for a hundred ages, nor for ten thousands of millions of ages, one after another, but for ever and ever without any end at all, and never, never be delivered."

THE REPUBLICAN papers in France are roaring over the atrocities committed in schools in the line of punishment of children by Catholic "brethren" and "sisters" who serve as instructors. Several cases of cruelty of the worst kind have been clearly proven.—*Journal*.

Communications.

OBITUARY.

Another of the true friends of THE INDEX and its cause has entered the concealing cloud. Mr. Lucius Everett, a well-known carriage manufacturer of Dover, N. H., died April 14, at 2 o'clock A. M., of pneumonia, at the age of seventy-five years. Before 1868, I think he was a devoted Unitarian; but at that time he threw off the last link of the ecclesiastical chain in obedience to his ripper reason, which he perfectly retained to the last. He did not expect any reward or glorification for the duties which he had performed as well and faithfully as he could; the only wish he expressed was for rest. The calm and smiling expression of his countenance, when I looked at his remains, impressed me with the thought that, if it is "the everlasting dreamless sleep," his last moment must have been pleasant. If conscious still, he must be happy. Farewell, dear brother, until we either share your dreamless slumber or meet again in a better land. This is the hope and wish of a brother in humanity. C. H. H.

DOVER, N. H., April 25, 1878.

[We too must bear our testimony to the worth of a noble man, and bid a sorrowing farewell to a true and faithful friend. Mr. Everett was single-eyed and sincere in his search for truth, uncalculating in his obedience to it when found, incorruptible and honorable in all the means by which he sought to advance it. Exceedingly fond of reading and reflection, he had a remarkably clear intelligence, and loved great principles because he fully understood them. None of his many admirable traits impressed us more constantly, when in his genial presence, than his guilelessness; he was as simple and sincere as a little child. Remembering the brave fidelity he showed to the cause of religious freedom in 1868, at a time when there were strong temptations to betray it, we shall always venerate his memory as that of one who equally loved uprightness of thought and uprightness of action, and who equally practised both. Of his kindly and affectionate nature little can be here said, but it bound to him all who knew him well with "hooks of steel"; and we say good-by to this good man with a sorrow as deep as our respect.—ED.]

COMMUNISM vs. THE COMMUNE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your editorial contributor, Mr. Kelsey, began, or rather, I think, intervened in a controversy in THE INDEX about communism, in the well-understood sense of that word,—that is, socialistic communism. I have, by your courtesy, followed him in defence and explanation of that meaning of communism, and have called him to account, and showed him his error when he confounded communism with the commune. Mr. Kelsey's article in THE INDEX of April 8, on "Democracy vs. Communism," is, in fact, an essay on the commune,—not at all on socialistic communism; and his article should, in fairness, have been entitled, Democracy vs. the Commune. Not one word, phrase, or sentence which he writes refers to communism at all, but does refer to the commune. As I am not a disciple of the commune, I have no interest in either advocating or defending it; and I leave Mr. Kelsey to the field where the controversy has landed him. I have no doubt he is as illogical and inaccurate in that field as he has been on the subject of socialistic communism. Indeed, I know he is in one instance, which I must cite to show readers his unreliability as a maker of quotations. He says, "It was the further aim of the communists to crush capitalists and the middle-classes, thus fulfilling the foreboding of the gifted De Tocqueville (I translate the French): 'Think you, after having destroyed feudalism and conquered kings, democracy will recoil before the bourgeoisie and the wealthy classes? Will it stop now, when it has become so strong and its adversaries so weak?'"

Now in this passage De Tocqueville asks, "Will democracy recoil," etc.—not will communism recoil. Mr. Kelsey would have us infer, either that democracy is one and the same thing with communism, or that "the gifted De Tocqueville foreboded" that democracy would one day degenerate into the commune. If democracy, halting not in the evolution it was rapidly undergoing when De Tocqueville wrote, should finally arrive at the triumphant establishment of the Republic which Dufaure, Waddington, and Gambetta govern to-day, it would sufficiently answer the question of the great writer, without violently assuming that he feared that the great body of the democracy, in any country, would go on to the destruction of all civil, political, and social institutions, including democracy itself.

After so much dogmatizing about what "never can be" nor "ever will be," let me put "A. W. K." and the readers of THE INDEX in the way of verifying what is. A little book of one hundred and seventy-six pages is just published, entitled *American Communities*: Brief sketches of Economy, Zoar, Bethel, Aurora, Amana, Icaria, the Shakers, Onida, Wallingford, and the Brotherhood of the New Life. By William Alfred Hinds, Office of the *American Socialist*, Onida, N. Y.

This is a true, succinct, and impartial account of the various communities in the United States. There are stripes, styles, and sects in socialism as there are in philosophy and religion; but the author

has given no more prominence to Onida, where he resides, than to the other communities differing from his own. All the communities here treated, however contrasted in other respects, agree in holding all things in common; and "A. W. K." and all other mere individualists, may learn from this account, and would still farther see with their own eyes, if they should visit one of these communities, that there is as much individualism in pursuing their various industries and in the conduct of community life, as there is in any coöperation or joint action in corporations, shops, or manufactories anywhere in the world. The individual remains an individual, and supplies his individual wants at the same time that he puts his shoulder along with other shoulders to the common wheel and makes it grind grist for all. And he will see that competition is shifted from the individual, upon whom it falls now with such crushing weight, and is placed upon the shoulders of the entire community. He will learn also, that, so far from there being any laziness in these communities, the tendency is, on the contrary, to overwork; and the members have rather to be held in than spurred up.

Page 152, "On Inductions," is a summing up of what is proved and accomplished by these twenty-seven communal homes in the United States, and is well worth the attention of every reader who aspires to the perfection of the family home. On page 158 is a statement especially needed by "A. W. K.," who persists, after the error is pointed out to him, in confounding communism with the commune. The author reminds his readers that in the days of the two great Revolutions, French and American, republicanism had very different meanings on the different sides of the Atlantic. He says, "The American people, a century ago, established a republican form of government which was peaceable, orderly, and remarkably free from excesses of all kinds. Scarcely had their work been completed, when the French people also undertook the same task. Their effort was premature, and the result shocking to men and angels. Their Republic was soon transformed into a military despotism; but, during its short term of existence, under the name of liberty and of republicanism, the greatest disorder and most horrible excesses prevailed. It should have been plain to all the world that the republicanism of Marat and Danton, St. Just and Robespierre was a wholly different thing from the republicanism of Adams and Franklin, Jefferson and Washington; but the monarchists of Europe, the Tories of the United States, and the opponents of republicanism everywhere persistently confounded the two, and compelled the lovers of liberty here to suffer the opprobrium which belonged solely to the political demagogues and fanatics of France. 'Behold,' they continually cried, 'the fruits which grow on your boasted tree of liberty!' And it was a long time before a clear definition was recognized and expressed in the world's thoughts and language; but finally the republicanism of 1776 came to be known as American, in contradistinction from that of 1789 which was labelled French."

Communism is another unfortunate word whose history has been similar to that of republicanism. . . . The communism which has been practically illustrated in the United States during the last four score years is voluntary, peaceable, conservative. From it there is no violence to be feared. If there is a "strike" or "outbreak" or "uprising" or "mob" or "disorder" or "destruction" anywhere or of any kind, it may be safely assumed that communism, in the true American sense of the word, is in no manner responsible for it. It abhors all forms of compulsion.

All readers of THE INDEX who would like to know what has really been done in coöperative socialism in the United States; how efficiently evolution is at work even in the rudest social experiments, and to what attractive perfection in some of the communities it has attained, will do well to send sixty, seventy-five, or one hundred cents, according to binding, to the author at Onida, N. Y., and procure this interesting work.

THEOBALD C. LELAND.
NEW YORK, April 17, 1878.

THE INDEX SYMPOSIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I observe that the discussions from week to week in THE INDEX have shown a decided tendency for some time to deal with socio-economic and financial questions. Permit me to offer a few more last words on this "subsistence problem," which is yet to a majority of mankind the most important, if not the most attractive, of questions.

It seems to me that Gen. A. J. Warner's "gray goose quill" feathers the truest shot-shaft in THE INDEX archery. He has shown up very happily the absurdity of the claim to superior morality on the part of the anti-popular creditor interest that demands payment in a harder, scarcer, more valuable dollar than it is equitably entitled to. It is probably more correct to say that gold and paper money have risen in value, than to say that silver has fallen. The scarcity of currency amounts imply to an augmentation (above its original absolute value) of the claims of the capitalist-creditor class on the productive energies of the laboring class.

It must be by this time quite generally understood that there is no absolute measure of value. The fallacy of the gold advocates' reasoning lies in their constant covert assumption that a gold dollar of so many grains weight is an absolute, unvarying valometer.

All money, bonds, or value-certificates of whatever sort are evidences of debt. A gold dollar, for instance, is legal evidence that there is due the holder thereof an (uncertain) amount of labor or commodities. It is natural that the holders of claims on labor should desire to make their claims yield as much as possible. It is equally natural that those from whom

service is due should desire to pay up as easily as possible. Is equity possible between these two opposed interests? Material, monetary justice seems to be the most impracticable of ideas. Rich man's ethics and poor man's ethics never will harmonize. This stark, legal capitalistic morality, with its trick card of getting the people in debt on a soft money basis, and making them pay on a hard, yea, an adamant basis, is abstractly not much more admirable and God-pleasing than the unwillingness of the hard-run, impecunious masses to pay at all. As long as wealth is as unequally distributed as at present (and with so little reference to productive merit), so long must justice be impossible. The world must continue to be as it is now—the theatre of a conflict of class-interests. The poor must continue to bear the stigma of dishonesty; the rich the stigma of inhumanity.

I presume we all believe that in the largest cosmic sense justice is infallibly done; but justice, in the limited sense of satisfactory apportionment of worldly comforts and luxuries, is the problem which we are all trying to solve. Many are trying to get their material desires; and (horribly discouraging fact!) other many are confessedly trying to get more than they deserve. A well-to-do young business Christian was complaining to me the other day that he was not rich enough to build as fine a residence as he wanted to. I remarked to him that I thought he had all that he deserved of everything—with the exception, perhaps, of general godliness. "Yes," he answered, "but I want more than I deserve." There you have the street ethics in a nut-shell. "Have what you can get," and "Vive Bella!"

But to stick a little closer to the currency question. There are always of all things squarely contradictory interpretations possible. The greenback, silver re-monetization movement may be construed as an attempt of the indebted class to get out of a part of their indebtedness; or it may be viewed as righteous resistance to the skillfully disguised undertaking of the creditor interest to get more than the real value of their claims. The latter view seems much the more humane. As a matter of taste, if nothing more, I think we must prefer to sympathize with movements having an equalizing tendency, rather than with those which are calculated to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. G. E. TUFTS.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE.

NEW YORK, April 16, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Although our meeting on Friday night for the organization of an auxiliary League was not as well attended as we anticipated, the result was satisfactory to those who are not over sanguine, and who have had more experience in liberal meetings and liberal movements. The New Yorker seems to me a most unpatriotic and indifferent citizen, in comparison to his natural intelligence and usual vivacity. He is quick, sharp, readily understands his own interest, but is indifferent to principles. He has literary taste, but it is of a superficial nature; he loves culture, but it must come easy: he is not fond of exerting himself. He is sparkling, but there is no depth to his wit; he lacks real earnestness; and it is a stupendous work to arouse his interest in any question where he cannot readily see the dollars and cents which it will bring him. He is liberal, but has no desire to make others so; and his love for outward show and light amusement would make him a much better subject of Emperor William or the Czar than fit him for a republican citizen. To be sure there are some earnest, self-sacrificing, devoted men and women; but these are rare exceptions, and make the absence of a larger number more deeply felt. The New Yorkers will perhaps appreciate this new great movement when the battle is almost won. In the mean time we are obliged to the few who attended and who have subscribed their names as members of our new League.

Twenty-two ladies and gentlemen have subscribed thus far; and it is hoped that at our next meeting many able and intelligent liberals will come forward to give us their help and their advice in planning our work for the future.

Those who would like to become members of this Liberal League, but were prevented from attending our meeting, will please send in their names to the temporary Secretary, Mr. E. B. Foote, Jr., 120 Lexington Avenue, New York.

Yours truly, CLARA NEYMANN.

A KERNEL WORTH PLANTING.

Among the pastimes of the class known as liberals in religious belief, a favorite diversion seems to be an incessant stir of the chaff and husks of mooted theories. The cloud of dust thus raised may give the listless eye some curious dissolving views in its atmospheric gyrations; but it might be questioned whether such a process would be favorable to the discernment of the vital grains that lurk beneath. Moreover, a suspicion might be in order as to the danger of blinding the timid glances of new inquirers, with a murky element that would justly discourage further investigation. The grotesque conjectures that are sprung upon the workers in the Liberal League, from the crude estimates of their neighbors, would be laughable, were it not for the vital and solemn issues that are thereby parried, and the triumph of mercy and justice in so far delayed.

Said a liberal divine, when asked to name which of the planks in the above-named trine platform he meant, in finding himself at "variances" with "some of the principles and purposes" of the League, "You can't legislate religion into a people." "That is far from being our aim," was the rejoinder. "You would banish," he continued, "Christian morality from the schools." "Yes, but not pure morality;

that is a branch of the highest importance, although example may be a more efficient teacher of it than precept. We need no national nor sectarian label, such as Christian, Hindu, Chinese, or Feejean, so long as we have the genuine article."

If people could only get a little glimpse of the element of simple justice as one of the constituents of morality, it might transform a few of their vague apprehensions concerning the movement in question.

The silent power of a passively correct life is worth much in itself; but for the well-being of society beyond and beside individual security against aggressive error, it should be supplemented by positive exertion in the spread of truth. No luxurious code can release the soul of man from its share of responsibility in providing efficient means for noble life in coming souls. We are, indeed, mites in the reaches of immensity, and our conscious duration possibly a feeble point in eternity,—even with that bridging over of the gulf of which so many are hopefully confident. But despite the utmost allowance that may be given to those ideal depressors of human ambition and enjoyment, the experiences that have crowded upon us, and the lofty yearnings for progress that have moulded and brightened this wonderful existence, bespeak with thrilling urgency our best efforts for an improved vantage-ground for following generations. And, after all, why do we brood over this notion of extended time? The present is the girdle that encloses whatever germ of infinite capacity we may boast; and the right use of our faculties here and now, has as full a claim upon our allegiance as any other moment may control. However shadowy the problem of life may be, just such moments of opportunity as these we grasp with vehement zest are in store for kindred beings. Shall we relinquish the honor and joy of enhancing the value of theirs?

The methods of operation in furtherance of beneficent plans must of necessity partake of the special elements obtaining in specific surroundings, and the rapidity of gain in civilization time itself to the proportionate impetus of inherited principle. But nothing is surer than the working of a spirit devoted to the simple forces of equity and sympathy in human association. Whatever varieties of opinion may exist in the abstract, the relations of mankind in active life can furnish no excuse for bitterness of sentiment, eminently none for oppressive encroachment.

These are the tenets of the Liberal League, viz., justice for the living, and a generous, wise provision for their successors; and no apathy nor obtuseness nor distaste for change, in weighty masses of the community, can quench the fire of conviction that is bursting through from the scattered points of awakening. J. P. TITCOMB.

THE NEED OF DIGNITY IN THE ADVOCACY OF LIBERALISM.

OZARK, Mo., April 8, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

There is nothing that so lessens my estimate of liberalism in this country as the popularity, among freethinkers of some liberal publications whose tone and spirit are so low and unmanly as to make them unworthy the respect and patronage of all high-minded liberals. How so many liberals can indorse the coarse, insolent style of discussion employed by those papers is to me a strange and painful question.

A respect for the feelings of mankind, as well as a decent regard for the dignity of discussion, must certainly constitute one of the essential qualifications of freethought journalism; but some of those who have assumed the work of publishing liberal papers have not this qualification, if I have any judgment on the subject. I know that such coarse irreverence as that which characterizes certain "Open Letters" to the Devil and Jehovah that are occasionally published in a leading liberal journal must disgust the refined feelings of many of the readers of that paper.

Now there is no need of this style of discussion. The cause of freethought can be promoted much faster and better by an honorable, high-toned manner of advocacy. Low ridicule will never vanquish Christian theology, however weak and antiquated it may be; and error is not made repulsive to the moral sense by the attacks of such vulgar wit as those papers under consideration employ in their assaults on the churches. I care not how radical a paper's views may be, it has my respect if its manner of discussion is pure and dignified; but I will indorse no publication, however bravely it may champion my own sentiments, unless it can exhibit a spirit of manliness and refinement superior to that manifested by several journals which claim to be exponents of liberalism.

Of course it is of little importance to any one what I indorse or reject in liberal literature, and I do not expect to change the course of any liberal publisher by expressing these sentiments; but I believe that my position is just and tenable, and having long felt a desire to speak on the subject, I present these thoughts to the readers of THE INDEX, as simply showing the state of feeling in my mind.

Yours truly, H. CLAY NEVILLE.

INFORMATION WANTED.

MR. ABBOT:—

Together with a large and restless audience, I listened last evening to a discourse delivered by a grey-haired presiding Elder. His text was a part of the twenty-fifth verse of first chapter of the first book of Samuel: "If one man sin against another, the judge shall judge him; but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him?" I do not intend a review of the sermon, but merely wish to be informed concerning one assertion made by him.

After premising that the question, "How can a

just God forgive sin?" was one that ancient philosophers sought in vain to answer, the Elder went on to state that "popular preachers are teaching to-day that sin does not exist; that the difference between thieves and murderers and people who practice righteousness is merely a difference in the circumstances attending the two classes; that great transgressors are only unfortunate in the influences brought to bear upon them." He stated also that this belief is "steadily growing in popularity."

I would not be so presumptuous as to question this "holy man of God," whose every utterance is dictated by the "Holy Ghost" in regard to the matter; and so I beg of you to inform me, through your paper, if you know of such teachers, and who they are,—whether they have a large band of believers, and what the sect is called.

Yours for the truth, M. E. D.

BOULDER, Col., March 20.

[We know of no "sect" with the above opinions, and can give no special information on the subject; but the Elder rather inaccurately described one phase of thought which is not infrequent in these days. It appears in all who hold that moral character is the necessary effect of the "environment" and its influences on oneself and one's ancestors. But this is too large a subject to be discussed in a mere note, for it raises the whole question of "fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute."—Ed.]

"FAIR PLAY."

ED. INDEX:—

The colored Jasper of Richmond, who is evidently a precious stone worthy to be among the foundations of the Holy City, if not of the "immovable" earth itself, is not the first in modern times to proclaim the irreligious tendency of our astronomical theories. When the celebrated Nestorian bishop, Mar Yohanan, was in this country a few years since, he said to the Rev. Dr. Bacon of New Haven:—

"This idea that the earth is a globe and revolves on its axis, and also moves in an orbit around the sun, is clearly unscriptural, and should be denied by Christian men. For the Psalmist plainly says, Ps. xciii, 1: 'The world also is established; it cannot be moved.'"

Yet the Oriental bishop, in spite of his simplicity, was made the recipient of distinguished honors; while the Bible-trusting colored brother, equally simple and unquestioning, receives nothing but ridicule. H. B. BOSTWICK.

PHILADELPHIA.

[The Tribune of April 25 is of our correspondent's opinion, as appears below.—Ed.]

"Richmond's reverend sun-mover does not stand alone. The Rev. C. H. Parker, a colored preacher of Pittsburgh, thinks that Brother Jasper's astronomical theory may be correct. 'According to the Bible,' he remarks, 'the sun moves; and if we believe that the Bible is inspired, we must believe that God would not inspire the writers to say anything that is not true.' He then went on to state that in his opinion, however, the question was still an open one; not because there could be any doubt as to the inspiration of the Bible, or that there were not Scriptural passages to show that the sun did not move, but because there might be mistakes in the translations. The Rev. G. W. Jackson, of Allegheny, knows Brother Jasper well, and considers him an inspired preacher."

ANOTHER LIBERALIST.

WESTON, W. Va., March 16, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

An incident occurred in this county a few days ago which probably ought to appear on the records. An ancient farmer, full of years and superstition, and a firm believer in the divine mission of Lorenzo Dow, grew sick. He wanted a physician. It seems to me that a mere exercise of faith would have saved him, but it appears that he deemed physic essential. Now had he been as familiar with the Bible as I am, he would have recollected that "Aas consulted with the physicians; and behold, Aas slept with his fathers." The Orthodox doctor was called, and the farmer aforesaid grew from bad to worse; and as a last resort, a physician was called (although it was a bitter dose for the old man) who was an outspoken skeptic. He examined his patient, and prescribed for him. The old man grew better and stronger; and, horrible to relate, he dispensed with the services of the Orthodox, and clung to the infidel physician. When last heard from on the subject, the old granger explained it thus: "When I want medicine, I want the services of the best physician I can get; and I shall never again require him to exhibit a certificate of church-membership. I want medical skill from him, not theology and medicine mixed. When I want my will prepared, I want a good lawyer to do it for me; and I shan't ask him if his faith is firmly founded in the vicarious atonement. And when I am about to die, I may call in a preacher; but I don't know about that, for the fact is, since that infidel doctor cured me I am becoming very liberal on these matters."

VIRGINIAN.

THE CORPSES of the great Italian Republican, Mazzini, was petrified by the method invented by Señor Gorini of Lodi. Recent travellers say that it proves entirely successful; the features of the eminent agitator presenting no visible alteration, and the expression well preserved, as he reposes in his tomb, which is open to the inspection of visitors. Señor Gorini has not revealed the secret of his method, but has taken measures to give it to the public at his death.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America - that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country, - is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large."

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 9, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 437.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

SAN FRANCISCO and Chicago seem to be seriously alarmed at the rumors of communist outbreaks of a violent character.

THE RUMORED CONVERSION of three millions of English Protestants to the Church of Rome is rather too absurd to be so seriously received as it has been.

IT IS STATED by the *Independent* that the city of New York "was taxed to the amount of \$44,400 in 1875 to provide free gas for the lamps before church-doors."

A NEW Liberal League has been organized at Olathe, Kansas, auxiliary to the National League. President, S. B. Willson; Secretary, Mrs. H. Griffin. This League starts with a membership of seventy.

THE NEW JERSEY State Committee of the National Liberal League has been duly constituted as follows: Francis W. Orvis, chairman, Passaic; Dr. H. B. Martin, Newark; Samuel Warbasse, Lafayette; P. W. Greenwood, —; J. H. Adamson, Clifton.

VICTOR HUGO's masterpiece, *Les Misérables*, has been dramatized for the Parisian stage, and very recently acted at the Porte St. Martin. The character of Jean Valjean, the convict, which is the central interest of this matchless book, is in our judgment a nobler ideal than that of Jesus as presented in the New Testament.

MR. H. L. GREEN sends us this cheerful little message: "Rev. J. T. Sunderland, editor of the *Pamphlet Mission* of Chicago, writes me: 'We are all in sympathy with the Liberal League movement, and shall be glad to help it all we can.' That is good news from the Western metropolis; and now I wish that some Chicago liberal who is a good organizer would consolidate all these sympathizers into a Liberal League that would make its influence felt throughout the whole West. Who is the one to do it?"

MR. UNDERWOOD is very popular as a lecturer, as shown by the great demand for his services,—and most deservedly popular too, for there is no better advocate of his views in the field. Colonel Ingersoll is more brilliant, but less methodical and comprehensive in the treatment of his subjects; they are the complements of each other, and accomplish great good, each in his own way. Mr. Underwood's latest engagements are in Illinois, as follows: Peru, May 7 and 8; Oglesby, May 9 and 10; and Whitehall, May 11 and 12.

SIGNATURES to the Religious Freedom Amendment petition of the National Liberal League have been received as follows since our last acknowledgment: from C. Wilkins, Myrtle Point, Oregon, 96; from Charles S. Hamilton, San Diego, California, 88; from E. C. Walker, Florence, Iowa, 86 (collected at Adel); from A. C. Festerling, Mosel, Wisconsin, 31; from Roger M. Sherman, New Haven, Connecticut, 19; from A. C. Clark, chairman of the Committee on Work of the Liberal League, Wausau, Wisconsin, 101; from J. G. Rhodes, Brighton, Iowa, 149. Total thus far received—11,530.

MR. MAVERICK's letter on "Communism" is reprinted this week in THE INDEX, not because we accept all his statements (for we confess that we distrust some of them), but because of the wide interest taken in the subject. Notwithstanding his exaggerations, there is undoubtedly some ground for uneasiness at the spread of a movement which showed its true character by the riots of last summer. The final issue of such ebullitions is not doubtful; the people of the United States are accustomed to settle all issues peaceably, and detest the resort to violence; but in the end they will put down all mobs. There is danger, however, in an excess of peaceableness; and public attention should be directed to the necessity of prevision and prevention.

A CORRESPONDENT in Kansas encloses a slip from the *Kansas Gazette*, published at Enterprise, in which the editor remarks: "As Wendell Phillips said to a society of Free Religionists in Boston recently, so would we say to the National Liberal League: 'You cannot succeed. Your theories are opposed to the experience of mankind.'" Our correspondent desires to know if this quotation from Mr. Phillips is a false one. We understand that he did make some such remark as that at his lecture last winter before the Free Religious Association, and do not suppose him to have been misrepresented by the *Kansas* editor. But Mr. Phillips is not a liberal in a religious sense, considering himself still Orthodox. He thinks that "Anti-Slavery" will work in politics, but not in religion. If he really said what he was reported to have said at his lecture, his disclaimer of sympathy with the Free Religious Association means exactly that, and nothing else.

"APROPPOS TO Mr. Maverick's letter on Trades Unions and Communism in Saturday's *Tribune*, this little dialogue between Deputy Superintendent Dixon and a reporter of the *Chicago Post* is put: 'I am satisfied that the communists here are armed and organized for trouble.' 'What do they propose to do?' 'To force their views and rights at the point of the bayonet.' 'How many are armed in the city, do you think?' 'About two thousand.' 'Who are their leaders?' 'Some of them you know; but the most violent and revolutionary are French Communists.' 'When will the contemplated attack be made, do you think?' 'No one can tell exactly. It may be in a couple of weeks.' 'Have you any idea where?' 'In the business portion of the city, it is said.' In the opinion of the deputy superintendent, the slightest motion on the part of the Commune would be a signal for hostilities, during which thousands of vagrants would flock to the city and plunder and destroy without limit.'" The foregoing is from the *Tribune* of April 20.

THE SCOPTICISM with which we received the *Pail Mail Gazette's* declaration that Pope Leo XIII. had renounced the claim to temporal power, has been justified by the event. His recent Encyclical letter explicitly reaffirms this claim, though in a temperate manner, as shown by a London dispatch dated April 26: "The passage in the Pope's Encyclical issue, which was announced yesterday, regarding the civil power of the Church, is as follows: 'The hopes of Italy and the world rest on the beneficent influence of the Holy See, and on the intimate union of all the faithful with the Roman pontiff. It therefore stands to reason that we should, with all diligence, do all in our power to preserve intact the dignity of the Roman cathedra, in order, before all things, to guard the rights and liberty of the Holy See. We shall never cease to insist that our authority be respected; that our ministry and our power be left fully free and independent, and that the position be restored to us in which Divine wisdom long ago placed us. It is no vain desire of the dominion which moves us to demand the reestablishment of our civil power. We demand it because our duties and our solemn oaths exact it, and because it is not only necessary to conserve fully the liberty of the spiritual power, but also because it is evident that when it is a question of the temporal dominion of the Apostolic See, it involves the well-being and safety of the whole human family.' The Pope distinctly indorses the policy and acts of his predecessor, condemns civil marriages, and deplores the rejection of the authority of the Church, proclaiming that to be the cause of all existing evils, but in language of calmness and dignity, devoid throughout of any tone of offence or violence. The Encyclical contains no attack whatever upon the civil government of Italy, nor any mention, direct or indirect, of the house of Savoy."

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to

any number of religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably assembled to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his natural rights, privileges or capacities, or of any qualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body, of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

The Growth of Communism.

THE INTERNATIONALS: THEIR HISTORY, AIMS, AND WORK.—LABOR CONGRESSES AND BROTHERHOODS.—TRADE UNIONISM AND COMMUNISM IN ALLIANCE. BY AUGUSTUS MAVERICK.

In the summer of 1871, M. Jules Favre issued an official circular, which was intended to put the French people on their guard against a mischievous element in the politics of Europe. It was evident from the tone of his declaration that he possessed more information than he cared to reveal. He contented himself with setting forth in general terms the character and aims of the "International Society," adding that at that time (seven years ago) it had committees which met in privacy in Belgium, England, and Switzerland, for purposes subversive of law and order. M. Favre directed attention to the facts, that this society had been organized in 1862; that its avowed basis was atheism and communism; and that in its first formal declaration, in 1869, it had announced its designs in the following terms; viz., "The Alliance declares itself atheist; it seeks the abolition of worship, the substitution of science for faith, of human nature for Divine justice, and the abolition of marriage; it demands, above all, the abolition of the right of inheritance, and that capital shall be at the disposition only of workers." "For us," the declaration continued, "the red flag is the symbol of universal human love." On the 4th of March, 1872, in the course of a debate in the French Assembly on a bill imposing penalties upon members of the International Society, Deputy Tolain made a speech in defence of that organization, in which he confessed that its purpose was the overthrow of constitutional government. In the same month, the Prefect of the Department of the Rhone asked for military reinforcements for the maintenance of order, which, he said, was "menaced by the rapid increase of workmen's clubs, and illegal secret societies,"—these being two of the forms assumed by the International in its plottings. The month of March, 1872, had not gone by when the French Assembly adopted a bill which declared it to be a criminal offence to belong to the International Society,—the vote on the section which imposed severe penalties for entering into such membership being five hundred and one yeas to one hundred and four nays. At the same time, the French Minister, Dufaure, publicly said that the International was "a standing menace." These official acts and official warnings, inspired by the tragic scenes which grew out of the brief reign of the Commune in Paris, were not figments of distorted imaginations; they were illustrations of absolute truths. The present writer now proposes to show, by authoritative citations and the collation of recent events, that the International Society, having ignorantly failed in its attempt to subvert European governments, has deliberately undertaken to overturn the American system. In order to trace this new movement step by step, it is necessary to go back again to the historical records. The first successful attempt at International combination proceeded from a small number of German workmen in London, who had been expelled from France in 1839 for taking part in an émeute at Paris. (London Times, Oct. 27, 1871.) At that time several German workmen's societies in France and Switzerland were in constant communication with each other; and their chief aim, avowedly, was the propagation of communistic theories. The little group that had gathered in London founded a branch society, which emerged into the light in February, 1840, under the title of "The Deutsches Arbeiter Bildungs Verein." Its rules were printed in German, English, French, and Swedish; its members were chiefly Germans, with a fair muster of Hungarians, Poles, Danes, and Swedes. One of the few English members was Ernest Jones, who afterward became a shining light among the agitators. The earliest affiliations of this society were with the English Socialists, the Chartists, and the French Democratic Society. Out of this friendship grew the "Society of the Fraternal Democrats," of which Julian Harney, who opposed Lord Palmerston at Tiverton in the election of 1847, was the corresponding secretary. In November, 1847, a German Communist Conference was held in London, at which Dr. Karl Marx,

then living in Brussels, was present. At this conference the old communistic theories were announced, in a manifesto drawn up by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, one passage of which was as follows:—

"The communists are no particular party in contradistinction from other workingmen's parties. They have no interests separate from the interests of the whole proletariat, and set up no particular principles according to which they intend to model the proletarian movement. They distinguish themselves, on the one hand, from other workingmen's parties, by defending the common interests, which are independent of nationality, of the whole class in the various national struggles; on the other hand, by representing the interests of the common movement at the different stages of development through which the struggle between the wages, laborers, and the capitalists has to pass. The immediate aim of the communists is the same as that of the other proletarian parties,—the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists by the acquisition of political power."

"The acquisition of political power" and "the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists" was therefore the summation of the programme. Remember that this was thirty years ago—November, 1847. Have the gangsters of the West and the trade-unionists of the East tried to carry out on American soil in 1877 the programme of the professed communists set forth in England in 1847; or have they not?

But to proceed with the record. Following the general plan indicated by Karl Marx and his fellows, the Fraternal Democrats made preparations to hold a public International Congress in Brussels, in the year 1848, to which the Democracy of Europe was to be invited; but the Revolution of February hindered that design. Subsequently, an unsuccessful attempt was made to create an International alliance among the exiled Revolutionists, who had felt the weight of the hand of Napoleon III., and who troubled France no more during the whole period of his reign. Banished, without organization or leaders, all the governments of Europe banded against and watching them, the French socialists fell into close but secret relations with the German communists in England. The years 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, and 1858—exactly one decade—passed away without any notable outward manifestation that socialists or communists existed in organized bodies. The public records of that period will be searched in vain for reports of the proceedings of "Congresses" or "Leagues" or "Brotherhoods," such as have filled many columns of European and American journals during the period from 1859 to the end of 1877. But it subsequently came to be known that the apparent lull had been only a season of preparation.

In 1859 the great strike of the builders in London brought the advanced trade-unionists to the front. The agitation spread. The trade-unionists began to direct their attention to politics. Meetings, addresses, inflammatory appeals, attack, defence, crimination, and recrimination followed each other in rapid succession. The working-class began to show signs of uneasiness, and to give expression boldly to the sullen discontent implanted in their minds by demagogues through a long interval of delusive quiet. In 1860, George Odger became conspicuous as chairman of the "Trade-Unionist, Manhood Suffrage, and Vote-by-Ballot Association"; and several successful meetings of this body were held in England before the outbreak of the American War. (London papers of 1860-1861.) It was creditable to Odger and his followers that, during the whole period of our civil strife, their influence was exerted in favor of our Union. This fact should be placed to their credit.

From this point the history of the trade-union trends more and more closely toward that of the International Society; until, finally, trade-unionism has become but as the tender to the communist engine.

This fact, which is vitally important for American workingmen and the whole American people to apprehend at its full value, the writer will try to demonstrate, by evidence which any doubter may test for himself, if he possess the patience and can command the time requisite for the task. The material is scattered through endless pages and columns of books, periodicals, pamphlets, circulars—in English, French, German, Swedish, Bohemian,—a unique literature which coming writers and thinkers will study with wonder and amazement. But the communists are too shrewd to codify this enormous mass of fragments into a comprehensive, harmonious, and intelligible whole. They are eloquent and destructive, but secretive and Jesuitical.

Sifting out of the rubbish a few plain facts, let us see what they amount to, and whither they lead:—

I.
The year 1862 marks the beginning of an era. The International Exhibition in London attracted deputations of French artisans, whose inflammable minds were speedily fired by the magnificent projects of their English and German brethren, who had filled the public eye for the preceding three years. Their visit led to the establishment of the vast and powerful organization now known as "the International"—of which Mr. B. Cochrane, M. P., said, in his place in Parliament, on the 11th of April, 1872, that "its creed was infamous" and "its objects atrocious," but that it counted at that moment one hundred and eighty thousand members in Great Britain alone (Parliamentary report, April, 1872); and of which also Mr. Elliott C. Cowdin—a distinguished merchant of New York,—said in his address on "France in 1870-71," delivered at Cooper Institute on the evening of the 10th of February, 1872, that "every kind of absurdity and atrocity found utterance at the gatherings of the affiliated clubs," but that the International numbered, over the whole extent of Europe, not less than two million five hundred thousand members. Bear in mind that these were the figures,

given by careful observers in England and America, of *five years ago*. The growth of the order since has not been backward.

A temporary check was interposed by circumstances beyond communist control. But it proved to be only temporary. The Polish insurrection broke out; Paris was excited; thousands of French workmen presented addresses of sympathy to Prince Czartoryski and the "National Government" of Poland; money was collected in the Paris workshops to aid the Poles; meetings were held in London at which Poles attended; and at a great Polish meeting, held at St. James Hall, in London, on the 22d of July, 1863, a deputation from Paris came forward to ask the coöperation of the workingmen of England to liberate Poland. Revolt had taken form; and the International Society for the first time revealed its "international" character in a way that could not be misunderstood. The heaven had not been working in vain. It was impossible to refuse sympathy to a down-trodden people. It was easy to say kindly words. If nothing came of them, the intent was apparently good, and that was something. The words were said; and the movement attracted public attention, and won no small degree of public regard. The *l'echo* International had scored a point.

II.

Out of this demonstration grew a new movement. Before the night was over, the French deputation was invited to a conference. A few days afterward, George Odger, instructed by a committee, drew up an address to the workmen of France, which may be read in the London papers of August, 1863, setting forth the statement that the time was ripe for a combination of labor against capital. "Let there be a gathering together of representatives from France, Italy, Germany, Poland, and all countries where there exists a will to coöperate for the good of mankind"—so ran this remarkable document—"let us have our Congresses; let us discuss the great question on which the peace of nations depends; let us bring our reason and moral right to bear with becoming dignity against the cajolery and brute force of the so-called rulers."

This was the first pronounced echo of Karl Marx's fulmination of November, 1847—"the aim of the communists is the overthrow of the capitalists by the acquisition of political power." The interval of sixteen years had been skillfully utilized in operating upon the prejudices of the working classes.

III.

From this point onward, rapid progress was made. The train had been fired. The years 1863 and 1864 were periods of excitement and alarm. The Trade Unions in England and on the Continent, already affiliated more or less openly with the internationalists or communists, increased rapidly in numbers and in strength. They had their newspaper organs; they had their fine yearly crops of demagogues, fluent of tongue and unscrupulous in method; they found weak-kneed legislators to plead their cause, and ambitious politicians to mount to power by the aid of their brawny shoulders. It was a formative period—a sort of evolution, with the difference from the Darwinian theory that it was a development backward toward barbarism. Nevertheless, the work went on.

IV.

The power suddenly developed abroad necessarily led to the consideration of another question, vital to the perpetuity of the new system. Across the sea there lay a vast country, just emerged from a great war which had tried all its resources to the uttermost, but stronger from the trials it had endured and the victory it had won—as gold is purer after the fire that purges it of dross, or the athlete harder after sharp training. Obviously, here was a field to be worked. The laborers ready to enter it were neither few nor timid. They had devoted themselves to a purpose, and that purpose they were resolved to accomplish—no matter at what cost of energy, skill, resource, chicanery, cajolery, riot, bloodshed, robbery, murder (witness Pittsburgh, the Erie Railway, Baltimore, the Pennsylvania Road, New York City, in July, 1877—of which more presently).

V.

When Samson saw the standing corn, he caught his foxes, tied them in couples with a firebrand between their tails, and sent them to destroy law and order among the Philistines. It is not in the least degree probable that communists ever read their Bibles—if, indeed, they possess them—but they practised Samson's tactics. Looking at us over the vast expanse of the Atlantic, they saw here a great and populous and prosperous nation, which had fought out its long fight with murderous savages, tricky politicians, the pains of adolescence, the curse of slavery, the rebellion of the South, the war of tariffs and currencies and policies, and, near the end of its first century, had taken rank among the great powers of the world—full of vitality, wealth, energy. It had, in turn, inspired the Old World with feelings of indifference, contempt, curiosity, anxiety, anger, sympathy, fear, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness; but it had gone steadily forward, rarely faltering, never dismayed, never beaten. Its tribulations had made it great; it had its rich, it had its poor. The rich controlled its factories, its mines, its railways, its warehouses. Its poor served its rich, for a stipulated stipend. They were not, never could be, rich. Ergo, they were discontented. Why not enlarge the scope of the International Society—that is, Communism—by working shrewdly upon the passions and prejudices of this great class?

It was too good an opportunity to be lost. It was not lost. The desired end was accomplished in the neatest manner possible. It was really a work of high art. Let us trace its processes.

VI.

The internationalists, feeling that they were strong enough to make a decided move, opened their first

"Congress" in Geneva, Switzerland, on the 3d of September, 1866,—a little more than three years after it had made its first "hit" in London. In the interval many Trade Unions had joined the International (*North American Review*, Art.: "The International Association," April, 1872; and London, Paris, and New York papers of September and October, 1866). But only seven delegates from England appeared, and none from America. The French societies sent seventeen; the Swiss thirty-six. Odger was prominent among the English delegates. The proceedings, on the whole, were creditable. The subjects discussed—and with a considerable degree of intelligence, too—were the statistics of wages, the reduction of the hours of labor, and coöperation. Nothing was said of agrarianism, proletarianism, socialism, communism, the wickedness of the rich, or the horrors of civilized government. The time was not quite ripe—it was seven years ago, and some crops ripen slowly! But secret agencies were put at work. The eyes of the far-seeing leaders were fixed upon this country; they determined to stalk our workingmen, as hunters stalk a deer; following closely, watching the wind, but bent upon bringing him down at last. The result proves what good huntersmen they were. They have bagged their game; and the wonder of it is, that the game does not know it has been bagged. This makes the business more interesting than ever. It becomes a curious study.

VII.

The year after the meeting of the first International Congress in Geneva—that is, in 1867—two "Sections" of the International Society were established in the United States, and the General Council of the International acknowledged them as auxiliaries.

This was the entering wedge.

There was no Trade Union affiliation, as such, with the International at this time. Far from it. The International was too well trained to show its hand so early in the game. Slow approaches, wariness, specious pretences, appeals to the gullibility of human nature, were the first manoeuvres—parallels, so to speak, zig-zagging up toward the bastions that were to be captured. A *coup de main* would have been a failure; and the internationalists knew it. They preferred to dig, sap, and mine; and they performed all these processes to such purpose that we are forced to stop and ponder how the explosion shall be prevented.

But let us follow the thread of the narrative and the argument.

On the 19th of August, 1867, the American societies affiliated with the internationalists held a "Congress" in Chicago. In this Congress—the first one held in this country—the supremacy of the foreign International Society was fully recognized, and absolute credence was given to the theories and plans put forth by the parent body. (*Vide* the Chicago and New York journals of August and September, 1867.) The formation of "Sections," or auxiliaries to the foreign International Society, went on steadily after this date, until in September, 1871, the New York correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* was able to announce exultingly, in one of his letters to that journal, that although the International had "only lately obtained a foothold in the States," it had "a powerful organization in several parts of the country"; and then proceeded to give the following list of the American "Sections," ten in number, which were at that time in direct and acknowledged affiliation with the parent body, viz.:—

1. German Workingmen's Society, New York.
2. French Section, No. 1, New York.
3. Czechian Workingmen's Society, New York.
4. Social Political Workingmen's Society, No. 1, Chicago.
5. Social Political Workingmen's Society, No. 2, Chicago.
6. Social Democratic Workingmen's Society, New York.
7. Irish Section of the Irish Workingmen's Association, New York.
8. Social Democratic Society, Williamsburg, N.Y.
9. American Section of the Workingmen's Association, New York.
10. French Section, No. 2, of the Workingmen's Association, New York.

It will be observed that New York City and Chicago were the centres of these early movements; and also that the French and German elements in this country came uppermost in this business, six years ago. This latter fact illustrates the power that foreign demagogues can exert, when they are so minded. The *Cologne Gazette's* list was copied into the English papers, and so found its way back to New York, creating great joy among the Communists, who had quietly occupied the interval from the end of 1867 to the beginning of 1871 in shrewd preparation of our workingmen's minds to receive their new gospel of labor. Thenceforth the mask was thrown off, and the aims and purposes of the International were not only openly avowed, but it was also given out that it intended to assume control of American politics through the organization of a Workingmen's party, the fundamental doctrines of which should be those set forth by the Geneva Congress of 1867.

A few weeks later (December 21, 1871), one of the leaders of the International Society in the City of New York published in one of our morning journals a bold and ingenious defence of that organization, together with a statement of the alleged grievances of which its members complained. The "tyranny of capital" and the evils produced by great monopolies were dwelt upon with peculiar emphasis; and although the writer was unskilled in the rules of logic or the forms of graceful rhetoric, his impassioned plea attracted the attention of the public, and provoked sharp comment by the press.

Manifestly, the International had begun to see its way in America in 1871.

VIII.

The summer of 1871 brought the Trade Unionists to the front, in the attitude of politicians. In July, a call was issued for a "Labor Congress," to be held in St. Louis on the 7th of August following. Ostensibly, the object of this gathering was the discussion of the laws which should govern trade organizations and the definition of the true relations between the employer and the employed. In reality, it was intended to establish the new programme of general opposition to organized government. Ambitious leaders appeared at St. Louis on the appointed day. They sounded the depths and the shallows of the delegates who represented the Trade Unions,—delegates who were in the main honest and simple-minded men, anxious only to do the best they could do for their own protection, and not in the slightest degree sympathizers with Communism. Let them have that credit. The leaders found the time was not quite ripe. Large bodies move slowly, and honest men are not transformed into rogues in a day. The leaders, recognizing these facts, determined to adjourn the meeting until a more fitting time; but, before doing so, they introduced the draft of a "platform," the main points of which were these: First, a demand for the expansion of the paper currency; second, the abolition of the gold basis; third, the destruction of the National Banks; fourth, the establishment of an eight-hour system; fifth, the exclusion of Chinese labor. The delegates listened to all this dazed. They offered no objections. They were in the hands of skilful manipulators. The document was put forth, apparently as the expression of the sentiments of the St. Louis Trade Congress. Trade-Unionism had taken its first step in politics, and the International had scored another point.

Scored a point—how? Let the records tell. No sooner had the adjourned "Congress" opened its next session, held in Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1872, than one Kilgore was admitted with the Pennsylvania delegation as the representative of "Section 26" of the International Society. This was a direct, open, unmistakable evidence of practical affiliation. It fixes an important date.

The political platform, revised and enlarged, was then brought forward, discussed, and adopted. It was very skilfully drawn; in fact, considering the antecedent circumstances which led to its production, it is still entitled to rank as a curiosity of political literature. It set out with the recitation of principles now commonly accepted, namely, the necessity of revenue reform, tax reduction, general amnesty, and equality of rights, and after enunciating these doctrines with no inconsiderable degree of force, glided into such fallacies as a demand for the legislative prohibition of Chinese labor, and a centralization of power in the Federal Government, with restrictions upon private enterprise in the construction and operation of railroads, telegraph lines, and the like. The platform, as a whole, was not sound; the leaders were injudicious; the official recognition of the Communist element was a dangerous precedent; but the Workingmen's party had openly taken its place as a political factor, and it had called the International to its aid.

The next step taken was still bolder. In September of the same year (1872) a "Congress" of the Internationalists was held at The Hague. It was in every way a remarkable gathering. At the opening of the session, two antagonistic parties pitted themselves against each other; and at the opening of the session, also, delegates from New York presented their credentials, and were admitted to seats. Among these delegates were William West, an old Socialist and Trade-Unionist, who has recently made himself conspicuous as a stirrer-up of disorder in this city; Osborn Ward, an American agitator, who, previous to the Franco-Prussian war, visited most of the cooperative societies in the different countries of Europe, engineering the projects of the International; and Edouard David, a Frenchman, who afterward published in *Le Socialiste*, of New York, an explanation of his reasons for rejecting some of the conclusions at which the Hague Congress arrived. A trial of strength between the "Federalist" delegates, who opposed a political organization, and the "Centralizing General Council," led by Karl Marx, ended in the utter defeat of the former. Karl Marx was a good organizer and a masterful leader. He succeeded in driving out of the Congress the French party of Blanqui, and the moderate party of the English, the Swiss, and the Belgians; and the net result of an angry conference was the lodgment of all the effective power of the organization in the hands of the extreme German Centralists. This point gained, and all the moderates being worsted, it became an interesting question where and how the reconstructed General Council could best continue the work so elaborately planned and so persistently carried forward. England had shown the cold shoulder; France was entirely out of the question; neither at Leipzig nor at Berlin would the International be permitted to sit. It was resolved to establish headquarters in the City of New York. (See the *Independence Belge*, London *Times*, London *Spectator*, and cable despatches to the New York papers of September, 1872.) "We do not at all grudge Dr. Karl Marx to New York," said the London *Spectator* of September 14; "on the contrary, we think London can well spare him." Karl Marx's acceptance of the responsibility placed upon his shoulders appeared in the London *Times* in January, 1873, under his own signature; and the last clause of his letter, written in reply to some protest issued by the French malcontents, established the fact that the centre of operations had been formally transferred to New York. "If in France individuals have been expelled from the International," wrote Marx,

"it has been by the local Sections, and not at all by the New York General Council." (Letter of January 2, 1873, in the London *Times*.)

The close of the year 1872, therefore, witnessed the transfer of Internationalist headquarters from London to New York. This completes another link in the chain of evidence.

X.

The transfer was not regarded with favor by the American people nor the American press. Sagacious observers of affairs knew it portended evil. Many of our public journals pointed out that the purpose of the change was to employ the machinery of a mischievous organization to create discord between capital and labor in the United States; to stir up our industrial class to deeds of violence; to war upon society; and to attempt, by underhanded methods, to achieve in this country the ends it was unable to compass in Europe. Proof was soon at hand that the Internationalists had begun to busy themselves with the workingmen. In January, 1873, labor agitations broke out in New Orleans. On the 2d of February, a letter written by one John Little, of that city, was openly read at a regular Sunday session of the International Society in New York, in which it was stated that the workingmen of New Orleans were "fast getting to that state of desperation" when a change in their condition must be made; that "the manner in which it is to be changed will be no object to them"; that a letter had been sent to the Chief of the Fire Department of New Orleans, notifying him that the city would be "laid in ashes" on the 15th of January; and that, in consequence of this warning, guards had been placed in charge of the fire apparatus, and the police patrol had been doubled. "The capitalists are in dread" was the cheerful comment added by Mr. Little in his epistle addressed to "Citizen Hübert, Corresponding Secretary of the International Society," in New York. The Communists had begun their work betimes. They came here to inflame the minds of the working classes, and they did their work so thoroughly that the events of 1877 are no longer wonderful nor inexplicable, when studied by the light of history. New Orleans was not burned in 1873, nor New York sacked in 1877; but neither city owed its safety to the Internationalists.

XI.

While the plotters who figured at The Hague had been engaged in preparing their well-devised programme of future operations, their agents here had helped to widen the breach between labor and capital; and the great strike of May-June, 1873, was the result. Forty thousand men "went out" in the middle of May. Every manufacturing interest in this city was paralyzed. The middle of June came; and then the employers, forced to take action in self-defence, banded themselves together under a mutual pledge that they would not thereafter "retain in their employ any workman guilty of an act looking to the arbitrary establishment of relations between employer and employed." Three hundred employers, driven to extremity by the embarrassments and losses caused by the strike, united in declaring this ultimatum. It was published in the newspapers of the day (June, 1873), with an imposing array of signatures, and it gave the death-blow to the organized movement of the workingmen. The latter had been led to believe that they were all-powerful. They stood out for four weeks, and their losses in wages, at the rates then current, were not less than \$1,500,000. The determined attitude of the employing class convinced the strikers that nothing was to be gained by holding out longer, living upon the charity of their Trade Unions, and hearing their children cry for bread. Little by little, they fell back into their old ways, and the strike ended peaceably.

But this episode had a deeper meaning—not thoroughly understood by casual observers of events. Its inner history bore a close relation to the secret movements of the International Society, and some of the unguarded expressions used by indiscreet and hot-headed leaders of the strike revealed the teachings of the Communists, and curiously echoed the utterances of 1847 and 1869—already cited in the present paper. The chain becomes more complete when the stray rivets are found and fitted into the places made for them. For example:—

At a mass-meeting of workingmen held in Masonic Hall, in New York, on Saturday evening, May 18, 1872, at which, according to a statement made by the chairman, the interests of six thousand carpenters and joiners were represented, one McDonagh declared that the men would demand the general adoption of the eight-hour system, "if it caused a revolution or the reënacting of the days of the Paris Commune and all its horrors." Another prominent speaker, named Monroe, bade the strikers remember that "they had the employers on their knees, and there they would keep them till they came to terms." A third orator, Charles Dowling, said that if the strikers did not succeed, "violence and bloodshed would be resorted to, and those opposing and working against the society would be beheaded: they were a determined body, and meant business." These remarks were vigorously applauded. The full reports of the proceedings of this meeting will be found in the New York morning papers of the following day. The inflammatory addresses were at the time attributed, not unaturally, to the excitement of the strike and the over-zealous efforts of the Trade Union leaders to keep their men in line, and well up to the work in hand. Looking back to this period, in the light afforded by subsequent revelations and events, and comparing the European fulminations of 1847 and 1869 with the American fulminations of the spring of 1872, a strong family likeness becomes startlingly apparent, and that which was at first supposed to be the violent language of unskilled speakers becomes, by parity of reasoning, but as the

calm recitation of a lesson well conned. The International had been a patient and skilful teacher.

The great strike of 1872 ended in the total defeat of the strikers. But the snake was scotched, not killed. Sullen discontent took the place of bravado. Labor had combined formidably against capital, and it had failed, because capital had formed a stronger combination. The employing class did not improve their victory altogether wisely: the laboring class still had its grievances, and still bore its burdens. What wonder that the Internationalists in conference at The Hague saw their way clearly to the establishment of general headquarters in New York, where a great discontented body of forty thousand workingmen were smarting under failure and defeat? The histories of these two events look.

XII.

The stirring time of 1872 was followed by another season of quiet preparation. A bold experiment had been made. It had failed. It was necessary to try a new deal. The winter of 1872-1873 was unmarked by any notable demonstration of labor agitation or Internationalist scheming; but early in the spring of 1873 there were significant indications that the interval of apparent repose had been skilfully utilized by the uneasy plotters. In March and April of that year, outgivings came from Washington to the effect that the leaders of the Trade Unions had held secret conferences, and that some new movement was contemplated. Early in the following May the story came out. The secret conferences had resulted in the formation of a body entitled "The United Workingmen of America," which first announced its existence by the publication of a programme setting forth the details of a system of national and local organization for the purpose of guarding the interests of labor. The new organization declared its purpose to be the elevation of the American workman, intellectually, morally, materially, and socially, and to secure consideration and justice in legislation. In other words, a new party had challenged public attention,—the party of labor; without a political platform, certainly, but hopeful of an increase of strength by the speciousness of its appeals to the personal interests of a great class.

It soon became apparent how the new organization intended to begin its work. During the spring of 1873, the eight-hour movement had been revived in New York and elsewhere, and the Internationalist delegates had again appeared at the meetings of the trades. But no decided steps had been taken up to the time of the issue of the Washington manifesto. It remained for the new party to assume the leadership. The ferment had been carefully nursed, in preparation for a general and concerted demonstration when the time should have become ripe for it. In the spring and early summer of 1873, the eight-hour agitation was continued from month to month with varying degrees of success; but the new party did not show its hand boldly until July, when an "Industrial Congress" was held in Cleveland, Ohio, which was composed of seventy delegates from Trade Unions, representing twelve States. The presiding officer announced that it was the purpose of this body to form a new political party. The declaration was a bold one, but it was made shrewdly as well as boldly,—for the counsel given to the great body of the Trade-Unionists of the United States was moderate, and even dignified. The workingmen were advised to adopt a general system of arbitration for the settlement of difficulties between employers and employed; and the principle of coöperation was earnestly commended to their attention. The discussions of the Congress were conducted decorously; its wise counsel was spread broadcast; the popular belief was that the Trade Unionists had shown signs of returning sense. Lulled into security by the fair exhibit, the great mass of our people thought the International was dead and the Trade Union fangless. The scenes of July, 1877, were needed to dispel this dangerous delusion.

XIII.

The fall of 1873 and the winter of 1873-1874 brought out new and alarming developments.

The Communists had been busy. They had determined their line of operation, and meant to follow it; and while men slept they had diligently sown tares. Gathering courage from immunity, their leaders, in January, 1874, thought the hour had come to throw off the mask, and to display their strength. Out of this thought grew the famous mass-meeting, held at the Cooper Institute on Friday night, Jan. 30, 1874,—a meeting ostensibly called to utter a public protest against the suppression of an incipient riot at Tompkins Square, in which act of suppression, as all honest men now know, the municipal authorities acted wisely as well as promptly. At this mass-meeting, the principal speech in the English tongue was delivered by Mr. John Swinton. His companions on the rostrum were chiefly French and German,—all of them pronounced Communists. To this company, claiming to be workingmen, came Mr. Swinton, charged with a speech which was one of the most extraordinary recorded in the annals of oratory. Given with calm deliberation; manifestly prepared with unusual care by an acute, logical, and comprehensive mind; adorned with illustrations exactly calculated to fire the inflammable element to which it was addressed; appealing with nervous eloquence to the passions of an excited multitude that bowed instinctively under the magnetic influence of a superior mind—was it wonderful that Mr. John Swinton's harangue stirred that Communist gathering to the pitch of frenzy; or that he was offered (and accepted) the "Workingmen's" nomination for the office of Mayor of the city; or that, three years later, he became a recognized leader of the Commune when Communism rose against law and order? Not at all. It was as natural as that water should run down hill. Mr. Swinton openly affiliated with Justus Schwab by

marching in public procession with him in 1874; and again by appearing on the same platform with him at the Tompkins Square meeting, in 1877. The interval between these two appearances was two-and-a-half years. Mark how this considerable interval of time was occupied by the leaders of the Communists, and the effects produced by their machinations.

The disastrous consequences of the panic of September, 1873, had given the Communists a strong hold upon the minds of the laboring-classes. That hold they were determined to retain. Insidious appeals to the passions of the multitude were constantly put forth through the columns of the so-called labor journals, in public meetings (avowedly Communist), in circulars and pamphlets,—and, unfortunately, too often in the editorial columns of widely-circulated daily newspapers. The great unthinking mass of our workmen, suddenly thrown out of employment by the suspension of factories and the stoppage of large business houses, saw their families drifting into want, and they turned a willing ear to the smooth-tongued varlets who sought to convince them that property was robbery, and capital tyranny. It is needless to recapitulate here the processes through which this poison was instilled into the workmen's minds. The records of 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877 are familiar to the general reader. It is, however, but common justice to add that a large proportion of the members enrolled in the older Trade Unions resisted the effort to change the character of those bodies. The American Trade Unionists had borrowed his plan from Europe, it is true; but had borrowed it before the Internationalists had become a vital force—before Communism had raised its head—before the red flag had been declared "the symbol of universal human love." Mistaken as our Trade Unions were and are in many of their theories, nothing was further from the thoughts of their founders than open revolt against constituted authority or ambitious striving for the attainment of political power. Had the native-born Trade Unionists been let alone, they would probably have been content with the self-protective, cooperative, and benevolent features of their system, and willing to compose such differences as might have arisen between themselves and their employers on a fair basis of arbitration and compromise. But now the moderates have been swept aside, and the radicals are stepping forward, with no regard for the protests of a helpless minority. It is time to appreciate this fact at its full value.

XIV.

The events of July, 1877, were but the natural outcome of the heresies assiduously preached by the foreign leaders who falsely claimed to be workmen and the friends of the workman. Idleness, poverty, distress, distorted notions of the relations of labor and capital, ill-regulated passions, lack of thought, had been skillfully turned to account by the unscrupulous Internationalists in order to debauch the workmen and to twist the Trade Union organization into a dangerous weapon of offence. How successfully this work was accomplished, the appalling scenes of the summer of 1877 demonstrated only too clearly.

The suddenness and completeness of the catastrophe showed the care with which the mine had been laid. In an incredibly short space of time after the first outbreak at Martinsburgh, the great strike had extended to Baltimore, thence to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New York, and half-a-dozen other States. The trunk railway lines were blocked; travel and trade were stopped; troops were called out by federal and State authority; fifteen thousand Trade Unionists were banded together to defy the law; blood was shed; property valued at millions of dollars was wantonly destroyed; perishable goods in transit were irretrievably lost; the great cities were profoundly agitated; and, but for the prompt action of the State and local authorities, and the brave bearing of our citizen soldiery, would have been panic-stricken, through justifiable apprehension of a renewal of the mob violence of July, 1863. If any proof had been needed to establish the complicity of the Communists in the plot, it was given in ample measure by the "Internationalists" themselves. The strike had hardly gained headway before the chiefs of the International "sections" opened communications with the Trade Unions enlisted in the conspiracy. "Secretary" Goldsmith, in Hartford; Van Paten and Schilling, in Chicago; Curlin, Curtis, Cardell, Ratz, Porter, Cope, and Sykora, in St. Louis; Schwab, Swinton, Doyle, Kaiser, Thompson, Demorest, and others, in New York, put forth continuous efforts to encourage the strikers, and to arouse the sympathy of the whole class of workmen. Out of this grew the Tompkins Square meeting of July 25, which was wisely permitted to take place; and which, quite as wisely, was kept in restraint by eight thousand national guardsmen on duty in their armories, and one thousand policemen on duty in and around the square. The strong arm of the law was potent to avert scenes of violence. It did not exercise its potency to prevent free speech,—nor should it have done so. Hence the bold appeal made to the President of the United States, as the embodiment of the unanimous sentiment of the meeting; and hence, also, the "declaration" published by the Communists on the following day.

The "declaration" recited (1) that the "Workingmen's Party of the City and County of New York" tendered its heartfelt sympathies to the railroad men then on strike in different localities in the country; (2) that it considered all legalized charter corporations the enemies of the working-class; (3) that the chartered companies were responsible for acts of violence provoked by oppression; (4) "that we do earnestly request and advise all the working-classes throughout the country to unite as speedily as possible for the purpose of forming a political party, based on the natural rights of labor," and "that noth-

ing short of a political revolution, through the ballot-box, on the part of the working-classes, will remedy the evils under which they suffer"; and, still further, "that it is the purpose of the Workingmen's Party to confiscate, through legislation, the unjustly gotten wealth of these legalized and chartered corporation thieves that are backed by the Shylocks and moneyed syndicates of Europe and this country."

This looked like rhodomontade. It was regarded at the time, by the great mass of our people, as only a fresh spurt by crazy fanatics. The press gave very little attention to it. The mob had been quelled; what matter? So men went about their business again; order was restored; the wheels of trade revolved; and the thrifty American concluded that the storm had blown over, and that all he had to do was to attend to his own affairs in his own way. Lulled into this false security, all but a very few of our people left the Communist free to do as he pleased,—provided only that he should not again rise in insurrection.

Among the few observant thinkers who, reasoning logically from cause to effect, found reason to apprehend future evil consequences from the outbreak, one of the earliest to sound a note of warning was the Hon. William M. Grovesnor, who wrote in the *International Review* (October-November, 1877): "By the light of the flames at Pittsburgh we may see approaching a terrible trial for free institutions in this country. The Communist is here." Enforcing this statement by a formidable array of evidence, as well as by inferences based upon solid conclusions, Mr. Grovesnor sought to arouse the public mind to a sense of impending danger. He linked the Western granger with the Communist, and argued that the panic of 1873 was the immediate effect of granger legislation, and that it was "greatly extended, prolonged, and intensified by the communistic war upon capital at the West." He also contended that our local governments, "as now constituted, are utterly incompetent to deal with the spirit of communism,"—a statement which may well be questioned, in view of the summary measures adopted in New York and Pennsylvania to put down the riots of last year. But let that pass. It is not likely that the scenes of Pittsburgh will be repeated very soon. The Communist has determined to go into politics. He has found that mobs can be put down here more speedily than in Paris; and he has also discovered that the ballot is more potent than the bullet in getting the control of American institutions. Here lies the real peril. It is full time for the American people to recognize its existence.

XV.

At Newark, N.J., in the last week of December, 1877, a body of delegates assembled who called themselves a "Congress of the Workingmen's Party of the United States." Eighty-four "Sections" were represented, and it was claimed that the aggregate membership of the Sections amounted to twelve thousand or fifteen thousand. Probably the numbers were not exaggerated. The avowed purpose of the gathering was the preliminary organization of a new political party; the notorious Justus Schwab put in an appearance very early in the session, and was accepted as the leader; and on the twenty-ninth of December, in open meeting, the Congress unanimously voted to change its title from "The Workingmen's Party" to that of the "Socialistic Labor Party." Here was a starting-point from which a new era dates.

The Newark Congress will become historical. It is therefore proper to put its "platform" on record, for purposes of future reference. Briefly stated, the points of that remarkable document are these:—

1. Introduction of a legal work-day of not more than eight hours, and strict punishment of all violations.
2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor, means of subsistence, and dwellings.
3. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics in all States, as well as by the National Government. The officers of these bureaus shall be elected by the people.
4. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age in any industrial establishment.
5. Prohibition of the use of prison-labor by private employers.
6. Compulsory education for all children under fourteen years of age; all educational facilities to be furnished free.
7. Strict laws making all employers responsible for injury to employes resulting from negligence of employers.
8. Strict laws requiring all wages to be paid in the lawful money of the country at intervals not exceeding one week.
9. Abolishment of all compulsory laws tending to prevent combinations of workmen to strike or induce others to strike.
10. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.
11. Abolishment of all indirect taxation, and adoption of a graded income tax.
12. All banking and insurance to be conducted by the National Government.
13. Strict prohibition of any laws limiting the right of male suffrage.
14. Introduction of direct popular legislation; the people to have the right to adopt or reject all proposed laws.
15. A system of minority representation to be adopted as soon as possible.
16. The Senate to be abolished in all Legislatures and the National Congress.
17. All public officers to be subject to prompt recall by a direct vote of the people.
18. Prohibition of female labor in occupations injurious to health and morals; the wages of women to be equal to those of men where the same labor is performed.

Sections 1, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14 of this platform are shrewdly offset by other declarations which would be generally accepted—and workmen will be asked to swallow the offensive six together with all the rest. The Communist is a cross between Machiavelli and Ignatius Loyola.

Men have scoffed at the theory that a political party can be organized out of the chaotic material furnished by the Trade Unions. Nevertheless, it has been proved (1) that the International Society has ambitious political projects in view; (2) that it is in close affiliation with the Trade Unions; (3) that

to-day it virtually governs the whole Trade Union system of this country; (4) that attempts have been made to exhibit the strength of the so-called Workingmen's (or Communist) party at the polls, and (5) that a respectable exhibit of votes in Ohio and in New York at the elections in November, 1877, and again in the spring elections of the present year in the same States, when they showed increased strength, gives palpable evidence that that party is not a myth, but, on the contrary, is constantly growing.

The Trade Union is the agency which the Communists intend to employ to compass the ends indicated in the Newark platform; and they will employ it.

XVI.

The facts that have been cited show:—

1. That the process of affiliation between Trade-Unionism and Communism is no chimera.
2. That the inflexible purpose of the International Society is "to overthrow the rule of capital by the acquisition of political power."
3. That the failure of the Communists in Europe led them to occupy the new field temptingly opened to them in the United States.
4. That the doctrine of the International Society, boldly enunciated by Karl Marx, in 1847, have been emphatically reaffirmed here in 1877, and put in practice by the conjoint efforts of Communists and Trade Unionists.
5. That the vast army of coopers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, printers, carpenters, masons, plumbers, and other skilled mechanics, defeated again and again in their efforts to coerce the employing class, are now met by counter-combinations which refuse (as the *Tribune* did last summer, and as the Lynn manufacturers are doing to-day) to employ Trade Unionists on any terms.

6. That the Trade Unionist, loth to lose the power he once enjoyed, hopes by his affiliation with the Communist to establish a new order of things upon the ruins of American institutions.

It follows that, if the nation is to be efficiently guarded against an imminent peril, the Trade Union must be shorn of the powers it has assumed to exercise. To break the Trade Union is to destroy the fulcrum the Communist is using. The Trade Union, which places good and bad workmen on the same footing, which pursues its course relentlessly until every industry is in turn subjected to paralysis and loss, which so weakens the apprenticeship system by absurd regulations that the coming generation of operatives will be unable to hold their own against foreign competition, and which learns nothing from disaster, is precisely the instrument for the purpose the Internationalists came here to accomplish. If it be true—and there are few right-minded men who will question it—that there is no necessary conflict between capital and labor, it ought to be equally true that capital shall not be the slave of labor; yet this is what the Trade Union seeks to make it, while the Internationalist seeks to destroy it altogether. The employer being necessary to the workman, and the workman to the employer, the Communist with his crazy notions, is not wanted. He nurses the Trade Union, and controls it; and he will continue to shape it to his own ends as long as our employing class give vitality to Trade Unionism by employing its members and acceding to its preposterous demands.

It is not extravagant to predict that if Trade Unionism, now identified with American Communism, is permitted still to have its own way, the combined forces of the two affiliated systems will yet produce a serious political complication,—perhaps create the chief issue in a Presidential contest, to the exclusion of tariffs, financial problems, or other questions of government policy. The signs of the times are full of portents; and the presence of the Communist is one of our present dangers. The Trade Union suppressed, the Communist in America would die the death he deserves to meet; for then he might say with Shylock, "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live."—*New York Tribune*, April 27.

I WILL NOT invade the rights of others. You have no right to leap from the hedges of superstition, and strike down the pioneers of the human race. You have no right to sacrifice the liberties of man upon the altars of ghosts. Believe what you may; preach what you desire; have all the forms and ceremonies you please; exercise your liberty in your own way, and extend to all others the same right.—*Ingersoll*.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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THE NEW YORK Tribune gives these paragraphs in recent issues:—

While the attention of the public is directed to the dangerous tendencies of Communism, the incendiary speeches of Agitator Kearney, of San Francisco, may not fall upon deaf ears. A week ago Sunday he faced a large assembly of workmen, and reminded them that they had an organization of twenty thousand drilled and able-bodied soldiers, with muskets and bayonets in their hands. "We are going," he cried, "to fight the men that employ Chinamen individually; we are going, instead of hurting their heads, that are empty, to hurt their pockets, that are full. I was about to announce my remedy for the suppression of lepers and leprosy. When we have about twenty thousand drilled men, with muskets and bayonets, and powder and bullets, we have the sympathy of forty thousand more, which will make sixty thousand able-bodied men ready to fight for independence, ready to fight for bread and butter. We march down to the wharf some fine morning, the ship will be coming in at the Golden Gate with a couple of thousand lepers aboard. We march down to the wharf and we present arms, and say, Now land, you lepers, if you dare." This demagogue has been rattling on in this way for a twelvemonth.

That the Socialists of Chicago are arming and drilling, one of their leaders, A. R. Parsons, frankly admits. He informs a reporter of the Tribune that they intend to try the merit of the constitutional provision of the United States which guarantees to every citizen the right to keep and bear arms. "At our mass-meetings this summer," he says, "we shall carry our arms with us; and if the armed assassins and paid murderers employed by the capitalistic class undertake to disperse and break up our meetings, as they did in such an outrageous manner last summer, they will meet foes worthy of their steel." "In other words, you don't propose to use the arms until the other side become the aggressors?" "We don't propose to use arms unless they interfere with us and try to break up our meetings. But as to their being the aggressors, why that's what the capitalists always are. They are always treating the working classes with violence. Isn't starvation wages violence? Isn't trampism violence? Isn't depriving men by the hundred thousand of the right to live and support their families violence, and violence of the most infamous character? We simply resist. We protect ourselves. That's all."

The Communist Society in Cincinnati, which believes that bullets are better than ballots, was organized under peculiar circumstances. The Enquirer states that several months ago a member of the socialist party attended a meeting of men of his own order of restlessness, and proposed that, as they were unable to accomplish their ends by ballot, they should resort to more violent means, and arm in enforcement of their peculiar doctrines. This was voted down by the wiser and more conservative heads; but the result was, that the mover of this resolution, followed by a considerable number of his adherents, proceeded to organize in the proposed manner, and now had in his single company about seventy-five men. These men meet every Sunday, at a hall on Ninth Street, for practice and drill, and are becoming very efficient in the use of arms. They have full uniforms of gray, military hats, with green cockades, Springfield rifles, and breech-loaders. The leaders affirm that they are drilling for "the fun of it."

A mysterious activity among the laboring men of the District of Columbia is reported to have been observed within the past few weeks. A few days ago, it is said, a representative from some Western laboring-men's organization visited Washington and held consultations with the leading officers of trades unions here, as well as with the leaders of organizations of colored men. It is reported that he informed them of an impending strike to be started about next August, and advised them to prepare for participating in it. The presence of such an agent in Washington, and the renewed activity of the workingmen's associations already referred to have given rise to some rather sensational reports. For instance, it is asserted that military companies have been formed; arms have been procured, and frequent drills have taken place. A crowd of white and black laborers congregated in the vicinity of the City Hall to-day; and some of their number have been heard to use very violent language,—threatening, in fact, that if they are not relieved before the summer passes, forcible measures, resulting in the destruction of the public property, will result.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 30, at 7.45 P.M., session for business in Horticultural Hall; election of officers; reading of reports; and general consideration of the practical work of the Association.

Friday, May 31, at 10.30 A.M. and 8 P.M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "The Religion of Humanity, and how it may be Organized"; essayist, Thos. B. Wakeman, Esq., of the Society of Humanity, New York. Afternoon subject: "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and how it is being Disorganized"; essayist, Mr. Wm. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, Mass. Further announcement as to speakers will be made hereafter.

On Friday evening there will be a social gathering in Horticultural Hall.

WM. J. POTTER,
Secretary.

"LOGIC" AND "FAITH."

It has been a pleasant surprise to us to receive the many touching responses elicited by our little article called "Peering," in THE INDEX of March 21. Mostly such as we felt it would be indecorous to print, not one of them has failed to deepen and quicken that sense of sympathy with unseen friends which is the necessary support of such solitary work as ours. There is one, however, which was evidently designed to reach others, and which we find so thoughtfully and candidly written as to invite a further consideration of the subject. We refer to the letter of Professor Long, of Palmyra, Missouri, which is published on a succeeding page. The writer is presumably a Christian; but he waives all appeal to the standard authorities of his religion, and addresses himself so frankly and courteously to reason that fraternal colloquy becomes a pleasure. It will be advisable to peruse his communication before reading further here, since we purpose merely to make some comments on the leading points he presents.

1. "Now you admit that you, in common with others, have implanted in your soul a yearning after immortality, but say that you know of no logical process by which this vague longing can be developed into certain knowledge."

In order to be clearly understood, it is proper to make a slight correction of the "admission" referred to. We did not admit that any such yearning had been "implanted"; that would be to recognize the *innateness* of it, or its complete *independence of experience*. It happens that in our judgment experience is the sole origin of all human knowledge, though we take the word in a far more comprehensive sense than usual, so as to include intellectual perceptions as well as mere sensations. We do not believe that a special "yearning for immortality" has been "implanted" in the human mind in any sense inconsistent with its derivation from experience and education; that belief is a part of the "intuitionism" of the Transcendental school, but not of scientific philosophy or theism. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the longing for perpetuated individual existence after death varies so much in intensity in different individuals that its universality cannot be conceded,—still less its assumed "implanted" character. These statements are indispensable for clearness, and we pass on.

2. "In this you must admit, I think, that the Christian has greatly the advantage over you."

No, we cannot admit that. We do admit that the Christian may have (not that he always has) a fixity of belief in immortality which is a source of great comfort to him. But shall it be said that fixity of belief is a "great advantage," if the belief itself is not a true one? That is the real issue: *is the belief true?* No subjective certainty, no emotional satisfaction, no rapture or ecstasy or glorified imagination, can be counted advantageous in any high sense, if its basis is after all a delusion. The real advantage is with the soul which loves truth better than any indulgence in delicious fiction.

On this point, the supreme sanctity and supreme authority of truth, we hold that science teaches a far loftier and purer morality than the Christian religion. If the Church had counted the interests of truth as superior to the interests of her own dogmatic system or ecclesiastical rule, she would never have set her face like a flint against every new discovery or idea which menaced those lower interests. Granted that it is pleasant to believe a lie than the truth, when the truth calls for the sacrifice of beliefs

that have become dear to us; it still remains the dictate of wisdom, as well as of the highest ethics, to turn steadfastly towards the truth, and make the needed sacrifice. Pain is not the worst of evils,—for this is loss of spiritual integrity. Cost what it may, that soul has the immeasurable advantage which bends reverently before the true, and spurns all temptations which would seduce it from its allegiance to this supreme ideal. The Christian is welcome to all the comfort, the solace, the rapture, the moral support, or the spiritual stimulus, which flow from the absolute certainty he cherishes of a glorious futurity of bliss; we would rob him of none of these things, and envy him as little. He may fancy they give him a "great advantage"; but they make him the victim of a delusion. The only advantage we covet is ours—the advantage of dealing fearlessly, gravely, humbly, with that august Truth of the Universe which no supplications can bend, no longings reverse, no insurrection of passionate wishes undermine. Whatever moral or spiritual strength may issue from the Christian's steadfast faith in the life to come, a mightier moral vigor flows from the free soul's obedience to the highest laws of the life that now is. To the Christian's affrighted imagination, the free thinker's relinquishment of the glowing torch of Faith seems a plunge into eternal night. But the calm radiance of the stars was only hidden by its flaring flames and clouds of smoke; the solitary pilgrim towards the temple of truth finds the starlight more luminous than any torch; and, notwithstanding the uncertainties of his pathway, he fares onward with a serene and—why should we not say it?—with a more truly religious spirit. For religion is the highest life of the soul, and who lives it better than he to whom truth is all?

3. But Professor Long argues at some length to show that the highest truth cannot be won by the "logical faculty," and that it is necessary to postulate a "faith-faculty, which," he says, "I regard as a higher faculty than the understanding, or reason, for the reason that it seizes truth directly and immediately."

The distinction here drawn does not distinguish; for the "logical faculty" itself, if it "seizes truth" at all, seizes it "directly and immediately." Take the syllogism, the typical process of the logical faculty; it consists of two premises, a major and a minor, and the conclusion. For instance:—

All virtues are commendable;

Justice is a virtue;

Therefore, justice is commendable.

Now here are three propositions, related to each other in a certain manner. Each of the three propositions expresses a *relation* between its subject and predicate; and the third, containing the inference, really expresses a *mere relation* between the two premises. How are these relations affirmed? By the "logical faculty," which "seizes the truth directly and immediately." In other words, the logical faculty, or understanding, *sees the relations to be true*; and the understanding constructs its longest chain of reasoning only by attaching to each other the separately perceived relations as so many links of the chain. In its essence, the logical faculty is nothing but an "immediate and direct seizure of the truth" of each separate relation, and a linking together of the separate relations in the unity of a still larger relation. It is to this extent an "intuitive" faculty, in the correct or philosophical meaning of the word "intuition"—which has nothing to do with the theological meaning of it; and it has two functions, one passive and one active. So far as its passivity is concerned, it simply *receives impressions* from the vast, complex environment of relations objectively existing in Nature; and so far as its activity is concerned, it simply *coordinates* these impressions in a definite series, according to natural laws of its own. Thus we see that the "logical faculty" simply converts *facts of being* into *affirmations of thought*,—dissolves Nature, so to speak, into Mind; in Professor Long's phrase, it "seizes truth directly and immediately."

Now since Professor Long conceives that it is the distinctive function of his postulated "faith-faculty" to do this, it is evident that his postulate of such a faculty is wholly superfluous; there is no need of a "faith-faculty" to do what the "logical faculty" itself does. That is our reply to him. His assumption of a special "faith-faculty" distinct from the "logical faculty" ("intuition," as the Transcendentalists style it) rests on a defective analysis of the essential processes of the logical understanding. He, like the Transcendentalists, having invented this superfluous faculty of "faith," forthwith proceeds to make use of it to sustain various doctrines which are really the

product of his own mere understanding. He may quote De Quincey, Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Dr. Bastian, or whom he pleases; it is not our fault if these honored thinkers failed to discern the real functions of the logical faculty, and we certainly entertain no special veneration for their mistakes on a subject they have so insufficiently studied. Our point is that Professor Long and all other Christians are really employing that despised "logical faculty," when they fondly imagine they are soaring into the empyrean on the wings of "faith"; with this addition, however, that, not knowing what they are using, they unconsciously misuse it. There is no light for man on anything in this whole vast universe except the light of reason; and we shall all be wiser—in the end, also, happier—for coming at last to comprehend this momentous truth. There is no light on the impenetrable future of man beyond the grave to be derived from "revelation" or "intuition" or "faith"; these are will-o'-the-wisps, and will guide us only to bogs and fens. The advancing science of the world is our truest guide; and, though she has to-day no positive answer to our wistful questionings on this subject that lies so near our hearts, it is much to know that she does not and cannot extinguish the star of Hope.

THE GNOMIC WISDOM.

Perhaps there is no juster test of the mind of a people than its proverbs. The maxim tells of the quality of thought, the recognized standard, the norm of life, and the power of expression. There must be condensation and point. The proverb must have, in two particulars at least, what Martial says of the epigram:—

"Three things must epigrams, like bees, have all,—
A sting, and honey, and a body small."

The pains taken by the old Hindus to reach compactness and brevity is indicated in this from Max Müller: "Shortness is the great object of this style of composition [he is speaking of the Sutras]; and it is a proverbial saying among the Pundits, that 'an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son.'" A proverb has been well defined as "the wit of one and the wisdom of many."

This wisdom, thus minted, becomes coin current in society. It is an important part of the scripture of humanity. The apothegms and maxims of the wisest and most exalted minds of the race may well form our ever present *vade mecum*, our guardian and phyfactory. They may become our guiding genius,—an ethereal presence, that lifts and protects us perpetually from temptation and sin. It is probable that in this age of ours, which inclines more strongly towards the realm of pure intellect, affects the "dry light" of the understanding, as Bacon calls it, more perhaps than any age which has preceded, there will be a deeper interest, a more sedulous cultivation of this branch of knowledge and source of quickening than ever before. These scriptures will come more and more into the foreground, and be cherished with a greater, warmer love.

Few persons, doubtless, are aware how much of the best things we have in the Greek and Hebrew Testaments is of this origin, coming down in the saws and apothegms of gnomic wisdom, sometimes from immemorial ages, and adopted and applied by the teachers whose names became canonized and deified. Some of them had a very remote origin, came from distant lands, and travelled like the myths and fables of old across all boundaries, till they reached the places where we find them. Not only Babylonia and Persia, but India, and possibly China also, had enriched Judea. The Sermon on the Mount is made up largely from this wisdom. A writer in Chambers's *Cyclopædia* says: "Even certain Jewish proverbs quoted by Christ and the apostles, which hitherto did not seem to offer any analogy in other languages, might be traced back to India, where they had existed for many centuries before they found their way into the popular speech of Palestine and Babylonia, and thence into the Talmud. There are passages in the New Testament that are well-nigh identical with some that we find current among the Chinese. The tracing of these migrations as well as those of myths, fables, etc., becomes a question of great interest; and it will be prosecuted to successful issue, doubtless, when modern scholarship, which is doing so much to-day to lay open this field, shall have put the full materials into our hands.

The Chinese have been very fruitful in this regard; the quality of their brain seems to impel them to the framing constantly of practical saws and maxims.

Mr. Samuel Johnson, in his admirable work on China, has given us a considerable sample of their gnomic wisdom, and has put us all deeply in debt to him for that as other great service. The Hindus and the Persians appear to have been not less gifted; and they have more juice in their speech, more of imagination, and the true poetic quality. Prof. Boashtlingk, of St. Petersburg, has published three volumes containing seven thousand six hundred and thirteen maxims and aphorisms from the Hindus alone.

Some of them are very striking and quaint, having for us a coloring, a freshness, and a force derived from the peculiarity of the temperament and the special surroundings of the people that spoke them.

I give a few of these, gathered from different sources. First from the Chinese:—

"Prevention is better than cure."

"One thread does not make a rope; one swallow does not make a summer."

"Judge not by appearance; the sea cannot be scooped up in a tumbler."

"Three days without study makes one's thought insipid."

"If the blind lead the blind, both go into the pit."

"If you reject the iron, you will never make the steel."

"Seek not every quality in one person."

"The gods cannot help one who loses opportunities."

"One desires to hide his tracks, and walks on the snow."

"The highest of men," says Confucius, "is he who does what is right without effort."

"Never did one who bent himself," says Mencius, "make another straight."

"A real man is he whose goodness is a part of himself." (*Id.*)

"That male and female should dwell together is the greatest of human relations." (*Id.*)

"Man," says Chu-hi, "is the bloom of the five elements, and contains their highest meaning."

"Recompense injury with kindness." Lau-Tsze.

"He that humbles himself shall be preserved entire." (*Id.*)

"The sage wears a coarse garment, and hides his jewel in his bosom. He is not self-displaying, and therefore he shines." (*Id.*)

"To keep tenderness, I pronounce strength." (*Id.*)

"He who knows the masculine nature, and at the same time keeps the feminine, shall be the whole world's channel, i.e., the centre of universal attraction." (*Id.*)

The following are from Hindu and Persian sources:

"This universe is compacted from divine and active principles; a mutable universe from immutable ideas."

"Who finds activity in repose, and repose in action, he is the wise man."

"That alone belongs to you which you have bestowed."

"A crocodile in the water can destroy an elephant; out of the stream it is discomfited even by a dog. Where he is not at home, the skilful is of no avail."

"Mourn not the past; pry not curiously into the future. Study only to meet the high requirement of the present: this is the motto of the wise."

"Through large intercourse with men, the wise meet both their merits and their faults. When the gods churned the sea, they brought up both ambrosia and poison."

"Ravana, who, seeking to burn the tail of the monkey Hanuman, set fire to it, lived to see his own city burned down in consequence."

"Great trees, as fig-trees, make shade for others, and stand themselves in the glowing heat of the sun; they bear fruits for others, not for themselves."

"What wonder is it that noble men think only of the service they may render to others? Sandal trees thrive and grow, but not for themselves; they yield their cooling medicines to man."

"Though the sun should rise in the West, Mount Meru tremble and quake, fire congeal, and the lotus bloom upon the summit of the rock on the peak of the mountain, never shall the speech of noble men transmute to empty words."

"Not in good fortune but in ill is the power of great men revealed; when the wood of aloes is exposed to the flames, its fragrance exhales stronger than ever."

"How can the conceit engendered in any one's mind be quelled? The titibha (a species of bird) sleeps with its feet thrown upwards, from an apprehension that the sky may break down."

"A jar is gradually filled by the falling of water-

drops. The same rule holds good in regard to all sciences, to virtue and to wealth."

"Birth closes the gates of gifts."

"The sandal-tree imparts fragrance to the axe which fells it."

"Wherever the tree of beneficence takes root, it sends forth branches beyond the sky."

"Be not anxious for subsistence; it is provided by the Maker."

"He by whom the swans are made white, parrots green, and peacocks variegated will also feed thee."

"Books are endless, the sciences are many, time is very short, and there are many obstacles; a man should therefore seek for that which is the essence, as a swan seeks to extract the milk which is mixed with water."

"Though one devote himself to many teachers, he must extract the essence, as the bee from flowers."

"The natural disposition is hard to overcome. If you make a dog a king, will he not still gnaw his shoe-strap?"

"The wound burnt in by fire may heal, but a wound burnt in by the tongue will never heal."

"I fear that this intemperance (in eating) may destroy you. Somebody nourished a wolf's whelp, which, when full grown, tore its master to pieces."

"Lot's wife associated with the wicked, and her posterity forfeited the gift of prophecy; but the dog of the companions of the cave, by long converse with the virtuous, became a rational creature."

"Although a discourse be captivating and sweet, commanding belief and admiration, yet, when you have once delivered it, repeat it not again; for, when you have once taken sweetmeats, it is enough."

Saskya Pandita, a Thibetan Lama of the thirteenth century, left a small volume of aphorisms and maxims, from which I can select here but two:—

"Good qualities, though hidden, become unveiled, and shine throughout the world. The flower of jasmine, although dried up, sends a sweet fragrance everywhere."

"Although there be an immense number of forests, few are the lands that have growth of sandal wood. In like manner, though there are many wise men, the golden sayings are very rare."

"Suppose me a steel weapon," says an ancient Chinese king to his minister, "I will use you for a whetstone; suppose me a year of drought, I will use you for a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich mine. Be like medicine, which will not cure the patient, if it do not distress him."

Such office we may any of us warmly welcome from the sages of history.

C. D. B. M.

IS THE "POINT DESTROYED"?

We give the benefit of our circulation to the following, which appeared in the *Boston Herald* of April 26:—

Social Club Entertainments.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

In your issue of April 25, I notice the following clipping from THE INDEX:—

"The 'Hollis Street Social Club' gave private theatricals in the Hollis Street Chapel in this city a week or two ago. A correspondent pertinently inquires: 'Why tax theatres?'—THE INDEX.

I presume it was accidental that the Hollis Street Social Club happened to be selected for illustration in this case, as the "social clubs" connected with the Church of the Disciples, the South Congregational Church, the Mt. Pleasant Church, and several other churches frequently give similar entertainments in the vestries under their churches or in their chapels. Now I wish to state in behalf of the Hollis Street Social Club that their entertainments are given in the chapel in the rear of the church and not in a vestry under the same; that the profits of such entertainments are used for charitable objects; and, furthermore, that the proprietors of the meeting-house on Hollis Street are taxed by the city of Boston on a sum which more than covers any income received outside of the taxes and rents of pews. Much more could be said on this subject, but I will only ask your space to destroy the point of the above paragraph as applied to the H. S. S. C.

D'ARCY.

BOSTON, April 26, 1878.

The statement about the taxes paid by the "proprietors of the meeting-house on Hollis Street" is impenetrably foggy,—conveniently so, perhaps. The fact is that churches are not taxed in Massachusetts, "D'Arcy" to the contrary notwithstanding. "Much more might be said on this subject" by him, if he desires to be understood.

But the implied "point" which this rash but anonymous champion wants to "destroy" was that Hollis Street Church makes its property *productive*, and ought therefore to be taxed like theatres, even conceding that *unproductive* church property ought to be exempted. Has "D'Arcy" succeeded in "destroying this point"? Not in the least. He admits that

these church-theatres produce "profits," which are used exactly like the profits of any other theatres: namely, as they please. The common argument that churches ought to be exempted from taxation because they are unproductive property is proved by this case to be false; they produce "profits." Very well; by this very argument, then, they ought to be taxed. Instead of "destroying" our "point," "D'Arcy" has only fortified it by his admissions. He must try again!

Communications.

THE "FAITH FACULTY."

ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE,
PALMYRA, Mo., March 31, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:—

A friend has handed me a number of THE INDEX, containing an article which has struck me with peculiar force. I allude to your reply to one who, from the depths of his heart, imploringly asks you to give him the "grounds" on which you seem to base a hope of a future life. Your friend is so earnest in his request that, if he had the grounds on which he might obtain a single foothold, he would prize them above all riches. But you candidly confess that you can give your friend no certain knowledge of immortality,—that all you can do is merely to reach back the voice of one equally bewildered and lost in the thick darkness.

Now you admit that you, in common with others, have implanted in your soul a yearning after immortality, but say that you know of no logical process by which this vague longing can be developed into certain knowledge. In this you must admit, I think, that the Christian has greatly the advantage over you. For, though he may not have arrived at this knowledge or belief of immortality by what you would call a logical process, yet this does not diminish the good effects of such a belief amid the sorrows and difficulties of our present mortality. With men of your type of thought it would seem that everything must come into the soul through the logical process, or not at all. But every student of psychology knows that the best results of human thought are often not arrived at through the logical faculty, but by altogether a different process. The heliocentric theory of the solar system was believed and taught ages before it was logically demonstrated. In fact, minds of the highest order arrive at truth by processes which you would not admit as logical. There is a higher faculty of the mind than the reason or the understanding. This you will doubtless think is a startling assertion to be made in an age when the faculty of reason is so highly lauded as man's crowning attribute. But I would quote from De Quincey, who warns us against implicitly trusting to the understanding, even in matters of literary criticism. He says: "The mere understanding, however useful and indispensable, is the meanest faculty in the human mind, and the most to be distrusted, and yet the great majority of people trust to nothing else; which may do for ordinary life, but not for philosophical purposes."

Let us, then, waive any appeal to a book-revelation, for you will not admit such authority. Let us take our stand within the precincts of consciousness. Now consciousness asserts itself to us under the double aspect of subject and object,—an internal spiritual sphere of conscious existence surrounded by an external world of material existence. The fundamental problem of theology, of philosophy, and even of science, is to discover a safe and easy passage between these two worlds, the spiritual and the material. We can assume that both worlds exist; there can be nothing more certain than consciousness. "I think, therefore I am," is the celebrated formula of Descartes. The external world must also exist as the very condition of conscious activity; as the opposite polar force against which consciousness may exert itself, and through which it may reflect itself. Even Fichte, who denied the reality of an external world, was compelled to hypothecate an ideal world lying out of the sphere of consciousness as the condition of its activity.

Now is there any faculty of the human mind by which it can pass from the seen, the sensuous, and material to the unseen, the supersensuous, and spiritual, a faculty by which spiritual existence can be felt and realized to be a permanent and enduring thing, independently of materiality? I maintain that there is. This I would call the faith-faculty, which I regard as a higher faculty than the understanding, or reason, for the reason that it seizes truth directly and immediately. The existence of such a faculty might be fairly assumed to exist; otherwise we must assume what is more difficult to believe; namely, that human consciousness must be at perpetual war with itself, haunted forever by aspirations and intimations of a spiritual world without ever being able to lay hold of it. The whole course of philosophy from the beginning of speculative thought till now, has been a double movement, ever alternating between idealism and realism, between the material and the spiritual. This has been because the attempt has been made to solve the problem through the logical process solely.

Hegel would solve the mystery of existence with his logical dialectic, while the realist, who begins on the other side of existence, would explain every thing by logical induction. The first method leads to mysticism, the second to gloomy scepticism. But by falling back upon the faith-faculty, realism and idealism became reconciled as the two hemispheres of complete being. Herbert Spencer, our great teacher

in psychology, finds his universal postulate in this faith-faculty, or belief. Hamilton teaches that in every mental act, even in sense-perception, there is invariably present the operation of this faculty of the soul. Science can no more do without this mental faculty than theology and philosophy. Dr. Bastian says that he knows that matter and force can evolve life "by a sublime act of philosophic faith." "Out of experience in science," says Tyndall, "there arises something finer than mere experience. Experience, in fact, only furnishes the soil for plants of a higher growth." Hence theology, philosophy, and science all alike demand the exercise of this faith-faculty of the mind; neither does theology make any greater draught upon it than do those other departments of thought.

What account can we give of the origin or genesis of this mental faculty? Assuming with modern psychology that this, in common with the other mental faculties, has become organized in the soul through the experiences of countless generations, it still follows that it must have its external counterpart in the objective universe. As eyes imply light, so faith implies its appropriate objects,—an outlying universe of divine and spiritual realities. Thus the soul through the power of the faith-faculty climbs to a knowledge of that "lexicon" of the cosmos, which you admit is mind. If, then, one mighty, all-creating and all-prevailing mind exists behind the visible and moving hieroglyphics of the cosmos, why may not finite and human spirits pass over into that world, and feel themselves at home?

True, this faith-faculty may become enfeebled and even atrophied from the want of exercise on its proper objects. When this is the case, the soul is in the deplorable condition of still retaining this "longing after immortality," and "dread of falling into naught," without the power of extricating itself.

J. M. LONG.

THE METRIC REFORM.

I express my thanks to Mr. Henry Doty Maxson for his able discussion in an adverse sense (April 25) of my article in THE INDEX (Jan. 17) on "The American Metric System." I have since re-written that article in a shorter form; but, mindful of the proverb "*Krámbe dis hepsonéne pótmou phérei*," I shrink from burdening our friend, THE INDEX, with what would be in part sheer repetition, and will rely on the following table to convince Mr. Maxson that the system which I propose is not only as simple, but far more simple, than the French metric system:—

ANGLO-AMERICAN MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND COINAGE.

1. MEASURES OF LENGTH.

1 Myriofeet=10,000 feet.
1 Khillifeet=1,000 feet.
1 Hecatontafoet=100 feet.
1 Decafoet=10 feet.
1 FOOT=one-third of a yard, a yard being the 7,000,000th part of the earth's radius and the 11,000,000th part of the quarter of the earth's circumference.

1 Decifoot=one 10th of a foot.
1 Centifoot=one 100th of a foot.
1 Millifoot=one 1,000th of a foot.

2. MEASURES OF SURFACE.

1 Myriofeet=10,000 square feet.
1 Khillifeet=1,000 square feet.
1 Hecatontafeet=100 square feet.
1 Decafeet=10 square feet.
1 SQUARE=1 square foot.
1 Decifeet=one 10th of a square foot.
1 Centifeet=one 100th of a square foot.
1 Millifeet=one 1,000th of a square foot.

3. MEASURES OF VOLUME.

1 Myriocube=10,000 cubic feet.
1 Khilliocube=1,000 cubic feet.
1 Hecatontacube=100 cubic feet.
1 Decacube=10 cubic feet.
1 CUBE=1 cubic foot.
1 Decicube=one 10th of a cubic foot.
1 Centicube=one 100th of a cubic foot.
1 Millicube=one 1,000th of a cubic foot.

4. MEASURES OF WEIGHT.

1 Myriounce=10,000 avoirdupois ounces.
1 Khilliounce=1,000 avoirdupois ounces.
1 Hecatontounce=100 avoirdupois ounces.
1 Decounce=10 avoirdupois ounces.
1 OUNCE (avoirdupois)=the weight of one millicube (cubic decifoot) of water.
1 Decounce=one 10th of an ounce.
1 Centiounce=one 100th of an ounce.
1 Milliounce=one 1000th of an ounce.

5. GOLD COINAGE (INTRINSIC VALUE).

1 Decagolden=10 goldens.
1 GOLDEN=one ounce avoirdupois of standard gold (nine-tenths of gold, one-tenth of copper).
1 Decgolden=one 10th of a golden.
1 Centigolden=one 100th of a golden.

6. SILVER COINAGE (INTRINSIC VALUE).

1 SILVERN=one ounce avoirdupois of standard silver (nine-tenths of silver, one-tenth of copper). Value \$1.0806 . . . on the basis of the present silver dollar, or 33 silvers=\$35.
1 Decsilvern=one 10th of a silvern.
1 Centisilvern=one 100th of a silvern.

7. BRONZE COINAGE (LEGAL VALUE).

1 Centim=weight one decounce. Legal value, one centisilvern.
1 Millim=weight one centiounce. Legal value, one 1,000th of a silvern.

N.B.—Bronze coin is merely a check redeemable at the Treasury in its legal value of silver coin. No legal relation between gold and silver coin; but a golden is worth about 16 silvers, more or less, according to the state of the market.

The above is as complete a table of weights, measures, and coinage as need be made legal. The primary unit, the longitudinal foot, is related to both the radius and the quarter of the circumference of the earth through the factors 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, which are the great factors of Nature, of art, and of human transactions. The primary unit once found, all the system follows by an application of the decimal system entirely free from those exceptions and redundancies which are the blemishes of the French metric system. When I was twelve years old I learned the French system in half-an-hour. I would have learned the system which I now propose in five minutes.

My foreseeing that, concurrently with this system, if made legal, those among the existing units which bear to it the most intelligible relation—Gunter's chain and link, in which our country is surveyed, the pace of five links, almost identical with the French metre, etc.—would be conversationally retained more in nothing the simplicity of the system. The people would retain them so far only as it would find them a convenience and not a complication. But even those existing measures which I propose to entirely reject as ill-related and absurd could always be exactly reduced to the denominations of the reformed scale. I therefore claim for my system that it is not a new system, but merely the old historical Anglo-American system regularized on a decimal basis and made consistent in all its parts: a well-digested table of contents added to a confused treatise, and not only serving as a key to it, but actually superseding it by answering all of its purposes more efficiently than the book itself. The French metric system, on the contrary, while it is not more accurately related to the earth's circumference alone than our foot is to both its circumference and its radius, while by utterly ignoring in its relation to the earth the factor 8 it comes into grating contact with the cog-wheels of time and of the sphere, has this additional matter-of-fact disadvantage, that it stands in an irreducible ratio to every one of our existing units. As our admirable land survey, according to which nearly all our country is divided into townships, sections, and quarter sections, is an accomplished fact which cannot be undone, and on which all tenure of property will rest in this country for all generations to come, the adoption of a system which bears an irreducible ratio to the measures on which our land survey is based will condemn all generations to come to irretrievable logomachy.

I suspect there must have been a little mischief in me when I spoke of our lineal foot as the ordinary measure of "an honest Anglo-Saxon foot." Else I must have relied on the powers of St. Crispin. But sure there must have been a smile on Mr. Maxson's face when he wrote (speaking of the French metric system): "Greece uses it with a modified nomenclature." Modified? Shade of Pericles! Yes indeed; for the pretended Greek nomenclature of the system, as the French use it, is as untranslatable into Greek as a theological treatise on baptism by sprinkling.

The nations which are generally mentioned as having [on paper] adopted the metric system make a very intimidating list; and it is by thus representing the movement as irresistible and already an accomplished fact that those who make a business of selling metric standards entrap legislature after legislature. In twenty years hence, nations will discover that they have had the metric system for twenty years, as President Grant discovered three years after that he had signed the silver demonetization bill.

Mr. Maxson's statement that a cubic foot of water weighs only 998.0667 avoirdupois ounces, instead of 1,000 as assumed by me, is inconsistent with his other statement, that the French centimetre of distilled water weighs just a French gramme. Were this latter statement true, the difference would be more than twice as great as he says, as a cubic foot contains 28,214 cubic centimetres, and 1,000 ounces weigh 28,338.4 grammes: difference more than 4 ounces, an ounce being 28.3384 grammes. But both of these statements of my able antagonist must rest on erroneous and probably antiquated authority. It is now generally recognized that there was inaccuracy of manipulation in the measurement or weighing of a cubic centimetre of water in order to establish the French gramme. My giving 1,000 ounces as the weight of a cubic foot of water at its medium density was not a loose assertion picked up in common arithmetics, but was based on the minority report of the recent congressional commission on the metric system,—an authority which I must consider as irrefragable on such a point of scientific fact. In the tables of density contained in the latest editions of all the encyclopædias on which I have been able to lay my hand, water, assumed to weigh 1,000 ounces per foot cube, is taken as the unit; and I cannot imagine that in a matter requiring so much accuracy all scientific men could have been satisfied with an approximation in which there would have been an error of almost 2 per 1000. The error, if any, must be very much smaller; and, if small enough to satisfy professors of chemistry, it must be small enough not to mar a metric system. Mr. Maxson is no doubt aware, moreover, that the cubic measurement of a liquid is a mechanical manipulation in which there is always an amount of inaccuracy, and the indefinite repetition of which would never, in the course of eternity, twice give the same result.

Perhaps the best way of settling this metric question satisfactorily would be for some commercial house to manufacture the reformed Anglo-Saxon standards which I propose, including the coins, under the guarantee of its trade-mark, and introduce them in all countries of the world through the ordinary channels of commerce. The coins might be introduced as articles of jewelry, namely medals of standard fineness and exquisite workmanship, a hole in the upper part for the purpose of suspending the

ornament to the neck or wrist forming a part of the design. The world is absolutely weary of politicians' money, which an act of legislature can enhance or debase, and a Secretary of the Treasury can lock up or let loose to produce scarcity or the reverse, and so create panics, and enable a ring of sharpers who are in the secret to speculate on the public ruin. Money is simply an article of commerce, its additional value over that of the bullion it contains consisting in the guarantee, as to its weight and fineness, which coinage annexes to it. This guarantee can be given by the trade-mark of a responsible firm as well as by the stamp of a public mint; and as commercial houses, under the law of free competition, would supply the article in the measure of the public demand for it, the ornamental medal, being neither peculiar to each country, nor subject to legislative tricks, would in its secondary use as money be a better commodity than the government coin and supplant it in the market. As ornaments, Eastern countries would want even the smallest gold and silver pieces to any amount. JULIUS FERRETTE.

RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION AND FREE SPEECH.

THEIR LATEST DENIAL.

EDITOR INDEX:—

If, as you have well said, "religion is the effort of man to perfect himself," exponents of such reasonable faith will condemn efforts to limit investigation, especially politico-ecclesiastical usurpations which presume to say what opinions shall or what shall not be privately held or publicly expressed. The latest blow at Free Speech was struck in Boston, April 15, when, during my absence in New York, Angela T. Heywood being acting manager of the Convention at Nassau Hall, "an officer of the law" came in to forbid her taking a collection, admission fees at the door to defray expenses, because she "had not a license from the City Government"! Of this arbitrary stretch of power the *Daily Globe* of April 17 said:—

"We cannot see why those people should not have the privilege of holding their meetings without any interference from the License Commissioner or of the police authorities. . . . If they see fit to meet in public and to discuss their peculiar notions upon social, moral, or religious affairs, they should have the liberty of doing so without a license, so long as their meetings are conducted in decency and in order."

"I think that every intelligent friend of progress will endorse the view of the editor of the *Globe*. The power to permit public meetings implies the power to forbid them; for, if the authorities do not like the opinions to be presented, they have only to refuse to grant a license in order to suppress a meeting before it assembles! That the issue is not whether the collection shall be taken at the door, or from the audience, is evident from the fact that this subtle game of requiring "a license" is never played except where the reform to be promoted is especially unpopular. The old antislavery society, the Woman's Suffrage and Temperance societies, the Labor Reform League during ten years, the Paine Hall Free Thinkers, Spiritualists meetings of every kind, the Horticultural Hall Lecture Association, Joseph Cook's Monday Lectureship, the Hospitalier Hall philosophers, the Parker Fraternity, church festivals,—all schools of religionists and reformers charge admission fees, take collections at the door when necessary to defray expenses, without being required to "procure a license" to do so. The meetings at Nassau Hall are selected for suppression simply because certain religious conservatives do not like our views! If the old Puritans had hit upon this "license" invention, no modern reform could ever have been advocated in Boston.

The *Banner of Light* of April 20 spoke of a case in Rochester, N. Y., where the authorities attempted to require Mrs. Markee, a Spiritualist medium, to procure a license for her seances. She sued for damages; the case went up to the Supreme Court of that State, and was decided in her favor, and the city of Rochester now has to pay damages and all the cost of litigation! In February, 1878, the Mayor of Boston undertook to suppress a convention of the N. E. Labor Reform League, because Mrs. Woodhull was to be one of the speakers! He said that we must not take admission fees without a license; and, if we asked for a license, the City Government ought not to grant it. The Convention was held nevertheless, Mrs. Woodhull spoke, and the police, sent in citizen's dress as spies to watch us, paid fifteen cents each Sunday night and fifty cents each Monday night for admission! We supposed intrusive bigotry then learned the law of liberty regarding speech and public assembly, but it seems not. Refusing to recognize illegal terrorism as law, Mrs. Heywood dismissed the meetings April 15; and the right of the people to assemble and confer together without a license will be asserted in the regular May Conventions to be held the 19th and 20th and 26th and 27th of this month. With the case, U. S. vs. E. H. H. on my hands to be argued about May 15, I prefer, as Abraham Lincoln said, "One war at a time"; but, though a dozen prisons threatened me, I cannot submit to this last outrage on popular right. While you, Mr. Editor, earnestly dissent from the views of many social reformers, you have always warmly favored free speech, and, I am sure, will raise your voice in its behalf now, when the prevailing spirit of repression is so fiercely intent on denying it. Hoping you can give me space in your columns for the above.

Ever truly yours, E. H. HEYWOOD.

PRINCETON, Mass., May 1, 1878.

[Of course, we consider the practice of requiring a license for public meetings in hired halls to be utterly indefensible, whether those who hold them do or do

not please the authorities. We had not heard of the above case before; but, on the facts as stated, the action of the police was clearly an outrage. So long as the public peace is not disturbed, the police ought to be conspicuous by their absence. All the more ought all public speakers to respect their audiences by observing the unwritten laws of public decency and good taste. If they fail to do so, however, the condemnation of their own audiences and of the public at large is a sufficient penalty for the offence. Knowing nothing of the particular occasion referred to, we can say no more.—Ed.]

IN THE MADELEINE, PARIS.

It was Christmas day in Paris, and there were to be the usual grand ceremonies to celebrate the occasion in the Madeleine Church, that imposing edifice built in semblance of a Grecian temple which is so well known to strangers; and as we were told that the pomp and circumstance of this splendid ritual was indeed a sight to see, we thitherward wended our way amid the eager crowd that literally thronged up the immense flight of marble steps, filling the great building to its utmost capacity. As a general thing very few men are to be seen in a Parisian church; but on this one day in the year the stronger sex salves its conscience with the unusual enjoyment of the senses provided for the delectation of an uncommon audience, and thus made a more equal division of the genders than is customary; and, though the service was tediously long, there were no signs amid the decorous silence constantly maintained that the entertainment flagged in interest or that the assembled people were particularly wearied by the solemn pageantry which to the greater part of them could have had nothing more than a surface meaning.

It was in truth a grand spectacular pantomime, for which the altar with its sculptured Assumption served as scenery. The principal priests, of which there were over a dozen officiating, wore robes of cloth of gold embroidered elaborately in brighter gilt; and the boys who served were dressed in long red trains with short white robes over them, red shoes, and broad light blue sashes. At times the whole large space around the altar was quite crowded; and it was not especially conducive to reverence to behold these boys of various ages and heights kicking their trains out behind, in order to make them hang gracefully down the steps on the edge of which they stood in rows. There was much ceremonious bowing, right and left, to the altar, and to each other; and at one time four platforms covered with lace-bordered white cloths, and holding some significant articles, were carried in from one side to the other in slow procession by four boys each, who marched in, across, and out, very much like the same sort of thing in a play on the stage. In fact, it was easy to see that every person on this arena had his drilled part to perform, their arranged entrances and exits, and their indicated places to form a harmonious tableau of color, size, and position. The music was superb, the show was solemnly grand, the light dreamily soft; and it was easy to understand that to souls in which imagination predominated over reason, this wonderfully-arranged ritual would be impressively affecting. Through the densely packed crowd two important officials were almost continually pressing; two very large beings they were with good-natured faces, attired in what looked like full military uniform, with cocked hats, gold epaulettes, gold embroidered red scarfs, and a great staff with an immense gilt knob on the top. Their business it was to precede the priest, who carried the money-box through the aisles, making a way for him by their size and perspiring exertions; while he, humbly following in their wake, received the coins of the faithful. When this was accomplished, they returned to each side of the altar to add splendor to the spectacle by standing in immovable attitudes, like gorgeous and glittering court chamberlains. Then there were inferior priests, who answered to the supes of a theatre, who did all the manual labor, such as moving reading-desks, etc., and two directors, who stood in front; and, when it was the turn of any particular priest to do anything, one would stalk round before him, bow, and then return to his own place, bowing to the altar as he turned and came back to it.

One could not help, as we sat there looking at it all, mentally wondering how any two of those augurs could look in each other's faces without laughing. And we thought also of the sweet Jesus born in a stable, working at a carpenter's bench, wandering, poor and despised of men, on the shores of Galilee, not having where to lay his head, and how he would have denounced and rejected such pompous service. And when we found that we had to pay half a franc each for the seats we occupied at this cheap performance, in addition to the contribution to the collection box, and at the door were accosted by an authorized elegantly-dressed lady holding a velvet bag asking for more alms, we involuntarily recalled that scene with the money-changers in the Jewish tabernacle, when he, who scourged them from his Father's house, seemed to have no precedence that they would again prey on humanity in his own name. Ah, if Jesus himself had entered this modern temple, whip in hand, arraigning those who made it a den of thieves, how quickly would he have been hustled out by those gorgeous bumbles who acted as constables of the sanctuary! And had he come in to this multitude imprecating Pharisees with their broad phylacteries and bordered garments, would not those gilt-robed priests quickly have delivered him up for his insanity to be sorely afflicted, and should his words take effect as in the days of yore, even to

be crucified afresh? For such Christianity as this is indeed like unto whited sepulchres, appearing beautiful without, but within are full of extortion and excess,—a Christianity which has simply become a Church, without a Christ.

MRS. SARAH B. STEBBINS

PHILADELPHIA.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The people all the world over are suffering, and are calling for some remedy for their ills. Social questions, the relations of capital and labor, are up for consideration, and are pressing for a solution as never before. Until we learn to do justice to man, we can never relate ourselves justly to God. The love of God is a mockery of words, unless based on love of man. Free religion presupposes free man; and to be free in deed as well as in thought, freedom must be secured by a social organism in accordance with the laws of Nature, or, if you prefer, the will of God.

It seems to me, therefore, that the investigation of social science is peculiarly appropriate to the INDEX, and fully justifies the publication of thoughtful articles on the subject.

But what shall be said of one who, after being corrected more than once, repeats the misrepresentation that Fourier was a communist? Fourier was NOT a communist in any of the manifold meanings of that word, on which Mr. Kelsey caroms with such prodigious power and startling suddenness.

Charles Fourier had seen too much of the French Revolution, and suffered from it too much personally to have the least faith in its methods, or in any violent re-organization of society. He proposed free and voluntary association, and that alone, under an organization based on the laws governing human relations.

Fourier does not claim to have invented a scheme; he set before himself the task of discovering the laws of society, by studying the nature of the individual man, and ascertaining the laws governing him. He claims to have discovered those laws, and starting from that basis to have arrived at a knowledge of the laws of human society.

Whoever would really know anything of social science must follow on the same track; and he may be sure that he will find work enough to do, with all the aid he will derive from Fourier, who, I may say, also, by no means neglected the study of history, although he was clear-sighted enough to see that the study of past errors alone can never reveal the truth.

If Mr. Kelsey thinks the present writer does not know Fourier, let him quote one line from that Social Master's writings which preaches or teaches communism.

A socialist is not necessarily a communist; and in one of "A. W. K.'s" numerous uses of the word, a communist is not necessarily a socialist.

I do not seek controversy, but I do want to urge upon all thinkers who wish to help their fellow-men the study of social science; and I do think writers should know at least the alphabet of it before undertaking to enlighten others.

We do not need any more misinformation or fog. F. S. C.

HOW TO MEET THE REPROACH.

THE INDEX aims to be the exponent of the highest-thought liberalism; we believe it is as fine and high-toned as it aims to be, and we are proud of it. We have the use of those high thoughts, and can skim the cream, and live off its rich and delicious fruits! Among the cream I skim is the hint given as about the moral scum of society, brought upon us by extending our platform wide enough to include all classes of liberals. We take in many who are charged (truly or falsely) with free-love, obscenity, and immorality; and many such things are charged against liberals as a class, because our common platform includes all who choose to stand upon it.

So I agree with THE INDEX that we as liberals must individually live down those false charges. Liberals are more free from obscenity than the Bible and Bible worshippers; but the latter think (or seem to think) that it is just to charge us with immorality, while the Church is teeming with the immoralities of clergymen and laymen. Now we should all unite, and show our true character and position, and prove by our walk and our talk and conduct in life that we are opposed to all kinds of wickedness.

I think that many well-meaning men and women would be with us, were it not for this unjust odium cast on us by the Church people; and we have no way of successfully reaching them. We strive to get them to take and read our papers and books; but, alas! they are so bound by early education that they can hardly help themselves. DAVID WRIGHT.

DES MOINES, Iowa.

A NEW SOCIETY.

MARSHFIELD, Mo., March 30, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—The liberalists and freethinkers of Springfield, Mo., met at the Opera House on the 24 inst., and organized an association which they designated "The Springfield Liberal League," the following persons being chosen as officers for the ensuing year: D. M. Fox, President; William Naegler, Vice-President; John H. Koch, Recording Secretary *pro tem.*; Mrs. J. A. H. Colby, Corresponding Secretary; William Massey, Treasurer. Executive Committee: Mrs. Nettie Pease Fox, J. F. Underwood, R. M. S. Cooper.

After the organization was completed, twenty-four names were enrolled as members, the number at the present time consisting of about fifty, with a steadily increasing number, and fair prospects for the future.

J. A. H. COLBY, Corresponding Secretary.

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of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support.

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America - that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country, - is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Proceedings of Sixth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains essays by Samuel Johnson on "Freedom in Religion," and by John Weiss on "Religion in Freedom," with addresses by Wm. C. Gannett, Robert Dale Owen, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, J. S. Thomson, F. E. Abbot, and Lucretia Mott.

Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Galthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity, as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian," - together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keshub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. O. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wixon and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss, - together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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PUBLISHED BY THE INDEX ASSOCIATION,

AT No. 231 Washington Street, Boston.

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 16, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 488.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. **TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE**, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. **NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS**, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. **UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC**: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

THE *Advertiser* asks, in connection with the essay which we reprint this week from the *North American Review*: "Has Mr. Emerson Changed his Base?" To which we can only answer that nobody can possibly think so who ever understood Mr. Emerson's former "base." The question is absurd.

PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER delivered his second anniversary address at Standard Hall, New York City, last Sunday. He is soon to deliver a series of lectures on Free Religion at San Francisco, which will prevent his attendance at the May meeting of the Free Religious Association in this city.

IN CONNECTION with our editorial of this week, notice this item from the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of April 29: "Ipswich—Miss Addie Griffin, for several years teacher in the Manning School, has resigned; and seven pupils in the same school have been expelled for immoral conduct, as the result of the investigations of the school board into the circulation of vile literature among the scholars."

A NEW Liberal League has been organized at Carbondale, Kansas, in affiliation with the National League. The officers have not yet been reported. This makes the fortieth on the list of chartered Leagues, though there are many others which have as yet failed to enroll themselves in the national movement. It is hoped that they will all qualify themselves in season for representation at the next Annual Congress, which ought to have a strong body of delegates.

SENATOR HOAR said in the United States Senate that an association of the Baptist Church in Washington Territory petitioned to Congress for what they call "relief"—said relief, forsooth, consisting in getting special privileges for a vessel which they send to convey their teachers and preachers among the inlets and waters of Puget Sound! We are glad to say that this ridiculous request, that Congress should help build up the Baptist sect met with the rejection it deserved.

IS IT POSSIBLE that the Roman Catholic authorities have learned so much wisdom as to sanction the arrangement here described? "The Catholic schools in St. Louis, which have hitherto accommodated fifteen thousand pupils, are to be closed and the pupils placed in the public schools. This is the result of mutual arrangement between the Public School Department and the Catholic authorities. The Department dispenses with reading the Bible and morning services, and also eliminates objectionable selections from the readers. All sects agree to relegate religious teaching and training to the home circle, the Sunday-school, and the church."

THE NEW ORLEANS *Picayune* of April 22 contained an item of news which, we confess, surprises us: "The Hindu organization of Brahma Somaj, founded by Rammohun Roy, and for the last twenty years under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen, has been pronounced in its belief in the unity of God and the rejection of polygamy. Its members have recently been greatly shocked by its leader consenting to a marriage between his daughter, who is not yet fourteen, with the Maharajah of Ouch Behar, Assam, who is less than sixteen, and moreover is of a polygamist family. Four prominent Babus of the Somaj have addressed to their chief a protest."

IT IS REPORTED that "Gov. Irwin of California does not believe in hanging on Good Friday. He reprimanded John Runk, a murderer, sentenced to be hanged on that day, giving as a reason 'a respect for the religious sentiments of a very large number of citizens, that a revered religious holiday should not be profaned by fixing upon it as a day for the infliction of capital punishment.'" Yet Good Friday became a "revered religious holiday" precisely because it commemorates the "infliction of capital punish-

ment"! If that Friday was "Good" for one execution, why not for another? How does it "profane" the day to keep it sacred to its original uses? But it is a mistake to ask superstition for its reasons; it has none.

THE *Phare de la Loire*, a daily journal published at Nantes, in its issue of February 10 (for a copy of which we are indebted to the kindness of some French subscriber) had a very interesting article on Pius Ninth by A. S. Morin. The writer indulges in some damaging reminiscences of this much-lauded pontiff's career, particularly of his flight to Gaeta, his appeal to French arms to recover his temporal power, his tyrannical conduct in the famous Mortara case, his seizure of the whole power of the Church by his manipulations of the Vatican Council, his endless whining over his pretended "captivity" in his own palace, his warfare on all liberty, progress, and modern civilization, etc. Will Leo XIII. do better?

THE FREE MASONS of England, at the last meeting of their Grand Lodge, voted to disfellowship all Masons who do not admit that "belief in the Grand Architect of the Universe is an essential landmark of the order." This is in open antagonism to the Grand Orient of France, which voted to allow perfect liberty of conscience. Who cannot see that Free Masonry is dashing itself to pieces on the rock of creeds? Whatever is discarded, the world will never again content itself without liberty. All such proceedings as the above make ten atheists where one was found before. The belief in God must reconcile itself with freedom and reason, or it is lost. The French Masons are far wiser than the English, and in the end will prove to be far more friendly to rational, scientific theism.

SAYS THE *Reformer and Jewish Times*: "The *Christian Statesman* professes to believe that to reject the belief in miracles is 'to drift toward infidelity.' What does the *Statesman* understand 'infidelity' to mean? To be a good Christian it is necessary to believe everything one is told to believe; and not to do this is 'infidelity.' To be a good Jew one is not required to believe in anything except in God and Morality. Judaism is a religion of deeds, Christianity a moribund system of creeds." But Judaism also, it seems, "requires" its own theistic "creed," and many modern thinkers (of whom we are not one) think that this creed likewise is "moribund." Why should not Judaism advance to the broader ground of perfect liberty of thought so ably advocated by the *Reformer's* neighbor, Professor Adler? We look with more hope to such societies as Mr. Frothingham's and Professor Adler's than to all the churches and synagogues together.

THE *Catholic Review* strikes home in the closing sentences of this paragraph: "Mr. Robert Ingersoll made one very sound remark in the midst of his blasphemous tirade on Sunday: 'If people really believed their religion, I should not be allowed to speak tonight on this platform. It is from the coldness and infidelity of the churches that I get my right to speak; and I am willing to give them credit for it.' To do them justice, we do not doubt that the arms of many an upright old-fashioned Protestant ache to get hold of Col. Bob, and teach him by the lesson of solitary confinement that even enforced silence is golden in the case of asses whose braying disturbs the public peace. If the blasphemy which their children and their neighbors so eagerly flock to hear, and which the daily papers find it paying business to report, disgusts and irritates them, they will perhaps understand how it happens that the keener faith and more reverential feelings of a Catholic people occasionally find in breaking the bones of the Evangelical infidels who go among them to defame the Mother of God and to rail against His Holy Church."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

The Sovereignty of Ethics.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Since the discovery of Oersted that galvanism and electricity and magnetism are only forms of one and the same force, and convertible each into the other, we have continually suggested to us a larger generalization: that each of the great departments of Nature—chemistry, vegetation, the animal life—exhibits the same laws on a different plane; that the intellectual and moral worlds are analogous to the material. There is a kind of latent omniscience not only in every man, but in every particle. That convertibility we so admire in plants and animal structures, whereby the repairs and the ulterior uses are subserved, when one part is wounded or deficient, by another; this self-help and self-creation proceed from the same original power which works remotely in grandest and meanest structures by the same design,—works in a lobster or a mite-worm as a wise man would if imprisoned in that poor form. 'Tis the effort of God, of the Supreme Intellect, in the extremest frontier of his universe.

As this unity exists in the organization of insect, beast, and bird, still ascending to man, and from lower type of man to the highest yet attained, so it does not less declare itself in the spirit or intelligence of the brute. In ignorant ages it was common to vaunt the human superiority by underrating the instinct of other animals; but a better discernment finds that the difference is only of less and more. Experiment shows that the bird and the dog reason as the hunter does; that all the animals show the same good sense in their humble walk that the man who is their enemy or friend does; and, if it be in smaller measure, yet it is not diminished, as his often is, by freak and folly. St. Pierre says of the animals, that a moral sentiment seems to have determined their physical organization.

I see the unity of thought and of morals running through all animated Nature; there is no difference of quality, but only of more and less. The animal who is wholly kept down in Nature has no anxieties. By yielding, as he must do, to it, he is enlarged and reaches his highest point. The poor grub in the hole of a tree, by yielding itself to Nature, goes blameless through its low part, and is rewarded at last, casts its filthy hull, expands into a beautiful form with rainbow wings, and makes a part of the summer day. The Greeks call it Psyche, a manifest emblem of the soul. The man down in Nature occupies himself in guarding, in feeding, in warming, and multiplying his body; and, as long as he knows no more, we justify him; but presently a mystic change is wrought, a new perception opens, and he is made a citizen of the world of souls: he feels what is called duty; he is aware that he owes a higher allegiance to do and live as a good member of this universe. In the measure in which he has this sense he is a man, rises to the universal life. The high intellect is absolutely at one with moral nature. A thought is imbodied in a sentiment, and the attempt to detach and blazon the thought is like a show of cut-flowers. The moral is the measure of health, and in the voice of genius I hear invariably the moral tone, even when it is disguised in words—health, melody, and a wider horizon belong to moral sensibility. The finer the sense of justice, the better poet. The believer says to the sceptic:—

"One avenue was shaded from thine eyes Through which I wandered to eternal truth."

Humility is the avenue. To be sure, we exaggerate when we represent these two elements as disunited: every man shares them both; but it is true that men generally are marked by a decided predominance of one or of the other element.

In youth and in age we are moralists; and in mature life the moral element steadily rises in the regard of all reasonable men.

'Tis a sort of proverbial dying speech of scholars, at least it is attributed to many, that which Anthony

Wood reports of Nathaniel Carpenter, an Oxford Fellow. "It did repent him," he said, "that he had formerly so much courted the maid instead of the mistress" (meaning philosophy and mathematics) "to the neglect of divinity." This, in the language of our time, would be ethics.

And when I say that the world is made up of moral forces, these are not separate. All forces are foand in Nature united with that which they move: heat is not separate, light is not massed aloof, nor electricity, nor gravity, but they are always in combination. And so moral powers: they are thirsts for action, and, the more you accumulate, the more they mould and form.

'Tis in the stomach of plants that development begins, and ends in the circles of the universe. 'Tis a long scale from the gorilla to the gentleman,—from the gorilla to Plato, Newton, Shakespeare,—to the sanctities of religion, the refinements of legislation, the summits of science, art, and poetry. The beginnings are slow and infirm, but 'tis an always-accelerated march. The geologic world is chronicled by the growing ripeness of the strata from lower to higher, as it becomes the abode of more highly-organized plants and animals. The civil history of men might be traced by the successive mellorations as marked in higher moral generalizations—virtue meaning physical courage, then chastity and temperance, then justice and love—bargains of kings with peoples of certain rights to certain classes,—then of rights to masses,—then at last came the day when, as the historians rightly tell, the nerves of the world were electrified by the proclamation that all men are born free and equal.

Every truth leads in another. The bud extrudes the old leaf, and every truth brings that which will supplant it. In the court of law the judge sits over the culprit; but in the court of life in the same hour the judge also stands as culprit before a true tribunal. Every judge is a culprit, every law an abuse. Montaigne kills off bigots, as courage kills worms; but there is a higher mouse there sitting where he durst not soar, of eye so keen that it can report of a realm in which all the wit and learning of the Frenchman is no more than the cunning of a fox.

It is the same fact existing as sentiment and as will in the mind, which works in Nature as irresistible law, exerting influence over nations, intelligent beings, or down in the kingdoms of brute or of chemical atoms. Nature is a tropical swamp in sunshine, on whose purrulous we hear the song of summer birds, and see prismatic dew-drops; but her interiors are terrific,—full of hydras and crocodiles. In the preadamic she bred valor only; by-and-by she gets on to man, and adds tenderness, and thus raises virtue piecemeal.

When we trace from the beginning, that ferocity has uses; only so are the conditions of the then world met, and these monsters are the scavengers, executioners, diggers, pioneers, and fertilizers, destroying what is more destructive than they, and making better life possible. We see the steady aim of benefit in view from the first. Melloration is the law. The cruellest foe is a masked benefactor. The wars, which make history so dreary, have served the cause of truth and virtue. There is always an instinctive sense of right, an obscure idea, which animates either party, and which in long periods vindicates itself at last. Thus a sublime confidence is fed at the bottom of the heart that, in spite of appearances, in spite of malignity and blind self-interest, living for the moment, an eternal, beneficent necessity is always bringing things right; and, though we should fold our arms—which we cannot do, for our duty requires us to be the very hands of this guiding sentiment, and work in the present moment,—the evils we suffer will at last end themselves through the incessant opposition of Nature to everything hurtful.

The excellence of men consists in the completeness with which the lower system is taken up into the higher,—a process of much time and delicacy, but in which no point of the lower should be left untranslated; so that the warfare of beasts should be renewed in a finer field, for more excellent victories. Savage war gives place to that of Turenne and Wellington, which has limitations and a code. This war again gives place to the finer quarrel of property, where the victory is wealth and the defeat poverty.

The inevitabilities are always sapping every seeming prosperity built on a wrong. No matter how you seem to fatten on a crime, that can never be good for the bee which is bad for the swarm. See how these things look in the page of history. Nations come and go, cities rise and fall, all the instincts of man, good and bad, work; and every wish, appetite, and passion rushes into act and embodies itself in usages, protects itself with laws. Some of them are useful and universally acceptable; hinder none, help all, and these are honored and perpetuated. Others are noxious. Community of property is tried, as when a Tartar horde or an Indian tribe roam over a vast tract for pasturage or hunting; but it is found at last that some establishment of property, allowing each, on some distinct terms, to fence and cultivate a piece of land, is best for all.

Nature is not so helpless but it can rid itself at last of every crime. An eastern poet, in describing the golden age, said that God had made justice so dear to the heart of Nature that, if any injustice lurked anywhere under the sky, the blue vault would shrivel to a snake-skin and cast it out by spasms. But the spasms of Nature are years and centuries, and it will tax the faith of man to wait so long.

"For my part," said Napoleon, "it is not the mystery of the incarnation which I discover in religion, but the mystery of social order, which associates with heaven that idea of equality which prevents the rich from destroying the poor."

Shall I say, then, it were truer to see necessity

calm, beautiful, passionless, without a smile, covered with emblems of woe, stretching her dark warp across the universe? These threads are Nature's pernicious elements, her deluges, miasma, disease, poison; her curdling cold, her hideous reptiles, and worse men, cannibals, and the depravities of civilization; the secrets of the prisons of tyranny, the slave and his master, the proud man's scorn, the orphan's tears, the vices of men, lust, cruelty, and pitiless avarice. These make the gloomy warp of ages. Humanity sits at the dread loom and throws the shuttle and fills it with joyful rainbows, until the sable ground is flowered all over with a woof of human industry and wisdom, virtuous examples, symbols of useful and generous arts, with beauty and pure love, courage, and the victories of the just and wise over malice and wrong.

Man is always throwing his praise or blame on events, and does not see that he only is real, and the world his mirror and echo. He imputes the stroke to fortune, which in reality himself strikes. The student discovers one day that he lives in enchantment: the house, the works, the persons, the days, the weathers—all that he calls Nature, all that he calls institutions, when once his mind is active, are visions merely,—wonderful allegories, significant pictures of the laws of the mind; and through this enchanted gallery he is led by unseen guides to read and learn the laws of heaven. This discovery may come early—sometimes in the nursery, to a rare child; later in the school, but oftener when the mind is more mature; and to multitudes of men wanting in mental activity it never comes—any more than poetry or art. But it ought to come; it belongs to the human intellect, and is an insight which we cannot spare.

The idea of right exists in the human mind, and lays itself out in the equilibrium of Nature, in the equalities and periods of our system, in the level of seas, in the action and reaction of forces. Nothing is allowed to exceed or absorb the rest; if it do, it is disease, and is quickly destroyed. It was an early discovery of the mind—this beneficent rule. Strength enters just as much as the moral element prevails. The strength of the animal to eat and to be luxurious and to usurp is rudeness and imbecility. The law is: To each shall be rendered his own. As thou sowest, thou shalt reap. Smite, and thou shalt smarr. Serve, and thou shalt be served. If you love and serve men, you cannot, by any hiding or stratagem, escape the remuneration. Secret retributions are always restoring the level, when disturbed, of the Divine justice. It is impossible to tilt the beam. All the tyrants and proprietors and monopolists of the world in vain set their shoulders to heave the bar. Settles forevermore the ponderous equator to its line, and man and mete and star and sun must range with it, or be pulverized by the recoil.

It is a doctrine of unspeakable comfort. He that plants his foot here passes at once out of the kingdom of illusions. Others may well suffer in the hideous picture of crime with which earth is filled and the life of society threatened; but the habit of respecting that great order which certainly contains and will dispose of our little system will take all fear from the heart. It did itself create and distribute all that is created and distributed; and, trusting to its power, we cease to care for what it will certainly order well. To good men, as we call good men, this doctrine of trust is an unsounded secret. They use the word, they have accepted the notion of a mechanical supervision of human life, by which that certain wonderful being whom they call God does take up their affairs where their intelligence leaves them, and somehow knits and coordinates the issues of them in all that is beyond the reach of private faculty. They do not see that *He*, that *It*, is there, next and within; the thought of the thought; the affair of affairs; that he is existence; and take him from them and they would not be. They do not see that particulars are sacred to him, as well as the scope and outline; that these passages of daily life are his work; that in the moment when they despair from interference, these particulars take sweetness and grandeur, and become the language of mighty principles.

A man should be a guest in his own house, and a guest in his own thought. He is there to speak for truth; but who is he? Some clod the truth has snatched from the ground, and with fire has fashioned to a momentary man. Without the truth, he is a clod again. Let him find his superiority in not wishing superiority; find the riches of love which possesses that which it adores; the riches of poverty; the height of lowliness; the immensity of to-day; and, in the passing hour, the age of ages. Wondrous state of man! never so happy as when he has lost all private interests and regards, and exists only in obedience and love of the Author.

The fiery soul said: "Let me be a blot on this fair world, the obscurest, the loneliest sufferer, with one proviso—that I know it is his agency. I will love him, though he shed frost and darkness on every way of mine." The emphasis of that blessed doctrine lay in lowliness. The new saint gloried in infirmities. Who or what was he? His rise and his recovery were vicarious. He has fallen in another; he rises in another.

We perish, and perish gladly, if the law remains. I hope it is conceivable that a man may go to ruin gladly, if he see that thereby no shade falls on that he loves and adores. We need not always be stipulating for our clean shirt and roast joint *per diem*. We do not believe the loss in astronomy and vegetation because we are writhing and roaring in our beds with rheumatism. Cripples and invalids, we doubt not there are bounding fawns in the forest, and lilies with graceful, springing stem; so neither do we doubt or fail to love the eternal law, of which we are such shabby practisers. Truth gathers itself

spotless and unhurt after all our surrenders and concealments and partisanship,—never hurt by the treachery or ruin of its best defenders, whether Luther, or William Penn, or St. Paul. We answer, when they tell us of the bad behavior of Luther or Paul: "Well, what if he did? Who was more pained than Luther or Paul?" We attach ourselves violently to our teachers and historical personalities, and think the foundation shaken if any fault is shown in their record. But how is the truth hurt by their falling from it? The law of gravity is not hurt by every accident, though our leg be broken. No more is the law of justice by our departure from it.

We are to know that we are never without a pilot. When we know not how to steer, and dare not hoist a sail, we can drift. The current knows the way, though we do not. When the stars and sun appear; when we have conversed with navigators who know the coast, we may begin to put out an oar and trim a sail. The ship of heaven guides itself, and will not accept a wooden rudder.

Have you said to yourself ever: "I abdicate all choice; I see it is not for me to interfere. I see that I have been one of the crowd; that I have been a pitiful person, because I have wished to be my own master, and to dress and order my whole way and system of living. I thought I managed it very well. I see that my neighbors think so. I have heard prayers. I have prayed even; but I have never until now dreamed that this undertaking the entire management of my own affairs was not commendable. I have never seen, until now, that it dwarfed me. I have not discovered, until this blessed ray flashed just now through my soul, that there dwelt any power in Nature that would relieve me of my load. But now I see."

What is this intoxicating sentiment that allies this scrap of dust to the whole of Nature and the whole of Fate—that makes this doll a dweller in ages, mocker at time, able to spurn all outward advantages, peer and master of the elements? I am taught by it that what touches any thread in the vast web of being touches me. I am representative of the whole; and the good of the whole, or what I call the right, makes me invulnerable.

How came this creation so magically woven that nothing can do me mischief but myself—that an invisible fence surrounds my being which screens me from all harm that I will to resist? If I will stand upright, the creation cannot bend me. But if I violate myself, if I commit a crime, the lightning loiters by the speed of retribution, and every act is not hereafter but instantaneously rewarded according to its quality. Virtue is the adopting of this dictate of the universal mind by the individual will. Character is the habit of this obedience, and religion is the accompanying emotion, the emotion of reverence which the presence of the universal mind ever excites in the individual.

We go to famous books for our examples of character, just as we send to England for shrubs, which grow as well in our own door-yards and cow-pastures. Life is always rich, and spontaneous graces and forces elevate it in every domestic circle, which are overlooked while we are reading something less excellent in old authors. From the obscurity and casualty of those which I know, I infer the obscurity and casualty of the like balm and consolation and immortality in a thousand homes which I do not know, all round the world. And I see not why to these simple instincts, simple yet grand, all the heights and transcendences of virtue and of enthusiasm are not open. There is power enough in them to move the world; and it is not any sterility or defect in ethics, but our negligence of these fine monitors, of these world-embracing sentiments, that makes religion cold and life low.

While the immense energy of the sentiment of duty and the awe of the supernatural exert incomparable influence on the mind, yet it is often perverted, and the tradition received with awe, but without correspondent action of the receiver. Then you find so many men infatuated on that topic! Wise on all other, they lose their head the moment they talk of religion. It is the sturdiest prejudice in the public mind that religion is something by itself; a department distinct from all other experiences, and to which the tests and judgment men are ready enough to show on other things do not apply. You may sometimes talk with the gravest and best citizen, and the moment the topic of religion is broached, he runs into a childish superstition. His face looks infatuated, and his conversation is. When I talked with an ardent missionary, and pointed out to him that his creed found no support in my experience, he replied, "It is not so in your experience, but is so in the other world." I answer: Other world! there is no other world. God is one and omnipresent; here or nowhere is the whole fact. The one miracle which God works evermore is in Nature, and imparting himself to the mind. When we ask simply, "What is true in thought? what is just in action?" it is the yielding of the private heart to the Divine mind; and all personal preferences, and all requiring of wonders, are profane.

The word miracle, as it is used, only indicates the ignorance of the devotee, staring with wonder to see water turned into wine, and heedless of the stupendous fact of his own personality. Here he stands, a lonely thought harmoniously organized into correspondence with the universe of mind and matter. What narrative of wonders coming down from a thousand years ought to charm his attention like this? Certainly it is human to value a general consent, a fraternity of believers, a crowded church; but as the sentiment purifies and rises, it leaves crowds. It makes churches of two, churches of one. A fatal disservice does this Swedenborg or other who offers to do my thinking for me. It seems as if, when the Spirit of God speaks so plainly to each soul, it were

an implety to be listening to one or another saint. Jesus was better than others, because he refused to listen to others, and listened at home.

You are really interested in your thought. You have meditated in silent wonder on your existence in this world. You have perceived in the first fact of your conscious life here a miracle so astounding—a miracle comprehending all the universe of miracles to which your intelligent life gives you access,—as to exhaust wonder, and leave you no need of hunting here or there for any particular exhibitions of power. Then up comes a man with a text of 1 John v., 7, or a knotty sentence from St. Paul, which he considers as the axe at the root of your tree. You cannot bring yourself to care for it. You say: "Cut away; my tree is Ygdrasil—the tree of life." He interrupts for the moment your peaceful trust in the Divine Providence. Let him know by your security that your conviction is clear and sufficient, and if he were Paul himself, you also are here, and with your Creator. We all give way to superstitions. The house in which we were born is not quite mere timber and stone; is still haunted by parents and progenitors. The creeds into which we were initiated in childhood and youth no longer hold their old place in the minds of thoughtful men; but they are not nothing to us, and we hate to have them treated with contempt. There is so much that we do not know, that we give to these suggestions the benefit of the doubt.

It is a necessity of the human mind that he who looks at one object should look away from all other objects. He may throw himself upon some sharp statement of one fact, some verbal creed, with such concentration as to hide the universe from him: but the stars roll above; the sun warms him. With patience and fidelity to truth he may work his way through, if only by coming against somebody who believes more fables than he does; and, in trying to dispel the illusions of his neighbor, he opens his own eyes.

In the Christianity of this country there is wide difference of opinion in regard to inspiration, prophecy, miracles, the future state of the soul; every variety of opinion, and rapid revolution in opinions, in the last half-century. It is simply impossible to read the old history of the first century as it was read in the ninth; to do so, you must abolish in your mind the lessons of all the centuries from the ninth to the nineteenth.

Shall I make the mistake of baptizing the daylight and time and space by the name of John or Joshua, in whose tent I chance to behold daylight and space and time? What anthropomorphisms we are in this, that we cannot let moral distinctions be, but must mould them into human shape! "Mere morality" means—not put into a personal master of morals. Our religion is geographical, belongs to our time and place; respects and mythologizes some one time and place and person and people. So it is occasional. It visits us only on some exceptional and ceremonial occasion: on a wedding or a baptism, on a sick-bed, or at a funeral, or perhaps on a sublime national victory or a peace. But that, be sure, is not the religion of the universal unsleeping providence which lurks in trifles, in still, small voices, in the secrets of the heart, and our closest thoughts, as efficiently as in our proclamations and successes.

Far be it from me to underrate the men or the churches that have fixed the hearts of men, and organized their devout impulses or oracles into good institutions. The Church of Rome had its saints, and inspired the conscience of Europe—St. Augustine and Thomas à Kempis and Fénelon; the piety of the English Church in Cranmer and Herbert and Taylor; the Reformed Church, Scougal; the mystics, Behmen and Swedenborg; the Quakers, Fox and James Naylor. I confess our later generation appears ungirt, frivolous, compared with the religions of the last or Calvinistic age. There was in the last century a serious habitual reference to the spiritual world, running through diaries, letters, and conversation,—yes, and into wills and legal instruments also, compared with which our liberation looks a little foppish and dapper.

The religion of seventy years ago was an iron belt to the mind, giving it concentration and force. A rude people were kept respectable by the determination of thought on the eternal world. Now men fall abroad—want polarity—suffer in character and intellect. A sleep creeps over the great functions of man. Enthusiasm goes out. In its stead a low prudence seeks to hold society stanch; but its arms are too short; cordage and machinery never supply the place of life.

Luther would cut his hand off sooner than write these against the Pope, if he suspected that he was bringing on with all his might the pale negations of Boston Unitarianism. I will not now go into the metaphysics of that reaction by which in history a period of belief is followed by an age of criticism, in which wit takes the place of faith in the leading spirits, and an excessive respect for forms out of which the heart has departed becomes most obvious in the least religious minds. I will not now explore the causes of the result, but the fact must be conceded as of frequent recurrence, and never more evident than in our American church. To a self-denying, ardent church, delighting in rites and ordinances, has succeeded a cold, intellectual race, who analyze the prayer and psalm of their forefathers, and the more intellectual reject every yoke of authority and custom with a petulance unprecedented. It is a sort of mark of probity and sincerity to declare how little you believe, while the mass of the community indolently follow the old forms with childish scrupulousity, and we have punctuality for faith, and good taste for character.

But I hope the defect of faith with us is only apparent. We shall find that freedom has its own

guards; and, as soon as in the vulgar it runs to license, sets all reasonable men on exploring those guards. I do not think the summit of this age truly reached or expressed unless it attain the height which religion and philosophy reached in any former age. If I miss the inspiration of the saints of Calvinism, or of Platonism, or Buddhism, our times are not up to theirs, or, more truly, have not yet their own legitimate force.

Worship is the regard for what is above us. Men are respectable only as they respect. We delight in children because of that religious eye which belongs to them; because of their reverence for their seniors, and for their objects of belief. The poor Irish laborer one sees with respect, because he believes in something, in his church, and in his employers. Superstitious persons we see with respect, because their whole existence is not bounded by their hats and their shoes; but they walk attended by pictures of the imagination, to which they pay homage. You cannot impoverish man by taking away these objects above him without ruin. It is very sad to see men who think their goodness made of themselves; it is very grateful to see those who hold an opinion the reverse of this. The old poet Daniel said:—

"Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!"

All ages of belief have been great; all of unbelief have been mean. The Orientals believe in Fate. That which shall befall them is written on the iron leaf; they will not turn on their heel to avoid famine, plague, or the sword of the enemy. That is great, and gives a great air to the people. We in America are charged with a great deficiency in worship; that reverence does not belong to our character; that our institutions, our politics, and our trade have fostered a self-reliance which is small, illiquid, full of fuss and bustle; we look at and will bear nothing above us in the state, and do exceedingly applaud and admire ourselves, and believe in our senses and understandings, while our imagination and our moral sentiment are desolated. In religion, too, we want objects above; we are fast losing, or have already lost, our old reverence; new views of inspiration, of miracles, of the saints, have supplanted the old opinions, and it is vain to bring them again. Revolutions never go backward, and in all churches a certain decay of ancient piety is lamented, and all threatens to lapse into apathy and indifference. It becomes us to consider whether we cannot have a real faith and real objects in lieu of these false ones. The human mind, when it is trusted, is never false to itself. If there be sincerity and good meaning—if there be really in us the wish to seek for our superiors, for that which is lawfully above us, we shall not long look in vain.

Meantime there is great centrality, a centripetence equal to the centrifugence. The mystic or theist is never scared by any startling materialism. He knows the laws of gravitation and of repulsion are deaf to French talkers, be they never so witty. If theology shows that opinions are fast changing, it is not so with the convictions of men with regard to conduct. These remain. The most daring heroism, the most accomplished culture, or rapt holiness, never exhausted the claim of these lowly duties,—never penetrated to their origin, or was able to look behind their source. We cannot disenchant, we cannot impoverish ourselves by obedience; but by humility we rise, by obedience we command, by poverty we are rich, by dying we live.

We are thrown back on rectitude forever and ever, only rectitude—to mend one; that is all we can do. But that the zealot stigmatizes as a sterile chimney-corner philosophy. Now, the first position I make is, that natural religion supplies still all the facts which are disguised under the dogma of popular creeds. The progress of religion is steadily to its identity with morals.

How is the new generation to be edified? How should it not? The life of those once omnipotent traditions was really not in the legend, but in the moral sentiment and the metaphysical fact which the legends enclosed,—and these survive. A new Socrates, or Zeno, or Swedenborg, or Pascal, or a new crop of geniuses like those of the Elizabethan age, may be born in this age, and, with happy heart and a bias for theism, bring asceticism, duty, and magnanimity into vogue again.

It is true that Stoicism, always attractive to the intellectual and cultivated, has now no temples, no academy, no commanding Zeno or Antoninus. It accuses us that it has none: that pure ethics is not now formulated and concreted into a cultus, a fraternity with assemblings and holy-days, with song and book, with brick and stone. Why have not those who believe in it and love it left all for this, and dedicated themselves to write out its scientific scriptures to become its Vulgate for millions? I answer for one that the inspirations we catch of this law are not continuous and technical, but joyful sparkles, and are recorded for their beauty, for the delight they give, not for their obligation; and that is their priceless good to men, that they charm and uplift, not that they are imposed.

It has not yet its first hymn. But, that every line and word may be coals of true fire, ages must roll ere these casual wide-falling cinders can be gathered into broad and steady altar-flame.

It does not yet appear what forms the religious feeling will take. It prepares to rise out of all forms to an absolute justice and healthy perception. Here is now a new feeling of humanity infused into public action. Here is contribution of money on a more extended and systematic scale than ever before to repair public disasters at a distance, and of political support to oppressed parties. Then there are the new conventions of social science, before which the questions of the rights of women, the laws of trade, the treatment of crime, regulation of labor—if these

are tokens of the steady currents of thought and will in these directions,—one might well anticipate a new nation.

I know how delicate this principle is,—how difficult of adaptation to practical and social arrangements. It cannot be profaned; it cannot be forced; to draw it out of its natural current is to lose at once all its power. Such experiments as we recall are those in which some sect or dogma made the tie, and that was an artificial element, which chilled and checked the Union. But is it quite impossible to believe that men should be drawn to each other by the simple respect which each man feels for another in whom he discovers absolute honesty; the respect he feels for one who thinks life is quite too coarse and frivolous, and that he should like to lift it a little, should like to be the friend of some man's virtue; for another who, underneath his compliances with artificial society, would dearly like to serve somebody,—to test his own reality by making himself useful and indispensable?

Man does not live by bread alone, but by faith, by admiration, by sympathy. 'Tis very shallow to say that cotton, or iron, or silver and gold, are kings of the world; there are rulers that will at any moment make these forgotten. Fear will. Love will. Character will. Men live by their credence. Governments stand by it—by the faith that the people share,—whether it comes from the religion in which they were bred, or from an original conscience in themselves, which the popular religion echoes. If government could only stand by force, if the instinct of the people was to resist the government, it is plain the government must be two to one, in order to be secure, and then it would not be safe from desperate individuals. But no; the old commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," holds down New York and London and Paris, and not a police or horse-guard.

The credence of men it is that moulds them, and creates at will one or another surface. The mind as it opens transfers very fast its choice from the circumstance to the cause; from courtesy to love, from inventions to science, from London or Washington law, or public opinion, to the self-revealing idea; from all that talent executes to the sentiment that fills the heart and dictates the future of nations.

The commanding fact which I never do not see is the sufficiency of the moral sentiment. We buttress it up, in shallow hours or ages, with legends, traditions, and forms, each good for the one moment in which it was a happy type or symbol of the Power; but the Power sends in the next moment a new lesson, which we lose while our eyes are reverted and striving to perpetuate the old.

America shall introduce a pure religion. Ethics are thought not to satisfy affection. But all the religion we have is the ethics of one or another holy person; as soon as character appears, be sure love will, and veneration, and anecdotes, and fables about him, and delight of good men and women in him! And what deeper of grandeur and beauty are known to us in ethical truth! What divination or insight belongs to it! For innocence is a wonderful electuary for purging the eyes to search the nature of those souls that pass before it. What armor it is to protect the good from outward or inward harm, and with what power it converts evil accidents into benefits; the power of its countenance; the power of its presence! To it alone comes true friendship; to it comes grandeur of situation and poetic perception, enriching all it deals with.

Once men thought Spirit divine, and Matter diabolic: one Ormuzd, the other Ahriman. Now science and philosophy recognize the parallelism, the approximation, the unity of the two: how each reflects the other, as face answers to face in a glass; nay, how the laws of both are one, or how one is the realization. We are learning not to fear truth.

The man of this age must be matriculated in the university of sciences and tendencies flowing from all past periods. He must not be one who can be surprised and shipwrecked by every bold or subtle word which malignant and acute man may utter in his hearing, but should be taught all scepticisms and unbeliefs, and made the destroyer of all card-houses and paper walls, and the slayer of all opinions, by being put face to face from his infancy with reality.

A man who has accustomed himself to look at all his circumstances as very mutable, to carry his possessions, his relations to persons, and even his opinions, in his hand, and in all these to pierce to the principle and moral law, and everywhere to find that, has put himself out of the reach of all scepticism; and it seems as if whatever is most affecting and sublime in our intercourse, in our happiness, and in our losses, tended steadily to uplift us to a life so extraordinary, and, one might say, superhuman.—*North American Review for May-June, 1878.*

DR. KOHLER AND PROF. ADLER.

The Sinal Literary Association lately appointed a committee to correspond with Prof. Felix Adler, of New York, for the purpose of seeing if the famous liberal could make it convenient to lecture before the Association at an early day. At a regular meeting of the society held in the lecture-room of the temple of Sinal Congregation last evening, the committee reported that Prof. Adler would be in Chicago on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of this month; and that he had consented to lecture for the Association Tuesday evening, the 26th, at Standard Hall. The committee also presented, as a part of its report, the following protest from Dr. K. Kohler, minister of Sinal Congregation:—

"To my great surprise, I hear that in the Sinal Literary Association a motion is on foot to invite Prof. Felix Adler, of New York, to deliver a lecture before the members, he being expected to come here next week. Of what benefit to a society of Jewish

young people the lecture of a man can be who has deserted the Jewish flag, and openly professes his disbelief in God and immortality, I really fail to see, unless the eradication of the Jewish faith is the object contemplated. But, I suppose, very few of your members, if any, know anything about the young professor, who merely by his fine oratory, combined with great arrogance, created for a while some sensation in New York. At any rate, I shall not allow my temple to be disgraced by a lecture to be delivered within its walls by one who blasphemes God and Judaism. Yours, very truly,
"DR. K. KOHLER."

The strong language of the protest called for some remarks from the Association, and one gentleman, who is a great admirer of Prof. Adler, combated the assertions made in the communication, expressing his surprise that Dr. Kohler should have written so caustic a letter, and denying in toto the charge that Prof. Adler had "deserted the Jewish flag," or that he had "blasphemed God and Judaism." On the contrary, the learned professor was engaged in developing the system, working in the same path as Dr. Kohler himself. As to Prof. Adler's talents, his power, the morality of his teachings, there was only one voice, and that entirely of approbation and admiration. The gentleman also stated that Drs. Felsenthal and Adler of this city had spoken of Prof. Felix Adler in the highest terms, so that the weight of testimony was altogether in his favor. Prof. Adler, it was true, did not build strictly on theological ideas, while Dr. Kohler did; but for all that he believed the Association should not lose the opportunity to hear so distinguished and able a man, notwithstanding Dr. Kohler's emphatic protest.

There was one dissenting voice. It came from a young man who was apparently a strong Orthodox believer, and who went on to state that Dr. Kohler was a member of the Association, and that his opinion was entitled to great consideration. At any rate, no hasty action should be taken on so important a question.

Another young gentleman offered the practical suggestion that Dr. Kohler was only one member of the Association, and that his opinion was entitled to just as much weight as the individual opinion of any other member.

This rather quieted the dissenting voice, and the committee's report was adopted.

In a subsequent letter to the Sinai Literary Association, the Rev. Dr. Kohler writes:—

"Having just read your proceedings of last night, as published in this morning's issue of the Chicago Tribune, in regard to an intended lecture of Prof. Felix Adler, of New York, I feel bound to correct several mistakes made in the discussion concerning myself.

"1st. In sending my communication to you, I did not address you as an individual member of your Society, but as your teacher and spiritual guide, or, if you please, as your honorary member; and I need not say to you that by a single word of mine the precincts of my temple can be shut to your meetings in spite of your God-fearing attorney.

"2d. Before writing my protest against the contemplated lecture of Prof. F. Adler in my temple, I was informed by your adviser, Mr. Julius Rosenthal, that Prof. Adler was simply expected to pass through our city on his way to Milwaukee, where he had been invited to lecture. Of an intention to invite him to lecture in Standard Hall here, Mr. Rosenthal was too cautious to say a word to me; nor did the members of your Association seem to have been aware of it before last night's consultation on the subject.

"3d. I emphatically protest against the insinuation made at the meeting last night, that my friends and colleagues, Drs. Felsenthal and L. Adler, of this city, approve the teachings of Felix Adler. No rabbi in or outside of America dares consider himself a Jewish minister while approving the ideas and expressions with which the Standard Hall lecturer in New York most irreverently and insultingly assailed the Jewish religion, and which are now, in a milder form, set forth in his work *Creed and Deed*. There is, without reserve, the belief in God and immortality discarded, and 'the Eagle of Liberty' (suggesting, no doubt, Prof. F. Adler himself) proclaimed as the moral governor of human society 'in place of the great King of the world.'

"Certainly, the young professor and his anything but original book, concocted from the works of Lubbock, Tyler, and Otto Caspari, who was wisely left unmentioned, and from works of the Kuenen school, with several really original blunders interspersed, would hardly have created such a sensation in Jewish circles, were he not the son of the venerable Dr. S. Adler, and the pupil of the late Dr. Geiger, misleading thereby, and by fine oratory, many an advocate of Jewish reform. I myself have been frequently interrogated by Christian and Jewish friends of mine, whether my own radical views, already expressed before Kuenen in a work of mine quoted by the famous Dutch scholar, about the origin of the Jewish religion, and the composition of the Bible, would lead me into the same path of unbelief. My answer simply is: I, with all theistic thinkers of the age, hold the history of human culture and progress in religion, morals, art, and science to be the revelation of the divine in man, above whom, in sublime heights, God will ever stand as his holy ideal of perfection and source of inspiration. Felix Adler, with all infidels, on the contrary, declares this divine ideal of perfection and fountain-head of inspiration to be a mere dream. The sum and essence of moral perfection is utilitarian morality and socialistic equality, or consists, as the author of *Creed and Deed* poorly defines his New Ideal, in 'greater simplicity in manners, greater purity in the passions, and

greater charity.' This is his *summum bonum*, or highest goodness!

"Whether this doctrine is broader, more sound and liberal than mine, I leave to others to decide. That they are anything but beneficial to Jewish (or Christian) young men, no man of religious principles can deny. Regretting that my weekly lectures before your Association have not fallen on a more fertile soil, I remain yours,
DR. K. KOHLER."
—Chicago Daily Tribune.

KOHLER AND ADLER.

[On the foregoing letters the New York Reformer and Jewish Times had no comments to make but the following.—Ed.]

The action of the Rev. Dr. Kohler, of Chicago, in refusing to allow Professor Felix Adler to lecture in the Temple Sinai, has created considerable sensation in the West, and has been variously commented upon. In his letter to the Sinai Literary Association, by whose invitation Professor Adler was to lecture, Dr. Kohler spoke of that gentleman as one who "has deserted the Jewish flag and openly professes his disbelief in God and immortality," and said: "I shall not allow my temple to be disgraced by a lecture to be delivered within its walls by one who blasphemes God and Judaism." This is strong language, but evidently as sincere as it is strong.

From Dr. Kohler's view of Professor Adler's opinions and teachings, he was certainly justified in refusing to allow him to lecture in the temple. Most assuredly, one who "blasphemes God and Judaism" has no business in a Jewish house of worship; and, no doubt, Dr. Kohler is satisfied that Professor Adler does blaspheme God and Judaism. Dr. Kohler deserves great credit, at least, for the bold stand he has taken in the matter, and for the promptness with which he has asserted what he considered his rights and performed what he esteemed his duty.

It is not a common thing to find a minister with the courage of his opinions. Our clergymen are often over-timid, and trot all round a danger instead of grappling with it boldly as Dr. Kohler has done. We believe he is the only Jewish minister who has come out over his own name, and charged Professor Adler with being "a blasphemer of God and Judaism." There is no denying that Dr. Kohler has acted the part of a man who has the courage to think for himself, and the courage to speak his thoughts when occasion requires. In this respect we think he may serve as an example to some of his brother-ministers both here and elsewhere.

A PROPOSAL:

WANTED—A CHANCE TO WORK.

STRAWBERRY POINT, IOWA, May 1, 1878.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir and Brother,—It is my earnest and intense desire to aid as much as possible in the promotion of the vital principles and aims of the National Liberal League; but as I have not the advantages of a national reputation, opportunities of speaking upon the League ideas and of organizing local Leagues disclose themselves slowly. The open doors are few and far between. But my heart hungers and thirsts to help forward the movement; and, in order to secure opportunities to lecture upon the League principles and to organize Leagues, I have concluded to make the following proposal, which you are at liberty to make public:—

I am willing to go anywhere within reachable distance from this place, and deliver one lecture upon "Liberal Demands and Duties," and also assist in the organization of a League, on payment of my travelling expenses from this place and return and five dollars in addition.

Or, I am willing to deliver three consecutive lectures, besides taking measures towards the formation of a League, on payment of my actual expenses and ten dollars in addition. I would speak upon any three of the five following subjects, all connected directly with the Liberal League work:—

1. Liberal Demands and Duties.
2. Universal Education.
3. Woman's Right to the Elective Franchise.
4. Freedom and Fellowship.
5. Relations between Religion and the Liberal League Movement.

This offer stands good until the first of October, and may perhaps be renewed at that time. The only qualification is, that the lectures must be given on week-day evenings, as my Sundays will all be occupied with other work.

Believe me, if it were possible, I would lecture on mere payment of expenses, or would even pay my own expenses; but I have a family to support, and must consider my duties to them. However, the above terms seem to me to be reasonable. As you have no personal acquaintance with me, perhaps you would like to make some inquiries in regard to my character and culture, as well as my liberalism and my abilities as a speaker. I have no hesitation whatever in referring you to the following persons, although I have not obtained their formal permission to use their names as references in this letter:—

1. H. L. Green, Salamanca, N. Y.
2. Rev. A. A. Livermore, Meadville, Pa.
3. Rev. J. S. Thomson, Bloomington, Ill.
4. Mrs. Clara Neymann, 97 Malden Lane, New York.
5. Joseph York, Meadville, Pa.

It has been whispered in one Liberal paper—not THE INDEX—that, because I have taken an eclectic course at Meadville Theological School, and because I have been working to some extent with the Unitarians, I am not an honest and genuine and consistent Liberal. The insinuation is as groundless as it is

absurd and mean. True, I am not a Liberal in the sense of being a ranting iconoclast; nor in the sense of being a Materialist or a Spiritualist; nor even in the sense of being an anti-Christian, as your conscience compels you to be. But I do stand squarely upon the Free Religious platform, according to my own understanding of its meaning. I do believe in perfect and absolute freedom of thought; I do believe in the Liberal League principles with all my heart and soul and mind and might. Moreover, as all those who know me could tell, I have never concealed one iota of my sentiments, have never been that most detestable and dangerous of wild beasts, a hypocrite, but have made considerable sacrifices on behalf of my independent and pronounced position.

You are at liberty to make whatever use you deem best of this letter, and the offer which it contains. Even should you consign both to the oblivion of the waste-basket, I will not become offended or "stop my paper"; but I would feel grateful if you could make the aforesaid offer public through the columns of THE INDEX, and in whatever other way might be practicable.

At all events, I remain, fraternally and earnestly yours,
S. W. SAMPLE.

[It seems that the best way to help this earnest young man in his object, with which we need not say how much we sympathize, is to print his letter just as it is. And we solicit attention to it from all friends of the Liberal League in his neighborhood, hoping that they will not leave unutilized Mr. Sample's zeal and ability in this cause. Our readers are not ignorant of him, but will remember the admiration expressed for his lectures at the convention in Randolph, N. Y., not long since. It is disheartening to know, as we do, that enthusiasm for the great ideas of the Liberal League movement must so often burn itself out without effect, simply because the Directors of the National Liberal League need thousands of dollars where they receive only dollars. But the movement grows steadily, if slowly; and its ultimate success cannot be doubted at last. Let our Iowa friends give Mr. Sample a fair trial.—Ed.]

Poetry.

LINES.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

There are godly germs within us,—
Germs with richest promise rife,
Could some genial spirit wean us
From the chill of selfish life.

Fairest flowers need kindest tending,
Cherished 'neath a gentle hand;
With a sweet harmonious blending
Will each latent bud expand.

But how, in such a tangled garden
As this work-day world of ours,
Can to full fruition harden
The heart's most precious flowers?

Science works; but love's unheeded—
Love, that all things vivifies;
So our garden, all unseeded,
Blossoms to no paradise.

We need a better social union,
Mind and heart, a perfect whole,
Working out the world's communion,
Speeding toward the wished-for goal.

Then like perfumed flowers, sending
Balmy odors through the air,
Would our lives, to goodness tending,
Scatter blessings everywhere.

A. O.

BROOKLYN.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

I DO NOT KNOW.

I do not know that wrongs are righted
After these frail bodies die;
I do not know that wisdom lighted
Lives a life beyond the sky;
I only hope these things are so,
But that they are, I do not know.

I do not know there is a Heaven,
Nor even that a God there be;
I do not know that, sin-forgiven,
My soul shall live eternally;
I only hope these things are so,
But that they are, I do not know.

J. ALBERT WILSON.

ALBANY, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 11.

J. J. Hoopes, \$3.40; Gustav A. Shane, M.D., \$1; Mrs. A. B. Blair, \$1.10; Wm. J. Worden, \$6; O. P. Whitcomb, \$3.20; C. S. Palmer, \$3.20; D. P. Wilcox, \$3.30; R. J. Turnbull, \$3.20; Wm. H. Dyke, \$5; J. K. Wildman, \$3; A. & J. Tronstine, \$6; A. W. Johnston, \$6 cents; Free Religious Association, \$150.00; A. W. Kelsey, 50 cents; F. E. Abbot, \$26.00; Charles Eilershaw, \$3.70; J. A. J. Wilcox, Treas., \$55.60; Dr. L. P. Babb, 50 cents; John W. Turner, \$3; Dr. E. H. Price, \$2; Miss S. M. Nowell, \$3.20; N. D. Watkins, \$3.30; I. P. Greenleaf, \$1.50; J. A. Stevens, \$3.30; Magnus Pfaum, \$3.20; Robert Williamson, \$3.20; W. M. Lockwood, \$13.57; M. Clancy, \$12.94.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 16, 1878.

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
 OTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH GADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIEUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SURUE, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at the office of the Association, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 1, 1878, at 2½ P.M., for the hearing of the annual reports, the election of a Board of Directors for the ensuing year, and the transaction of any other business that may be brought before the meeting.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 30, at 7.45 P.M., session for business in Horticultural Hall; election of officers; reading of reports; and general consideration of the practical work of the Association.

Friday, May 31, at 10.30 A.M. and 3 P.M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "The Religion of Humanity, and how it may be Organized"; essayist, T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of the Society of Humanity, New York. Afternoon subject: "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and how it is being Disorganized"; essayist, Mr. Wm. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, Mass. Further announcement as to speakers will be made hereafter.

On Friday evening there will be a social gathering in Horticultural Hall.

WM. J. POTTER,
 Secretary.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LIBERAL LEAGUE.

ONE WAY TO DO IT.

Reader, do you desire to organize a Liberal League in your town? If so, this is a good way to do it: Draw up a paper in the following form, and present it to all the liberals in your vicinity:—

"We, the undersigned, are in favor of organizing a Local Liberal League in the town of _____, and agree to meet for that purpose at the house of _____ on Saturday evening next. We each agree to pay the sum set opposite our respective names towards the ten dollars required to procure a charter from the National Liberal League."

Names.	Residence.	Amount.
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When you have procured ten names and ten dollars, you are ready for organization. Of course, the more names the better. I shall be pleased to furnish form of Constitution when required. Reader, will you attend to this work immediately, before it passes from your mind?

H. L. GREEN,
 Chair. Ex. Com. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., March 15, 1878.

MR. UNDERWOOD lectures at Duluth, Minn., May 17 to 20; at St. Charles, May 25 and 26; at Nora Springs, Iowa, May 28 to June 2.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at Waterloo, N. Y., June 1 and 2. Professor J. E. Oliver, Mr. C. D. B. Mills, Mr. H. L. Green, and others, are expected to address the meeting.

MR. W. S. BELL, who proposes soon to start for the West on a lecturing tour, is to have a "benefit" at Paine Hall next Sunday, at which his friends will hear one of his good lectures, and express their kind feelings in such manner as seems to them best. We wish to all concerned a pleasant and mutually profitable occasion.

COLONEL INGERSOLL AND THE PETITION.

Rev. Richard Cecil, an eminent theological writer of London in the latter half of the last century, declared that, "if one moral and upright man should deny Christianity, he would do the faith of England more harm than all the sneers of Voltaire or all the sentimentalism of Rousseau."

It is the well-founded dread of finding the moral sense of mankind arrayed against their religion that makes so many Christian clergymen unwilling to acknowledge real moral excellence in those whom they are pleased to denominate "infidels." They are discovering with alarm that the world's faith in Christian dogmas is rapidly decaying; they are coming to perceive that the strongest bulwark of the Christian Church is the yet undecayed conviction of the majority that, in some way or other, the Church is absolutely essential to the maintenance of social order and public morality. The instinct of self-preservation makes them cling to this conviction as the sheet-anchor of salvation for instituted Christianity; and they are right. Once satisfy the public mind, always slow to move in untried directions, that society will incur no moral loss by the dissolution of the great theological and institutional system of Christianity, but will find its permanent moral interests far better subserved by rational than by ecclesiastical morality, and the one chief obstacle to the triumph of enlightened views of religion will have disappeared forever. It is dread of some vague and undefined peril to morality that shuts the minds of average men and women to all the light of the best religious thought of the century. Common-sense teaches them that the mighty forces which hold society together and prevent it from becoming a horrible pandemonium of wild and ferocious passions are all moral forces at bottom; and they are not to be blamed if, ignorant that these forces are independent of Christianity, they shrink back aghast from the prospect of plunging with their families, their fortunes, and their futures into the gulf of moral anarchy.

These fears, however irrational, are powerful and easily played upon; and the Church well understands how to turn them to her own account. Assuming to be the sole creator and guardian of morality, she shrewdly denies to all outside her pale the possession of true moral principle or character: she infers immorality from mere unbelief of her own doctrines, and insists that, however upright and virtuous an "infidel" may be outwardly, he cannot be inwardly anything but corrupt and untrustworthy. Cecil, therefore, might have spared himself all anxiety: Christianity will never admit that any one who denies her claims can possibly be a "moral and upright man."

It is in this evident determination to uphold Christianity and Christian institutions as the sole source of genuine morality that we find the root of the persistent attacks by clergymen on Voltaire, Paine, Ingersoll, and all other eminent "infidels." The Church cannot afford to leave these open deniers of her "revelations" in the undisturbed and unchallenged possession of reputations as really good men. Utterly regardless of the facts, she persists in blackening their names, not so much from motives of malignity as of self-interest—partly to destroy their influence, and partly to deter others from emulating it. She cannot possibly do otherwise. To admit that those who are not Christians can really be as good as those who are, inwardly as well as outwardly, would be fatal to her own claim of being the sole source of genuine morality. She must either deny the genuine goodness of all outside her own fold, or else acknowledge herself not necessary to the world's salvation from sin. What wonder that she chooses the former alternative?

This state of things creates special difficulties and dangers in the path of all liberals who become in any degree publicly identified with the cause of liberal principles and opinions. They are exposed to attacks from which no innocence can wholly shield them. They need to be not only innocent, but also bold, wise, and circumspect. They cannot afford to make grave mistakes. If they do, they are certain to be misrepresented in the worst possible manner by ecclesiastical critics, all for the "glory of God." Especially if a charge of hostility to public morality can be plausibly brought against them, they cannot escape it, no matter how grossly false and unjust it may be. The effect of such a charge is to excite the unreasoning fears of the community for the safety of its own highest interests, and to arouse its indignation against all speakers or writers who are thus implicated; nor is it much to be wondered at if, in

default of sound arguments to uphold the tottering cause of Orthodoxy, unscrupulous Orthodox advocates eagerly resort to this far easier method of drowning truths they are unable to refute. They well understand the force of Cecil's warning, and are resolved, if possible, to permit no one who "denies Christianity" to pass for a "moral and upright man."

These reflections are naturally suggested by the insinuations which have been already (and will continue to be) thrown out against Col. R. G. Ingersoll, on account of his connection with a recent petition to Congress.

On this subject the *Christian Union* not long since published the following editorial article:—

The daily papers state that "Bob" Ingersoll has presented to the United States Senate a petition for the repeal of the United States statutes relative to the transmission of immoral literature through the mail, etc. It is further stated that this petition has from fifty thousand to seventy thousand signatures. If these are of the same kind as one which emanated from the office of the *Truth Seeker*, to publishers, booksellers, editors, etc., and which now lies before us, it will be safe for the United States Senators to investigate somewhat carefully the nature of these signatures before they attach any weight to them. Of the sixteen names signed to this petition, fifteen thousand copies of which have been sent out, seven have since declared that the use of their names was entirely unauthorized, and have stigmatized the signatures as forgeries; and of the rest, three have been arrested, and one convicted for violation of the law.

"Liberty of speech" is always a good phrase to conjure by; but liberty of speech is not in the least involved by the laws against which "Bob" Ingersoll and his seventy thousand pseudo-disciples have set themselves in array. These laws provide (1) that no officer or employé of the United States shall aid or abet the publication or importation of obscene publications and articles; (2) that such publication, or sale in the District of Columbia, or any of the territories of the United States, is a crime, punishable with fine and imprisonment; (3) that such articles and publications shall not be imported, and if imported shall be seized and forfeited; (4) that they shall not be carried through the mails. The right of the United States to punish any act tending to obscenity and immorality in the territories of the United States cannot be questioned, for the territories are within the national jurisdiction; and the law itself is, in principle, precisely like that which has been maintained in England for years, by a statute borrowed from the common law which has been in existence from time immemorial; and it has been, in turn, adopted as the model of legislation by many States in their acts prohibiting and punishing the same crime within the bounds of the State. The right of Congress to prohibit the importation of any article dangerous to the public weal has never, we think, before been questioned. Its authority to exclude an article which tends to the demoralization of society and destruction of morals is just as clear as its right to prohibit the importation of tainted meat, and garments saturated with the yellow-fever or the small-pox. The right to prohibit its own officers and agents from aiding and abetting recognized crime surely cannot be doubted. The only ground really on which this petition presents even the semblance of a reason is in its assumption that the mails ought to be free from all interference, and that the object of the law is to enforce or favor particular religious, moral, or medical opinions, or schools of thought or practice. In fact, the law is very carefully worded; there is nothing in it to justify any interference with any publication whatever, simply because of religious opinions advanced or denied. There is nothing to prevent the freest circulation through the mails of "Bob" Ingersoll's lectures, or Tom Paine's books. The claim never has been made that the mails should be free from all investigation until it was made by Mr. Ingersoll and his disciples in the interest of indecency and immorality. On the contrary, from the foundation of our government to the present time, the United States authorities have constantly inspected the mails and refused to take prohibited articles, glass, weapons, powder, lottery-tickets, and, for that matter, even the harmless supplement of a weekly religious newspaper. On what conceivable ground can the inventors, manufacturers, and publishers of a worse than Parisian literature and art demand for their articles an exemption which no newspaper editor demands for his sheet?

It is not possible in a public article to disclose either the enormity or the extent of the evil against which Mr. Comstock has conducted so courageous and so successful a campaign. But we venture to assure Senators and Representatives (though we do not believe they need any assurance) that any attempt to impair the efficiency of the present law will meet with the severest reprobation from thousands of Christian parents who are silent now, not because they feel so little, but because they feel so deeply and so strongly.

Three weeks ago, Rev. Mr. Eldridge, of East Weymouth, was quoted in these columns as having referred to the same subject in the following manner:—

"If there is a work of hell carried on on earth, it is the dissemination of obscene literature among the young. Comstock, the Christian man who has waged war on this crime, declares that years past tons of the vilest matter have annually been sent to tens of thousands of children in our schools, to defile their imaginations, inflame their passions, and initiate these little ones in a course of vice. Just when Comstock had his hand ready to throttle this gigantic

iniquity, a bill [petition] is handed in to Congress to protect it, and on the list the name of Robert Ingersoll stands first. 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' saith the Scriptures; and now look upon these sewers of infidelity, and tell me what it is worth?"

The Indianapolis *News* joined in the hue-and-cry as follows:—

"It is a fitting ending for Bob Ingersoll, from the political orator who commanded the respectful attention of a continent, to the champion of obscene literature. There seems to be that in a lack of faith which consumes and embitters and degrades. It was a narrow escape the government made in conferring on Ingersoll an office of honor. The greatest mercy that can be extended him is the mercy of silence."

It would be useless to multiply these illustrations of the manner in which this distinguished free-thinker, whose personal character is declared by all who know him to be singularly pure and high, has been exposed to the grossest insinuations because, in a moment of heedlessness and good nature, he permitted himself to be made use of to further a petition with the main object of which he has no sympathy whatever, and of which he seems to have been in utter ignorance at the very time when he lent to it his name. That this is true, Colonel Ingersoll himself is witness, as shown by this letter:—

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1878.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON JOURNAL:—

My attention has been called to the following article that recently appeared in your paper:—

"Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll and others feel aggrieved because Congress in 1873 enacted a law for the suppression of obscene literature, and, believing it an infringement of the rights of certain citizens and an effort to muzzle the press and conscience, petition for its repeal. When a man's conscience permits him to spread broadcast obscene literature, it is times that conscience was muzzled. The law is a terror only to evil doers."

No one wishes the repeal of any law for the suppression of obscene literature. For my part I wish all such laws rigidly enforced. The only objection that I have to the law of 1873 is, that it has been construed to include books and pamphlets written against the religion of the day, although containing nothing that can be called obscene or impure. Certain religious fanatics, taking advantage of the word "immoral" in the law, have claimed that all writings against what they are pleased to call Orthodox religion are immoral, and such books have been seized and their authors arrested. To this, and this only, I object.

Your article does me great injustice, and I ask that you will have the kindness to publish this note.

From the bottom of my heart I despise the publishers of obscene literature. Below them there is no depth of filth. And I also despise those who, under the pretence of suppressing obscene literature, endeavor to prevent honest and pure men from writing and publishing honest and pure thoughts.

Yours truly, R. G. INGERSOLL.

The petition referred to explicitly asked that the law of 1873 "may be repealed"—and only as a secondary object, in case this cannot be secured, that the law may be "materially modified." The total repeal of all United States law on the subject of obscene literature was the object sought by this petition, as is sufficiently shown by the declaration of E. H. Heywood, who said in the Princeton (Mass.) *Word* for January, 1878:—

"Petitions to Congress for the repeal of Comstock's law, drafted and printed by D. M. Bennett, will be sent to any address from this office. . . . Since there is no half-way house between Comstock and Liberty, we demand the immediate and unconditional REPEAL of all Federal and State laws to force love or purity. OBSCURE THE PETITIONS!"

The italics and capitals are given above as used by Mr. Heywood himself, who was active in obtaining signatures and certainly understood what he was about.

Yet the letter of Colonel Ingersoll to the Boston *Journal* shows that he was quite ignorant of what he was doing when he signed or presented that petition. He says explicitly that "no one wishes the repeal of any law for the suppression of obscene literature"; that for his own part he "wishes all such laws rigidly enforced." Nothing could be clearer than that Colonel Ingersoll carelessly and good-naturedly allowed himself to be made use of by persons whose real objects he did not understand, and who have involved him in difficulties from which it will be very hard to extricate himself. The reader has already seen what slanderous insinuations have been uttered against him on this account, and will also see, from the letter above quoted, what gross injustice they do him. Colonel Ingersoll does not even go so far as we have gone in the matter; he only demands freedom for publications that "contain nothing that can be called obscene or impure," whereas we have demanded equal freedom for orthodox and heterodox publications, if they contain only such incidental impurities as the Bible itself contains. Let it be distinctly and universally understood that Colonel In-

gersoll was ignorant of the real character of the petition he signed,—that he is avowedly and publicly opposed to the main object it seeks,—and that it is a gross libel on his good name to quote him as intentionally in favor of the repeal of the law of 1873. He is as strongly in favor of the enforcement of that law as the editors of the *Christian Union*, the *Indianapolis News*, and the *Boston Journal*, provided only the law is not perverted to become an instrument for the suppression or restriction of religious liberty. To prevent this perversion, however, the law ought to be radically modified. This is the ground we have taken from the beginning; and all sober-minded liberals will sooner or later take it too, for the simple reason that the priceless principles of a free press and free mails neither require nor permit any other ground.

THE "INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS."

It was Lord Brougham, we believe, who maintained that a child acquires more ideas during the first seven years of its life than in all that follow. It is certain that our early years are the most impressive ones. The mind is then "wax to receive and marble to retain." It is full of inquisitive interest. A fresh surprise and exhilarating pleasure are derived from even the most simple and insignificant things. The child takes for granted whatever is told it. It is almost impossible for it to conceive of falsehood and error. The inculcations received sink deep, and cannot be easily eradicated, if they do not very considerably influence and mould all after mental habits and thinking.

It is reported that a Roman Catholic priest, in view of this, remarked that, if he could have control of the mind of a child, he did not care who had it afterwards. The Christian sects indicate a growing appreciation of the importance of this period. The Sunday-school is comparatively a modern institution. Starting as a purely secular one, it has been becoming more and more a means for indoctrinating children and young persons in particular religious systems. This tendency was never more manifest than at present. There is a great effort being made just now to render the theological teaching of the Sunday-school more thorough, effectual, and specific. It is plain that the Church is fully aware that the growing intelligence of the time is leaving the creeds behind it; and therefore, in order to requite itself for the loss, and preserve its own power, it is necessary to retain a strong hold upon the minds of the children, and plant in them as deeply as possible its cherished doctrines.

But this aim is subject to much uncertainty and many difficulties, if left to the unprescribed and ordinary course of the Sunday-school. There is danger that the importance of keeping it directly in view may be lost by the indulgence of a too unrestricted freedom. Accordingly, the expedient has of late been resorted to of a series of uniform lessons, prepared by a committee of the clergy, or theologians, known as the "International Sunday-school Lessons" for general drill and adoption. These appear to be meeting with the favor of the Orthodox churches, and are rapidly superseding the modes of instruction hitherto in use. Through them much greater and more definite concentration is attained. Of course the dictation of these lessons is intrusted only to those whose orthodoxy in essential particulars is free of suspicion. Thus, while they are discreetly made to assume a somewhat popular character and modern adaptation, they are designed throughout to operate simply and solely as conservators of the old theological notions, to foster an irrational attachment to the Bible and the Orthodox interpretation of it.

This is an exceedingly ingenious and plausible device for securing a unity of faith (the Roman Catholic ideal) in Protestantism, whose boast has been diversity of belief, the right of private judgment, individual liberty. The strenuous and determined purpose thus evinced as animating the Orthodox church, to make the Sunday-school the great agency for prolonging the dominion of the creeds, received a fresh confirmation at the recent Sunday-school Convention at Atlanta, Georgia. We refer to the *seven years' course* of instruction in orthodoxy and the Bible which this convention decided upon, and provided to be put into practical operation.

Of course if the term of life, or the period of its most rapid mental acquisition, could be extended to three or four times its present duration, or if there were no other systems of religion in the world worthy of attention than the Christianism, and no knowledge of any great interests but theological ones, this project

might pass without protest or dissent. But when we understand that childhood and life are limited, and that there are many other religions which are scarcely less deserving of acquaintance and study than the Christian, in order to rightly apprehend and estimate the latter,—that the field of knowledge ever broadens and grows from more to more,—we see what a waste of human energies is thus proposed, what injustice and outrage is perpetrated upon the inexperienced and confiding mind of childhood by these schemes of lingering religious fanaticism, even among the most advanced schools of nineteenth century Christianity.

There was a time, not very distant from our own age, when it was conceived that the Hebrew language was the parent of all others,—that Adam and Eve talked Hebrew in Paradise. The history of philology shows to what inextricable and hopeless confusion and error this conception led. It was subsequently discovered that the Hebrew was but one outgrowth of a great stock—the Semitic branch of languages. Similarly, to be an intelligent student of the Bible and Christianity, it is necessary that we should know their sources, to be able to trace the history of their development; for there is abundant proof to show that, like every great work of literature and every religion, they were gradually developed from literatures and religions which had preceded them, reaching back in a line which ends only with the first dawning of man's intelligence upon this planet.

But this, as it is very easy to be seen, is not the plan of the present Orthodox Sunday-school. In fact, as the International Lessons and the seven years' course referred to show, it is a very different one from this. But such contracted, treadmill training is sure ultimately to provoke a revolt in an age when enlightening influences are as powerful as pervading as at present, and accelerate the extinction of the very system and ideas which it is intended to serve. Intellectual progress, freethought, and inquiry are the rallying cries of to-day; and all attempts to trammel the human mind, to limit its vision or prescribe its thinking, even in religion, which has always been most tolerant of such usurpation and interference, is sure to defeat its ends. Not backward to Roman Catholic principles, but forward to the fundamental ones of Protestantism and Rationalism, is the movement which is steadily overriding all opposition and reluctance to fall in with it. D. H. C.

TIMELY PROTEST AGAINST THE "BIBLE AMENDMENT."

A telegraphic despatch to the *New York Tribune* is as follows:—

WASHINGTON, May 3.—The Order of the American Union, a secret anti-Catholic society, closed a three days' session in this city this afternoon. The meetings have been secret, and the managers have not been disposed to give much information in regard to their proceedings. It is learned, however, that a formal address to the American people will be issued by the president of the order, Mr. Cowles, editor of the *Cleveland Leader*, and that the society will give its support in the fall Congressional campaign to that party which shall accord to its principles the most hearty acceptance. These principles are the adoption of a Constitutional amendment covering substantially the ground proposed by Senators Edmunds and Blaine. They desire that such an amendment shall provide that no portion of the public moneys shall ever be devoted to sectarian purposes; that sectarian schools and institutions shall never be aided by the proceeds of taxation, and that church property shall be subjected to taxes like other property.

The secret organization above referred to has, we believe, declared itself explicitly and emphatically in favor of the Bible in the schools; and, although it is here reported as in favor of church taxation, we do not believe it would enforce this principle impartially as between Catholics and Protestants. Be that as it may, the Bible Amendment of Senator Edmunds, which will probably be held in reserve by the Senate Judiciary Committee till towards the close of the present session of Congress, and then rushed through (if possible) without sufficient deliberation, protects both church exemption and Bible reading in the schools, and will undoubtedly be supported, not only by the "Order of the American Union," but by a vast majority of the Republican party. The golden opportunity for exposing to the people the real consequences of this Bible Amendment is slipping away unimproved by the liberals of the country, since most native Americans fatally underrate the strength of the forces at work to Christianise the Constitution. All the more gratefully, therefore, do we hail the appended protest of four liberal German societies of Newark, N. J., against the passage of the Bible Amendment. It was originally adopted at Paine Hall, in this city, and was published in *THE INDEX* of February 28, 1878; but we give it below in full, in

order to refresh the minds of our readers as to the momentous issues depending on the action of Congress with reference to this masked attack on the secularity of the Constitution:—

Resolved, That we solemnly protest against the passage of the joint resolution, now pending in the United States Senate, which recommends for adoption by the several States a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution; that we cordially approve so much of the first section, which forbids all sectarian appropriations, whether by national, State, or municipal authority; but that we protest against the concluding sentence of the first section, which declares that—"This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested."

Resolved, That the effect of this proviso would be substantially to declare that the Bible is not a sectarian book,—that as the "Inspired Word of God" it has a divine "right" to be read in the public schools, and is a part of the fundamental law of the land,—and that churches and church property have a "right" to be exempted from taxation, and thereby to tax every citizen for the propagation of the Christian religion.

Resolved, That these declarations, if made overtly or covertly by the Constitution, would make Christianity the ESTABLISHED RELIGION of the United States, the Orthodox Protestant churches the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, and the Bible a binding and supreme AUTHORITY in the courts; that the Church and the State would be thereby united, and the secular character of our Republican Government destroyed; and that we protest against this revolutionary subversion of our liberties in the name of public justice and the eternal rights of man.

THE INDEPENDENT TURNER SOCIETY:

Karl Knep, Pres.
Louis Lather, Sec'y.

NEWARK LIBERAL SOCIETY:

F. J. Kieb, Pres.
F. B. Porse, Sec'y.

DEUTSCHER FORTBILDUNGS VEREIN:

Friedrich Neulen, Pres.
Julius Merz, Sec'y.

THE SOCIAL TURNER SOCIETY:

William Schlatter, Pres.
Bernh. Löwe, Sec'y.

NEWARK, N. J., April 24, 1878.

Communications.

MR. POTTER'S DISCOURSE.

THE INDEX of the 18th of April contains, as its leading paper, Mr. Potter's address delivered at Horticultural Hall in Boston on "Christianity and Modern Civilization," in which he aims to show that what is called modern civilization is not the legitimate offspring of Christianity, as the Church so constantly assumes, but that it is the production of other and more powerful causes. Mr. Potter is an able man; and Mr. Abbot, who has no superior in this age as a fair and logical thinker, gives the address his most unstinted praise. But to me the wonder was, in reading it, that in tracing our modern civilization to its true and natural causes, Mr. Potter never once mentions, nor even remotely alludes to, the name of Lord Bacon, and the influence of the inductive philosophy which he established in his *Novum Organum*, in 1620. With all due deference to Mr. Abbot's opinions of the completeness of the address as a discussion of the topic, it seems to me that discoursing upon the origin of modern civilization without taking into account the services of Lord Bacon, is like attempting to perform the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted. Of course there would be a straining after causes, and a disposition to give more potency to one than it deserves, and a general nebulousness, which, I think, are discernible in Mr. Potter's lecture.

The grand characteristic of modern civilization which distinguishes it from all the forms that had preceded it is the interest it took in the *secular welfare of the masses of mankind*. The old philosophy scorned humanity as such, and utterly refused to lower its dignity by putting its science to a *practical use*. In Greece and Rome, there were colossal minds which made great advances in science. The schoolmen of the Middle Ages were perfect giants in mental force and acumen. But these arduous laborers in the fields of the old philosophy accomplished nothing valuable to mankind at large, because they aimed at an object higher than this world, and therefore unattainable. They had sciences; but they were so lost in the contemplation of those objects to be perceived by the pure intellect alone, that they scorned to make a practical application of it to the betterment of even their own worldly condition, much less of the condition of the masses of the people. The writings of the old philosophy, and especially those of the schoolmen, prove their authors to have been mighty men; but they remind one of the blowing off of steam from a hundred locomotive engines, which, from some accident on the road, are congregated at a certain place waiting till the track be cleared. The steam, as it escapes from the boilers to keep them from bursting, exhibits a tremendous amount of energy, makes a great noise, and attracts much attention; but it is entirely *wasted*, accomplishing nothing towards the valuable purposes for which railroads and locomotives were made. But when Bacon appeared with his philosophy of fruit and progress, he introduced a new era, and the whole scene changed. He first put the railway track in order, and then sent off the

various trains of passengers and freight to the places of their destination, thus making the steam power serve a *useful end*.

We cannot even comprehend what modern civilization consists in, unless we constantly bear in mind the fact that the *whole* object of the ancient learning was simply to glorify the intellect of the chosen few who had time to devote themselves to it, and to find sublime happiness in such intellectual pursuits. Gunpowder and printing were both invented in the Middle Ages, but so scornfully did the learning of that day regard the idea of *utilizing* knowledge that the names of the inventors are lost. While there were men of genius and learning who consecrated across the dark and cloudy heavens of those mediæval times, leaving a track of light which is still visible, the masses of mankind were ignorant, degraded, and unhappy. They were of no more account than the brutes. By their hard labor they created the wealth which the favored few enjoyed. They were soldiers in the armies of the king, and firm believers in the superstitions of the Church. For generations after the invention of printing the art was used mainly, if not exclusively, in the interests of the priesthood, the government, and the old philosophy. None of the millions of the common people owned a book, for they could not read. The "benefit of clergy"—a phrase which figures so in the laws of England—was a commutation of the punishment of death by burning in the hand, in consideration of the fact that the accused could read. When the criminal stood before the court, a book was placed in his hands; and, if he could spell out a few sentences, the officer cried out, "*Legit ut Clericus!*"—he reads like a clergyman; and he availed himself of the exemption from punishment accorded to the clergy as a class. This wide-spread ignorance would have been the condition of society to this day, had the old, useless, heartless, barren philosophy been perpetuated in England; for it found its chief vocation, after gratifying its own selfish vanity, in playing into the hands of kings and priests, by scorning and brutalizing the masses, thus making them the willing subject, and dupes of both respectively.

But when Bacon appeared upon the stage of human affairs as an actor, he proposed to substitute for the old philosophy a new system, which was the very opposite to it, both in its *aims* and *methods*. The multiplying of human enjoyments; the mitigating of human sufferings; the relieving of the burdens and inconveniences of human life; the giving to mankind new inventions whereby their worldly condition could be ameliorated; to enlighten the common mind, and make every man's dwelling the home of happiness,—this, as Macaulay observes, was the *object* of all Bacon's speculations in philosophy, in legislation, in politics, and morals. *Fruit*, by which he meant the improvement and happiness of *all* the ranks and conditions of life; and *progress*, which made one attainment in the arts and sciences only the stepping-stone of another and greater,—these were the characteristics of the Baconian philosophy. Hence there has been more advance made in promoting the welfare of the masses of mankind since Lord Bacon's advent than had been made before since the creation of the world, or would have been made under the old system for a million of years to come. No sooner was the Baconian philosophy understood and accepted by the people of Europe, no sooner were *fruit* and *progress* recognized as the sole test of philosophical and scientific truth, than the march of improvement began which has overtaken our age and startled us with the grandeur of its achievements. All the departments of knowledge and inquiry felt the genial influence of the new and true philosophy, and began a career of invention and discovery which in our day has almost revolutionized society both in form and substance. Steam-power, for the propelling of machinery, and for the use of commerce in ocean navigation; the utilization of that terrible force of nature called electricity, in telegraphs under the sea and over the land; labor-saving machines for agricultural purposes, relieving the slow and heavy drudgery of farm life; photography, which gives the common people pictures of their children far away, and keeps the chain of family love and friendship bright; the newspaper and magazine, which gratify the taste for knowledge awakened in the common schools; the railway-car, which democratizes the people, and gives the advantages of travel to all promiscuously; the telephone, which enables a man to converse audibly with his friend a hundred miles away,—these are a few samples of the beneficent effects produced by the coming of Lord Bacon, the displacement of the old, and the establishment of the new, common-sense philosophy. And they are only the harbingers of still greater blessings in the future; for the most comforting fact I know of to a well-wisher of his race is that heavenly science, which has done all this to ameliorate the conditions of humanity, is only in its *infancy*. Her birth into the world was delayed a thousand years by that enemy of God and man, the Church; and when the fulness of time had come, and the event could no longer be postponed, and she was born, the same enemy, unable to strangle her in the cradle, kept her in swaddling bands so that she has only *begun* to fulfil her beneficent mission to our poor priest-ridden race, in making it intelligent and happy.

Every man who visited the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia must have been struck with this peculiarity in the English and American departments, that they bore the impress of Bacon's philosophy—*fruit* and *progress*. Italy, France, and other nations excelled the United States and England far away in printing, sculpture, and the *adornments* of life; but in the arts which go to equalize the condition of mankind, and make them comfortable; in the *utilitarian* arts, which constitute the essence of our modern civilization, England and the United States were ahead of all the rest. Painting, sculpture,

and poetry were carried to the highest pitch of perfection in ages and countries when the king was an absolute despot, the priesthood a mere hand-maid to his power, and the masses of the people as degraded, ignorant, and miserable as the brutes of the field. But when railroads are built, and locomotives whistle, and all the machinery of our modern civilization is in action, the masses cannot stagnate in ignorance and poverty as they did in the times of the old philosophy. Shakspeare was contemporary with Bacon; and what tongue can tell the benign and civilizing influence of his dramatic works in forming the taste and increasing the happiness of those who can appreciate his writings? And if Bacon himself were the real author of the works imputed to Shakspeare, as an increasing number of scholars believe, then all will agree with Mr. Buckle that "he was the greatest of all the sons of men." But whether or not he was the author of these wonderful works of genius, we know that he established the system of the experimental philosophy, and set in operation those causes which have made England and the United States what those nations are. We know, and mourn over, the wretchedness which still afflicts the masses in these two countries, in defiance of the beneficent aims and influence of Bacon's philosophy. It is, however, the legacy of past generations. But still, there is more intelligence, more thrift and happiness, among the English-speaking people than there is elsewhere on the face of the whole earth.

Now, if these things be so, it is both wonderful and unpardonable in a man so intelligent as Mr. Potter to give even a bird's-eye view of modern civilization without mentioning the name of the man to whom the world is more indebted for its wealth and happiness and refinement than all the rest of the men who had lived before him. Bacon saw and predicted all the improvement in the condition of mankind which has come to pass. Nay more. His eagle eye looked further into the vista of the future than the nineteenth century, and saw improvement in the lot of man which we do not even dream of. And when his political enemies triumphed in his fall from power, he found satisfaction in the thought that foreign nations, the next ages, would do justice to his claims. It is for us, his grateful beneficiaries, to assign him his place in history as the greatest benefactor of his race.

A. B. BRADFORD.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., April 26, 1878.

[Without inquiring here whether Bacon's individual influence has been overrated or not, we ought to point out that Mr. Potter was not mentioning names at all, but traced great tendencies and general causes, leaving details out of the account. This was unavoidable. To have dwelt on Bacon without dwelling on numerous other great men would have been injustice to the latter. The only "nebulousness" of Mr. Potter's paper was that inseparable from any general treatment of so large a theme.—ED.]

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XXV.

Truth I have previously defined as *through-th*; that which goes *through*, or attains to its end; which does not *fail* or *fall* through into *fallacy*, or come short. This is, however, a very *general* definition, its antithet (its opposite or contrasted exhibit) being *fallacy* or *failure* (to go *through* to perfection). There are, it must now be observed, other and more *special* definitions of truth, according to the point of view from which we are considering it, and which are indispensable to a complete understanding of the subject.

Of these special definitions of truth there are, especially, three; which may be discriminated as *naturalistic*, *scientific*, and *artistic*, respectively. The first and simplest of these is this: *Truth is conformity to an ideal standard of perfection* (or, in the phrase of the general definition, *that which goes through and attains to such proposed conformity*). In the simple matter of "telling the truth," the ideal standard of perfection is the *actual fact*, to which the words of the recital must conform in order to be the truth. This is what the common mass of mankind have in mind, chiefly, when they speak of truth; and it is this therefore which may be designated as the simple or naturalistic, but still specific idea.

There is, however, with the highly intelligent classes, and especially with idealistic philosophical thinkers, another conception of truth (telic, or teleological, and) modelled after the doctrine of Plato on the subject, which may be defined as follows: *Truth is the ultimate, complete, or artistic conformity of the actual* (which, naturalistically, or in any lower grade than this ultimate, is imperfect, and hence *untrue*) *to the perfect ideal, or ideal model or pattern, proposed as the goal of any evolution, or career of exertion or achievement*. It is in this sense that Hegel uses the term truth; and this may be called the artistic special definition, to which I thus pass over, leaving the intermediate scientific definition for subsequent and more elaborate consideration. This artistic conception of truth partakes of the practical, inasmuch as it looks more especially to an operation, a process, or to the per-currence of a career; and to performance, or an arrival at the *end* of the career; whence it is called telic or teleological. It is also necessarily of a synthetic or complicated character, as it takes into account conformity with the ideal in the infinity of ultimate particulars. Truth of this kind thus becomes identified with the ideal, to which it has, as it were, returned after an estrangement; and its antithet (or that with which it is contrasted) is therefore the actual (naturalistically conceived of, or

as lower down in its career than its ultimate complete return to, and reconciliation with the ideal; and as such the imperfect.

Neither of these special definitions of truth covers, or really touches at all, the proper *scientism* of the subject, as a universalistically conceived of; that in respect to which the true is contrasted with the real (and incidentally with the good), as in the tabular exhibit at the end of the last article. The truth in this sense, may be defined as: *The standard and instrument of the rigorous exactification of each individual instance of relation among the mass of particulars analytically discriminated within the reality, or subject-matter, or stuff to be regulated, in order to conduct, the more surely, to the ulterior synthetic perfection (or artistic truth); this standard and instrument itself prepared, by means of a prior process of test, to intervene as the permeative exactifying element, or the truth, of the career now in question.*

This definition is confessedly very complicated; and I should be glad to be helped to make it less so, if that is practicable. It is also subject to apparently damaging criticism from the very first. The truth, it will be said, is a matter of relation; how, then, can a standard and an instrument stand in *loco veritatis*? It may be a *measure* of truth; but can it be the *truth itself*? The radical importance of the subject, and the conviction that in the sense I mean I am quite right, embolden me, nevertheless, to insist, and to trust to the following explanations to make myself better understood. The analogues of truth in this sense are the *units of measure*, upon which every scientific procedure rests, as the pound-weight, the foot, the foot-pound, the ohm, etc.; and, among concrete objects, the foot-rule, the square, the thermometer (meters of all kinds), the compass, etc. These are the standards and instruments of all scientific, exactifying, or truth-giving processes, in that more rigorous sense in which science insists on the truth in each *minute analytical instance*, as securing the larger and complex synthetic truth, with more certainty. By a slight figure of speech, merely, they may then be said to embody in themselves truth in this peculiar and analytically elemental sense—what may be called *truth in the least form* and yet as elemental,—truth as the source, fountain-head, and absolute principle of all truth.

But why resort to this figure of speech? Why speak of the carpenter's square as the truth of carpentry; of the compass as the truth of navigation? etc. For two reasons. The first is this: In the definition above, these standards of precision are described rightly as having been themselves subjected to test. They are measures, because they have been themselves measured in a *prior process* not now under consideration. They are themselves, therefore, embodied types of the *artistic truth attained to in that prior process* (of test); and brought now into a new process which they are to govern by virtue of the truth so embodied in them, they are in an almost literal sense the truth of this new process, certainly the true, or that factor which is true, as contrasted with the crude reality to which they are now to be united and applied. The second reason why this figure of speech is adopted, or, rather, as the case will now appear, why this *radical working of scientific analogy* is recognized and insisted on is, that in the abstract sphere of pure analytical thought, that which answers to these standard units of measurement in the concrete is those *least elements of mentation* from which all mentation is compounded, and of which, again, in the *ideal constitution of things*, the minima or least elements of substance and form are the analogues. In these two spheres of being, therefore, the subjective sphere of thought and the objective general sphere of being (metaphysical), what appeared in the *tangible concrete* as exactifying instruments, a species of concrete things, reappears, analogically, as elemental entity and relation, each at once a *measure and a constituent*. In other words, the truth as a relation, and the measure of truth here become blended, or so far identified as to be no longer distinguishable from each other, and to be only distinguishable from the reality which they concern; and the primal discrimination of all discriminations (whatever it shall prove to be, as it shall be further precisized) thus becomes the organon of thought and being, and the canon of criticism upon all our subsequent thinking. It is this, therefore, which is the *truth of universal things as scientifically defined*; or, THE TRUE AS CONTRASTED WITH THE REAL.

In this sense the rigorous, rectangular outline-drawing of any piece of work, of a piece of landscape-gardening, for instance, is the true (or truth) of the work; the materials wrought in, in this case the crude earth or wild natural landscape, are the real (or reality, or reality); and, in fine, the finished harmony which results from the combination and blending of the real and the true is the *beautiful*, of this (or any) particular subject of consideration.

So, by a cruder or more concrete analogy, the *severe, formative, and regulative skeleton* is the truth (the *ideic* or form-giving factor) of the human or animal body, and the soft *concessive flesh, capable of being wrought into form*, as a material, is the real, or reality, (the *substantive* factor); and the finished harmony from the perfect union of flesh and bone, with its appropriate integuments, is the beautiful, of the body.

So geometry at large is the true or truth of universal structure; the concrete objects of Nature, which are, or are to be, geometrically disposed of or arranged, are the real, reality, or reality; and the perfect and harmonious structure, in its complete finish and imposing effect, is the beautiful.

So the intellect is the true or truth of the mind; that is to say, the faculty which cognizes truth (and fallacy), and is, as such, embodied truth itself, or the representative of truth, as it also is, the formative

(*ideic*) and regulative factor of mind; sentiment (sensation, sense, sensitivity, etc.) is the real or reality of mind,—furnishing the substantial materials to be regulated; and will or desire, the faculty of choice or preference, is the beautiful or the art-realm of mentality.

So the laws of the land are (or should be) the true or truth of society; the *personnel*, the muster of its individualities, its real or reality; and the modelic structure and functioning of society its beautiful (aspect or feature).

So form is everywhere the true, substance the real, and harmonious structure and function the beautiful.

So, in fine, science—as the laws of being, discovered, expounded, formulated, and regulative—is the true, or the truth-like factor of universal being; Nature, with her Bacchanalian license and freedom, is the real, the substance, or material, the stuff-like, or to-be-regulated factor; and, to complete the scale, art is the beautiful—as the compromise or reconciliation, the blended and final harmony of the real and the true.

Naturalism, scientism, and artism, or the spirit of nature, unrestrained exuberance of freedom; the spirit of science, regulation, exactitude, precision, and rigor; and the spirit of art, ultimate reconciliation and harmony of opposites, are thus completely identified with the real, the true, and the beautiful.

Naturalism, scientism, and artism are the technical names for these aspects of being considered as operative or presiding principles.

Naturalism, scientism, and artism are the technical names of the ideal domains or dominions of being, over which, or within which, naturalism, scientism, and artism preside.

Again, and more interiorly, in respect to the great dominant features of society, religion (religious unity, unism, allied with sentiment) is the real or reality factor of society; intelligence, science, philosophy, learning, (*politique*, or the science of government included) is the true (the regulative factor); and business rightly conducted, a truly regulated social activity, a perfect social construction, functioning in harmony, is the beautiful,—the artistic factor of the social organismus.

Within the governmental range of the social organismus, hierarchical aristocracy (the inequality-idea) is the naturalism (the real); democracy or equality of rights (the equality-idea) is the scientism (the true); and pantarchyism, a word devised to mean the ultimate and artistic reconciliation of aristocratic inequality (in the sense of genuine superiorities) with democratic equality (in essential rights), is the artism (or the beautiful) in this sphere of the application of these three ideological aspects,—the real (including the good), the true, and the beautiful.

In the natural order of arrangement, the real—the naturalism—is first mentioned, and the true (the scientism) subsequently. In the logical order, the arrangement is reversed, and scientism takes the lead. It was by an adoption of the logical order that I have first disposed of the classifications of the sciences,—scientism; and that I shall now proceed to the consideration of the underlying religious unity of mankind.

In fine, UNISM, DURM, and TRINISM, repeating, more elementarily and radically, naturalism, scientism, and artism, are the threefold *discrimination of all discriminations* above alluded to; and, hence, the ORGANON OF THOUGHT AND BEING; and the CANON OF CRITICISM upon all future thinking.

MONEY AND VALUE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I believe that Gen. Warner would no more advocate what he deemed to be dishonest than would THE INDEX; but old superstitions die hard, whether the question be of religion or of finance. He says, "It has been estimated that from seventy to eighty per cent. of the entire value of silver, and nearly as large a per cent. of the value of gold, is due exclusively to their use as money. It has been 'estimated' that our globe rests on the back of an elephant, that again on a tortoise; and one notion is as accurate as the other.

Gold and silver are used as real money (thing-money, Latin, *res*, thing), because they have value; they do not have value because they are used as money. There is no aberration of the human mind on the money question which cannot produce authority to sustain it; but the question is not what Ricardo said of old, but what Reason says to-day. Any one who will read the history of money from the earliest times to the present, lately published by the well-known statistician, Henry V. Poor, will be able to distinguish between the vagaries and speculations of the schoolmen and the facts of science.

The first question for those who agree with Gen. Warner to settle is, does the value of anything depend upon laws of Congress; or does it exist in the nature of things, according to universal laws? I affirm that the exchangeable value of any and every article which is useful to, and desired by mankind, which is freely produced and easily distributed, is determined solely by the cost of production.

I think no one capable of understanding this proposition can deny it.

The exchangeable value of a gold or silver dollar is precisely the value of the material of which it is made, and can never be permanently changed except by changing the cost of producing the gold or silver. Temporary fluctuations in the value of gold and silver money may be made by legislation which should attempt to control or oppose natural laws, by making an artificial scarcity or over-supply, or by debasing coin; but as business is now done, commerce being approximately free between all parts of

the world, no legislation can effect any lasting change, or do more than cause inconvenience of greater or less duration, and a more or less serious loss to the people.

The cases which Gen. Warner supposes are so entirely out of the question practically as to need no reply; unwise as our legislators are, and questionable as their political integrity is, they have never contemplated the absurdity of limiting the coinage of money, or of preventing the use of paper representative money or currency.

What is it that has caused the civilized commercial world to use the precious metals, especially gold, as a standard of value? A belief at first, perhaps instinctive, confirmed by experience and observation, that the cost of producing these metals is more uniform than that of any other article or thing which could be used also as money. In other words, as it is labor in the last analysis that is exchanged in all buying and selling, that article which represents most certainly a definite amount of labor is the best standard of value, until we can refer our measure to labor itself. Gen. Warner asks, "Does the demonetization of one metal increase the value of the other as a standard?" I say, certainly not; since its value depends solely on the labor cost of the metal, and nothing can affect that value except a change in the cost of production. "Demonetization" is a misleading word, because it implies more than the facts warrant. The law of 1873 did not deprive silver of its character as money; it did not take away the legal tender quality from the old silver dollar already coined; it simply recognized the fact that gold had become our standard, and disused silver dollars for that purpose. So long as silver is desired by the commercial world, and by the people for use as money, and so far as the people will use it, no laws of Congress can demonetize it. Congress may order the mints to buy and coin silver, but it cannot be forced into circulation by law; the people in this country will use as much silver as is required for small change, and no more. Banks may accumulate it as a reserve; government may receive it for duties, and pay it out for expenses; but it will not circulate if the people prefer something else. It will in time drive gold out of the country, and become the sole standard, just as gold, when cheaper than silver, became the sole standard, practically, unless there should be such a change in the relative cost of producing gold and silver that gold should cost less or silver more than it now does. The Bank of France owns a large amount of silver, but the people prefer the notes of the bank; and there are only about 480,000,000 in circulation according to a recent statement, although the Bank has tried to withdraw its notes and substitute silver.

A yardstick which should vary in length, according to the greater or less number of yardsticks used, would be no greater absurdity as a standard of length than a standard of value which should vary according to the number of the standard units in use. A single yardstick in Washington might serve as a standard to measure all yardsticks by; and similarly a single gold dollar might be used as a standard for all dollars and to measure all other goods by.

It is true that a gold dollar is not an absolutely correct standard; neither perhaps is a yard the best unit for long measure; but both are as accurate as the nature of the case admits, both are relatively correct, which is the only correctness possible.

No doubt there are many persons now holding evidences of the indebtedness of government to them who will receive a very large return for what they lent to the country in its hour of need; and it is hard for the people to have to pay this large sum. But the war finances were not wisely administered, and we are now paying the penalty. We might have paid the expenses of the war as we went along, as well as to half-pay them; but we chose to lay the burden on the future, and we are suffering the consequences. We have been in a high fever with an inflated currency and industry stimulated to the point of the greatest production with the least labor, and we are experiencing the reaction. We are convalescing slowly; and some of us, forgetting the fever, are attributing our weakness to the returning health. Had we any right to expect to go through all we have done, and not suffer the consequences?

There is just as much wealth in the country as ever,—yes, more; but we are getting to estimate it by its real and not by its inflated value. A good deal of it is changing hands, too, and it is getting more evenly distributed.

It is not competent for Congress to help us out of our difficulties, except by letting the whole matter of finance severely alone, confirming the action of government to stamping on coins their weight and fineness. We must continue to use as heretofore bank-notes for our currency; and I know of no reason why the amount of bank-notes which the people may use should be limited by Congress any more than the number of loaves of bread, or the amount of cloth they should use.

Provided the bank-note circulation is a representative one, representing truly the property to be exchanged, there is no good reason why we should not have as much of that sort of money as we have of goods, if we want it.

But from a government issue of inconvertible paper, made legal-tender, and representing the credit of the country, or the power of taxation, or from notes of hand, representing debts of the government, made legal-tender, good Lord deliver us!

Let us have *free banking*, with only such restrictions as might equitably be applied to any business, with no monopoly, government, or individual, and the finances of the country will regulate themselves according to inherent laws, which may be discovered, but cannot be made at Washington or elsewhere.

F. S. C.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 439.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

RESOLUTION

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

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

GLIMPSES.

MOODY the revivalist has been pointedly challenged, as will be seen elsewhere, to prove a story he is fond of telling about a converted Infidel Club in Scotland. Thus far he has not, in the slang of the prize-ring, "come to time."

COL. INGERSOLL lectured in Music Hall, Boston, last Sunday, to an audience of two or three thousand people. It was a furious cannonade along the whole line, but the effect has not yet been reported. It is safe to predict that this is not the last word on the subject.

A NEW Liberal League, auxiliary to the National League, has been organized at Newark, N.J. The officers are—President, F. J. Kleb; Secretary, F. B. Parse; Treasurer, A. Trier. President Kleb's name was attached to the resolutions against the Bible Amendment, published last week.

ANOTHER Liberal League, formed some months ago, has voted to take out a charter under the National Liberal League, at St. Louis, Mo. The officers are—President, J. W. McClintock; Secretary and Treasurer, Thomas J. Stanton; Executive Committee, Thomas Curtis, Joseph Clarke, and James B. Smith. Col. R. Peterson, editor of the *Common Sense*, made a capital speech before this League not long since, showing a very clear comprehension of the movement.

MR. EMERSON'S essay, republished last week in these columns, offended the denominational consciousness by alluding to the "pale negations of Boston Unitarianism." This is said to be "unjust." We do not think so. Catholicism affirms; Free Religion affirms; but between these clear extremes we find only affirmations that contradict each other, and negations that do not dare to negate *without reservations*. If that does not make them "pale," what would?

THE OFFICERS of the Third Liberal League of New York City were elected May 14, as follows: President, Cortland Palmer; Vice-President, Arnold Tanzer; Secretary, E. B. Foote, Jr.; Treasurer, F. W. Christern; Councillors, Mrs. Clara Neymann, Ingersoll Lockwood, Theron C. Leland, and Charles Ellershaw. This is an excellent list, and makes us hope much of the new League. We quote elsewhere the *Herald's* report of Mr. Frothingham's address. Addresses not reported were made by Mrs. Neymann, Dr. Foote, Mr. Tanzer, and others.

AN ILLINOIS correspondent encloses an extract from the *Chicago Journal* of April 9, in which the following statistics are presented on the alleged authority of Prof. A. J. Schem:—
Total population of the earth.....1,396,842,000
Under Christian Governments..... 685,459,411
Under non-Christian Governments..... 711,382,589
These figures have been "cooked" by somebody. Prof. Schem gave the figures as follows, in his *Statistics of the World for 1875* (we quote directly from this work):—

Statistics of Christianity (January, 1875).				
	Total Pop.	Rom. Cath.	Protest.	East'n CN's.
America.....	84,500,000	47,300,000	30,000,000	
Europe.....	301,600,000	147,300,000	71,800,000	63,250,000
Asia.....	796,000,000	4,700,000	1,800,000	3,500,000
Africa.....	303,300,000	1,100,000	1,200,000	3,200,000
Australia and Polynesia	4,400,000	400,000	1,500,000	
	1,392,000,000	201,200,000	108,300,000	81,050,000

The total of Christianity is here given as 388,550,000; and the missionaries must have been extraordinarily active to have made 296,900,411 converts in three years! Prof. Schem's figures as quoted above are substantially corroborated by Johnson's *New Cyclopædia*. Probably, however, the *Chicago Journal* includes all the inhabitants of India and other heathen countries as "under Christian governments"—a cunning perversion of the truth which verges on a "pious fraud."

THE REV. MR. JASPER is still bent on revolutionizing astronomy, and upsetting the solar system as

conceived by that infidel science: "The sable sun-mover appeared upon the lecture platform in Washington, last Monday evening. He confessed at the outset that he 'didn't know nothin' about outsiders; and dealt only with God's word which was writ by holy men inspired by the Spirit of God, moved upon by the Holy Ghost, and authorized by God's authority to light a lamp for the feet and prepare a guide for the path.' He was not a grammarian, and had 'never been to school in his life, except seven months' thumbing of a New York spelling-book, but had been directed to studying the Bible, and had asked God to lighten him.' He then described his conversion, his entrance into the ministry, and the manner in which he was brought into this argument about the sun. Then the Rev. Jasper preached his Richmond sermon with considerable unction. At the close, he made this appeal to the grammarians: 'What is the meaning of the word "arise"? Don't it mean something that goes up stairs, or gets up and moves about? If I haven't proved that the sun do move, then my name ain't Jasper! Don't take my word for it; take God's. He says so. Will you make God a liar? But they say the earth moves, that the earth turns over. Pshaw! Why, don't you see if it did, all the water would fall out of the rivers, and we' all be drowned? Drowned! I tell you. And if the earth turned over, all the houses would tumble down, and the territories turn over, and you and I would be standing on our heads half the time! It's nonsense! But don't believe that the earth turns over; for you know you can't stand on your head all night.'"

THE GALLIPOLI correspondent of the *London Times* thus describes a distinguished "howling dervish": "Rich in shrines and monastic institutions, Gallipoli has been from the early days of the Ottoman rule in Europe a stronghold of the faith. It shelters three sects of dervishes; the Beys, the largest landed proprietors, are mostly affiliated to one or other of the orders; wealth and influence belong here to Islam, and the rule of the high priest of the howlers overrides that of the appointed governor. An able, enterprising, intriguing, money-getting fellow is this distinguished dervish, though you would hardly think it to see him with bowing head and eyes cast down, pale and ascetic of aspect, in green pelisse and turband calpack, slowly pacing the streets on high-bred horse, with an attendant holding either stirrup. Still less would you think it if you saw him in mosque on Tuesday or Friday, howling like a maniac till he foams at the mouth and drops exhausted. And yet this Hussam Effendi is a keen man of business, manages vast estates with great ability, and conducts extensive commercial operations in timber and agricultural produce with success, lends money to small farmers, has a large share in a steam flour mill and biscuit factory, and is one of the largest contractors for army and navy supplies. It is impossible to believe that one of such practical mind as Hussam Effendi should have faith in the value, theologically speaking, of his grotesque and painful ritual; but he owes much of his influence to his reputation for holiness; which, won by constant and efficient howling, is as substantial an item of his large stock in trade as the engine in the biscuit factory. Hussam Effendi's steadfastness to the rule of his order is thus by no means irreconcilable with his keen pursuit of this world's goods. Howling pays in one fashion, biscuit-baking in another; while by the judicious blending of mysticism with commerce the operator comes to occupy a sort of neutral ground on which he can serve indifferently both God and Mammon." These closing remarks remind us confusedly of defaulting treasurers and eminent church-members; it seems as if Turkey and the United States were more alike than our Christian conceit would like to admit.

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RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member. SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrine of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever. SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

Growth of Religion.

Yesterday, Prof. F. Max Müller, M.A., commenced a course of seven lectures, delivered at the request of the Hibbert trustees, in the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, on the "Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India." The lecture was originally arranged to be delivered at five o'clock in the afternoon; but so large was the number of applications for tickets of admission that an alteration had to be made, and Prof. Max Müller read the lecture twice, once in the morning and then again in the afternoon, on both occasions the Chapter House being crowded. The first lecture dealt with the perception of the Infinite. Prof. Max Müller commenced by asking how was it that we had a religion? This was a question which had not been asked for the first time in these latter days, but it was, nevertheless, a question which sounded startling even to ears that had been hardened by the din of many battles fought for the conquest of truth. Sensation, perception, imagination, reasoning—everything, in fact, which existed in our own consciousness—had had to defend the right and reason of its existence; but the question why we believed, why we were, or imagined we were, conscious of things which we could neither perceive with our senses, nor conceive with our reason, had seldom received, even from the greatest philosophers, that attention which it seemed so fully to deserve. What could be less satisfactory than the manner in which this problem had been lately pushed into the foreground of public controversy? Strauss, in many respects a most acute reasoner, put before them in his last work, "The Old and New Faith," the question, "Have we still any religion?" To a challenge put in this form, the only answer that could be given would be an appeal to statistics; and here there they would soon be told that out of a hundred thousand people there was hardly one who professed to be without religion. If another answer was wanted, the question ought to have been put in a different form; and Strauss ought before all things to have told them clearly what he himself understood by religion. He ought to have defined religion both in its psychological and historical development. But what did he do instead? He simply took the old definition which Schleiermacher gave of religion; viz., that it consisted in a feeling of absolute dependence; and he supplemented it by a definition of Feuerbach's, that the essence of all religion is covetousness, which manifested itself in prayer, sacrifice, and faith. He then concluded, because there was less of prayer, crossing, and attending mass in our days than in the Middle Ages, that therefore there was but little left of real piety and religion. But where had Strauss or anybody else proved that true religion manifested itself in prayer, crossing, and attending mass only, and that all who did not pray, or cross themselves, or attend mass had no longer any religion at all, and no belief in God? Strauss himself was so completely in the dark as to the true essence of religion, that when, at the end of the second chapter of his book, he asked himself whether he had still a religion, he could only answer, "Yes or no, according as you understand it." Now this was the very point which ought to have been determined first; namely, what they ought to understand by religion. Religion was not a new invention. It was, if not as old as the world, at least as old as the world we knew. The oldest literary documents are almost everywhere religious; and, whether they descended to the lowest roots of their own intellectual growth, or ascended to the loftiest heights of modern speculation, everywhere they found religion was a power which confused and conquered even those who thought they had conquered it. Such a power did not escape the keen-eyed philosophers of ancient Greece. They to whom the world of thought seemed to have been as serene and transparent as the air which revealed the sea, the shore, and the sky of Athens, were startled at a very

early time by the presence of religion, as by the appearance of a phantom which they could not explain. Here was the beginning of the science of religion, which was not, as had often been said, a science of to-day or of yesterday. In a certain sense the science of religion was as little a modern invention as religion itself. Wherever there was human life there was religion; and wherever there was religion the question where it came from could not long be suppressed.

With regard to religion, it was, no doubt, extremely difficult to give a definition. The word rose to the surface thousands of years ago; it was retained, while what was meant by it went on changing from century to century; and it was now often applied to the very opposite of what it was originally intended to signify. It was useless with words of this kind to appeal to their etymological meaning. It must be clear that, when they had to use words which had had a long history of their own, they could neither use them in their primitive etymological meaning, nor could they use them at one and the same time in all the senses through which they had passed. It was utterly useless to say, for instance, that religion meant this, and did not mean that; that it meant faith, or worship, or morality, or ecstatic vision, and that it did not mean fear, or hope, or surmise, or reverence of the gods. Religion might mean all this—perhaps at one time or other the name was used in every one of these meanings; but who had a right to say that religion should at present or in future have one of these meanings and one only? Kant might be perfectly right in saying that religion ought to be morality; and Fichte, Kant's immediate successor, might be perfectly right in saying that it ought to be knowledge; but he protested against either the one or the other being taken as a satisfactory definition of what is or was universally meant by the word religion.

There was another view according to which religion consisted in the worship of divine beings, and it had been held by many writers to be impossible that a religion should exist without some outward forms, without what was called a *cultus*. A religious reformer had a perfect right to say so; but the historian of religion could easily point out that religions had existed and do exist still without any signs of external worship. They would see that each definition of religion, as soon as it was started, seemed at once to provoke another, which met it by a flat denial. There seemed to be almost as many definitions of religion as there were religions in the world, and there was almost the same hostility between those who maintained these different definitions as there was between the believers in different religions. What then was to be done? Was it really impossible to give a definition of religion that should be applicable to all that had ever been called religion or by some similar name? He believed it was; and in 1878 he tried to define the subjective side of religion, or what was commonly called faith, by saying, "Religion is a mental faculty which, independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and under varying disguises. Without that faculty no religion, not even the lowest worship of idols and fetiches, would be possible; and if we will but listen attentively, we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God." He fully admitted the force of many objections which had been raised against that definition, but he still thought that the kernel of it was sound. He should not call it now an exhaustive definition, but it supplied such characteristics as would enable them to distinguish between religious consciousness on one side, and sensuous and rational knowledge on the other.

But there was a large class, not only of philosophers by profession, but of independent thinkers, in all classes of society, who looked upon any attempt at defining religion as perfectly useless, who would not listen even to a discussion whether one religion was false or another true, but who simply denied the possibility of any religion whatsoever, on the ground that men could not comprehend what was infinite; while all religions, however they might differ on other points, agreed in this: that their objects transcended, either partially or entirely, the apprehensive and comprehensive powers of our consciousness. This was the ground on which what was now called positive philosophy took its stand as denying the possibility of religion, and challenging all who admit any source of knowledge, except sense and reason, to produce their credentials.

This was not a new challenge, nor was the ground on which the battle had to be fought new. It was the old battle-field, measured out long ago by Kant, only that the one opening which was still left in his time; viz., the absolute certainty of moral truth, and through it the certainty of the existence of a God, was now closed up. There was no escape in that direction. The battle between those who believed in something which transcended our senses and our reason, who claimed for man the possession of a faculty or potential energy for apprehending the Infinite, and those who denied it on purely psychological grounds, must end in the victory of one and the surrender of the other party. Let it be granted that all our knowledge began with the senses, and that out of that material, supplied by the senses, reason built up its marvellous structure; and, let it be likewise admitted that, as all the materials which reason used for that purpose were finite, reason, if kept within proper bounds, could never supply them with a conception of the Infinite.

The first question, however, he asked was, Were all the materials which the senses supplied finite, and finite only? He agreed with his adversaries that, if the Infinite had not from the very first been

present in our sensuous perceptions, such a word as Infinite would convey no meaning; it would be a sound, and nothing else. But for that very reason he felt it incumbent upon him to show the presentiment of the Infinite rested on the sentiment of the finite, and had its real roots in the real, though not yet fully-apprehended, presence of the Infinite in all our sensuous perceptions of the finite. What he held was, that with every finite perception there was a concomitant perception, or if that word should seem too strong, a concomitant sentiment or presentiment of the Infinite, that from the very first act of touch, or hearing, or sight, we were brought in contact not only with the visible, but also at the same time with an invisible universe. They had been told again and again a finite mind could not grasp the Infinite, and that, therefore, they ought to take their Bible and Prayer-book and rest here and be thankful. This would, indeed, be taking a despairing view both of ourselves and of our Bible and Prayer-book.

They would find that from the first dawn of history, and from the first dawn of their own individual consciousness, they had always been face to face with the Infinite. There might be much error in all the names that man had given to the Infinite, but even the history of error was full of useful lessons. After they had seen how it was possible for man to gain a presentiment of something beyond the finite they should watch him looking for the Infinite in mountains, trees, and rivers, in the storm and lightning, in the moon and the sun, in the sky and what was beyond the sky, trying name after name to comprehend it, calling it Thunderer, Bringer of Light, Welder of the Thunderbolt, Giver of the Rain, Bestower of Food and Life, and after a time speaking of it as Maker, Ruler, and Preserver, King and Father, Lord of Lords, God of Gods, Cause of Causes, the Eternal, the Unknown, the Unknowable. —London Daily Telegraph, April 26, 1878.

WOOLSEY'S POLITICAL SCIENCE.*

Dr. Woolsey's book—our notice of which has been too long delayed—is divided into two parts; the speculative, and the historical or descriptive, or, as he himself calls it, the practical. The two parts are not distinctly separated, however, as a good deal of speculation, and not unnecessarily or improperly, runs through the description. The work taken altogether is a very important contribution to the literature of the subject,—indeed, the most important American contribution to it since Calhoun's. That American contributions to this literature have not been more numerous and weighty, considering the extent to which politics has for the last century occupied the national mind, has often been mentioned as fair matter for surprise; but the truth is that the national mind is not fonder of speculation in politics than in other fields, and did most of its speculation once for a long time when the Government was founded. The supreme wisdom and absolute power of the numerical majority were adopted at a very early period in the national history as the key to all political problems, and the only sure foundation for government; and American political development has consisted, until the close of the late war, almost wholly in the embodiment of this idea in legislation. It is only within the last ten or fifteen years that there have been any signs of a desire to revise the propositions with which the Democratic party took possession of the government, or to doubt their complete working efficacy. So that a book like Dr. Woolsey's is probably sure of more attention to-day than it would have secured at any time within the present century.

The portion of the work which we have called the speculative portion, and which is not confined to any material division of it, but has to be gathered from the author's comments on nearly every page, impresses us, however, as less clear and instructive than the historical and descriptive portion, which we shall notice hereafter. This defect is, it seems to us, due to his failure to decide fully and firmly at the outset on which of two theories he would treat the fundamental points of the rights of individuals and the nature and origin of the state. One of these theories considers man as a social animal endowed, it matters not why or by whom, with certain moral and mental faculties, and defines his rights in society as the necessary facilities for the free exercise of these faculties within the limits prescribed by the free exercise by his neighbors of their faculties. The same theory regards the State as an organization created by the social instinct of man for the supply of these necessary facilities for the free exercise of his faculties, or rather for his protection while exercising them. This theory, however, does not take notice of his origin or destiny, or make the State anything more than an association of men for certain mundane ends,—a highly respectable association, it is true, from its permanence and its power, and the great volume of sympathy and pride of which it becomes, if we may use the term, the reservoir. This theory, too, decides whether a man is worthily playing his part as a citizen by the extent of his contributions to what his fellows regard as their welfare, and judges the success of the State by the degree in which it encourages or aids him in making these contributions.

Dr. Woolsey, indeed, in one place (Vol. I., p. 213 et seq.) describes the State very much in these terms: "The State is, in truth, a large association stretching over a vast territory, acting by itself and empowering others to act, leaving individuals in their freedom, but providing for the numerous wants of a whole community. The interests of men demand unity of law and one power everywhere, in order that life

may be on one undisturbed plan, so that a usurper who would introduce it where it was not, would be submitted to in his lifetime and venerated afterwards." He then goes on to show that "humanity expresses itself in the State," which intensifies sympathy with suffering, and uses the powers of all to supply wants which only a part may ever feel.

The other theory considers man as not only a social, but a religious, animal, and his citizenship here as largely a sort of preparation for a better city which is to come in another life, and involving duties and responsibilities other than those which connect him with the political organization to which he belongs. It considers the State, too, as something more than an association of men; or, to use Dr. Woolsey's words, declares that it is "not the sum of its members, but something more, and is so for all time." Its right of punishment and administering justice does not rest on contract or "any such flimsy foundation." "Society, in short, has more wisdom and might than the sum of its members," and this wisdom and might come "from the State's being in the natural order of things God's method of helping men towards a perfect life" (Vol. I., p. 195). Elsewhere, in elucidation of the same view, he lays it down that the only solid foundation for the State's primitive power is that "in punishing an evildoer the State renders him his deserts." . . . "In other words, the State has the same power and right to punish which God has; it is, in fact, as St. Paul calls it, a minister of God to execute wrath upon him that doeth wrong" (Vol. I., p. 354). Of course this makes the State not only "something more than the sum of its members," but vastly more. It makes it really, to use the old English phrase, a "most dread sovereign," armed not only with great power, but with immeasurable wisdom and authority,—in short, something awful, sacred, and mystic.

Now, the writer who holds one of these theories of man and of the State, cannot use the same political tests and standards as a writer who holds the other. They do not weigh the merits of a citizen or the efficiency of a government in the same way; a man may seem to one a good citizen, who to the other will seem a very indifferent citizen, while a State which one will think a perfect organization, might to the other wear the appearance of an inquisitorial pretender. Dr. Woolsey very frankly states his own position in his introduction:—

"Some things must be assumed in an essay like this. We assume the personality and responsibility of man as a free moral being. We assume also a moral order of the world, not founded on utilities that are in such a sense discoverable by man that he could construct a system of laws for human actions on them, however the divine Author of the world may have arranged it on such a plan. We discard the greatest-happiness theory as of no use, nay, as harmful in the department of politics, and believe that in human relations there must be a distinction drawn between benevolence and justice. At the same time we admit that happiness is an end which the individual and the State may rightfully aim at, and an important one, although subordinate to the rights and the ends contained in the perfection of human nature" (Vol. I., p. 1-2).

The italics in the above are ours. It means—if we interpret it aright—that a body of men, however high their social and mental culture, could not construct a just State, either by the aid of political experience or by an examination of their own needs; that even if they so far succeeded as to provide themselves with what are considered the ordinary sources of political happiness, such as security, liberty, industrial prosperity, intellectual activity, opportunities of education and social advancement for all, the State might still be a failure, because it might still fail to provide for "the perfection of human nature."

This repudiation of the utilitarian test is so complete that De Maistre could hardly have made it more so. We were not prepared after reading it, for the constant resort which Dr. Woolsey makes to this same test through the remainder of the work. He bases a man's claim to jurial rights upon his "needs." Property is justified by the usefulness "to the life, growth, health, and existence of the human race" of the products of the industry which property stimulates or keeps alive. Contract is to be cherished because "it is essential to the development and advance of human society." In his chapter on "The Sphere and Ends of the State," our author claims *theoretically* the widest possible sphere of activity and interference for the State; but in discussing the "Limits to State Power," he applies the utilitarian test unsparingly, and for purposes of practice decides that the State is bound to provide courts of the Anglo-Saxon type for the administration of justice; that justice ought to be cheap; that prescription ought to give a good title; that the right of petition ought not to be restricted; that speech on the platform and in the press ought to be free; that taxation ought not to be laid without the consent of the taxpayer through his representatives; that there ought to be no special exemptions from public burdens; and so on; justifying himself in every case by the fact that these restrictions are called for by the convenience or feelings of the citizen. He condemns socialism in like manner, by showing how it would result in actual working. He even goes so far to concede that the State "may, without going out of its permitted path, not only protect religion in other ways, but may also support an Established Church." "At the same time," he adds, again applying the utilitarian test even to this, "I believe that as a practical question, for the present, in some societies, and for the future, probably, in all, men will come to the opinion that the institutions of religion can be best sustained by combinations of private persons." But why should an institution which stands in the place of God, and which is armed with the awful power of punishing men according to

* *Political Science; or, the State, Theoretically and Practically Considered.* By Theodore D. Woolsey, late President of Yale College. 2 vols. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

their deserts without regard to the visible effects of the punishment, and which is charged with the preparation of man for perfection, abdicate the function, from this point of view of overwhelming importance, of taking charge of the religious training of the citizen? Suppose "combinations of private persons" neglect the institutions of religion, and the State takes no responsibility in the matter; is it a just and true State? And, finally, why is "the opinion of men" on such a matter of any importance?

Dr. Woolsey nowhere points out where the final source of authority in a State in which the greatest-happiness principle is "of no use," or is only a subordinate consideration, is to be lodged. We have looked in vain through the work for even a hint of the place in which the statesmen or people should look for the oracle which is to tell them whether their institutions do or do not make for human perfection, and do or do not carry out God's ends in the creation of human society; and yet, if popular contentment and prosperity count for nothing, or but little, nothing is more necessary to good government than the existence and accessibility of some infallible source of light.

There is, however, nothing new in Dr. Woolsey's definition of a State. It is, in truth, that which has prevailed throughout the world down to our own day. Take a conspicuous example in modern times of the working of his theory,—the France of Louis XIV. We do not by any means wish to make this theory responsible for the enormities of that monarch, because we grant that cruelty and intolerance are not the necessary accompaniments of the theory. But that monarch had, nevertheless, a political ideal which, taken in its best aspect, we find it difficult to distinguish from Dr. Woolsey's; that is, he held that the end of the State was the working out of God's purposes, in the production of human perfection; and he held that the happiness or contentment of his subjects was a subordinate consideration. He sought, therefore, as part of the proper discharge of this great function, and sought it with sincerity, to establish in his dominions complete unity of belief regarding the fundamental problems of human existence; and in order to produce this he inflicted punishment, *in loco Dei*, according to his notion of the deserts of the criminal, and without any reference to the effect of it on the popular mind, on public tranquillity, or on the national industry. The French Protestants emigrated by the hundred thousand, and whole provinces were desolated by military execution, and France was rapidly prostrated before her enemies; but the king's intentions being good, and the bulk of the people supporting him, on what theory but the utilitarian one can we condemn his course? "My people are not happy," he might say; "but what difference does that make? The chief end of government is not happiness." The fact is that, seductive as Dr. Woolsey's theory of the State is, and elevating as the contemplation of it is to many minds, it contains the fatal spring from which many of the greatest and most wide-spread of human woes have flowed. The authority of the State has, after all, to be exercised by a small body of commonplace mortals, for whom it is useless to claim God's wisdom in inflicting punishment any more than his power in shaping human destiny; and, however august their mission may be, they need to be saved from themselves by the constant reminder that their work will be judged now and here, and by purely mundane considerations.—*New York Nation, May 2.*

THE BIBLE FOR LEARNERS.

If I were to have but one book about the Bible in my bookcase, and could choose that book, of those I know it would probably be the one whose first volume is just published by Roberts Brothers, of Boston, under the title of *Bible for Learners*. Two volumes—over five hundred and fifty pages in each—for the Old Testament (the second to be ready in May), and a third, still larger, for the New, make up the work; but the last volume must wait awhile—we hope not long—on the translator's health. The price is \$2.00 a volume. Vol. II will contain a carefully made index to the Old Testament part, for the lack of which the English edition sadly suffers.

"The Bible as History and Literature," would better tell what it really is. It is the Bible treated not as "Holy Scriptures," but as the thousand-years-long literature of a religious nation; a literature beginning in an embryonic stage of myth and legend, and spanning the nation's growth from the time when it worshipped a fiery power with human sacrifices, to the time when it worshipped a Father-in-Heaven with self-sacrifice and righteousness; a noble literature, embracing science, history, laws, biography, fiction, drama, maxims, war-songs, love-songs, hymns. It is written—this new book—by men whose Bible reverence does not depend on finding a "revelation," nor end on finding a "legend"; but by scholars who know enough to call the revelation legend, and enough more to read out history and spiritual vision from the legend. Their point of view is always that of the science of religions. For instance: the Chaldean "Flood," the Persian "Eden," the Northman "Sagas," our Indian Hlawatha-stories, are made to illustrate Genesis. There is no dodging in their criticism, and yet they say truly, "Our greatest care has been to make these narratives speak to the heart and conscience."

To read these volumes, therefore, is to learn better what the Bible is, and what is in the Bible, than from reading the Bible itself. For here we have the gist of every narrative translated, and many of the more important passages literally,—each passage set in its chronological place, and made to contribute its fact or idea to the history of Israel's development, and each book accounting for itself in the order of its appearance. The Levitical part of "Moses' Law,"

e.g., was written probably eight hundred years after Moses, and it appears eight hundred years after Moses in our history; the psalm which probably illustrates an eighth century wedding is given in an eighth century chapter; and that which illustrates the captive's return from Babylon, is given in the chapter on the return; and so on. The "Prophets," so dim in the English translation that even patient readers weary, have voices full of meaning as we listen to each in his own day and generation, proclaiming Jehovah's wrath upon idolatries that we have been watching with him, and casting fearful glances at a foe that we already knew was threatening the land just then. Imagine six heroic pamphlets from John Robinson, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Channing, Theodore Parker, and Frank Abbot, tagged to each other in juxtaposition six centuries hence as "Prophets." What blind reading they would make till each was located in its own spot of the forgotten history! Then each would light its spot, and the spot it. Even so it is with the surviving pamphlets of the Hebrew literature; and our Dutch authors have done this "locating" and "lighting" for us.

And they have done it so admirably that their work is at once Bible-translation, commentary, and dictionary,—all in the form of a "Hebrew History and Literature." No doubt it holds mistakes, for there are "more truths yet to break forth out of the Bible" as more light breaks in upon it; but it is careful, thorough work. Many of the chapters are so easy, popular, dramatic even, in style as to interest children; yet they hold the results of the best liberal scholarship of the day, and the "learners," for whom they are written, may well include most of the men who talk from pulpits. In a word, by all kinds of Bible students—the minister who would fain lead his people to openly say "Bad!" of things bad, "False!" of things false, wherever they be found, and "True, Good, Beautiful!" of things that are so, wherever they be found; the mother wishing to give her child a common-sense reverence, instead of a common-sense irreverence, for the quaintly grand old Book; the Sunday-School teacher who wants fresh lessons for her class of twelve years old or twenty; the anxious reader who wonders if she must give up her dear traditional beliefs, and hopes for something at least as noble in their place,—by all such readers this book should be bought and read, and owned and lent.

We thank the Dutch authors, Oort and Hooikaas, the English translator, Wicksteed, who has done his part so well that one forgets it is a translation, and the American publisher, for giving it to us. One thing only is wanting; a promise to translate and publish the supplementary volume (already out in Dutch) that covers the gap in time between the Old Testament and the New.

I have written with only Dr. Oort's Old Testament volume in mind,—all that I have read. The New Testament part is prepared by the other author, Dr. Hooikaas, but in connection with his friend, and in the same spirit and knowledge. Will not some one who has read it make that the subject of a separate notice for the *Pamphlet Mission*?—*W. C. Gannett, in the Pamphlet Mission, May 1.*

EMERSON'S LECTURE.

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured in the Old South last evening upon "Temperance," as he chose to name his subject. But his use of the word was so wide that it included all the forms of moderation in which a wise man possesses himself; and the line of thought followed by the lecturer related especially to self-control in the use of language. He was an advocate of the positive degree, a decided opponent of the superlative. Conforming to the request made at the opening of the lecture, a formal report is withheld. The lecture began soon after eight o'clock, and continued for three-quarters of an hour. Mr. Emerson was accorded the closest attention, and his manner of delivery was an excellent illustration of his teaching. It was the living presentation of his doctrine, sentence by sentence.

At the outset of the lecture he stated the wide application of the word "temperance" to the conservation of all the energies of body, mind, and soul. Moderation in meats and drinks is a narrow meaning. People of extremes came next in order for notice; and those who go through life tearing, exclaiming, swearing, and convulsed were made to appear pitifully ridiculous in their littleness. No doubt every one present—for no children were there, and the good die young—felt more or less guilty under Mr. Emerson's analysis of the common human weakness of exaggeration. Certainly the characters are not infrequent who cry persecution when their opinions are controverted, and reckon themselves with Saint Barnabas, who was sawn in two. Nor is it to be supposed that all of Mr. Emerson's admirers are free from the use of the superlative in grammar which, in its several degrees of odiousness, met his unqualified censure last evening. An expression worth remembering is that "superlatives are diminutives and weaken. The positive is the sinew of speech; the superlative the fat."

The common tendency of people to exaggerate whatever is terrible and shocking was pelted favored with Mr. Emerson's attention. He thinks there cannot anything happen so tragical that we will not contrive to make the story worse by our exaggerations as we repeat it. Such untruths, too, as "The best I ever saw," "I never heard anything like it," Mr. Emerson would like to see gazetted. The current expressions for fear, suffering, and horror, also, such as "My hair stood on end," "My knees smote together," are untrue and excessive. Thousands live and die who never had a single experience of hunger, who were never thirsty and never terrified. This rhetorical terror comes only in dreams or nightmare.

The sufficient objection to this unmeasured speech is that it is a lie. Mr. Emerson then passed on to an analysis of the mental characteristics of these people who tell such remarkable lies and fall so utterly in self-control. We are, he said (no personalities are intended here), garrulous and demonstrative,—a kind of creatures who cannot live without expression for all our sense and nonsense. The lecturer passed naturally from this point to notice the power of expression, and the interesting opinion was given that though the man with greatest power of expression—Shakespeare—has by common consent been awarded the highest place in renown, if the opinion of the poets were asked their verdict would probably be different. If the power be given to display, there is all the less left for use and creation. Starting on a new line by the striking illustration that a face enlarged by a concave mirror loses its expression, Mr. Emerson set forth the loss of power which comes from exaggerating facts, which would be strong and expressive if restrained within the limits of exact truth. Nature's uniformity and lack of excess were made to furnish other good illustrations of the same truth. No one ever saw a winged dragon, a flying man, or a talking fish. Nature is always serious. She never jests with us. Life cannot be carried on except by fidelity and sober earnestness.

A just comparison was made next in the lecture between the Oriental and Occidental minds. The Western is mathematical and values exactness. It likes literal statements. It does not love the superlative, but the positive degree. But the Eastern mind is just the reverse; it delights in sweeping assertions and bold extravagance of language. These two characteristics have exerted an important and healthful influence upon each other. In the latter part of his lecture, the worth of plain statements and the habits of the common people to reduce their expressions to the simplest form were presented with a clearness which was itself a proof of the superior power of the moderate use of words. The office of the Eastern and Western habits of thought to serve as correctives of each other, and the beauty and strength each may give to the other, again took Mr. Emerson's attention; and with that theme the lecture closed.

It was an entertaining paper, and in its full form will doubtless receive the attention its sound sense deserves.—*Advertiser, April 25.*

BECKWITH VS. MOODY.

DID MOODY CONVERT THE INFIDEL CLUB IN EDINBURGH?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW HAVEN UNION:—

The subject-matter of the following letter sufficiently vindicates, if it does not demand, its publication. It was mailed to Mr. Moody on Thursday, April 25, but he, being out of town, probably did not receive it until Saturday, the 27th. In the interest of honesty the public are entitled to an ingenious explanation of the facts dwelt upon in the letter; and the only object of the writer was to elicit such an explanation. That so reasonable, natural, and honest a course as to state the facts has not been accorded from Mr. Moody is a circumstance that cannot tend to add to the credibility of his story in the minds of the public; and the writer appeals to the press to give to the people the charge against the Evangelist's truth and veracity, which he seems not disposed effectually to deny.

G. B.
NEW HAVEN, Conn., April 25, 1878.
TO D. L. MOODY, EVANGELIST, NEW HAVEN, CONN.:

Brother,—Allusion is made by Paul, in either a figurative or a sarcastic sense, to the truth abounding through his lie; and in the same connection he says that himself and others of his faith were slanderously reported to have done evil that good might come.

One of the most common passages in the experience of an aggressive reformer (and all effective reforms must be aggressive) is an animadversion upon his motives and methods, which involves the imputation that he is pursuing a selfish object and is forwarding it by sinister agencies.

The treatment of Evangelists is not an exception to this rule. Paul enjoyed its application to him, and those who succeeded him have had a good share of its benefits, even down to our contemporaries, and the time of Mr. Moody's advent to this city of the Pilgrim Fathers.

To give a case in point: I have lately been told by a gentleman of this city that Mr. Moody, in his public ministrations, related at two different places, the last of which was New Haven, in the hearing of my informant, an incident substantially as follows:—

"On one occasion of his preaching in Edinburgh, Scotland, there was in the audience a man who had been pointed out to Mr. Moody as the president of an infidel club in that city. The preacher directed his discourse pointedly toward that infidel; and, after the meeting, sought an interview and had a conference with him. The Evangelist at that time made no impression. A few weeks after, when Mr. Moody had departed from Edinburgh, and was preaching in another part of Scotland, he learned that the effect of his labor with the infidel leader was the conversion of him and seventeen of his associates in the club, being its entire membership, which broke up the club."

Such are the details which Mr. Moody is said (I have never heard them) to have stated repeatedly in his preaching. Now, my informant tells me that persons acquainted in Edinburgh declare this story of the conversion of that club to be without a shadow of truth, a sheer fabrication, and its falsity has been established by documents and affidavits which can be produced.

The gentleman who told me is a man of inflexible integrity, and a much respected citizen here. His name and address are at your service if you wish me to give them. He stated the case publicly, and said

any one was at liberty to use his name as authority for the facts. I have written this at his suggestion and request, we being familiar acquaintances.

Now, although we are enjoined not to let our good be evil spoken of, yet we cannot always prevent its being done. Men will criticise our best and purest actions, sometimes unfairly, and even mendaciously. Paul took occasion to repel as a slander the report that he did evil that good might come; and it seems to me that when a man goes before the community as the representative of the most solemn and vital interests that concern mankind is charged with duplicity and falsehood, if he is not amenable to such censure, it is gravely incumbent on him, upon a suitable occasion, to declare his innocence.

All of us who have tried to serve our fellows have felt the sting of false judgment upon our motives. While such judgment is limited to speculative interpretations of the principle upon which we act, with no facts to sustain any reproachful allegations, they may be passed by as idle talk, or simply discovered, when it is convenient and wise to do so. But when a grave charge of the character that I have stated is made against one in your position, and that charge is backed up by affidavits and documents procured by great exertion and with adequate inquiry, and circulated freely and fearlessly in the very presence of him against whom they are uttered, one of his first duties, if he is innocent of them, is to take an early occasion to declare their falsehood.

You, brother, are in a most favorable situation for giving to this community the facts upon this matter in a way that will be conclusive to their minds and enable them better to estimate you as a divine messenger to them than they otherwise could do. At the same time this can be done in a manner so incidental as not to give you the appearance of special pleading for your own justification. You enjoy with the people here a prestige which ought not to rest on any basis short of the highest merit; and neither you nor the community whose confidence you so largely enjoy can afford to allow the foundation of your popularity to be shaken and your usefulness impaired by an impeachment of your veracity. This impeachment is made by intelligent and honest men who profess to have the means of establishing their declarations by competent proof. A course of reticence on your part cannot fail to be construed as a tacit admission of its justness; and trusting that whether it is or is not well founded, you will here and early confront your accusers, and let the real facts be known, I am very respectfully, your available coadjutor for the elevation of humanity by processes founded in reason, and furthered in truth,

GEORGE BECKWITH.

—New Haven Union, May 3.

THE RIGHTS OF THE CLERGY.

A REMARKABLE CASE IN MARLBOROUGH—A CATHOLIC PRIEST NOT LEGALLY SUSTAINED IN EJECUTING A THIRD PARTY WHILE ADMINISTERING THE SACRAMENT TO A PAUPER.

A case of much interest has recently been decided by the Supreme Court relating to the right of a Roman Catholic priest to exclude from the room the wife of the keeper of an almshouse while the priest was administering a sacrament of the Church to a sick person. The suit was brought by Rebecca Cooper against Peter McKenna and others, in the Superior Court for Middlesex County. It was an action of tort for an assault and battery, and the defence was a general denial of liability. At the trial of the cause there was evidence tending to show that the assault and battery, if committed at all, was committed in an effort to remove the plaintiff from a room in the almshouse, of which the plaintiff's husband was keeper and of which she was in charge at the time, in Marlborough, where the defendant, McKenna, a Catholic priest and a resident of Marlborough, was endeavoring to administer the sacrament to a sick woman named Hogan, who was a Catholic and believed such sacrament essential to her, and was an inmate of the house and had requested him to administer it, and which administering required entire secrecy between McKenna and the sick person; that the plaintiff had refused to leave the room after being requested to retire, and that only a sufficient and proper amount of force was used to compel her to leave.

The defendants asked the Court to instruct the jury as follows: "If the jury are satisfied that the defendant McKenna went to the almshouse at Hogan's request to administer to her the sacraments of her Church, and violated no rule of the house, either written or otherwise, and did not interfere with the proper discipline of the house in obtaining access to her, then, if the sacrament of penance to be administered, as understood by McKenna and Hogan, required secrecy between the parties, and if the plaintiff persistently remained in the room after being requested to retire, and for the purpose of interfering, then a sufficient and proper amount of force might be used to remove the plaintiff from the rooms where the sick person was while the sacrament was being administered." The court refused to instruct the jury as requested; for the reason, among others, that no justification had been set up in the defendants' answers. A verdict was rendered for the plaintiff, and the defendants alleged exceptions.

The Supreme Court has now overruled the exceptions taken by the defendant, holding that under an answer making a general denial of the plaintiff's declaration, the justification set up by the defendants was inadmissible. But the court also found, independently of any question of pleading, the supposed justification insufficient. The opinion is by Judge Ames, and upon this part of the case the court says: "It appears from the bill of exceptions that the plaintiff's husband was the keeper of the almshouse, and that she was in charge of it at the time of the

difficulty. She was rightfully in the room at the time it happened and the defendant was a mere visitor. Whether it would have been reasonable and proper, under the circumstances, for the plaintiff to have left the room on being requested, is a question which is not for us to decide, and upon which we need express no opinion. There was nothing, however, in the priestly character of the defendant, or in the offices of religion which he was about to perform, that gave him the control of the room, or any legal authority to exclude or remove from it by force any person lawfully there. The case presented to us raises no question except as to the strict legal rights of the parties; and we are bound to say that the facts relied upon by the defendant in justification of his conduct do not as a matter of law furnish any defence." G. A. Somerby appeared for the plaintiff, and T. H. Sweetser for the defendant.—*Boston Advertiser*, May 8.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH FREEMASONRY.

At the last meeting of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of England, the following action was taken with reference to the recent action of the Grand Orient of France in dropping the requirement of a belief in the existence of God: The pro-grand master, the Earl of Carnarvon, who on rising was received with warm cheers, said that it was then his duty to call attention to a report of a committee appointed "to inquire into the circumstances relative to the elimination of the name of the Great Architect of the Universe from its ritual by the Grand Orient of France." The committee, the noble earl said, had agreed unanimously to a report; but before he stated its effect he requested the grand secretary to read the old and the new regulations of the Grand Orient of France. The grand secretary then read the old regulations of the Grand Orient, which declared that the "principles of the order are the existence of a God, the immortality of the soul, and human *solidarité*"; and that it excluded no person on account of his belief (the same in effect as the general principles of the order universally). In the altered regulations, the words regarding the existence of God and the immortality of the soul were eliminated, and there were substituted the words "absolute freedom of conscience."

The pro-grand master then proceeded to state that the committee, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, proposed four resolutions,—one, that the Grand Lodge should state that it viewed with profound regret the step which had been taken by the Grand Orient of France in thus removing from its regulations the foundation of the craft upon the existence of God and the immortality of the soul,—a removal opposed to all principles of the craft, as was seen in the history and traditions of Freemasonry from the earliest times. The second resolution proposed was to the effect that the English Grand Lodge, while anxious in the most fraternal spirit to greet brethren from foreign lodges initiated in lodges where the free and genuine principles were adopted, could not admit those initiated in lodges which denied or ignored the belief in the existence of God. It would therefore be necessary to state, the report proceeded to say in a third resolution, that no brother from a lodge could be admitted unless his certificate showed that he had been initiated in a lodge where this landmark of the order was observed, or unless he should be vouched for as one so initiated; and he also admitted that this belief in the Great Architect of the universe was an essential landmark of the order.

The chairman of the committee, after speaking at some length in support of the resolutions, said that general lodges looked to the English Grand Lodge, as to the central parliament of Freemasonry, for guidance, and the committee considered it should not flinch from the duty of prescribing and specifying the practical mode in which effect should be given to its views. The resolutions were then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously. The next important business was the election of a grand master for the year, and upon the motion of two brethren from below the dais, as representing the working lodges, the Prince of Wales was re-elected with unanimity and amid loud cheers, and proclaimed in due form by Brother Thomas Fenn with all the titles of the grand master. The Grand Lodge then closed in due form.—*Boston Advertiser*, April 29.

THE COMMUNISM THAT IS DANGEROUS.

The country is informed that there are eight thousand Communists from foreign countries in Chicago, two thousand of whom are armed and are acquiring military discipline. This is not a very pleasing piece of intelligence for the mass of the people who believe in law and order and who have heard of the terrors of the French Commune. Nevertheless, upon more mature reflection, there is little to cause alarm in the announcement, supposing it to be true. The mass of the people of this country believe in law and order, and not only yield willing obedience to recognized authority, but will promptly support that authority. The body politic is not yet sufficiently poisoned with the heresies of the Commune to extend any favor or support to an organization called into existence to oppose the laws of the land and defy constituted authority. Movements like that in Chicago can be strangled by the iron grip of authority. The exiles of the French Commune who recently celebrated "Good Friday" in New York by a banquet at which the most disgusting obscenities and shocking blasphemies were uttered, will render their creed so forbidding that no decent person can listen to it.

Communism may be said to be the creed of spoliation. Under the guise of the proclamation of equal rights for all men, it proposes to equitably divide among the masses the accumulations of the industrious and the fortunate. It is, therefore, but another

name for robbery. Whatever partakes of the nature of spoliation, or taking the property of one class of citizens to enrich another, is in the nature of communism.

The communism which is dangerous is the tendency in the cities of this country to ring-rule, by which a few hundreds are enriched at the expense of the many. Under the Tweed régime New York city furnished an illustration of our point on a magnificent scale. In most cities in the country there has been more or less of it. The mass of ignorant and vicious voters which crowd into large cities, vote solidly with the ring-masters. For so doing they receive their reward by being allowed to break the laws with impunity. Scores share the plunder derived from thousands as taxes, and these scores organize and vote the vicious masses. This is a form of communism which is dangerous.

In this country the right to vote is of great value,—so valuable and so necessary to the security and well-being of communities and States that it should be most zealously guarded. Law-makers should spare no efforts to hedge about the right of suffrage with every possible safeguard. When it becomes of no account, when people get to saying "it is no use to vote, and 'there will never again be a fair election,' there is real cause for alarm. The ballot in the hands of the man entitled to it is protection, and, in a certain sense, property. When, by the commission of frauds upon the ballot either by the voting of those who are not entitled to the privilege or by repeating and ballot-box stuffing, the votes of those entitled to suffrage are rendered nugatory, and the voice of the majority stifled, communism practically controls affairs. When, by the connivance of elections officers, those entitled to vote are defrauded by false counting and returns, communism is already seated in the place of authority, and, by depriving those entitled to the ballot of its count and voice, robs the many in the interest of the few. There is already an alarming danger. In some States of the Union there are cities where it is asserted by those who know that there has not been an honest election in many years.

Another exhibition of the spirit of communism is found in the growing tendency of States and cities to repudiate their just obligations to creditors. It is none the less plundering because there is no law to enforce such contracts, and the influence is none the less pernicious because the fraud is perpetrated by law-makers. Indeed, it gives an air of respectability to robbery.

These are a few of the communistic tendencies which are dangerous, and which should be checked and remedied.—*Boston Journal*, April 27.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

UNDER THE TREES.

BY KATHLEEN WRIGHT.

Light dancing leaves of the tall swaying tree-tops!
Beautiful children of sunshine and joy!
Rocking secure on the heavenly breezes,
High above earth and all earthly alloy.
Whom do they beckon, the free dancing leaflets?
What do the breezes say? Listen and hark!
Lofty green trees in the sunshine are calling—
Calling the seed hid away in the dark.
Higher! rise higher!
Thou too art our kindred;
Dark night is over, and day is begun.
Lift thy head!
Leave thy bed!
Leave thy dark cavern!
Come, little sister, come forth to the sun.

Wonderful life of the green swaying tree-tops!
High above sorrow and high above care.
Spirits invisible! Voices celestial!
Floating serene through the blue sunny air.
What are they seeking, those fingers of sunshine?
What do those voices say? Listen and hark!
Cast thine eyes upward; 'tis thee they are calling—
Calling the soul hid away in the dark.
Higher! rise higher!
Thou too art our kindred;
Dark night is over, and day is begun.
Sleep no more!
Weep no more!
Leave thy dark cavern!
Rise, little sister, come forth to the sun.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 18.

S. O. Mason, \$3.20; Aug. Brentano, \$7.15; William Alexander, \$1.10; A. Delahaye, \$6.14; Louis Ash, \$3; New England News Co., \$16.14; Gen. A. J. Warner, \$1; John Ahrens, \$3.20; M. H. Conaway, \$4; Beia Gardner, \$3.20; J. H. W. Toohy, \$1.70; Maggie Dickey, \$3.20; Jerry Brockway, \$2.50; F. A. Green, \$13.20; W. F. Mitchell, 10 cents; Pennsylvania E. R., \$65; Wm. E. Darling, \$5; Mrs. M. S. Wetmore, \$3.20; S. R. Mumford, \$3.20; Henry Powers, \$2.40; B. B. Hill, 75 cents; C. H. Vinton, \$1.80; Mrs. A. C. Spooner, \$1.80; F. O. Dorr, \$3.20; Jno. S. Cox, \$3.20; Frank B. Sibley, \$3.20; J. T. Clarkson, \$1.14.

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 23, 1878.

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at the office of the Association, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 1, 1878, at 2½ P.M., for the hearing of the annual reports, the election of a Board of Directors for the ensuing year, and the transaction of any other business that may be brought before the meeting.

ONE OF THE grounds on which Robert Manners, of London, rests his claim to the estate of his uncle, the late Dr. James Rush, of Philadelphia, is that under the latter's will "works must be admitted to the library which inculcate rebellion, treason, atheism, deism, materialism, or which uphold polygamy and socialism, and the library would become a fountain for the corruption of pure religion, sound morals, and good order." How grateful to this pious heir ought society to be, in view of his disinterested zeal for the public morals!

THE NEW YORK *Herald* of May 16 contained this interesting report:—

The Third Auxiliary League of New York, being an offshoot of the National Liberal League, was organized last night in Standard Hall, Sixth Avenue. The following officers were elected: Mr. Cortland Palmer, President; A. Tanzer, Vice-President; W. H. Christern, Treasurer; E. B. Foote, Jr., Secretary; the four councillors chosen being Mrs. Clara Neymann, Messrs. I. Lockwood, T. C. Leland, and C. Ellershaw. Addresses were made by Mr. O. B. Frothingham, Mr. C. Palmer, and Mrs. Clara Neymann. In his remarks Mr. Frothingham said that the reason why the interest in the movement was not more general was that the great bulk of the people did not well understand its purpose. A great many people stayed away because they believed it was of a political partisan nature, and designed to effect radical changes in the country's institutions. He believed that the Orthodox community would be zealous in repelling a movement advocating innovations in the public institutions; but this was, he contended, not a radical but a conservative movement. It was the purpose of the National Liberal League to make the people think, and to call attention to the outrageous injustices inflicted on society through the connection of Church and State. The essential duty of the League was to consummate the separation of Church and State. The government of the country started out with that idea, and all those departures from that idea witnessed to-day are innovations. The speaker read a report from the *Catholic Union*, which he characterized as a sensible, temperate document. It represented the many disadvantages which Roman Catholics labor under in this country, through want of recognition by their Protestant brethren, who, for the most part, run the government. It appeared that in the United States army there were thirty post chaplains and four regimental chaplains. The percentage of Catholics in the army would entitle that denomination to twenty-three out of the thirty-four official clergymen; but the fact was that they were only allowed one. In the navy there were, he added, twenty-four chaplains, not one of whom is a Catholic, although the vast majority of American seamen profess the Catholic faith. This Catholic report was a practical advocacy of the abolition of the position of chaplain in the army and navy, seeing that that denomination could not obtain its share of representatives in office. Mr. Frothingham also claimed that Indian delegations at Washington asking for Catholic priests could not get them; and that the Protestant report of the Indian mission plainly pointed to the fact, as he alleged, that Catholics were not fairly treated, and that only separation of Church and State could mend matters. He wanted complete secular equality, and the only way to stop the quarrels and rivalries among the sects would be by the measure now advocated. This movement was not a radical one in any sense; it was, on the contrary, a conservative one, that concerns every man. After finishing his remarks, which were full of apt and scholarly illustrations, Mr. Frothingham was the recipient of much applause from the audience.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 30, at 7.45 P.M., session for business in Horticultural Hall; election of officers; reading of reports; and general consideration of the practical work of the Association.

Friday, May 31, at 10.30 A.M. and 3 P.M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "The Religion of Humanity, and how it may be Organized"; essayist, T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of the Society of Humanity, New York. Afternoon subject: "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and how it is being Disorganized"; essayist, Mr. Wm. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, Mass. Among the speakers expected are O. B. Frothingham, President of the Association, Mr. M. Ellinger, editor of the *Jewish Times*, Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith and Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, Rev. S. R. Calthrop, of Syracuse, and Miss Anna M. Garlin, of Providence. Mrs. Smith will give a poem, at the Friday morning session, on "Soul Questionings." Miss Garlin will speak at the business session, Thursday evening, on the "Practical Work of Free Religion."

On Friday evening there will be a social gathering in Horticultural Hall.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

CULTURE.

It is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to define "culture." The word suggests very different thoughts to different minds.

Mallock's just published *New Republic* is largely occupied with conversations on culture by an imaginary company of English people of fashion, gathered together for a Sunday at a charming seaside villa. To be sure, they came to no agreement; their notions are extremely heterogeneous and incoherent; but they nearly all agree that, if they could only discover exactly what it is, culture is a very nice thing to have, and a respectable substitute for religion.

On the other hand, two liberal journals of this country week before last happened to contain articles which treated culture as a very dubious advantage,—as, in fact, rather tending to effeminacy, daintiness, exclusiveness, and aristocracy, than to the hardy virtues befitting genuine liberals and democrats. Without exactly saying so, the writers seemed to intimate that it is not to be eagerly sought for as a great and positive good, but rather to be eyed suspiciously and treated as possibly a disguised foe to the people.

Now there is something in each of these attitudes towards culture which has a foundation in truth. In the absence of any precise definition of what culture really is, let us sketch in a general way what the word stands for in our own thought, and why we look in vain for a complete exhibition of it in the classes which tacitly assume to possess a monopoly of the article.

Taken etymologically, culture means simply cultivation, applied to human nature; and it expresses the result of such cultivation. It should properly, we conceive, denote development, evolution, ripening of humanity itself, in all its manifold powers and capacities, and should thus be equivalent to religion, or the "universal, integral, and continuous education" of man into his highest ideal possibilities. Culture can mean no less than this, the moment one begins to reflect upon it. Indeed, turning to Principal Shairp's beautiful little book on *Culture and Religion in some of their Relations*, we find that we can heartily adopt his description, which is almost verbally the same as that which we have just given: "Culture proposes as its end the carrying of men's nature to its highest perfection, the developing to the full all the capacities of our humanity."

This, however, is culture considered in its general aspect; and it represents an ideal so profound and comprehensive that we scan history and experience in vain to discover a full embodiment of it in a living character. Culture as we all know it is always partial; and this fact ought to humble the conceit of those who are so self-complacent as to imagine themselves "the cultured" *par excellence*. Whoever has attained exceptional development in any one line ought, from the inexorable laws of human limitation, to suspect, nay, to know that he has consciously failed to become developed in other lines. No man ever "swells to the full circle of the infinite"—unless he is crazy, dreaming, or drunk!

Take, for example, those whom the favoritism of

fortune has reared under circumstances so propitious as to make them the shining lights of "society." Manners, address, taste, refinement, polish,—all the thousand and one graces which are possible in the highest degree only to him who from childhood has breathed the atmosphere of cultivated society,—these are all desirable and beautiful in their place, as the mere adjuncts and adornments of higher things; but, if these be all, what a poverty-stricken wretch it is! They are gilding, not gold; and he who has only this society-culture is one of the most uncultured of mortals.

So of all others who are cultured only in single directions. The most favored are shut down to one of two alternatives: either to be highly cultured in one or a few things and deficient to a marked degree in all others, or else to be symmetrically cultured in many things, but in nothing much. The "Admirable Crichtons" are little better than myths, at least in these days. The practical limitations of culture force themselves so powerfully on the attention of all who can conceive the unattainable universality of culture in the abstract, that modesty has become inseparable from even the most moderate degree of it in the estimation of all sensible judges. The fop, the egotist, the supercilious coxcomb who fancies that his veins are filled with the ichor of the gods and who holds his nose at the approach of the common people,—these are the vulgarest of vulgarians. The true democrat, who is not ashamed of his own humanity or of owning sympathetic admiration of human excellence of any and every kind, no matter how plain its garb or how homely its surroundings, constantly feels his own inferiority of culture on this or that point in the presence of other persons.

There is no finer proof of the best culture than a genuine deference paid to man as man, which yet knows how to protect itself against intrusion or presumption by a triple wall of self-respect. The highest culture is culture of the highest. He who knows not what that highest is betrays how utterly unkempt, unwaashed, and uncivilized he has come to man's estate. To have no sense of real values, to take pyrites for nuggets, to despise the superlative intellectual and moral interests of life for the sake of that external tinsel which dazzles the multitude as glass beads dazzle the savage,—this is to be uncultured indeed; yet it is a want of culture which, singularly enough, is most common among the so-called cultured classes. It is these who so frequently adopt the motto of *nil admirari*, and who are ashamed of all enthusiasm for causes or principles. Undue absorption in the superficialities, the adornments and pleasures and elegancies of life, tends not only to withdraw just so much vital energy from life's graver objects, but also to warp and stunt the higher nature, and to dull the perception of what constitutes culture itself in its larger aspects. The classes which honestly imagine themselves to be the best representatives of American culture manifest a one-sidedness and pettiness of conception which betrays the poverty of their ideal of it, and condemns them as really uncultured, after all. They are too frivolous to be deeply in earnest about anything; they recoil from enthusiasm as inherently vulgar, no matter how grand its exciting cause; they are full of interest in the fine arts, but take no interest in that finest art of all—the art of human life. The passion for truth, the ambition of grand character, the lofty devotion of self to the common weal, the capability of rising above the small concerns of a merely individual existence to the lofty plane of self-dedication to the universal,—these are things quite left out of their notion of culture; but the omission is fatal.

The use of culture is to produce large and rounded natures—men and women in whom shall be found conjoined the maximum of strength and the maximum of beauty,—men and women who shall be living revelations of the grandeur of our essential humanity. Ancient Greece produced the finest types of physical culture, and has left imperishable records of it in the Apollo and the Venus; it is the possibility of America to produce the finest types of intellectual and moral culture, and she will remain unworthy of her magnificent opportunity until she burns with the desire to seize it. But first of all she must exalt her ideal of culture to the demands of the time; she must not be content with dilettantism or a really vulgarian shallowness of conception. The so-called uncultivated classes have a truer perception of what constitutes culture, after all, than those classes which pique themselves on its possession; the latter neglect the sinew and bone of our humanity in order to clothe it with elegant costume, while the former value bone and sinew above dress. In

this the common people are right. If one must choose between substantial strength and external polish, give us that rather than this. But we are shut down to no such perplexity. Radicalism is nothing if it be not the demand for culture, in all its length and breadth and depth; and he who sneers at it in any aspect, whether in outward or inward things, proves himself a renegade to radicalism. "Cultivate manhood and womanhood"—that is the fundamental law of all radicalism which is not a sham; and too much culture is an impossibility, provided it sin not by disproportion. Above all else, keep clearly in view the sovereign claim of the intellectual and moral; if these are worthily cultured, all else shall be added to them. But let us beware of despising culture in the smallest matters, lest we fall below the wisdom of the old Roman poet, who held up the ideal of the true gentleman as the *homo factus ad unguem*—the "man finished even to the finger-nail." Jealousy of culture, as if it were hostile to "democracy" or "liberalism," is going over to the enemy; it betrays the contemptible spirit which would level down rather than level up; it belongs only to those whose radicalism is not a clearly conceived great principle, but only a mean spite against superior attainment. No one of us is sufficiently cultured,—least of all he who thinks himself most so; let us indulge in no heart-burnings or jealousies, but join our efforts to secure the utmost possible culture for each and all.

MR. HEYWOOD'S QUESTIONS.

The following note from Mr. Heywood was received last week:—

OFFICE OF THE WORD,
PRINCETON, Mass., May 16, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As opposed to persons who signed the Bennett petition, but who still favor some law to suppress obscene literature, your points in to-day's issue seem well taken. But I am interested to ask what kind of laws to restrict the liberty of the press on this matter you favor; why freedom of conscience in Socialism, the right of private judgment in morality, should not be respected as in purely religious questions; and on what grounds government can judiciously undertake to regulate the opinions of one class of citizens in deference to the prejudices and customs of other classes of society? Your views on these points will greatly interest all schools of reformers.

E. H. HEYWOOD.

It is an inscrutable mystery why these questions should be put to us. To imagine for an instant that they are put for the purpose of obtaining information as to our views, after the tediously explicit and repeated statements we have made on the subject, would be so cruelly disrespectful to Mr. Heywood that we dismiss that supposition precipitately. We therefore "give up the conundrum," and will simply answer the questions themselves tersely and directly.

1. We favor both National and State laws making it a criminal offence to print, sell, circulate, or mail any publications which are addressed, not to the intellects, but to the mere passions of the young and inexperienced, and of which the main and manifest intent is to foster vice for the sake of profit to the publishers or advertisers. We favor no other laws restricting the "liberty of the press."

2. We hold that "freedom of conscience in Socialism" should be absolutely inviolate, so long as it does not lead to overt anti-social acts; that is, crimes against the rights of others. We hold that the "right of private judgment in morality" should be equally inviolate, so long as it does not lead to the same crimes. And we demand "freedom of conscience" and the "right of private judgment" to no greater extent in religion.

3. We hold that government can neither "judiciously" nor justly "undertake to regulate the opinions" of any citizen or any class of citizens whatever, in deference to anything or anybody on the earth or in the heavens, any further than to require all children to be properly instructed in that positive knowledge without which they cannot discharge their public duties, or defend their private rights, as citizens of a democratic republic.

We have answered Mr. Heywood's three questions pointedly, precisely, and unequivocally; and we have a right to expect that he will henceforth cease to misrepresent us by attributing to us opinions on this subject directly opposed to those which we have again and again declared. From the time this issue was first raised, we have taken invariably the same ground: namely, that such publications as those for which Charles Bradlaugh, Mrs. Besant, D. M. Bennett, and E. H. Heywood have been prosecuted, are not of a character to be justly interfered with by the law. The only practical difference between Mr. Heywood's ground and ours is as to the right of society

to suppress the foul stuff which is wilfully intended to corrupt and ruin innocent children. Let it be distinctly understood that we favor, and that Mr. Heywood opposes, such laws as shall protect children from these infamous attacks on their health, happiness, and character. That is the only practical difference on this subject between us. If he is restive under this statement of the difference, let him find another if he can, and he shall be heard. But we must request not to be compelled to say the same things over and over again by his utter and inexcusable inattention to opinions which he nevertheless undertakes to blame.

THE F. R. A. FESTIVAL.

The following circular has been issued, and will receive, we trust, attention and response from our readers:—

The Free Religious Association

Invite their friends to unite with them in a SOCIAL DONATION FESTIVAL to take place in Horticultural Hall, Boston, on Friday evening, May 31, 1878.

The objects of our yearly festival are to strengthen the Association by binding closer the ties of sympathy between all those who accept the principle of religious freedom, to promote that "fellowship in the spirit" which is one of the objects named in our Constitution, to increase our membership, and replenish our treasury. All persons, therefore, of every name, sect, or party, who sympathize with the spirit of the Free Religious Association, are invited to renew with us the pleasant time we have had at previous gatherings.

This invitation, shown at the door, will be a sufficient pass to the festival; and those desiring invitations for themselves or their friends can obtain them by application to any of the Committees.

Membership-subscriptions and donations will be received at tables arranged for the purpose in the Hall. We would remind friends that the year's work of the Association depends very largely on these contributions received at the festival, and would beg those who cannot give us their presence, to send their donations by letter to the Treasurer, Richard P. Hallowell, 139 Federal Street, Boston.

HELEN M. IRESON,	JOHN C. HAYNES,
EDNAH D. CHENEY,	W. C. GANNETT,
MRS. S. E. SEWALL,	MRS. M. V. DUDLEY,
MRS. H. C. MOORE,	MRS. J. T. SARGENT,
MRS. K. G. WELLS,	T. W. HIGGINSON,
MISS M. OSBORN,	C. K. WHIPPLE,
RICHARD P. HALLOWELL,	
Committee on the Festival.	

The Annual Meeting of the Association begins on Thursday evening, May 30, at 7.45, in Horticultural Hall,—a business session, to which all interested are welcomed. On Friday morning at 10.30, and afternoon at 3, in Beethoven Hall (Washington Street, opposite the Globe Theatre), are held the two sessions for public addresses. In the evening, at the Horticultural Hall again, this festival, at 7.30.

N.B.—No refreshments for sale at festival this year.

THE PARISIAN COMMUNE.

De Beaumont-Vassy, in his *History of the Commune of Paris in 1871*, has proven that the Commune was an offshoot of the "International Society of Workingmen," and its chief aims were to trample upon capitalists and the employers of labor, and to exalt the workmen into the place of their masters. During the siege of Paris by the Prussians, the populace of the city had been armed almost *en masse*; and when after five months of great privation the siege of Paris terminated, the horrors of foreign invasion were succeeded by even more terrible domestic dissensions. No sooner had the triumphal progress of the German army through the streets of Paris been affected, than the capital was found to be in the hands of an insurgent people. De Beaumont-Vassy says, "A portion of the National Guard, the most dangerous and the most redoubtable, the same that during the siege had not hesitated even in presence of the foreign foe, under his eyes and under his shells, to seek to overthrow by the strong hand the government of national defence,—this malicious and restless portion of the citizen-militia had not returned their arms, and when summoned to surrender them had replied by a formal refusal to the injunctions of the authorities."

The entire disorganization of labor consequent upon the siege, the prolonged sufferings and privations of the people, and the disorder inseparable from the condition of the beleaguered city, had completely demoralized the population of Paris, as is well shown in the graphic description of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton in the concluding and unfinished chapters of *The Parisians*. Paris, at every epoch in its history has possessed more than its proportion—as compared with other great European capitals, London, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, or St. Petersburg—of the dangerous elements of society. Victor Hugo's works abundantly testify to this fact,—notably, *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Les Misérables*. But after the declaration of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jules

Favre, in his circular to the representatives of France in other nations, "We will not cede either an inch of territory or a stone of our fortresses," so quickly succeeded by the treaty negotiated under the leadership of the veteran Thiers, by which Alsace and Lorraine, Metz and Strasbourg were ceded to Germany, in addition to the immense indemnity to be paid in coin or its equivalent, the prolonged occupation of the soil of France by the conquerors, and—the crowning dishonor of all—the entry of the German army into Paris, merely to assert their supremacy and insult the vanquished,—it was little wonder that all respect for constituted authorities had vanished. During the last heroic struggles preceding the capitulation, the Communists and "Red Republicans" had been busy—not in assisting the provisional government in its extremity like true patriots and honest citizens, but in fomenting all manner of discontents, and in effecting a thorough organization of their tumultuary forces. Committees of vigilance and revolutionary clubs, modelled after those of 1793, had been in session; violent and unprincipled harangues had been delivered; and, so soon as the raising of the siege somewhat relaxed the authority of the civil and military officials, the Communists proceeded to the execution of the purpose they had conceived. Their designs were favored by the political discontents of the moment. They could declaim against the surrender of Paris to the enemy; the shameful peace, and the royalist assembly which frowned upon republican deputies; and had just resolved to sit at Versailles instead of Paris. At the last elections, called to ratify the conditions of peace, as stipulated by the Germans in the preliminary negotiations at Versailles, the Bonapartists who had commenced the war, had not dared to brave the popular wrath by presenting themselves as candidates. The Republicans had fallen into disfavor, because under the leadership of Leon Gambetta they had persisted in prolonging the war to the bitter end, long after there was any reasonable hope of success. Hence the "Legitimists," or adherents of the Bourbons, for the first time in many years, found themselves in a majority in the assembly, which became, in consequence, obnoxious to the radical republican element which has preponderated in Paris for the past century.

Communitic workingmen were the leaders of this movement, intent upon carrying out their principles of social revolution. Many of the most active of their leaders were foreigners. Prince Bismarck estimated (in a speech before the German Parliament, delivered on the 2d of May, 1871) that amongst them were not less than eight thousand English, Irish, Belgians, and Italians. De Beaumont-Vassy says, "Quelle étaient ces hommes? c'est que chacun se demandait; comme les 'hommes noirs' du poète Béranger, ces hommes rouges sortaient de dessous terre."—(*Hist. de la Commune*.) From the first they held possession of Belleville, La Villette, and Montmartre; they had upwards of four hundred cannon in their hands, and were supported by not less than one hundred thousand of the National Guard. Parley with them was vainly attempted, and an effort on the part of the government to recover possession of the artillery miscarried. Some of the troops ordered to march upon the positions held by the insurgents refused to obey, and joined the insurrection. So crippled was the strength of the authorities that they even went so far as to recognize the insurgent leaders as legal belligerents. But all attempts at conciliation were fruitless; and the time was worse than wasted, for the insurrection gathered force by the delay, while the weakness of the constituted national authority only became more and more apparent. The Communists captured two generals—Clément Thomas and General Lecompte,—and they were shot to death by a file of the national guard. On the 18th of March, 1871, less than three weeks after the preliminaries of peace had been signed between France and Prussia, all Paris was in the hands of a howling mob of men proclaiming the social regeneration of mankind, and illustrating it by an entire subversion of order, decency, justice, and morality! From the Hôtel de Ville a "central committee" proclaimed the immediate election of a "Commune" for the better government of Paris, which was to become the archetype for the rest of France. Of the officials of the new Commune elected, De Beaumont-Vassy remarks: "Ces hommes, parmi lesquels on retrouvait presque tous les membres du comité central, étaient d'anciens ouvriers, ou des orateurs de clubs, ou d'anciens journaliers et gens de lettres de second ordre." Meantime, the authorities at Versailles were preparing to reduce the insurgent city. But the regular army of France had been nearly

annihilated in the recent war: a very large proportion captured at Sedan and elsewhere had not yet been released from their imprisonment in Germany; while Prussia was insisting upon an immediate reduction of the military force still remaining at the service of the State. Hence the progress of the siege was painfully slow; but it was thus of great benefit to civilized society at large by giving to the newly-established and organized "Commune" the opportunity of revealing its real principles, the character of its administration, the nature of its supporters, and its general motives, objects, and ideas.

Its scheme of government contemplated the extension of independent Communes throughout all France; while, according to a proclamation dated on the 19th of April, 1871, the unity of the State was to be maintained by a voluntary association of Communes. Nor were these Communes to be simple municipalities. They were expressly designed to carry out the principles of socialism, necessitating the confiscation of all personal property, the community of goods, and the organization of labor. The Communists actually wished to divide their fair country into no less than thirty-seven thousand petty sovereign States under the name of "Communes." In every one the property of the rich was to be appropriated for the use of the community: in each and all, the individual citizen was to be required to merge his personality, his family, his own and his children's future in the government of the State! Frenchmen would thus have exchanged their country for their Commune. The intellect, the arts, the industry of France would then have been degraded to the mere function of providing subsistence for the entire community. Her high civilization would, of necessity, have been followed by another age of darkness and of slavery; and, as M. Frank observes in his *Communisme jugé par l'histoire*, "It would abolish liberty, it would suppress civil as well as political liberty, it would do away with the family. One can even say that it would suppress human nature, and, in consequence, the moral conscience of mankind, in order to place in its stead the omnipotence, the collective, and necessarily irresponsible, tyranny of the State!" And again, "The State would be the sole and absolute master of men and of their affairs, of their goods, and of their persons. We should be in full communism, and yet communism could only establish and perpetuate itself under the reign of despotism. . . . It would remain the only contractor and the only capitalist; the State would be everything, and the individual would be nothing,—these are the distinguishing marks of communism."

Immediately after the election and organization of the new Commune it began to issue decrees and proclamations like any established government. Its leaders advocated the suppression of religious worship. At first there were no signs of a ferocious spirit, and the guillotine was publicly burned "in the cause of humanity." To meet their immediate exigencies the Commune exacted loans from the Bank of France, and from other administrative departments, and also appropriated all the receipts of the octroi. Their confederates and followers were among the poor; their enemies were the rich and the bourgeoisie; and, to gratify one of these classes at the expense of the other, they decreed that the rents of all lodgers, between October and April, should be remitted. The sale of all articles deposited at the *mont-de-piété* was also suspended. They declared their enmity to the memory of the great Napoleon by the wanton destruction of his celebrated column in the *Place Vendôme*, as a "monument of barbarism, and a symbol of brute-force and false glory." (See *Journal Officiel* of 12th of April, 1871.) As the siege advanced, a spirit of fury and vengeance took possession of the combatants on either side. The Commune denounced their opponents as the "banditti of Versailles"; and the Marquis of Gallifet in an order of the day retaliated in these words: "War has been declared by the banditti of Paris; yesterday and the day before and to-day they have assassinated my soldiers. It is henceforth a war without truce or pity that I wage against those assassins." From this time the insurgents were treated as rebels; and Duvall, one of their generals, having been taken prisoner, was shot, whereupon the Commune threatened the most terrible reprisals. They decreed formally, that for every Communist prisoner executed by the orders of the Versailles government, three "hostages" should be put to death. They accordingly proceeded to arrest the Archbishop of Paris, his two grand vicars, several priests, and many other innocent persons, whom they threw into prison as "hostages." They demolished the residence of Thiers, and "confiscated" his

large library and valuable works of art; they plundered the churches; and, still later, finding the government forces gradually gaining upon them, they resolved upon a desperate vengeance. No longer able to defend beautiful Paris, they determined to destroy it! The word was given, and the Tuileries, the *Palais Royal*, the *Hôtel de Ville*, the Ministry of Finance, the *Hôtel de la Quai d'Orsay*, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, and other public buildings and private houses were soon in flames. The unoffending Dominicans at *Arceuil* were massacred. The venerable Archbishop and other hostages were hastily brought before a court-martial and shot. Numbers of priests, *gendarmes*, and other obnoxious persons, were seized and slaughtered. Ruffians were let loose with orders to feed the raging conflagration with petroleum. According to De Beaumont-Vassy, "there were found upon the confederates slain behind the barricades, and there were discovered among the perquisitions made after the downfall of the Commune, many orders as formal as laconic, which can leave no doubt as to the terrible intentions of the men at the *Hôtel de Ville*, relative to the destruction by fire of the unfortunate city, which they had condemned in advance, in case of defeat, to a complete annihilation."

During their brief reign the Communists had done their worst. It was now their turn to suffer the vengeance of their conquerors. It has ever been the unhappy destiny of France that her political conflicts have been sooner or later discredited and stained by reprisals as bloody as the proscriptions of Sulla or Marius; and this—the latest of a long series—was as cruel and merciless as any in her dreadful annals. Nearly ten thousand of the Communists are said to have lost their lives, among whom were numbers of wretched women, accused of incendiarism. Overpowered by the troops from Versailles, they were shot down without trial and without mercy, while the prisons were filled to their utmost capacity. Thus terminated the two months and a half term of power of the Parisian Commune. A. W. K.

Communications.

NOAH WEBSTER ON THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

WEST MERIDEN, Conn., May 12, 1878.

MR. ABBOT:—

We had a Liberal League meeting Thursday evening last, at which twenty-five persons were present, notwithstanding bad weather. Dr. Davis read an essay, from which I send you some extracts made by himself. The testimony of Dr. Noah Webster against the practice of Bible-reading in the schools, given entire in the essay, was new to me, and I think may interest the readers of THE INDEX. The early indoctrination at school of children in "original sin" seems also worthy of note.

Several persons who came as inquirers expressed sympathy with "church taxation," "exclusion of Bible from schools," and reform of the Sunday laws.

Dr. Davis gave some valuable statistics on church taxation. Mr. Dayton made excellent remarks on the proper attitude of the mind for the reception of truth, on individuality, and on "definition of Christianity." The Vice-President (acting as President) spoke on "Consistency." One gentleman present expressed dissent from the League on question of church taxation, but was evidently willing to hear all sides. Mr. Sawyer sought to accord others all the privileges he claimed for himself. Mr. Frankowski spoke on the Sunday laws, and mentioned wherein he thought they interfered with his freedom.

The Secretary read the letter of Prof. F. A. Walker, of Yale, on "Bible in Schools." A poem read by Mr. Roys sounded the call to "Courage," and with a few remarks from others who had previously spoken, the meeting was adjourned.

Col. Ingersoll is to lecture here to-morrow night on "Liberty for Man, Woman, and Child."

I clip a few paragraphs from one of our dailies, from which you will observe that the League is not altogether unnoticed.

Cordially yours, E. J. LEONARD.

Extracts from Dr. Davis' Essay.

The plan of colonizing New England resulted as much from the commercial ideas and adventurous spirit of the age as from religious impulse. The only freedom they conceived was freedom to defy the laws of the State in bulk, and to enforce their own will on their fellow-subjects. The clergy tampered with the affairs of State, and until a late day always influentially. Liberty of conscience and the theory of human rights existed only in name. Shown at their best, the colonial laws were tyrannical, based on no sound views of human nature or Christianity. (The subjects of church taxation, the Bible in the public schools, and what are known as the Sunday laws, were here briefly referred to by Dr. Davis.) The New England Primer, the first school-book, was not only an abridged catechism, but imbued the very letters with its doctrines, teaching original sin with the letter A:—

"In Adam's Fall,
We sinned all."

In 1790, Noah Webster published a volume of

essays, in which he took into consideration the subject of the Bible in schools. "There is one general practice in schools which I censure with diffidence, not because I doubt the propriety of the censure, but because it is opposed to deep-rooted prejudices; this practice is the use of the Bible as a school-book. There are two reasons why this practice has so generally prevailed; the first is, that the families in the country are not generally supplied with any other book. The second, an opinion that the reading of the Scriptures will impress upon the minds of youth the important truths of religion and morality. The first may be easily removed, and the purpose of the last is counteracted by the practice itself. If people design the doctrines of the Bible as a system of religion, ought they to appropriate the book to purposes foreign to this design? Will not a familiarity, contracted by a careless, disrespectful reading of the sacred volume, weaken the influence of its precepts upon the heart?"

The efforts of the Catholics in 1840 to obtain a restoration of the ancient subsidy to their Church was referred to, and the reform in the whole system of public schools which ensued. The subjects of church taxation and the Sunday question were explained, and the idea refuted that the State was a moral as well as a physical agent; that it had in any sense a conscience; or that it was to be guided in determining the duties and relations of men, by having any reference to those truths and those obligations that concern the spiritual and moral health.

WHAT HARM?

Sometimes, when expressing sorrow or surprise at the Moody revival, and deploring the fact that such revivals are possible in an age of progress like this, I have been asked by even liberal thinkers, "Why do you deplore this revival? And what harm is there in it? Even you must confess that there is some evident good in it, since many persons of bad character have been turned, through its influence, from the error of their ways. Here a drunkard has been reformed, and there a thief has restored his ill-gotten gains; another man formerly very cruel to his family and neglectful of their needs, converted by Moody, has experienced an entire change, and is now very kind to them, and has gone to work in a manly way to care for and provide for them. Now when we see palpable good like that come out of what you term a delusion, it seems to me a delusion worth continuing in, since it adds to the aggregate of happiness in the world. Why, one person made happier or better in this sad, hard world is worth all this effort, and makes me for one content to put up with delusions if they work such good."

Thus my friend talks; and by the time he has finished has convinced himself, at least, that he is right in going with the crowd and giving countenance to these meetings, however much he hears at them from which he inwardly dissents.

But he has not convinced me, and this is why I wish to explain more in detail than he would care to listen to, and to a larger audience, the reason why I am sincerely grieved that these revival meetings are so largely attended and make so many converts. It is not Christians only, but liberals as well, who agree with Joseph Cook in his declaration regarding Mr. Moody's work in Boston, that—"Provided his devout effort is blessed of God as it has been; provided he is endowed from on high with the capacity to reach, through his tenderness of heart, through his marvellous, practical sagacity, and through the activity that almost made him an invalid here in Boston, working until midnight, and carrying his labor through with a zeal that no man could understand who did not help him in it; provided he continues labor of that sort, I, for one, shall consider it an honor to Boston if she can help him a little, and not criticise him at all."

Such declarations, when they come, as they often do, from those who have no belief in the dogmas he teaches, sound very generous; but it is nevertheless a very superficial generosity, an unthinking liberality of view. If the apparent moral result of these revivals were the outcome of real truth, there would be no need of criticising them; for it is not the resultant morality we find fault with, but the false and mercenary methods by which those results seem to be attained.

Moody stands on a very low intellectual plane. By the admirers of his method this is considered one of his chief merits, on the ground that he can thus more readily reach the understanding of the masses his teachings are designed to reach. But we are living in an age when nearly everything needs to be subjected to the critical analysis of science; otherwise it cannot be made of use in that higher life which science is leading us toward.

Moody's belief is that of implicit reliance on the literal teachings of the Bible. It is the old theology which the progress of the age has outgrown,—a phase of religion which we thought dead, and which we were about to bury, dragged forth from its coffin and galvanized into new life by the wonderful force of this one man's vitalizing power of earnestness. The man himself belongs to a past age; and this dead religion with all its falsehoods and misconceptions is just suited to his personal, moral, and intellectual needs. He is a religious Rip Van Winkle, who in his long sleep lost no portion of his vital energy; whose sleep, though far too long, was one of refreshing and recuperative repose. And so, waking up, he finds the world with new ideas, new hopes, new thoughts, a new religion; and his mistake consists in his inability to conceive how he, in the full vigor of earnest manhood, can be out of joint with the times and behind the age. Hence, with a simplicity that is sublime in its pure earnestness, he imagines that it is the age itself that is all wrong, and, with a faith in himself that is inspiring, he has gone to work with

a will and is using his Herculean strength to some purpose to pull back the age into accord with himself, and therefore, he thinks, with God; for the God he worships is as far behind the age as he is himself—a manlike God, with strong human passions and human desires; a jealous, angry, ambitious, and domineering God, who finds his contest with Satan a long and wearying one, though on the whole he rather enjoys the excitement of his alternate victories and defeats.

The one great harm that Moody is doing consists in the fact that those who become his converts and accept his views must necessarily be disbelievers in the scientific progression of to-day. They are bound to shut their eyes and close their ears to all that denotes advance in useful knowledge. The human understanding, the world's great grain-field, from which it has been such weary work to eradicate the weeds of superstition, ignorance, and bigotry, but a field that had begun to look flourishing and ready to yield a noble harvest, has suddenly been resown broadcast with the seeds of error; and there is now the gloomy prospect that much of our toilsome work will have to be gone over with again. The Moody revival has been a grand retrogressive movement. Men, women, and children again believe that the world was created from nothing and in six days; that God is anthropomorphic, and that he can be induced by the logic and representations of his creatures to interfere personally in their affairs to their advantage, and that he is constantly engaged through their solicitation in trying to straighten out the blunders he has made in this terribly muddled and misgoverned world; that he allowed himself to be born of one of his creatures, in order to cheat the devil out of a few of the others; that we are degenerating instead of advancing; that Satan is the supreme power on earth, and all the other heterogeneous concomitants of an obsolete and barbarous religion. The converts made at these revivals, with their children, will be sure to shut their eyes for years to come to all scientific truth which may seem to contradict the Bible. This is one of the evils of this Moody revivalism which, because it has resulted in a spasmodic effort at a superficial morality, has been acquiesced in and praised by those who ought to have looked deeper and known better. Our daily papers, too, with all their professions of higher wisdom than the people they pretend to lead, have helped this thing on by their pandering record and attitude of respectful belief and attention. In truth, the man's deadly earnestness is a wonderful and sublime sight in these days of lukewarmness, and that it is which has won the respect of those even who are clear-eyed enough to see the dreadful harm he is doing; and what is needed in order to undo his retrograde work is an earnestness and strength of purpose as genuine and strong to push forward into the light and truth as his has been to pull back into the darkness of unfounded beliefs.

And what, when critically examined, does the vaunted morality of the Moody revival amount to? A radical change of character into sweetness, forbearance, breadth of charity for the weaknesses of others? Into deeper insight into the needs and desires of their fellowmen? Into larger care and more self-denying love for others? Alas, no! there is no such fundamental change discoverable in the new converts,—only an external obedience to certain stereotyped moral codes, a more faithful attendance at church, a fiercer bigotry, a vain-glorious and obtrusive humility, a giving up of various simple but prohibited pleasures, such as dancing, theatre-going and the like. A morality which bears about the same relation to true and steadfast morality of life as the temporary application of something cold to a burned finger bears to the radical and methodical cure of that burn by healing applications. The cold application is effectual for the moment, but it does not cure, while it is liable to retard the healing process. So, while the revival lasts, the morality holds good; but, when that is over, the morality that is not built on something higher and better than excitement and impulse is sure to give way to the real nature underneath; and there is danger also that this temporary spasm of morality may make harder the work of future and thorough reform.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

THE FREE-MASON ORBED.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Mr. Spaulding, in his communication to THE INDEX of April 18, thinks "E. W." judges Masonry too harshly, and that he does not understand its tenets. I think "E. W." was right in his criticism; but I have several other objections to the order, the chief of which is its opposition to freedom of conscience. Though the secrets of Masonry are of no consequence to any one except themselves, though most of its tenets are good, its teachings beneficial, and its charities considerable, still a large part of its energies are expended in promulgating its useless secrets and ceremonies, and the fundamental principles of benevolence, equality, and brotherly love are, to a large extent, lost sight of, and the ceremonies are regarded as the object of the organization.

Masonry is essentially a Christian institution, and in proof of this assertion I will give a few extracts from the writings of some of its prominent members and exponents.

The Grand Master of California, in his address to the Grand Lodge in 1876, says of Masonry: "In its very nature it is essentially in harmony with the declarations of natural and revealed religion."

The Grand Master of Kansas, in his address in 1875, says: "Among all the ideals of a sovereign of the Universe, the Hebrew Deity alone stands the test of intelligence. That God who has been worshipped since he first revealed himself to man six thousand years ago, is the God, in fact, of Masonry, and has been ever since its history can be traced."

The Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge of Oregon, in his address delivered in 1875, says: "The candidate for Masonry, before he can pass the outer door of a lodge-room, must declare his belief in the existence of a Supreme Ruler of the Universe. In every lodge an altar is erected to the true and living God. The Holy Bible crowns the altar, and is indispensable in every lodge-room. From the time the candidate for Masonry crosses the threshold of a lodge, through all the degrees of Masonry, by all its symbols, and in all its lectures, he is taught to believe in the God of the Bible. The leading idea of speculative Masonry is the search for truth—not truth in the common acceptance of the term, but the higher idea of truth which pervades the whole Masonic system—the knowledge of God."

Charles Sackreuter, of the Committee on Correspondence of the Grand Lodge of New York, commenting on the action of the French Grand Orient in declaring in favor of liberty of conscience, says: "This, of course, is not such action as would justify any one in saying that French Masonry had become atheistic; but it does demonstrate that in a French lodge an atheist can be initiated, which they justify under the plea of perfect liberty of conscience. Masonry proper limits this liberty, and it does so on the ground that to one who has no belief in God conscience is an idle term. The conclusion is inevitable that the Grand Orient of France is not a Masonic organization; and the sooner Masons everywhere disentangle themselves from its alliance, the better it will be for them and for the institution."

The Order of Knights Templar was founded as a religious order, and the Christian principles pervade the Commandery to a greater extent than they do the lodge.

WM. H. EASTMAN.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 1.

COMMUNISM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I shall not ask for space to make a long reply to the article of Mr. Maverick, but I want briefly to notice a few of his assertions. He quotes the French minister, Dufaure, as stating that the International was "a standing menace." No doubt that it was—to tyranny. The very fact that every tyrant in Europe has attempted to suppress it by force is proof that it is the friend of the people. Mr. Maverick has much to tell of what its enemies say about it; but this is a very cheap kind of argument, and does not prove anything against the socialistic organization.

Talk about demagogues controlling the Labor Party! If there are any worse demagogues in that party than in the dominant parties, its members are indeed to be pitied. Mr. Maverick indulges in some sarcastic remarks concerning the supposed ignorance of the Communist in reference to Bible myths; but it is the gentleman himself who betrays the most utter ignorance concerning the contents of that ink-and-paper fetich. The gentleman before accusing the Socialist of ignorance of the Bible, should have known that the early Christians were Communists,—held all things in common. But he saw here a good opportunity to appeal to the prejudices of his readers, and he could not let it pass.

The Socialistic Labor Party has never had a fair representation at the hands of the popular press, no more than has had religious Liberalism. Take the Chicago papers for instance; the *Times*, *Journal*, *Tribune*, *Inter-Ocean*, all indulge in the most downright lying conceivable. They do not state correctly one single principle or object of the Socialists. It is a great wonder that the New York *Tribune* published the Newark Platform as given in the article under consideration. I would say to any reader of THE INDEX who desires to know the truth concerning the new party, let him send to John McIntosh, Cincinnati, Ohio, and get a copy of the *National Socialist*, which will put him in the way of the truth concerning this matter. Do not be alarmed at "Communism." It is working for humanity. Examine its principles before you condemn them, and do not take the say-so of any other man; and, above all, put no trust in the representations of such papers as the *Chicago Journal*. Simply make yourself acquainted with the principles of either the Socialist or Greenback parties, and you will have done all that is necessary to satisfy yourself that the representations of the *Journal* and kindred papers concerning these organizations are utterly unreliable and worthless. I do not say that I endorse all that the Socialist Party puts forth, but its leading principles are undoubtedly correct. We must not cling blindly to the past. It has valuable lessons for us, but that is all, Justice for all.

E. C. WALKER,

FLORENCE, Iowa.

SECULAR GEOGRAPHIES.

A few years since it would have been difficult to have found in any of our common schools a geography free from religious teaching. It is very common for publishers to work in theology with geography. I am glad to be able to mention exceptions to this rule.

There is now in use in many schools, and constantly being introduced into more, a series of geographies called the "Eclectic," published by Messrs. Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co. This series is in three books, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Let us look, for example, at No. 2, which is the main book for common schools. It treats the subject of geography quite fully, and evidently with the intention of teaching the facts of the science, leaving theological dogmas and Sunday-school literature to be obtained elsewhere. For instance, in defining civilized nations it says: "Civilized nations are actively engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce. Law and order are maintained by them. Life and property are protected. They have books and schools, and cultivate

the arts and sciences." Here, if the publishers had wished, was a convenient place to put in the churches and ministers along with the schools as a part of civilization.

There is one short chapter on Religions, mentioning the different classes of religions. I quote:—
"The religions in which the different nations of the world believe are divided into two classes.

"Those of the first class teach the existence of one God; those of the second class teach that there are many gods.

"The three religions of the first class are, the Christian, the Jewish, and the Mohammedan.

"Christians believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Savior of mankind.

"The Jews believe in one God, but reject Jesus Christ, and believe that the Savior is yet to come.

"The Mohammedan religion was founded by Mohammed. He taught that Moses and Christ were true prophets, but that he himself was the greatest of all prophets.

"Those religions which teach that there are many gods are called Pagan religions. They are very numerous, and differ much from each other."

Here we find an entire absence of sectarian theology. The publication of books of this kind, teaching science instead of faith, facts and not fiction, is one of the encouraging signs of the times.

CYRUS.

MAPLE RAPIDS, Mich., May, A. R. 102.

THE CHELSEA LIBERAL LEAGUE.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The working members of this branch of the National Liberal League met at the home of H. D. Casey, 10 Central Avenue, Chelsea, on the 7th instant, and reflected D. G. Crandon, President, J. H. W. Toohy, Secretary, A. V. Lincoln, Treasurer, together with the other officers now serving for the ensuing year. J. A. J. Wilcox was the essayist of the evening, who entertained the company with a clearly-conceived and a convincingly-expressed essay on the growth and limitation of religion as an educator.

An appreciative and thoughtful discussion followed, developing the generally entertained conviction that the secular side of the Liberal League had not been and was not made as prominent as the necessities of the issue with customary legislation required. This brought up the question of ways and means, and the generally expressed conclusion that the meetings of local Liberal Leagues should be more frequent and more public, as the popularization of the secular policy was necessary to the building up of a radical conscience party, and the total separation of Church and State.

It was also agreed that a public hall should be in the service of the League next season, the better to multiply effort and concentrate the needed activities for the education of the many.

J. H. W. TOOHEY, Sec'y.

CHELSEA, Mass.

A CORRECTION.

MY DEAR INDEX:—

I once made a resolution that I never, never, would write for print unless I could myself read the proof. But, alas! my good resolution went where so many others have gone, and your devil makes me say that silver can only be circulated in France to the extent of 430,000,000 (what?) when I wrote, \$30,000,000.

I appear also to wish to confirm the government to stamping the coin, when what I desire is to confine them to stamping the true weight and fineness. When they undertake by putting on their stamp to make nine-tenths equal the whole, I object.

I had it also in mind to state, but did not, that the Bank of England is required to buy all the gold bullion offered at the rate of 3£ 17s. 9d. the standard ounce, payable in its own notes, which notes it is required to redeem in gold on demand. This is equivalent to free coinage at a fixed rate, but subject to no delay.

F. S. C.

BOSTON, May 17, 1878.

"A CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION."

EDITOR INDEX:—

The other day the Republican State Convention of Pennsylvania nominated for Governor Gen. Henry M. Hoyt. This gentleman after his nomination made a speech to the convention in which he is reported as saying: "All the tendencies of Republican principles are towards a Christian civilization." If those are the views of Gen. Hoyt, I conclude the friends of the Liberal League movement in Pennsylvania will not be inclined to vote for him.

H. L. GREEN.

[Not if he proposes to carry out these "tendencies" by Christian legislation. Otherwise we suppose the friends of the Liberal League will not care a button what he thinks on the subject.—ED.]

A WORTHY LADY of this city, a church-member in good standing, has a son, a seafaring man, whose organ of veneration is not so strongly developed. The other day she asked him for fifty cents, to buy herself a pair of rubbers, which he declined to furnish, as he had to purchase a barrel of flour and other articles, at the same time advising her to pray to the Lord for the money. It so happened that she had to overhaul his wardrobe for making repairs, and, in ripping open an old vest, she found between the lining and the outside two pieces of scrip of twenty-five cents each. With this she was enabled to purchase her rubbers. This is regarded as a striking instance of the efficacy of—ripping up old clothes.—*Bath Commercial*.

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FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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MISS DEVEREUX' BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES AND CHILDREN, at Irvington-on-Hudson, will re-open on Monday, Sept. 17, 1877. Miss Devereux refers, among others to the following gentlemen: Rev. Orville Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.; Mr. A. C. Richards, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. H. E. Bishop, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. Wm. H. Orton, Pres. W. U. Telegraph Co., N.Y.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION REPORTS.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1873 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles? WM. J. POTTER, Secretary F. R. A.

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

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1878.

WHOLE No. 440.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

THIS is the beautiful sentence which Col. Ingersoll puts on the title-page of his new book, *The Ghosts*: "The idea of immortality, that like a sea has ebbed and flowed in the human heart, with its countless waves of hope and fear, beating against the shores and rocks of time and fate, was not born of any book, nor of any creed, nor of any religion. It was born of human affection, and it will continue to ebb and flow beneath the mists and clouds of doubt and darkness as long as love kisses the lips of death."

HERE is a story none the less spicy for being at the same time new and true. A business man in a Western city, who was prominent in church circles, but had recently failed and paid only fifteen cents on a dollar, got into a religious discussion with a keen radical, whose religion consists pretty much in doing his duty like a man. Horrified by the audacious heresies he heard, the church-member exclaimed: "Why, if I believed as you do, I should be afraid to live!" "Well," was the quick retort, "if I've got to go to hell, I'll go on a hundred cents!" That was a gag; the discussion dropped.

THE ALBANY *Express* of May 17 closed an editorial on "The Progress of Infidelity" with this sentence, which has no little significance as coming from a leading secular journal, and as showing what little confidence liberals should feel in the fallacy that the influence of the secular press is a sufficient substitute for vigorous organization in their own behalf: "It is not improbable that both Catholicism and Protestantism are declining in this country, and that that monster infidelity is making rapid headway. That is the danger. Much better that the two lams unite and crush the infidelistic spirit abroad, than quarrel over the question of the superior strength of each other."

MR. J. MOELLER wrote to Mr. Green from Buffalo, N. Y., May 18: "Our League is doing splendidly. Our last meeting was attended by at least four hundred. All the leading scientists in the city have joined us. Last Sunday evening Professor A. R. Grote lectured; to-morrow Professor Poole, the astronomer, will address us; and the week after Professor Duschak. We are going to publish every Sunday lecture in pamphlet form, and sell them at five cents apiece for the benefit of the society. I am happy to assure you that our movement has proved a complete success. Have sent for charter." The application for a charter has not been received at present writing.

COL. INGERSOLL must give a broad meaning to the word "religious" in this passage, if he would reach all editors guilty of the pretty things he describes: "Nothing can exceed the mendacity of the religious press. I have had some little experience with political editors, and am forced to say, that until I read the religious papers, I did not know what malicious and slimy falsehoods could be constructed from ordinary words. The ingenuity with which the real and apparent meaning can be tortured out of language is simply amazing. The average religious editor is intolerant and insolent; he knows nothing of affairs; he has the envy of failure, the malice of impotence, and always accounts for the brave and generous actions of unbelievers by low, base, and unworthy motives."

THE LONDON *Times* writes very sensibly about American "Communism": "If, as we will not anticipate, the United States is destined to go through a serious crisis of this kind, we shall doubtless hear again, as we used to hear fifteen years ago, a good deal about the evil effects of democratic institutions. If, however, it is the weakness of institutions like those of America to give tolerant encouragement to all sorts of experiments in social and political organization, it is their strength to be able to survive them, to profit by their success, and to be little the worse

for their failure. The fabric of American society is so strong that it can sustain with little or no injury shocks which would be fatal to more effete constitutions. In the United States the freedom of discussion is a safety valve through which a great deal of superfluous political steam escapes. The Americans have political sagacity enough to distinguish sharply between intemperate or even revolutionary speech and rebellious action. We do not doubt, if they have to deal with any dangerous form of Communism, they will deal with it effectively. The social fabric of the United States is as capable of successfully resisting such an attack as that of any State in the world."

A PARIS despatch of May 22 says: "Public interest is now occupied with the centenary of the death of Voltaire, who died May 30, 1778. The movement originated with a number of republican senators, deputies, town councillors, journalists, and savants, who held a meeting and appointed a committee to carry out the scheme. The committee as now organized consists of Victor Hugo and four other senators, four deputies, two municipal councillors, two members of the Institute (Legouvé and Renan), and several artists, journalists, and men of letters. The committee has decided to publish an epitome of Voltaire's moral, social, and political opinions, in a cheap volume of one thousand pages, for general circulation, and has asked republicans to receive subscriptions to meet the expenses of the celebration. The Catholic dignitaries are attacking the proposed celebration violently. Cardinal Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, has issued a pastoral denouncing it. Bishop Dupanloup has published a pamphlet against the celebration and Voltaire. He also, yesterday, in the Senate, asked M. Dufaure, President of the Council and Minister of Justice, whether the government would prevent the fête and prosecute the publishers of the book containing irreligious selections from Voltaire's works. M. Dufaure said that the celebration was a private affair. The government had no right to interfere. It reproached the publication of some passages, but could not prosecute writings which had been published a million times, and had been many years in general circulation."

THE LONDON *Financial Opinion* states the issue between England and Russia thus: "Russia claims to act uncontrolled, outside European law. The Continental Powers have hitherto said practically: 'If you will, you will.' England, having maintained a silence the length of which will probably remain a historical phenomenon, has said at the eleventh hour: 'No. Under no circumstances can Russia be allowed to establish the right to set aside a solemn European compact, at her own instance and by her own will. If nobody else will resist her, I will. If Russia goes forward, she will do so at her peril. Nor will I submit to the mediation of any other power.'" The establishment and recognition of a "European law," however informal or imperfect, is a manifest advance toward that "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," of which Tennyson sang in "Locksley Hall," and which is one of the noblest dreams of the nineteenth century. To be sure, it has been as yet only vaguely foreshadowed; yet every assertion of the right of "Europe" to act collectively on questions which touch her collective interests, while respecting the rights of "local self-government," ought to find a response in every American heart. So far as England represents this principle, she represents civilization as against barbarism; and to this extent we sympathize with her unreservedly as opposed to Russia, who seems to represent little except her own or Slavic ambition. Turkey has been indeed brutal and cruel beyond forgiveness in her treatment of Christians; but what shall be said of the mercy, justice, or freedom of the Russian government? Let Vera Sassulitch answer.

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The Teachings of Free Religion.

BY L. K. WASHBURN, OF REVERE, MASS.

I believe in the principles of Free Religion, and therefore I preach them. Did I believe the doctrines of Christianity, I should preach them; but I do not. I love liberty and truth more than a priest and a church; and I strike Christianity to defend truth and liberty. A church is a house of superstition, and I have no reverence for it. A priest is a soul-master, and I have no respect for his office. I recognize the object of religious teaching to make men and women better,—not to make them Christian. I do not pretend to know all about the here or the hereafter; I cannot accept what is contrary to my reason and understanding. I blame no man for his faith or want of faith; nor do I praise a man for his belief or unbelief. No one can see the universe as I see it,—neither do I wish to have any one see it thus; but I want the privilege of saying what I see, without being called an infidel or blasphemer by some one who gets a different view of what surrounds us. I am willing to be fair to others; but I am not willing to be misrepresented. Is it a crime to be a Free Religionist, or for a Free Religionist to preach his faith? When I hear a man say that the Free Religionists deny all that is good, I want that man to back up his speech with facts, or else back down, and confess that he has not told the truth. I advocate the principles of Free Religion, and do so because I consider that such principles better represent the truth of things than do the doctrines of Christianity. I claim that Free Religion is founded upon what we know of Nature. We have neither dogmas of affirmation nor dogmas of denial. There are certain opinions which we assert; but Free Religion does not forbid searching after more truth. Do we deny what is good when we deny total depravity, the wrath of God, the infallibility of a book whose pages are tracked from the first leaf to the last with error and imperfection? Do we give up what is good when we give up the privilege of hearing these false doctrines preached; when we give up a God who is unworthy of worship, a Savior who is powerless to save, a guide which guides us wrong? I am somewhat familiar with the literature of Free Religion, and I know of no line of it that can be charged with inculcating immorality. I have read some of the utterances of the preachers of Free Religion, and I have not seen a word that could be called immoral. No ear ever heard from my lips a discourse that would lower man as a man. I have never advised men and women to forsake right doing, or give up what is true. I do not say that I have not denied that Christianity was true as a system of religion. I do not say that I have not denied that Jesus was God; that the Bible was the word of God; that the heaven-and-hell scheme of the Christian theology was the plan of God. I have denied these things; but I think that I have given good reasons for so doing. We have given up believing what is false and absurd; given up the superstitious notions of the hereafter; given up fear of God; given up Christianity; and we feel better for doing so. Faith follows knowledge; and Religion, while she abuses Science for prying into the universe, has always founded her church on what science has discovered. It was not many centuries ago that men believed that the sun was lighted every morning and blown out every night. When Science found out that the earth revolved on its axis, Religion changed her faith to fit the fact. The texts of the pulpit are only the opinions of men. The difference between Christianity and Free Religion is, that Christianity has faith in miracles, witchcraft, and the Bible, while Free Religion has faith in natural law, science, and truth. Because the Church's theology is vanishing before the teaching of Free Religion, they who are helping drive falsehood from off the earth are said to be attacking what is good. Never did mankind look Creation in the face with more serious gaze, or meet the future with more earnest attitude. This may be called the century of questions,—the age of inquiry. Men are not, in search of law, looking into the universe to escape their fate, but to know what it is. We have come to prize knowledge, and are getting to put a true value upon facts. The attitude of the Church towards what is new is that of fear; but let us not be afraid to "entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." The world is not pledged to the past. We violate no obligation when we refuse to credit the account of Creation ascribed to Moses; and we are not irreverent when we say to Paul's assertion, that "it is a shame for women to speak in the church,"—we do not believe it! It is the privilege of a man to-day to say what he likes; but it is also the privilege of a man to believe what he likes. The chain of priestly authority is broken, and man has found freedom for the mind. It is this freedom which we are to protect; and we say, "Hands off," to every attempt of ecclesiastical power to get control of human affairs. The soul of man will not be confined in a creed-box in this age. It can take no ready-made belief for its faith. We have reached an era of spiritual progress where independence is the highest religious posture. We have attained a height of spiritual desire where more light and truth is the only prayer of the soul. The religious endeavor to-day is not to get a correct translation of some ancient text of scripture, but to find the hidden meanings in the things around us. We have begun to give up teaching people to believe, and have commenced to teach them to think. There is fear of falsehood to-day, not of truth. Deception hurts mankind, not frankness; not the facts of Nature

which the scientist gives us, but the lies of theology which the priest tells us.

We cannot have the Christian's experience. The conditions which produced Christianity have passed forever. Another religious growth is upon us. We must have a religion that is an outcome of our life. This is an age when men are free: it is an age when they should be true. The goddess of liberty should be married to the god of truth; and from the union would come a character and life such as never yet walked the earth. The time has not come and never will come when we can defy Nature. There is no worthy destiny for man contained in wrong-doing. We must not lose faith in right and justice. When the world strikes against morality, it commits suicide. We need nothing more to-day than reinforcement of moral conviction. There are too many men who will cheat and steal. A loose notion of things runs through society. One would almost think that God had repealed the moral law, and commanded men to do all manner of evil.

This is the foremost century since the morning stars sang together, and civilization is a cleaner and purer idea than ever it was in the history of the human race. We have advantages such as no generation before us could boast, and have won glories that shine not upon the brow of any other age; yet their lustre is dimmed by vices that are a shame to man in a state of barbarism,—but in this day have no shadow of excuse for existence. One of the greatest of human virtues is that which puts up with the vices of men. I acknowledge the greatness of this nineteenth century: I would not take one word of praise from its eulogy; but I will not apologize for its faults. We should seek their cause and their cure; not try to hide them. I believe one reason why there is so much immorality is because Christian ministers have made it a higher virtue to believe the dogmas of the Church than to keep the commandments. Had morality been preached for the last eighteen centuries with as much zeal and interest as Christianity has been preached, I do not believe that a single immoral person would be found in Christendom. There is no injury being done to-day by the advocacy of any socialistic theory, by the promulgation of any political principle,—however much it may be antagonistic to the recognized ideas of society and government,—that is tantamount to the injury which results from preaching the doctrines of Christianity. A false theory may be corrected or disproved; but a falsehood stamped with the names of God and truth, and baptized holy, is an evil not to be corrected: it is to be destroyed.

Wherever the cross is erected, it is erected over the grave of liberty. The cross does not belong to the religion of this age. Let us take down this emblem of death from our churches, and put in its stead the emblem of life. We have reached the point in religious development where the soul sits in judgment upon what the minister says. Instead of the crudity that formerly swallowed every pulpit utterance as the bread of eternal life, we have common-sense for an audience. There is agitation in the churches. This is the John the Baptist that goes before the oncoming truth. Where discussion is allowed, progress is born. But the period of growth is also one of danger. Changes disturb the order of things; but this fate is the fate of further advancement. We are warned that society is dissolving; that the good influences of the world are being subverted; but the warning comes from a false reading of the signs of the times. When the order is passed that a certain street shall be widened, the buildings on either side have to be torn down or moved back, and the work necessary to the accomplishment of the object seems like destruction; but when the buildings are all restored, or replaced with new and better ones, and the old, narrow street has grown broad and commodious, we wonder why so good a work was not undertaken before. We are at work to-day widening the old, narrow, Orthodox road to heaven; and the tearing down of the old dogmas, and the moving back of old notions, seem to threaten the destruction of religion; but, when we have finished carting off the remains of Orthodoxy, and replaced Calvinistic architecture with Free Religious designs, and put down the smooth pavement of our modern ideas, Christianity will exclaim with pious satisfaction, "It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth to him good."

It is asserted that Free Religion takes away man's reliance on God; that it teaches that it is no use to trust God, since he has thrown man on his own resources. But what is meant by trust in God? Free Religion bids man rely on the virtues; to trust right-doing, and to have faith in Nature: but it does not say to man, "If you have faith in God he will feed and clothe you; if you trust in God he will pay your bills; if you rely on God he will carry you through all kinds of wrong without a spot or blemish on your heart or soul."

It is also said that Free Religion does not teach prayer. But what is meant by prayer? Free Religion encourages aspiration for the higher and purer which dwell above us; encourages all good desires, and tells man to seek only what will make him better; but it does not tell man that he can build a house and get money to pay for it by praying on the corner of the street; that he can get his daily bread by asking for it on his knees; or that praying will do the work of hands or brain. Free Religion teaches earnest seeking and sincere desire of all that is good, but not that prayer will take the place of effort. When man is working with all his might, to stop to pray would be waste of time.

It is charged that Free Religion is opposed to devotion. But what is meant by devotion? Free Religion teaches natural piety; obedience of natural laws; love of man and reverence of God: but it does not advise man to shout his piety in public places; to advertise it in loud amens or sepulchral

groans; or to profess it in offensive ways. Free Religion does not tell man to thrust his religious views into every hour and upon every one he meets. The worst nuisance in the world is a pious nuisance; and the person who is always talking his religion usually has no time to practise it.

When the flower's heart blossoms in beauty, it reveals its natural loveliness. There is something sweetly beautiful in such a thought. Nature does not put on anything. Nature's expression is evolution, not ornamentation. So our religion should reveal itself naturally, not in manufactured forms. The rustling ceremonies of the Church have a sound of dead leaves. There is somewhat stiff and dry in the formality of Christian worship. A good, healthy outburst of natural feeling would snap the forms of Christianity asunder. Having more of God makes one more of a man, more of a woman,—not a monk or a nun, not a howling dervish or a pious suppliant.

It is also said that Free Religion degrades Christianity to the level of Paganism, and puts Jesus with Socrates, Antoninus, and Mohammed. Free Religion denies the divine origin of Christianity, but acknowledges whatever is good in it. It looks upon Jesus as a great and good man, and places him with other great and good men. Where else should it place him? The idea that our existence here or hereafter depends upon what Jesus said or suffered is absurd. Free Religion does not teach a Christ or a Savior, and does not use these words. While the power of man to help and save himself needs new emphasis, and while the principle of salvation needs to be recognized in our religious teachings, I cannot say that we should use the word Christ to express it. We ought to use only words of true meaning. I consider every use of the word Christ in this age absurd and out of place. Our civilization does not look backward nor forward to a Christ, and the word should be dropped from our speech. Let us no longer chase shadows. The search for the holy grail is not only an immortal quest, but also a profitless one. The importance of what Jesus said and did is exaggerated. Does no divinity shine through human history but where the name of the Nazarene illumines it? Is there no place holy to our thoughts, sacred to our affections, but that far-away land of Palestine? Have we shed tears upon no spot of earth that hallow it to our memory? Must we go back eighteen centuries to find a heart that we can trust, a soul that we can reverence? Can we not believe in any man but Jesus? Faith in any one will help us.

The light which guides us through life is not a star, but a galaxy: not the ray from one bright point, but the enlightenment of the whole heavens. God to-day is not the name of a king of Israel, but the name of a greatness which we do not comprehend. We have given Jesus the proportions of Divinity; but there is not room enough on the earth for Deity. Our theology has been a Christology; but we must find greater evidences of Divinity than the gospels contain. Jesus might have fed a multitude and not have exhausted his charity; but such capacity does not measure the Infinite Love which gives life to a universe of existence. Jesus might have spoken encouragement to Mary Magdalene, and shown to her poor, erring heart a better and a purer way; but such words could not call into being the vast bodies which move in paths of light through the unsounded depths above us, or the sweet-eyed blossoms that in spring-time come out of the earth to add their miracle of loveliness to the wonders of God. To man, wherever he is, who lives for his race, whose breast beats with the pulse of human kindness, whose hands bring happiness to the world, I bare my head in reverence; but to the power that gave birth to that man, to the love that planted kindness in his heart, and put the gift of charity in his hand, do I alone bow my head in worship. I would cast no reflection upon the splendid inheritance in the New Testament; but I regard its importance as literary and not sacred,—as showing what man can do, and not what God can do. I cannot be blind to the truth that there is pure moral teaching in the gospels; neither can I be blind to the fact that there is just as pure moral teaching in other books. I cannot deny the beauty of the character of Jesus; nor can I deny the beautiful character of Socrates. I admire much in the letters of Paul; but I also admire the discourses of Epictetus. I read Seneca's *Happy Life*, and I wonder that one man should write what all men try to write; but shall I say that what Matthew and John and Paul have written is divine, and that what Plato and Seneca and Epictetus have written, which is just as pure and just as good, is human? Shall I say of Socrates he was man, and of Jesus he was God?

Let men cease to preach the deity of Jesus. This falsehood has rung in the ears of the world until they are dead to the sound of truth. We must use different words to conjure with. Truth, right, and justice; love, mercy, and charity,—not Christ Church, and cross; not creed, ceremony, and custom,—are the magic words of faith to-day! The helmet of our salvation has the strength of righteousness and the beauty of truth. We ask, first, From what are we to be saved? and then go to work to save ourselves. The hereafter of the Here is the sequence of our lives only wherein our thoughts and feelings influence our actions. I do not believe that "heaven" and "hell" are words that stand for solutions of the destinies of man in the future. They represent the conditions of human love and hate wherever humanity may be. I cannot bring myself to think that God has a private apartment anywhere in the universe, with "No admittance unless you are a Christian" written on the door. I had rather believe that the universe is framed upon larger principles; and that Deity nowhere excludes man from His

presence on account of the theological faith which he has been taught.

Free Religion has not tried to throw discredit upon the word "Christian." It has endeavored to show its true size and true meaning. When we try to make the word "Christian" cover all humanity, we see how small and insignificant it is. It will not reach half around the globe. Not one-third part of mankind find shelter beneath its wings.

Free Religion is the religion of humanity, not of divinity. It was born of human wants and needs. It is the hand of man stretched out from the heart of man. It is pitying poverty enough to relieve it, loving truth enough to speak it, honoring man enough to help him. Free Religion gives up soul-saving hereafter for MAN-**SAVING** here.

SPREAD-EAGLE PHILOSOPHY.

Mr. Joseph Cook, "the Chalmers of America, is a large man, tall and brawny." "His features are strongly marked, and his massive head is adorned with a bountiful covering of sandy hair." In these words a correspondent of the *Scotman* describes Mr. Cook, a lecturer who is the bulwark of the orthodoxy of Boston, Mass. It seems to be admitted that we cannot appreciate Americans of genius, unless we know how they appear to the people privileged to behold them in the flesh. An admirer reviewed Mr. Walt Whitman as he was bathing some years ago; and a description of Mr. Whitman's frame was the not inappropriate introduction to a book in which that poet spoke freely enough of his own limbs. As the picture of Mr. Cook's brawniness and sandy hair is served up in company with the Glasgow edition of his *Biology* (David Bryce & Son), it is plain that the Glasgow editor, a Free Kirk minister, expects the public to take a personal interest in a gentleman who has "prepared for his public ministry by a severe course of self-culture, both in America and Europe."

To understand Mr. Cook and his lectures, which we consider a very queer contribution to modern thought, it is necessary to explain how they came to be delivered. Professor Huxley lectured in the United States not long ago; and, if we are not mistaken, some other "advanced thinkers" have planted the standard of speculation, to adopt a phrase of Mr. Hannibal Chollop's, in the remotest gardens of that country. We do not know exactly what these lecturers said; but they seem to have spoken about protoplasm, the origin of life on the planet, and other matters of an interest that cannot be said to be urgent. The "small philosophers," as Mr. Cook cruelly calls them, thought otherwise; and many thinkers feared that, unlike the dying pauper of the story, they would soon "have no hell to go to." To stem this current of opinion, Mr. Cook was set up by a committee of ministers to deliver addresses, in which he was to bring a Roland for every one of Mr. Huxley's Oliver's, a fresh German professor to meet Haeckel, and a new and tremendous "sociologist" to tackle Mr. Herbert Spencer, "whose star," says Mr. Cook, finely, "is now touching the Western pines."

The conferences of the Boston Monday lecturer have been printed, and are now before us. In several ways they are rather instructive. They show one what the metaphysics of Massachusetts are like, and the kind of style and of argument that pleases a serious American audience. The topics are not much to our taste, and we do not intend to say much about them. The lecturer is concerned with the origin and aim of life, as life appears when it is looked at through a microscope. "Where did it begin, where is it going?" Mr. Cook asks; old questions enough, and not much elucidated by ingenious arrangements of lenses and ground glass. A German philosopher says, "In a rapidly-cooling planet, who knows what might happen?" just as Miss Braddon makes one of her characters declare that "anything might happen under the Plantagenets." Mr. Cook does not think that the origin of life could have happened under such circumstances, because, if we understand him, even in a rapidly-cooling planet it was rather too hot. No germs could have stood the weather. Then there are arguments about the size of a monkey's brain, and of a savage's; and why, it is asked, has a savage so big a brain, as he is not so very much more clever than an ape, and does not give his mind much exercise? Perhaps, however, the savage, an astronomer in his way, and a bit of a metaphysician after his kind, uses his intellect more than Caucasian and cultivated persons suppose. These questions need not delay us here. It is more important to live well, and even to write and speak with good taste and in a sensible way, than to guess at what occurs in planets which have begun to cool down. Whether our nerves have loops at the ends of them or not—on which seems to hang human destiny—it is as well not to foam at the mouth. Fustian is fustian, loops or no loops; and we intend to show the fustian that Mr. Cook supplies to a Boston audience,—an audience which, he says, "will not be cheated."

Mr. Cook throws off with a determined attack on Bathybius, which he calls "an amazingly strategic and haughtily trumpeted substance." The word "strategic" is as dear to Mr. Cook as the Cycloides were to an American poet who made them rhyme to spades and glades, and, pleased with the sound, wove it into his song, regardless of sense. Bathybius, says the "cultured" Cook, comes "from two Greek words, meaning *deep* and *sea*." We would like Mr. Cook to tell us which part of the term means *sea*. Is it possible that he, who is always referring to Aristotle, does not know more Greek than his countryman, who explained the etymology of hippopotamus—"It comes from two Greek words, *hippos*, a river, and *potamos*, a horse"? Alas, this "very Hercules," as the *Scotman's* correspondent calls him, who "has suddenly risen before an admiring nation to do battle for what he believes to be the

truth' is smitten with a pebble from the brook before he has joined battle. He derives Bathybius from two Greek words meaning *deep* and *sea*, in his very first page. He falls; and his brazen armor rings round him in his fall,—his spear, of the dimensions of a weaver's beam, flying from his grasp. He should consult his Webster, if he has not a Liddell and Scott, before he ventures on Greek. To return to poor Bathybius; he is not only amazingly strategic and haughtily trumpeted, "but he is also the presumably triumphant keystone" of Mr. Huxley's doctrine. In the next page he is "a bridge between the inorganic and the organic." In about a dozen lines he is a "watchword," and in the same sentence "a victorious weapon"; while, in September, 1876, Bathybius was publicly interred, and he is now taking "his place with other ghosts." One does not know where to have Mr. Cook. How can a haughtily-trumpeted keystone be publicly interred? How can a strategic bridge be a watchword, or a victorious weapon become a ghost? Mr. Cook raises too many questions, philological and logical, in his first three pages. How can we expect to reach the loops at the end of the nerves, and the skull of the cave-man at Mentone and the tower of St. Mark, and all the other arguments in Mr. Cook's collection, if he is to delay us with these inscrutable mysteries? Probably the eager minds of the Boston Christian Young Men overleaped these obstacles, as our own youth clear hurdles. "Whole armadas of materialistic fleets," says the inspired lecturer, "have been wrecked on the hungry tusks of self-contradiction." Why self-contradiction, also spoken of as a reef, should have hungry tusks, we do not know; but the enemy of Bathybius himself seems scarcely to escape the ravenous tusks.

Not satisfied with a display, however brilliant, of acquaintance with the language of Hellas, Mr. Cook, in his second lecture, kindly adds something to what we know of Socrates: "It was in the endeavor to satisfy a distinctively theological thirst that he smote the rocks at the foot of the Acropolis, and caused to gush forth there these crystalline head-springs of the scientific method. Unless we think boldly—north, south, east, and west, and syllogistically, and on our knees, we do not think at all. A Greek teacher of morals first taught us to think in this manner." Mr. Cook has sources of information which we know nothing of; but we hardly think he can be right in saying that Socrates taught him to think in this manner. More probably the devout though benighted Mohican of his native prairies taught him to think in the manner expressed in this burning period. He wants to say that Agassiz held some view with which Professor Dana agrees; and this is how he says it.

"He bent that colossal bow, and it dropped out of his dying hand. On the English-speaking globe, now that Lyell has gone hence, there is no man but Dana that can take up that bow and bend it. But what does Dana say? Go to Agassiz's grave; take with you these yet moist sheets of the last number of the American Journal of Science and Arts; read over Agassiz's tomb the latest utterance of the highest and gravest authority in American geological science, and you may bring solace to a hovering, mighty spirit for an unfinished task."

If some Boston Christian young man did not take a moist copy of the American Journal of Science and read it over Agassiz's tomb, Boston Christian young men must be very hard-hearted. Who would not take a little trouble to solace a hovering spirit? Still if Mr. Cook was in earnest, his orthodoxy has a wondrous heathenish air; and if the remark was only his fun, his fun is not in the best taste. It seems that Professor Dana (p. 54), "over Agassiz's grave, joins hands with Agassiz in the Unseen Holy." Here is spread-eagle philosophy indeed; and very edifying Mr. Cook's lectures must be to young men with a sense of humor or a sense of reverence. "I do not know where in America there is another weekly audience with as many brains in it," says the lecturer; and we wonder what sort of trash he would pour out before an audience which he held in less respect.

A number of these addresses have "preludes on current events." An audience with ever so many brains cannot always be tackling Bathybius, or following Mr. Cook through what he calls "the famous labyrinth of Minotaurus." He therefore began by talking about the observance of Sunday, or about the election of Mr. Hayes, or about "the custom of the dogs of Venice to symbolize the marriage of their city to the sea," or about any other nonsense that chanced to come uppermost in the Bathybius or deep sea of his brain. Thence he would diverge to Hermann Lotze, the new philosopher whose "star is in the ascendant," while Mr. Spencer's, as we have seen, is casting a mild lustre on the Western pines. The lecturer revels in the Christian names of his authorities. Herr Lotze would be nothing if he were not Hermann, just as the Telegraph, while Mr. Gladstone was in office, always worshipped him as William Ewart. Herr Lotze's philosophy, we are informed, "is the most brilliant, the most audacious, the most abreast of the time, of all the philosophies of the globe." *The most abreast of the time*—these words sum up the popular conception of philosophy. Who is the very newest man, people ask, what is the "last novelty" in opinion? That is the faith to run after, just as the last hideous color is the most fashionable. People seem to think that Herr Lotze, or Herr Haeckel, or Mr. Huxley, has found something out, that proves or disproves the mysterious and eternal questions. If we have loops at the end of our nerves, all is well; there is a God and a future life. If the horse is descended from a pony no bigger than a fox—let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die! The last speaker is sure to know best; the most recent work on the microscope contains the secret of the universe. It is with pasteboard artillery, despite its thundering noise, that our lecturer

bombards castles of Giant Doubting, themselves built of pasteboard. He quotes what we presume was an absurd and vulgar hoax—a letter which Mr. Carlyle was said to have written about Mr. Darwin—as if it were gospel, or as if it were an argument. He tells long stories about Daniel Webster's deathbed, and about Rufus Choate. He calls a copy of the New York Tribune "the last white-and-mottled bird that flew to us out of the tall Tribune tower." He declares that when he "lifts his gaze to the very uppermost pinnacles of the mount of established truth, he finds standing there, not Haeckel nor Spencer, but Helmholtz," and other gentlemen, and they "are all on their knees"; though it must be as hard for a professor to stand on his knees on a pinnacle as to go off the stage kneeling, in the way proposed in the *Critic*. Then this country is made the butt of his eloquence: "Am I to stand here in Boston and be told that there is no authority in philosophy beyond the Thames? Is the outlook of this cultured audience, in heaven's name, to be limited by the North Sea? The English we revere; but Professor Gray says that there is something in their temperament that leads to materialism. England, green England! Sour, sad, stout skies, with azure tender as heaven, omnipresent, but not often visible behind the clouds; sour, sad, stout people, with azure tender as heaven, and omnipresent, but not often visible behind the vapors. Such is England, such the English."

"Boston, since 1852, has been wringing her hands in secret," Mr. Cook says; and she may well wring them in public, while the ghost of Charles Baudelaire rejoices, if this tustian is the end of her "culture."—*London Saturday Review*.

THE STORY OF A HEROIC LIFE.

The story of the life of Gen. Bartlett, as told by Gen. Palfrey in his just published Memoir, reveals a character so noble and a career so inspiring that it can scarcely be otherwise than profitable, in an age which is greatly given to talking of its own degeneracy, to pause for a moment to consider them. The outline of the story is doubtless already familiar to many. A student in the Junior Class at Harvard when the war broke out; speedily enlisting, after a conflict with his previous Southern sympathies; appointed Captain before the start; distinguishing himself for gallantry at Ball's Bluff; losing a leg at Yorktown; returning home to recruit, only to go back with crutches, at the head of a regiment; leading his men at Port Hudson, the only mounted man in an assaulting column of three thousand; stricken, by two bullets, and recovering only after long weeks of sickness; leading the desperate charge at Petersburg, at the head of his brigade; wounded and a prisoner, after a terrible hand-to-hand fight, without support and against dreadful odds; suffering in rebel prisons at Danville and Richmond; released and partially recovered, only to again hurry to the front,—these are the principal incidents in a military career which was begun at the age of twenty-one and closed at the age of twenty-five with the rank of a Major-General and the pride of a grateful State as its rewards. The war was a time of testing and sifting. It revealed incompetence and faithlessness where we least expected them. It gave occasion for much money-getting, for much selfishness, for much cowardice. There were generals, whose military training should have made them efficient, who were wanting in time of crisis. There were generals, whose responsibility should have made them humbled and prudent, who were helped on their horses by their orderlies, and sacrificed their men with a recklessness born of intoxication. But with all this sifting and testing, there now and then came to the front a man who seemed to have been made for the occasion, and whose capacity enlarged as the emergency became more critical. Such a man was Gen. Bartlett. Had the war not come he might have lived the ordinary life of a student and professional man, distinguished by the domestic virtues, by much manliness and courtliness, but with no hint of the sterner stuff within him. The war disclosed him as he was,—a later Bayard, without fear, without reproach; a very knight in courage and purity and endurance.

We have said that the incidents enumerated above make up the outline of the story. But with what infinite gallantry and patience and kindness, with how many proofs of unfaltering devotion and noble manhood is the outline filled in. When he lost his leg at Yorktown only six lines in his journal tell the whole story: "While I was visiting the pickets, watching the enemy with my glass, a sharp-shooter hit me in the knee with a minie ball, shattering the bone down to my ankle. Dr. Hayward amputated it four inches above the knee, and I started for Baltimore in the same afternoon." That is all. And again, a year later, after being borne in an ambulance, with a shattered wrist, from the gallant charge at Port Hudson, the entry in his journal is simply this: "The ride reminded me of mine from Yorktown to Shipping Point a year before. It was about nine miles, a rough road." And again, in the trenches before Petersburg, waiting for the orders to assault, we find him writing in his journal: "Shells this afternoon come fearfully close. Orders to be ready to move at a moment's notice. . . . God spare me for Agnes' sake and for dear mother's sake! I fear it will break their hearts if I am killed here." So always the record runs. Patient, prayerful, cool and fearless in action, grateful when dangers were passed without injury, and when wounds came grateful that they were no worse; in his letters home, always tranquil and uncomplaining, scrupulously keeping to himself his worst sufferings, and writing down only the brightest and most hopeful things. His career after the war closed was scarcely less noble. He bore his honors modestly; was always surprised and abashed by compliments; and entered

with all the ardor of a nature unrestrained by physical infirmities into the pursuits of peace. He refused positions the most influential and lucrative; turned a deaf ear to politicians; and when, once and again, he was called upon for public utterances, he spoke with a soldierly magnanimity words of cordial good-will which were caught up all over the land. When, at last, business reverses were added to steadily increasing physical weakness, and anxiety for his family intensified the grief he felt at the anticipation of parting from them, his worn aprit still showed the same strength and patience, the same gentleness and trustfulness as before, and his last words were words of assurance and hopefulness. We repeat what we said at the outset, that it is worth while to pause for a moment to contemplate such a character and career. Gen. Palfrey, in his unpretending, but profoundly interesting Memoir, has shown us a life worthy of all the praise we can give it,—and, what is better, worthy of being studied and imitated as an example of Christian and chivalrous manhood.—*Boston Journal*.

HOW THE SILVER DOLLAR BECAME A NATIONAL CREED.

As a matter of history, it is well to put on record in these columns the following letter of Director Linderman, approved by Secretary Sherman, and published by the New York Tribune of March 2:—

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28, 1878.

Sir,—If the bill to authorize the coinage of a standard silver dollar, which has lately passed both Houses of Congress, and is now awaiting Executive action, should become a law, it is expedient that the mint should be placed in a position to execute with promptitude the requirements of the act so far as coinage is concerned. In order that there may be as little delay as possible in commencing the coinage of the new dollar, it is necessary that a full supply of dies should be prepared in anticipation of the bill becoming a law. I therefore transmit herewith a specimen or experimental piece of new design that I have caused to be prepared, and which I have the honor to request may be approved and adopted.

The act authorizing the coinage of a standard silver dollar provides that there shall be on the silver dollar the devices and superscriptions provided by the act of January 18, 1837, Section 13 of which reads as follows: "That upon the coins struck at the mint there shall be the following devices and legends. Upon one side of each of said coins there shall be an inscription emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word 'Liberty' and the year of the coinage; and upon the reverse of each of the gold and silver coins there shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscription, United States of America, and a designation of the value of the coin." Section 18, of the Coinage Act of 1873, further provides that there shall be upon the coins the inscription, "E Pluribus Unum," and that the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may also cause the motto, "In God we Trust," to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto.

In accordance with the provisions of these laws, I have selected the accompanying piece from various designs which have been prepared at the mint. The obverse of the coin bears a free cut head of Liberty crowned with Phrygian cap, decorated with wheat and cotton, the staples of the country; the legend "E Pluribus Unum"; thirteen stars; and the year of coinage. On the reverse, surrounded by an olive wreath, is an eagle with outspreading wings, bearing in his talons a branch of olive and a bundle of arrows, emblems of peace and war; the inscriptions, "U. S. of America" and "one dollar"; and the motto, "In God we Trust." This specimen, while it possesses all the requirements of law in device and superscription, has been selected not only for the beauty of its design, but also for the exceptionally low relief of the devices, insuring protection from abrasion, and enabling them to be brought up in striking a minimum pressure. Very respectfully,

H. R. LINDERMANN, Director.

To the Hon. John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury.

DISTRUST OF PRIESTLY INFLUENCE IN EUROPE.

It is a matter of notoriety that an aider and abettor of clerical pretensions is regarded in France as an enemy of France and of Frenchmen; in Germany as an enemy of Germany and of Germans; in Austria as an enemy of Austria and Hungary, of both Austrians and Magyars; and in Italy as an enemy of Italy and the Italians. He is so regarded, not by a few wild and revolutionary enthusiasts who have cast away all the beliefs of their childhood and all bonds connecting them with the past, but by a great and increasing majority of sober and conscientious men of all creeds and persuasions, who are filled with a love for their country, and whose hopes and aims for the future are animated and guided by the examples of those who have gone before them, and by a sense of the continuity of national life. The profound conviction and determination of the people in all these countries, that the clergy must be restricted to a purely ceremonial province, and must not be allowed to interfere, as clergy, in public affairs—this conviction and determination, I say, are not the effect of a rejection of the Catholic dogmas. About the dogmas they do not know; they were taught them in childhood, and have not inquired into them since, and therefore they are not competent witnesses to the truth of them. But about the priesthood they do know, by daily and hourly experience, and to its character they are competent witnesses. No man can express his convictions more

scarcely them by setting upon them in a great and solemn matter of national importance. In all these countries the conviction of the serious and sober majority of the people is embodied, and is being daily embodied, in special legislation, openly and avowedly intended to guard against clerical aggression. The more closely the legislatures of these countries reflect the popular will, the more clear and pronounced does this tendency become. It may be thwarted or evaded for the moment by constitutional devices and parliamentary tricks, but sooner or later the nation will be thoroughly represented in all of them; and, as to what is then to be expected, let the panic of the clerical parties make answer. This is a state of opinion and of feeling which we in our own country find it hard to understand, although it is one of the most persistent characteristics of our nation in past times. We have spoken so plainly and struck so hard in the past, that we seem to have won the right to let this matter alone. We think our enemies are dead, and we forget that our neighbor's enemies are plainly alive; and then we wonder that he does not sit down, and be quieted as we are. We are not much accustomed to be afraid, and we never know when we are beaten. But those who are nearer the danger feel a very real and, it seems to me, well-grounded fear. The whole structure of modern society, the fruit of long and painful efforts, the hopes of further improvement, the triumphs of justice, of freedom, and of light, the heads of humanity which bring different nations together—all these they see to be menaced with a great and real and even pressing danger. For myself, I confess that I cannot help feeling as they feel. It seems to me quite possible that the moral and intellectual culture of Europe, the light and the right, what makes life worth having and men worthy to have it, may be clean swept away by a revival of superstition. We are, perhaps, ourselves not free from such a domestic danger; but no one can doubt that the danger would speedily arise if all Europe at our side should become again barbaric, not with the weakness and docility of a barbarism which has never known better, but with the strength of a past civilization perverted to the service of the evil. Those who know best, then, about the Catholic priesthood at present regard it as a standing menace to the State and to the moral fabric of society.—*Professor Clifford in the Fortnightly Review.*

MR. RUSKIN ON DRAINAGE AND PRAYER.

In the current number of *Fora Clavigera*, Mr. Ruskin comments upon George Dawson's belief that, if the drainage is bad, and the water foul, praying will never save a town from typhoid. This is a truth so self-evident that one would think no person of intelligence could doubt it. Yet Mr. Ruskin, keen and astute as he is, writes as follows: "No matter how bad the drainage of the town, how foul the water, 'He shall deliver thee from the noisome pestilence; and though a thousand fall at thy right hand, it shall not come nigh thee.' This, as a Christian, I am bound to believe; this, speaking as a Christian, I am bound to proclaim, whatever the consequence may be to the town, or the opinion of me be formed by the Common Council. As a Christian, I believe prayer to be in the last sense sufficient for the salvation of the town, and drainage, in the last sense, insufficient for its salvation; not that you will find me unconcerned about drainage. But if, of the two, I must choose between drains and prayer, why, 'look you,'—whatever you may think of my wild and whirling words, I will go pray."

It is, to some extent, reassuring to know that Mr. Ruskin is not unconcerned about drainage; but what can be said of his preference for prayer, if it came to a choice between that and drainage? A well-drained town of Athelists, with pure air and pure water, would as surely be free from typhoid as a badly-drained town of Christians, with impure air and impure water would be subject to it. The world, by its common-sense, is convinced of this, and it very wisely acts upon its conviction. Even Mr. Ruskin, we suspect, would not like to risk his life in a badly-drained city, notwithstanding that the only sounds heard in it were those of prayer and praise. He would feel much more secure from typhoid in a place where drainage was attended to, even though a "Divine Providence" was never supplicated to interfere with natural laws. We know that the preservation of health depends upon an attention to the laws of health; and that, where this attention is not given, a thousand prayers will be ineffective against the consequences of the neglect. Therefore, we say, of the two, give us good drains and pure water, and never mind the prayers. "If the natural philosopher judiciously compounds his chemicals, he obtains a true result, whether he believes that the elements he experiments upon are self-existent or created. The arithmetician whose divisor and dividend are both correct is in a fair way of obtaining an exact quotient, although the calculator disbelieves all the Thirty-nine Articles. If a mechanic's institution is built after the working rules of Cubitt or Peto, it will stand as firmly as a church built by Pugin. The Crystal Palace, erected after the manner of Fox and Henderson, will not fall, though it be opened on a Sunday. The principles of science are independent of every theological creed. The laws of Nature are not suspended by collects or conventicles; the same sun shines equally on the Theist and the Athelst." (Mr. G. J. Holyoake's *Trial of Theism*).

With all his reliance on prayer, Mr. Ruskin, it may be conjectured, would not be averse to praying after the fashion of the kirk minister, who, when the harvest approached, used to exclaim in his pulpit: "O Lord, gie us mane of your measin', tantin', tearin' winds, but a thunderin', dunnerin', dryin' wind." The faith which could suggest such a request is charming in its simplicity; but, unfortunately, there

is not very much to be said for the minister's good sense. Mr. Ruskin may think it wise and useful to pray for the preservation of health under impossible conditions. Other people will prefer to direct their first and chief attention to making their material surroundings favorable to safety. In this matter, as may be, it would be safer to follow George Dawson than Mr. Ruskin; and we say this out of no disrespect of the latter, because whatever his theological opinions may be, we all admire his genius, his earnestness, and his thorough goodness of heart.—*Francis Neale, in London Secular Review, March. 16.*

COMTE'S SYSTEM.

ITS SIMILARITY TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The only organized cultus without a God, at present before us, is that of Comte. This in all its parts—its high priesthood, its hierarchy, its sacraments, its calendar, its hagiology, its literary canon, its ritualism, and, we may add, in its fundamentally intolerant and inquisitorial character—is an obvious production of the Church of Rome, with Humanity in place of God, great men in place of the saints, the Founder of Comtism in place of the Founder of Christianity, and even a sort of substitute for the Virgin in the shape of womanhood typified by Clotilde de Vaux. There is only just the amount of difference which would be necessary to escape from servile imitation. We have ourselves witnessed a case of alternation between the two systems which testified to the closeness of their affinity. The Catholic Church has acted on the imagination of Comte at least as powerfully as Sparta acted on that of Plato. Nor is Comtism any more than Plato's "Republic" and other Utopias, exempt from the infirmity of claiming finality for a flight of the individual imagination. It would shut up mankind forever in a stereotyped organization which is the vision of a particular thinker. In this respect it seems to us to be at a disadvantage compared with Christianity, which, as presented in the Gospels, does not pretend to organize mankind ecclesiastically or politically, but simply supplies a new type of character and a new motive power, leaving government, ritual, and organization of every kind to determine themselves from age to age. Comte's prohibition of inquiry into the composition of the stars, which his priesthood, had it been installed in power, would perhaps have converted into a compulsory article of faith, is only a specimen of his general tendency (the common tendency, as we have said, of all Utopias) to impose on human progress the limits of his own mind. Let his hierarchy become masters of the world, and the effect would probably be like that produced by the ascendancy of a hierarchy (enlightened no doubt for its time) in Egypt, a brief start forward, followed by consecrated immobility forever.

Larvillière Lepaux, the member of the French Directory, invented a new religion of Theophilanthropy, which seems in fact to have been an organized Rousseauism. He wished to impose it on France, but finding that, in spite of his passionate endeavors, he made but little progress, he sought the advice of Talleyrand. "I am not surprised," said Talleyrand, "at the difficulty you experience. It is no easy matter to introduce a new religion. But I will tell you what I recommend you to do. I recommend you to be crucified and to rise again on the third day." We cannot say whether Larvillière made any proselytes; but if he did, their number cannot have been much smaller than the reputed number of the religious disciples of Comte. As a philosophy, Comtism has found its place and exercised its share of influence among the philosophes of the time; but as a religious system it appears to make little way. It is the invention of a man, not the spontaneous expression of the beliefs and feelings of mankind. Any one with a tolerably lively imagination might produce a rival system with as little practical effect. Roman Catholicism was at all events a growth, not an invention.—*Macmillan's Magazine.*

JUDAS ISCARIOT DEFENDER.

The *Tribune* of last Friday devoted considerable space to an editorial denunciation of Judas Iscariot for having betrayed Jesus; and declared that, while even Satan has his apologists "from this man humanity has turned away without a word." The *Tribune* lays special stress upon the fact that Iscariot was a Hebrew, and says "for his sake his whole nation has been accused for generations." But the *Tribune* should remember that Jesus was also a Hebrew; and if the Hebrew nation has been held accused for Iscariot's sake, why should it not be held blessed for the sake of Christ? Judas Iscariot was no more a typical Hebrew than Jesus was.

This endless abuse of Judas Iscariot is unfair and unreasonable. It is true that Judas was a bigoted silver-man, but in this respect he was no worse than Jones of Nevada, or Bland. It is true that he sold himself for the ridiculously small price of thirty pieces of silver,—which were probably worth one hundred cents on the dollar; but in this respect he was not worse than some stock-jobbing swindlers who cheat their confiding clients for the sake of gain in gold and stocks. If Judas Iscariot sold himself below the market price, it must be confessed that this is an accusation that will not hold good of his brethren as a rule, nor at all of the present followers of Christ.

We think Judas Iscariot ought to have a hearing. General Fitz John Porter and ex-Surgeon-General Hammond are to be given a chance to clear themselves; history has purified the memory of Bloody Mary of England; and even the murderous Henry the Eighth is held up as a model husband with only a little falling in the way of an over-fondness for

change. Why should Judas Iscariot be left out in the cold? Was he quite so very good? Certainly not; for if he had had both Jesus and Jesus had not died on the cross, what would the Christian world have done for a Savior, and who would have been their savior? If the Christian belief in Christ as the redeemer of mankind be correct, Judas Iscariot waits to our mind, an instrument in the hands of Providence; and, as the cause of Christ's martyrdom on the cross, second way to Christ himself in his services to mankind.—*Reformer and Jewish Times, April 26.*

Whither.

[For The Index.]

WHITHER?

I.

Whither, oh my brother, whither,
Sailing o'er life's solemn sea,—
Whither lies the land-locked haven
Where our destined port may be?

Sail we to the purple island,
Where the blest forever dwell,—
Where are golden amaranths growing,
Lotus bloom, and asphodel?

In that fair and wondrous city,
Where are streets of purest gold,
Gates of pearl and walls of jasper,
Shall we our beloved behold?

Or to darkness are we going?
Is this life our all of day?
Do we say farewell forever,
When we lay our dead away?

Long the world hath dreamed and wondered
Where our unknown home may lie;
Down the ages, longing, yearning,
Listen to its bitter cry!

II.

Nay, my brother, never tidings
Float across the misty track,—
Day by day ships outward going;
But no message cometh back.

Sage and priest and saint have questioned
What may lie the other side,
And their hopes and fancies blending,
Thought a voice divine replied!

But, by all the deeds of beauty
Done by hero knights of old,
By the grand and noble living,
Which we every day behold;

By the deathless love which weldeth
Hearts as one forevermore;
By the tireless soul's exultant
Search for Truth from Nature's store—

Wranching secret after secret
From the earth and sea and air;
Binding Nature's myriad forces
For our use as on we fare;

Even by the dreams we've cherished
Thro' the ages, seeking light;
By the fond thoughts of remembrance
For those passing out of sight:

Courage, brother, onward faring;
Tho' we blindly, sadly grope,
"Peering" through the darkness dimly,
If we know not, we may hope!

Bravely sail, our port unknowning;
Keep our lives sweet, pure, and true;
Then, whate'er the future holdeth,
We have done all we could do!

Higher life of growth unceasing?
Death the open'd "pearly gate"?
Fairer land than faith hath pictured?
We can only hope and wait!

M. E. S.

ONEIDA, N. Y.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 25.

Henry Bolton, \$2; Abbie J. Spaulding, \$2; Dr. Robert Ormeson, \$13.25; W. O. Mack, \$5.25; George Allen, \$1.25; Rose Smith, 10 cents; T. B. Skinner, 10 cents; C. R. Woodward, \$2; Mrs. E. C. Shepard, \$1; Mrs. E. Grinnell, \$2 cents; J. E. Connor, \$5; George Lee, \$3.10; G. G. Williams, \$3.07; Cash, "anonymous," \$5; E. A. Sawtelle, \$5.50; Franklin King, \$7.33; Cash, \$2; Lizzie Richards, \$1; J. B. Boyden, \$3.50; Jacob Elms, \$3.20; J. L. Whiting, \$2.70; Cash, \$2.25; George Henshaw, \$15; D. B. Harris, \$2.25; J. H. W. Toohy, \$1.70; D. F. Bruner, \$6.50; M. M. Wagonman, \$3.20; David Ferguson, \$2; American News Co., \$5.00; A. B. Chace, \$20; Jefferson Church, \$10; W. H. Boughton, \$3.25; Dr. T. W. Johnston, \$2.

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

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, MAY 30, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 331 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO OFFICE: No. 35 Monroe Street; J. E. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ARBOT, Editor.
GUSTAVUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERRY, GEORGE JACOB HOLVOAKEN (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SURER, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KEISAY, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Index Association will be held at the office of the Association, Toledo, Ohio, on Saturday, June 1, 1878, at 2½ P.M., for the hearing of the annual reports, the election of a Board of Directors for the ensuing year, and the transaction of any other business that may be brought before the meeting.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Free Religious Association is to be held in Boston as follows:—

Thursday evening, May 30, at 7.45 P.M., session for business in Horticultural Hall; election of officers; reading of reports; and general consideration of the practical work of the Association.

Friday, May 31, at 10.30 A.M. and 3 P.M., sessions in Beethoven Hall for essays and addresses. Morning subject: "The Religion of Humanity, and how it may be Organized"; essayist, T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of the Society of Humanity, New York. Afternoon subject: "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and how it is being Disorganized"; essayist, Mr. Wm. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, Mass. Among the speakers expected are O. B. Frothingham, President of the Association, Mr. M. Ellinger, editor of the *Jewish Times*, Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith and Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, Rev. S. R. Calthrop, of Syracuse, and Miss Anna M. Garlin, of Providence. Mrs. Smith will give a poem, at the Friday morning session, on "Soul Questionings." Miss Garlin will speak at the business session, Thursday evening, on the "Practical Work of Free Religion."

On Friday evening there will be a social gathering in Horticultural Hall.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

MR. TOOHEY lectures next Sunday evening at Paine Hall on "The Necessity of the Liberal League Movement."

THE ILLINOIS STATE Executive Committee of the National Liberal League has been duly constituted as follows: Dr. A. G. Humphrey, Chairman, Galesburg; James M. Pratt, Pratt; Dr. Horace Newell, Campbell Hill; Isaac Payden, Woodhull; John R. Smith, Galesburg.

IN THE SPRINGFIELD *Republican* of May 3, Mr. Emerson's essay on "The Sovereignty of Ethics" was quoted by the writer of "Our Boston Literary Correspondence" as having alluded to "the pale negations of Boston Trinitarianism." The essay itself said—"the pale negations of Boston Unitarianism"! Such a misquotation as that had a purpose. What was it?

IN CONSEQUENCE of our being obliged to attend the meeting of stockholders of THE INDEX Association at Toledo, we shall be unable to be present at the meeting of the Free Religious Association in Boston this week. But we are sure the meeting will be as enjoyable and inspiring as ever, and, regretting our absence on our own account alone, we venture to offer our most cordial and respectful greetings to all the friends to be assembled at the convention.

A MEETING of St. Louis "Socialists" was held in that city at National Hall, May 16. The chairman read that portion of the platform which demands "the distribution *pro rata* of all the property of the country," etc. But the chief speaker, Mr. Haller, of Cincinnati, discouraged the use of violence in carrying out this programme, although he hoped to see a "free country in which there should be no capitalists."

COLONEL INGERSOLL AND THE VAMPIRES OF THE PRESS.

It would be useless to make any reply to the five columns of unscrupulous and abusive misstatement with which the New York *Truth Seeker* tried in its last issue to cover up the fact that Colonel Ingersoll opposes the repeal of the law of 1873 against obscene literature, but favors its modification. So far as we are personally concerned, we shall spend no time in combating the labors of this journal to prejudice its readers against us. Its object is too transparent—to divert attention from the fatal blunder which it has made, and which it now seeks to hide by irrelevant, bitter, and mendacious personal abuse. Those of its readers who see THE INDEX will not be deceived by all this; those who do not see it are beyond the reach of any reply in these columns. But public interests of a high order require that the position of Colonel Ingersoll with respect to that law should not be misrepresented. His personal reputation is at stake; here in the bud are scandalous stories about him which the clergy in the future will use precisely as they now use equally false stories about Voltaire and Paine, for the purpose of destroying the influence of his ability and courage in attacking old superstitions. We shall do what we can to prevent his being popularly confounded with the apologists and defenders of obscene literature, both out of regard to his personal reputation and even more out of regard for the interests of American Liberalism.

There is a great question to be settled by the liberals of this country, whose importance demands that we should speak promptly, clearly, and unflinchingly, no matter what clamor is raised against us by those who have good cause to dread a right settlement of that question. The necessity of our speaking on this most distasteful subject is all the greater because the duty of helping to create a wise and enlightened public opinion concerning it seems to us sadly neglected by many liberals whose public utterances would have the most weight and are now most urgently needed. No matter who speaks or is silent,—no matter who is pleased or displeased,—no matter who seconds or who opposes our endeavor to put Liberalism in a strong, high, dignified and defensible position before the people of this country,—no matter who may strive to drag it down to such a low level that it shall become a stench in the nostrils of all decent men and women,—our duty is all the same, and shall be discharged.

All that the Church wants in order to seize entire control of political affairs in this country is a chance to convince the vast body of neutral or indifferent persons that *Liberalism aims to demoralize the community*,—that it either seeks or tends to break down the safeguards of public decency, order, and morality. The moral interests of society, entrenched in the hearts of the great bulk of the population, will crush to powder any man, however distinguished, or any movement, however right in itself, which shall oppose or be generally imagined to oppose the safety of these paramount interests. To permit such a supposition to gain the ascendancy in the public mind is to throw all political power into the hands of the Church; and the Church will use it again as she has always used political power in the past. No community in the world will long permit the exercise of a liberty which is practically abused to its own serious detriment; a great reaction will set in at last, and conservatism will for the time being triumph totally over radicalism. History is full of such defeats, due to the insanity or folly of radicals themselves. The greatest danger of Liberalism to-day is in the low purposes of some of its popular exponents.

Now the great Church party are watching silently, but with keen and intense interest, to see what record the Liberal party are going to make for themselves on this question of the circulation of obscene literature. When the record is fairly made up, its effects will begin to be felt—no doubt about that! If the Liberals, as a body, prove themselves to be sober, self-controlled, able to discriminate between the uses and the abuses of liberty, friendly to the maintenance of all liberty which shall respect equally the rights of individuals and of society at large, and opposed to the selfish schemes of all who would undermine society and violate private rights in liberty's blasphemed name, then their cause is fated to grow and prosper, and the Church will be powerless to prevent it. But if they prove themselves to be capable of being misguided by reckless leaders or duped by designing ones into the position of attacking or impugning society's right to maintain the necessary conditions of its own welfare and existence, then their cause is, at least for the time, irrecoverably lost.

We say without hesitation that Liberalism could have practically no worse enemy than he who, purposely or without purpose, should actually place it before the public in the light of a defender of obscene literature; for he would have done all that is possible to show that Liberalism itself is the enemy of society, and that the Church is indeed what it claims to be, the true conservator of civilization and public morality.

It is for these reasons that the petition with which Colonel Ingersoll's name has been associated assumes importance. If this petition had simply asked that the law of 1873 should be so modified and so strictly guarded as to render it impossible to prosecute free-thought under pretence of prosecuting obscenity, all liberals could and would have heartily joined in the request; for this would be exactly right in itself and could not have been misrepresented by the Church party as an attack on public morality, except on the absurd ground that free-thought is necessarily immoral.

But that is not what the petition asks for. It asks that the law of 1873 may be *totally repealed*, without in the least recognizing the fact that the law is aimed at a real evil against which society has an indefensible right to protect itself by statute; it only asks for a *modification* of the law as a secondary object—as an incomplete and unsatisfactory reform, a little better than nothing. It thus represents the liberals as wholly indifferent to the real evil—as totally insensible to the enormity of the crime of attempting to corrupt the minds of the rising generation by filthy literature whose only object is to foster destroying vice.

Now we have sufficient confidence in the good sense and good purposes of the liberals, as a class, to believe that they would, if the issue were not designedly obscured, instantly discern the world-wide difference between these two positions, and instantly choose the only tenable one of the two. It is as absurd as it is false and malevolent to impugn our motives in seeking to make this vitally important difference clearly understood. The utter insincerity of the *Truth Seeker's* opposition is proved by the extreme care taken by it to keep the difference itself completely out of sight, and to raise all sorts of ridiculous and personal side-issues which have nothing to do with the main question. We refuse to be drawn into any such side-issues. Such tactics may succeed for a time; they will fall ignominiously in the end.

The point we make is that LIBERALISM CANNOT AFFORD TO TAKE UP AN UTTERLY INDEFENSIBLE POSITION,—to identify itself with the vendors of that vile and filthy literature which makes no appeal whatever to the thinking faculties, but only seeks to propagate secret vice for the sake of profit to the publishers. Those who refuse to recognize the chasm that divides *freedom of thought* from *freedom of vice*, who busy themselves in throwing dust into the eyes of the public on a question that touches its highest interests, and who insult the intellects of the liberals by assuming that they will not at last discover who are their real friends and who are their real betrayers, may have their day; but it will be short. The attempt to dragoon all liberals into the defence of those who publish obscene literature, and to hold the former responsible for the unspeakable offences of the latter under penalty of being slandered as "champions of Comstock," is folly amounting to suicide, and will produce a reaction of a very vigorous character. The truth will out at last. No self-respecting man will have anything to do with a movement which, through the incompetency of its guides or the secret manipulations of those who may seek to make it a shield for nefarious practices, publicly makes common cause with the vampires of the press. All the real tendencies of Liberalism set in the direction of larger truth and higher morality; no man can reverse them. The right of society to protect itself in all possible ways against all real crimes, including this hideous crime of *social fountain-poisoning*, is part and parcel of Liberalism; poisoners, their accomplices, and their apologists have neither part nor lot in it. The persistent aim of THE INDEX in this whole matter has been to put and keep the cause of Liberalism on high and noble ground which it can defend to the last, nor will it be deterred from the prosecution of this aim, although misunderstanding, misrepresentation, and calumny should be poured forth by floods. In the long run it will command the approval it deserves. If not, so much the worse for those who do not know enough to approve what is just, true, and right. We have learned how to stand alone in this great cause.

Now it is reason for great satisfaction, on the part

of all who appreciate the critical character of this issue between the true and false positions of Liberalism, to know that Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, the most eloquent and conspicuous liberal of the country, and the only one whose public work and influence at all compare with those of such advocates on the other side as Dwight L. Moody, has unequivocally declared himself in favor of the modification, and against the repeal, of the law of 1873. He sees clearly that whoever demands the unconditional repeal of that law, without at the same time demanding with equal energy the enactment of such a law as shall suppress really obscene literature and yet not interfere in the slightest with literature of any other class, puts himself before the public, in spite of himself, in the attitude of one who really favors obscene literature. He may not intend to do so, but he does so. His intentions count for nothing; his act speaks for itself. No doubt, the vast majority of those who signed the petition for the repeal of the law were quite unconscious that this was the logical meaning of their act—the meaning which the public will surely see in it.

The man who shoots at a burglar in the dark, and kills his own child, cannot change the effect of his shot by disavowing the intention of killing him; neither can those who signed that petition change the effect of their act. The only thing they can do is to disavow any bad intention of the act, as done under a misapprehension. We have raised no question of their intentions, as the *Truth Seeker* calumniously pretends; we question the motives neither of writers nor of signers. But we persist in pointing out the character of the petition itself, as a terrible and fatal blunder for the liberal cause; for the act of demanding the unconditional repeal of the law of 1873 must and will, in spite of all protests and explanations, put the signers in the attitude of seeking to protect really obscene literature. It will be fortunate for all who would be aghast at the thought of taking this public attitude to bring themselves speedily, however reluctantly, to look at their position in the stern light of truth.

Now the letter of Colonel Ingersoll to the *Boston Journal*, which we republished a fortnight ago (and which the *Truth Seeker* did not, does not, and will not dare to print), showed conclusively the ground he takes on this subject. It is the same ground taken by THE INDEX—for modification, but against repeal.

The fact has been trumpeted all over the country that Colonel Ingersoll headed the petition for the repeal of the law; and in our article of May 16, defending him from the charge of favoring the publication of obscene literature because he had done so, we quoted his letter to the *Journal* in order to show the position he really takes. Without saying one word about this letter, the *Truth Seeker* tries to convince its readers, contrary to the truth, that Colonel Ingersoll really favors the repeal of that law! It says:—

"Mr. Abbot makes a pitiful exhibit of himself by endeavoring to show that Colonel Ingersoll is so weak or careless, or so much of a fool, as not to know what kind of paper he is signing. In so many words, he says: 'Colonel Ingersoll was quite ignorant of what he was doing when he signed or presented that petition.' And, again: 'Let it be distinctly and universally understood that Colonel Ingersoll was ignorant of the real character of the petition he signed—that he is avowedly and publicly opposed to the main object it seeks,—and that it is a gross libel on his good name to quote him as intentionally in favor of the repeal of the law of 1873.' Is it possible that Colonel Ingersoll is so much of a ninny as that, and that nobody has been able to discover the fact but the editor of THE INDEX? It strikes us that the discoverer of the ninnyism is by far the greater ninny of the two."

And this was all written by the editor of the *Truth Seeker* with the evident intent to persuade his readers that Colonel Ingersoll is really in favor of the repeal of the law, while at that very time a letter lay before his eyes in which Colonel Ingersoll himself says: "No one wishes the repeal of any law for the suppression of obscene literature. For my part, I wish all such laws rigidly enforced"!!! Not one word of that letter is quoted; not the least reference is made to it; not a hint is given that any such letter exists. That is a specimen of the honesty with which the *Truth Seeker* treats THE INDEX and discusses this whole subject.

Now this and far worse treatment of THE INDEX it has continued for months; and we leave it to cure its own slanderous effects by its own grossness. But it is of no little consequence that the liberal public should understand that Robert G. Ingersoll is not such a "ninny" as to try to defend the utterly indefensible position taken in that petition. Instead of being offended or displeased with our attempt to

drive away the Orthodox harpies which were greedily settling upon his reputation in consequence of his reported connection with that petition, he at once sent us this genial little note, which we do not think he will at all object to our using in this connection:—

[BOSTON,] May 18, '78.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

My Dear Friend,—Thank you for your splendid article in this week's issue in my defence.

I will be here at the Parker House, Sunday morning, at 10. I want to see you. Leave word where I can see you, or come and see me.

Yours truly, R. G. INGERSOLL.

This kind invitation we accepted, and spent a couple of hours most pleasantly and enjoyably with him and some other callers. He voluntarily explained his connection with the petition, saying that he had never read, or seen, or signed it! He was requested by certain parties, not mentioned by name, to help them "modify" [that was the word used by Colonel Ingersoll] the law of 1873, and that he cheerfully consented; and he added, with chivalrous generosity, that he had no idea of "going back" on the parties who put his name to the petition, which very likely he might have signed at the time if it had been presented. He evidently wished to avoid casting any reproach on those who had thus used his name, and we certainly intend to cast none; but the fact remains that Colonel Ingersoll had never seen or read the petition down to May 19, nor personally affixed his name to it at all. This fact honorably and abundantly explains why his letter to the *Boston Journal*, which expresses his deliberate opinion on this subject, does not agree with the petition itself. Instead of being a "ninny," or worse, he is a clear-headed, right-minded man, who means to stand by the great principle of "universal mental liberty" to the uttermost, and is not so confused as to imagine he cannot do this without advocating the universal liberty of nastiness. In this respect, all liberals of like character will sooner or later take their place by his side. We repeat that it is a libel on Colonel Ingersoll's good name to say that he is intentionally in favor of the total repeal of the law against obscene literature, which he yet hopes so to "modify" as to make it impossible to use it for the persecution of freethinkers. And to this we heartily say amen, rejoicing that Robert G. Ingersoll knows how to defend to the uttermost "liberty for man, woman, and child," yet without in the least allying himself with the vendors of obscenity, the vampires of the press.

A NEEDED TRACT.

IN THE INDEX of April 25, there are two valuable papers which the National Liberal League ought to put into cheap pamphlet form for extensive distribution. I refer to Madison's "Protest against State Christianity" and Jefferson's "Religious Freedom Act." The American people need to be educated on this matter of religious freedom, in the views of the fathers of our republic. Of course all people who are well acquainted with the early history of our country, and with the opinions of the leading men of the epoch, know very well, not only that the government of the United States was founded on the broadest principles with respect to religious liberty, but that this was the direct result of the large and free views concerning religion which were held by those who had most to do with the framing and adoption of the federal Constitution. But great numbers of United States citizens are very ignorant on this point, and need enlightenment. From the fact that our country was largely settled by religious emigrants, and from the further fact that the Christian religion has had here a special success and prosperity, not a few people among us assume that the government was framed so as to give direct and express encouragement to Christianity, and are surprised to learn that the federal Constitution is strictly secular, and that the government was intended to favor the Christian religion no more than any other. For such persons, these papers by Madison and Jefferson would have great value.

Madison's paper is especially weighty, both from its nature and the cautious, judicial character of the man. It was written expressly to oppose a bill in the Virginia Legislature "for establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian religion." And without any circumlocution, he takes the ground that, so far as the government is concerned, Christianity is only one of a number of sects, all equal before the law. He says: "Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity in exclusion of all other sects,—that the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three-pence only of his property for the support of any one

establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment, in all cases whatsoever?"

The truth is that those who are working for the amendment of the federal Constitution so as to make it distinctly recognize the supremacy of the Christian religion are, in this matter, the *innovators*, not only in letter but in spirit and argument. For once, the liberals who oppose this "Amendment" are the conservatives. They stand by the old landmarks of the republic, and have the "authorities" on their side. And for this reason it would be well to print and circulate as far as possible these opinions of the fathers, who are lifted above the partisan questions of our own time: not, however, for authority's sake, but for exhibiting the solid reasons which they themselves gave—reasons having their source in truth and justice,—for the broad foundations on which they built the government.

—W. J. F.

[The work of publishing in cheap form the literature of the State Secularization movement is exceedingly important, and belongs especially to the National Liberal League. Obligated, however, to make provision beforehand for the expenses of the Annual Congress and other indispensable means of promoting the organization of Local Leagues, the Directors have not as yet been able to publish all that is desirable. The advertisement on our last page shows that there are three publications already for sale which are very valuable for active workers in the movement. Just as soon as the generosity of the public permits, a series of Liberal League Documents will be initiated, embracing Madison's "Protest against State Christianity," Jefferson's "Religious Freedom Act," Col. Johnson's "Sunday Mail Report," Gen. Walker's "Bible in Schools" letter, Hon. Ellzur Wright's "Republican Taxation," Mr. Potter's "Christianity and Modern Civilization," and other such papers. Will not the funds be furnished?—ED.]

"TWO SETS OF PRECEDENTS."

In connection with the foregoing article, it will be interesting to read the following extract from the *Philadelphia Christian Statesman* of April 25, and particularly the remarks of Rev. Mr. Stevenson, its editor:—

Is this a Christian Government?

The New York Pastors' Association, embracing pastors of the Presbyterian, United and Reformed Presbyterian, and Reformed churches, discussed on last Monday morning the question, "Is this a Christian Government?"

The Rev. Mr. Smith, chaplain of Randall's Island, opened the discussion, calling attention to the Tripolitan Treaty which affirmed that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion, and has in itself no character of enmity to the laws of religion of Mussulmans." He read also the "Demands of Liberalism," to illustrate the forces which are working to rob our government of all Christian character, and of the blessings connected with it.

The Rev. T. P. Stevenson, of Philadelphia, being present, and being invited to address the meeting, pointed out briefly the falsity and danger inherent in the secular theory of government. With reference to the American government, it was shown that two opposing forces have been at work in our national life, and two sets of precedents have been established. It is still an open question which of these shall finally become predominant. On the one hand, there is a very precious and important body of facts which arise from the presence and influence of Christianity in our civil affairs. The preponderance of Christian elements in our population, the unmistakably Christian character of the earliest civil governments in America, the existing Christian features of the government, such as prayers in legislative assemblies, the Bible in the schools, etc., were referred to. On the other hand, the avowed and implacable hostility of a vast mass of our citizens to national Christianity, the fact that Christian men, ignoring the moral and religious aspects of public questions, are divided on other issues, the manifest absence of a national purpose to obey God and honor his Son, Jesus Christ, the election in great numbers of avowedly irreligious and openly immoral men to civil office, the absence of any provisions in favor of national Christianity from the nation's fundamental law, and the evident drift of the government and the nation away from the principles and usages of our fathers, were referred to as painful and significant facts, which forbid an unqualified affirmative answer to the question. The Christian features of the government before enumerated were seen to be largely of an external character, while these indications of an unchristian national spirit are connected with the innermost life and being of the nation. The influence of a Constitution, silent where it ought to have spoken, was briefly shown, and the necessity for its amendment.

Arrangements were made for the further discussion of the subject at a future meeting.

We believe that the existence of a great unsettled issue between the two forces here pertinently pointed out, with their "two sets of precedents," cannot be too soon recognized or too thoughtfully pondered. The National Liberal League ought to be supported

with enthusiasm, with generosity, with combined individual energies, and with the powerful co-operation of hundreds and thousands of Local Auxiliary Leagues, as the great educator of the American people in the most important principle of their national life—the *Total Separation of Church and State*. This principle is the practical application of Free Religion to politics; and the United States Constitution, which is the political Bible of Free Religion, shows that the national government was founded on the principle which underlies our "set of precedents," not that of the *Christian Statesman*. But who is unable to discern here a new "irrepressible conflict" whose final issue is still hidden behind the impenetrable veil of the future? Now is the time to work, not to indulge in pleasing dreams; and work means—the National Liberal League.

Communications.

THE MONGOLIAN PROBLEM.

The Mongolian problem is again upon the tapis. This question has been sometimes treated in THE INDEX as though it were mainly a religious question. In justice to the unjust, and to give the devil his due, it is not a religious, but a social question. When the Celestial sails to our shores, verily he comes to eat up the land,—not to settle nor to trade. He brings his very food and raiment with him, but he brings no women. In America he has no domestic life. He simply grubs together what he can, and then departs. If he dies, he will not even leave his carcass to manure our soil. That, too, goes back to the land of the rising sun. I said, he brings no women. He does not, but yet women come—all immoral, and all diseased. When President Lincoln was down with fever and ague he said, in his dry way,—“Tell all the office-hunters to come and see me: I've got something now that I can give to all of them!” Well, the Chinese women are similarly rich, and many a boy of Frisco has got a handsome present from them. When venereal disease was first imported into Europe from the islands off South America by the comrades of Columbus, the holy father took it. Decidedly he was spotless of course. 'Twas in the air. That was the explanation. Well, 'tis in the air of San Francisco just at present; and the sooner it gets out of it the better. Surely the Californian proletariat is not wrong in saying that in all these doings of the Chinese there is no element of healthy citizenship.

Both by temperament and on principle a conservative, and, above all, averse to violence on the double ground of its cost and its impotency, an incendiary programme is surely not attractive to my eye; but yet some two or three clauses of the new proletarian platform quoted in Mr. Maverick's letter to the *New York Tribune* do strike me as more just than will be commonly allowed,—especially the objection to Chinese labor, and the insistence on the legal working day. I am well aware that absolute principles and abstract rights are upon both these issues upon the side of capital, but I have no faith in either one or the other. On the contrary, I know (if I know anything) that they must fly like chaff before the wind whenever the necessity arises. *Salus Reipublicæ est suprema lex*. Whoever will fix the foundations of the earth so that they shall not be moved, let this man adopt rigid principles; but they are not for such modest people as are obliged to bend to circumstance. The plea for the Mongolian is, that he can do more work on a given quantum of meat than the Caucasian. Suppose so. Why, at this rate, the horse or mule is a vastly worthier creature than any sort of man! The objection to the Mongolian is this. The land is too full; and, this being so, it is not endurable that the worse should be suffered to crowd out the better. That America will maintain many millions more inhabitants when its resources are developed is what no one doubts; but that requires time.

In regard to the remuneration of labor, Mill favors piece-work, because it proportions pay to industry. Of course it does this, but it has another effect as well. It enables the superior to crowd out the inferior. What every one seems in equity entitled to is an average share of the raw material of production, or else an equivalent thereof; and a fixed short day, although a clumsy and inadequate expedient, has yet more tendency to secure this than either piece-work or nonregulated hours. On every account employers will always study to reduce the number of their employees to the lowest point; but the more they succeed in this the more hands must be left out in the cold. It is not the same thing to the community that A works fourteen hours (as he will if you will let him) and B turns tramp or thief, as that A and B work seven hours apiece. That we should bear each others' burdens is the injunction of Saint Paul, but not to press so much; at least the strong ought not to deprive the weak of the very means of living by depriving them of the very means of laboring, yet that must always be the effect of competition.

For nearly three-quarters of a century, say from 1778, the year of Voltaire's death, till 1851, the date of the most infamous event in history, Napoleon's *coup d'état*, the tranquillity of European society was disturbed or threatened by a number of visionaries and projectors,—Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, Condercet, St. Just, Babeuf, St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Louis Blanc, who proposed to inaugurate utopia immediately. Every one nowadays understands the futility of such inordinate ambitions. But since then there hath arisen a school of theorists, with

H. Spencer at their head, whose doctrine is, that society is a growth, and, apparently, that all we have got to do is to put our hands in our breeches pockets and grow; and I was quite sorry to hear Mr. Frothingham preaching this gospel of imbecility in the Masonic Hall last Sunday. Certainly society is in some sense a growth, and true it is that we can only effectuate so much and no more; but yet each step in human progress hath been won by the efforts of energetic men; and if we trust in either Providence or Nature, or for any reason neglect the moral of that wise saw that God helps those who help themselves, we shall be unworthy of our fathers. Mr. Frothingham thinks that the cry of the workmen is for fancy cakes rather than for bread. If fancy cakes means the elegancies of life, I know not why the workmen should not cry for them and get them too, or get them without crying. If the number of mankind were judiciously limited, and if labor were equitably distributed, and superfluous labor avoided, and, perhaps, mere emasculating luxuries dispensed with, every civilized man should be able to enjoy culture, wealth, and leisure. But there is neither prospect nor possibility of our attaining this blessed condition by means of sudden violence.

One more word in conclusion. What makes a man a dangerous citizen is the combination of an empty stomach and an empty head. As a guardian of order, the schoolmaster is both cheaper and more effective, besides being many times more ornamental, than the policeman. CHARLES ELLERSHAW.
NEW YORK CITY.

EXTRACTS AND COMMENTS.

DEAR INDEX:—

A late number of the *Christian Register* contains the following among its "Brevities":—

"A correspondent of the *Commonwealth* says, 'There is not a particle of difference in theological belief between Ingersoll and the radical of culture and refinement, only each has a different way of stating his belief.' As if Ingersoll were the apostle of some sort of 'belief'! If the radical of culture and refinement doesn't believe anything, what occasion has he to say anything?"

I am no apologist for the iconoclastic method and spirit of Colonel Ingersoll. He is certainly a "Negationist" in the sense of being one who lays excessive stress and emphasis upon what he does not believe. He surely lives more in the dense atmosphere of denial and disbelief than in the clear air of the "everlasting yea." But, after all, the above-quoted criticism is so severely unjust as to call for vigorous and earnest protest, although the noble and large-hearted editor of the *Register* no doubt intended no injustice. It is most certainly not true that Ingersoll does not believe anything, or is not the apostle of any sort of belief whatever. He has repeatedly affirmed his belief in (1) intellectual freedom and (2) character,—to mention no other items. Do those things count for nothing at all? What grander or broader affirmations does the *Christian Register* believe in than freedom and character? Is it honorable or religious to sling carelessly around such large and loose assertions in regard to that honest and upright man, whatever his "persuasion," with whose opinion and methods of working ours do not agree? Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto Ingersoll the things that are Ingersoll's. Unto every man his due.

Turn about. Colonel Ingersoll has recently said: "I have no respect for any human being who teaches the infamous dogma of hell. I have no respect for any man who preaches it. I have no respect for any man who will pollute the imagination of childhood with that infamous lie. I have no respect for the man who will add to the sorrows of this world with that frightful dogma. I have no respect for the man who endeavors to put that infinite cloud, that infinite shadow, over the heart of humanity."

Is it not about time that both Free-thinkers and Orthodox learn to distinguish between false doctrines and the people who believe and teach them? For "the infamous dogma of hell," I have no respect whatever; I will assail it in all honorable ways; but for scores and hundreds of sincere people who believe and preach that dogma, I have profound respect. For my part, I have respect for all honest people, whether believers in and teachers of eternal punishment or not. None but hypocrites are outside the proper boundaries of respect.

Our *Pamphlet Mission* is doing grand work on behalf of freedom and fellowship; but some of us think that it would accomplish broader and grander work if it were to open its doors wide enough to admit to its columns some representative Materialist like B. F. Underwood, and some representative Spiritualist, like G. B. Stebbins. Perhaps nothing better has appeared within its pages than the following words of wisdom from the pen of W. C. Gannett:—

"A new type of man is wanted in religion,—a man wholly free in thought and honest in word, but wholly reverent in feeling and broad in sympathies. He is coming; he is making,—but making as they make costly furniture, in pieces. The freedom and honesty are being made in one shop, the breadth and reverence in another. The Orthodox shop appropriates some of the Heretic shop's freedom, and the Heretic borrows some of the Orthodox shop's reverence; the Methodist shop offers feeling, and the Episcopalian shop produces good taste; the Unitarian shop furnishes breadth and common sense, and the Swedenborgian shop its sense of mystic and poetic meanings; the Calvinist contributes his sense of God as moral law, and the Universalist his sense of God as love; and the Radical his trust in reason, his hearty welcome to new thought and his blunt honesty. And thus the type of religious man improves as a hundred years go by. It takes the round

generation, and more than one generation, to make the several parts of a costly new man and get him finally put together." Are not these words worthy of our perusal? S. W. SAMPLE.

STRAWBERRY POINT, IOWA.

SHALL LIBERALS BE RETICENT?

EDITOR INDEX:—

It might be conjectured that Mr. Neville's serious apprehension that liberals may too freely obtrude their opinions upon the attention of those who are of another faith, may be rather sentimental and plausible than practically useful. He seems to regard the votaries of religion as very sensitive with respect to it, and accordingly to treat religion as being a delicate subject of discussion, as well as a thing in itself consoling, and desirable, which liberals themselves can well afford to do without, but the enjoyment of which they ought not to grudge to those who are less enlightened. It may be justly claimed that the placing of religion upon its true and rational foundation is one of the very things which liberals as such are intent on. Conscientious zeal put forth for such a purpose ought surely to be executed if not commended. Before religion can be placed upon the right of foundation, the false foundation must be removed, to give place for the right one. Not everything which has been called religion deserves to be named with honor. If the question is asked, "What is religion?" the answer may be made that, in its highest sense, it is an abiding and practical sense of moral responsibility to all embracing law which is eternal and unchangeable. He who has that abiding and practical sense of moral responsibility is religious, whether he be theist or atheist. But even the theist has this virtue of religion in a degree which is inferior just in proportion as the God he worships is supposed, through whimsical favoritism, to let him off from such responsibility. The quality of the God he worships has much to do with that of the religion he entertains. It depends upon the quality of religion, whether it is calculated to make people better or worse.

It may well be doubted whether it is altogether modest to affect to shrink from expression of opinions really entertained on the ground that, the great multitude of mankind are so deficient in moral perception that they are quite incompetent rightly to understand and apply the truth; or so unjust and wilful as to be incapable of welcoming with gratitude the new view of things, which disturbs unreasonable prejudice, or whether such indulgence is any more reasonable than it is modest, when it is considered that people are not hurt by what they are not competent to appreciate and will not receive.

It is not at all to the purpose to say that, because they derive consolation from their religion, they ought to be left in the dark in it, any more than that the man who finds (or imagines he finds) delight in the excitement of strong drink should be encouraged in making excessive, and therefore bad use of whiskey. Here the question arises, whether they are any the better for the consolation. The godly people who cruelly persecuted one another for slight differences of opinion, in imitation of their grim God dealing with sinners so-called, were none the better for the ill-founded assurance which could give to the detestable invasion of another's right, a softer or more specious name. The malefactor, when about to receive the punishment denounced upon his crime, is none the better for entertaining and expressing triumphant joy in the prospect of rising from the scaffold to the arms of Jesus; and that perhaps without compunction of conscience for the wrong he has done, or any solicitude ever entertained as to the possibility of partial separation. Yet such behavior is not to be wondered at; for he who is mean enough deliberately to rob a fellow-man of life would in most cases be short-sighted enough to accept a theory of salvation so contemptible. If people are the worse instead of being the better for the consolation which comes of their religion, then their religion is demoralizing; and the sooner they throw it off for a salutary philosophy that shall reach beyond it, the better.

A thing to be desired is a religion which shall set forth and encourage love of virtue for its own sake, rather than a system of bugabooism like that by which injudicious nurses are wont to frighten unruly children into quietness and obedience,—a sorry artifice, which takes advantage of ignorance, and stifles conscience. The virtue which inspires existence must spring from normal action of the human faculties, not from vain and gloomy dreams of distorted imagination. These can only perpetuate the ignorance and the barbarism which gave them birth. Let those who are so inclined maintain institutions devoted to such things; but if municipal corporations had souls as well as bodies, our individual States might disgrace themselves by legislative aid and favor given at other people's expense.

It is as easy to neglect the active duties of the hour as it is to censure zeal not looked upon by all alike as temperate. There is not wanting ample occasion for well-directed activity. The agitation which is salutary is not likely to be in sweet accord with mischievous prejudice. Although the despotism of superstition, forced to yield somewhat to the march of improvement, has lost its ferocity, its arrogant and shameless spirit of pretension still subsists.

Forbearance in the way of argument is ungracious where sublimer charity is in hardest blows. The peace and harmony which are most desirable are not to be secured by extreme caution habitually exercised as to the temper in which truth when proclaimed is likely to be received; nor is that the way to do honor to those who differ from us. Honestly to state real convictions, and energetically to remonstrate against injustice, can give offence only to

those who imagine they have an interest in maintaining that which in theory is erroneous, or which in purpose is wicked, and will not bear the light. Therefore to give credit for excessive tenderness in these respects is indirectly to impute dishonesty.

While liberals in the interest of republican liberty remonstrate against the wrong which clothes itself with the form of law, let them not forget that the padlock which dogmatic theology fixes on the mind of man obstructs the development of virtue, and is quite incompatible with religion in its highest form.

C. C.
NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., April 4, 1878.

THE THIRD LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, May 18, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

The second meeting of the Third New York Auxiliary Liberal League took place Wednesday evening, the 15th instant, at the Harvard rooms, 42d Street and 6th Avenue. Our temporary Secretary, Mr. E. B. Foote, Jr., had taken special pains to interest known liberals for this meeting. Few, however, appeared, and the small, cosy hall was not quite filled. A compensation for the lack of numbers was received by the quality, earnestness, and cheerfulness of those present.

Mr. O. B. Frothingham's genial presence gave a great charm to our proceedings, and cheered those who attended. One liberal movement helps to carry on another, and tends to the fulfilment of those ideas which are so ably represented by our liberal preachers (or teachers, as we should call them) in our city. We are much indebted to Mr. Frothingham, and hope that other liberal teachers will give us their support in the future.

After Mr. A. Tanzer had kindly taken the chair, Mr. E. B. Foote, Jr., gave his view as to the direction and manner in which our organization might do its work most effectively, so as to gain the ear of those who are not yet acquainted with the League movement. His remarks were precise, to the point, and met with much approval.

Mr. Frothingham then gave a short explanation of the movement, and pointed out that it must gain, if rightly understood, the indorsement and support of a great number of Orthodox people who hold to the principle of separation between Church and State as earnestly as the radicals do. To arouse these people, to educate and instruct them upon these matters, was the important thing to do. The Demands of the National Liberal League derive their character from, and are founded on, the Constitution of our country. And though radicals have to take the initiative steps, the Orthodox and conservative will soon learn that it is a question of theirs, as well as of the liberals.

Mr. Cortlandt Palmer, a thorough gentleman, a warm friend and supporter of liberal movements, devoted to humanitarian principles, was then installed as President. His remarks when taking the chair were genial, hopeful, and convinced the members that they had chosen well, and that the Third New York Auxiliary Liberal League had every cause to look hopefully towards the future. Our officers and meet of the members will enter into this movement with a spirit worthy of such a noble and high object. May our bright hopes be realized.

Yours truly,
CLARA NEYMANN.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE CAUSE IN TEXAS.

A WORD TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE-MEN.

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is very evident that the Board of Directors of the National Liberal League made a good selection when they appointed Dr. L. J. Russell to represent the State of Texas on the Executive Committee. Please publish the following letter from the Doctor:—

HARRISVILLE, Bell Co., Texas, May 14, 1878.

MR. H. L. GREEN:

Dear Sir,—I have placed the names of John H. Copeland, San Antonio (editor of the *Evening Courier*), and Dr. C. R. Nutt, Houston, on my committee, and have written to friends in Northern Texas for two other names. I wish to have my committee from different sections of the State, to enable us better to arrange and execute our work. As soon as we are fully organized, I want to call a convention of the Liberals of the State at some convenient point, and go to work, each and all of us, in dead earnest.

Mr. Copeland is a young man of superior intelligence, and an active, energetic worker. Dr. Nutt is an old and tried veteran in the cause, and, with two such others as I hope to get, we need have no fear of failure.

I find the whole country full of Liberals, especially our larger cities; and I am going to do my utmost to have leagues organized in Austin, Waco, Galveston, Sherman, and other places. What we most need at present in Texas is a good home Liberal newspaper. The *Denison News* is the nearest a Liberal paper of any we have in Texas, since *Common Sense* was burned out.

At the next meeting of our association, I will take steps to procure a charter from the National Liberal League.

Fraternally,
L. J. RUSSELL.

There are a few States where the Executive Committee-man is doing apparently nothing for the league movement. Probably, in these exceptional cases, it is from want of sympathy with the movement, or the preoccupation of the committee-man; but it is so necessary that each member of the Committee be a devoted, earnest worker, that I must respectfully request those who are unable to act to give place to others who will press the movement forward in the way that Dr. Russell and many others are doing.

H. L. GREEN,
Chairman Ex. Com. N. L. L.

THE COMMUNE, COMMUNISM, Etc.

MR. EDITOR:—

Assumption, definition, and proof are supposed to be the factors in a sound logic. Whately says the ambiguity of language is an incurable evil, and therefore leaves us to guess at whatever two writers mean in using the same words, as according to his logic they never mean the same thing.

"A. K. W." on one side, and others in opposition, are or have been discussing communism, the commune, communities cooperative and international associations and social science; in which on the one side they are all represented to be the same, or very nearly the same thing, and on the other side to be very different from each other.

Now as one of the readers of THE INDEX I wish these contending correspondents would each give his definition of the terms commune, communism, and the other terms by which the same thing or something else similar but not just like them are, or seem to be, meant, in order that I and some other readers may understand the writers, and in order that they may understand each other, which they seem hardly to do.

That there is some value in the subject and a good deal of need of reform in the matters upon which they treat, there can be no doubt. I fully agree with your correspondent "F. S. C.," where he says, "Free religion presupposes free man: and to be free in deed as well as in thought, freedom must be secured by a social organization in accordance with the laws of Nature. It seems to me, therefore, that the investigation of social science is peculiarly appropriate to THE INDEX, and fully justifies the publication of thoughtful articles upon the subject."

But "F. S. C." says that Charles Fourier "was not a communist in any of the manifold meanings of that word." I always thought he was, but of course that was because I did not and do not now know what the "manifold meanings of that word" are; and this inquiry is to obtain some light.

When I fully understand a subject, I then know whether to accept or reject it; but the light hitherto reflected from both advocates and antagonists, on this subject in THE INDEX, leaves me in darkness and doubt. Gentlemen, please define. D. S. G.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me., May 17, 1878.

CATHOLICISM IN ST. LOUIS.

ALBANY, N. Y., May 14, 1878.

I was recently reading Edward King's article, entitled "Some Notes on Missouri; the Heart of the Republic,"—in the "Great South" series, published in *Scribner's Magazine*, July, 1874. He speaks as follows of the strength and vitality of Catholicism in the great city of St. Louis:—

"The Catholic population within the archdiocese of St. Louis is certainly very large, probably numbering two hundred thousand persons; and from this population at least twenty-five thousand children are furnished to the one hundred parish schools attached to the various churches in the diocese. None of these schools receive any aid from the common school fund, and the pupils are in every way removed from the influence of secular education, and made a class by themselves. The city public schools are utterly secular in their teaching; but, notwithstanding that fact, the priesthood makes constant and successful efforts to keep Catholic children from them, and wherever a new public school building is erected, Holy Church speedily buys ground, and sets up an institution of her own.

"The Catholics have eight or nine out of the twenty-four members of the school board, and of course have much to say.

"It is estimated that they now own more than four million dollars' worth of church and school property in Missouri; and in their various colleges, convents, seminaries, and academies in St. Louis, and the other large cities of the State, they have at least fifteen hundred students.

"They have kept well abreast of the tide of secular education, and bid it open defiance on all occasions; while the sceptical and easy-going German laughs at their zealotry, and the American closes his eyes to their growing power. Vast as is the growth of colleges and schools of various other denominations, such as the Baptist, the Methodist, and the Methodist-Episcopal Church South, the Catholics keep even with them all.

"Ever since old Gribault, the first pastor in St. Louis, led his little flock of five hundred Frenchmen to the altar, Mother Church has been bold, dominant, defiant, in the young capital of the West."

And this, dear INDEX, recollect, is Catholicism as it exists in our most liberal, sceptical city.

Yours respectfully,
CHARLES M. CUTLER.

A WORD FOR "DIGNITY."

LESLIE, Mich., May 4, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Dear Sir,—I see in your issue of May 2, 1878, a communication from H. Clay Neville in regard to the "Need of Dignity in the Advocacy of Liberalism." Now I am fully aware that there are many papers that indulge too much in making absurd attacks on Orthodoxy, and in trying to show it up in its worst light. I think this shows a lack of the presence of a great amount of natural religion, which all must possess to be pure and right. I have been to church frequently, and heard the minister say the infidel plan tore down all hope and offered nothing in its stead, took away all barriers of morality, virtue, and happiness, and left them wholly unprovided for, to fight the tiger as best they could. It occurred to me that a religion which includes nothing but truth, reason, and an observance of the laws of Nature,

could successfully satisfy and at last bring man to the harbor in safety. I regret very much that very many disbelievers in Orthodoxy should show such disregard to the true natural religion as they do. The church-members are looking with jealous eyes, and will judge us by our fruits. So it must be that one who has the veil wholly removed from his eyes must see the necessity of living and doing right, knowing that by so doing he will add to his own happiness.

Now I know of many liberals in this section that take delight in making sport of some of the ridiculous ideas in the Bible, and *perpetet* in it. For my part I have long ago turned from it, and want to hear nothing more of it, but look for something better.

We must look to ourselves and govern our own passions (which I am sorry so many liberals neglect), before we can justly advocate freethought and religion in its purity. This only (when carried to the height of the true liberal idea) can do away with the necessity of great temperance revivals, prisons, jails. It will close up saloons, gambling halls, and all places of vice, and at last we shall find that we are monarchs of ourselves, and happy.

Respectfully,
J. W. BURCHARD.

DEAR WINSOR.

It seems blind absurdity to attempt an explanation of human nature on the theory of evolution. The theory utterly fails to even hint the facts with which we are confronted, when we begin to study the moral side of human life. The law of the survival of the fittest might have produced excellent *teeth* and *claws*, but it could never have evolved the *human heart*. What is there in this harsh, selfish struggle for physical mastery in the lower orders of life to suggest any such development as we find in man? What conceivable relation is there between those spiritual wonders that ennoble humanity, and the cold, brutal selfishness that must have necessarily characterized life, had no law but the survival of the stronger operated in the evolution of our race?

To apply this theory of the origin of man, and make it seem for a moment plausible, we must shut our eyes against the perception of every trait of character that renders human nature so peculiarly noble and lovely. Whence all this richness of moral grandeur, this undying devotion to the good, this self-sacrificing generosity, if man has been evolved from unconscious life-forms by a cold, blind law of material struggle, with no soul for its origin or goal? Whence this noble protest against the right of might, if this selfish conflict called the "struggle of existence" is man's Creator?

This theory of man's origin is becoming popular on account of the materialistic tendency of modern thought, and is fast supplanting the old ideas derived from traditional superstition; but it must forever be rejected by those who discern the spiritual mysteries of human life; for these it can no more explain than matter can comprehend mind. We may not be able to give any reasonable solution of the problem of life; we may be forced to discard the theological doctrine of creation; but still, in the presence of the mysteries that encompass us, many of us must wait in silent wonder for some better philosophy than the theory of evolution, as it has so far been explained.

I had intended to say something of the moral effect of the acceptance of this theory of life, but must defer this till some future time.

OZARK, Mo. H. CLAY NEVILLE.

"STOP WORKING AND BELIEVE."

EDITOR INDEX:—

Next to the doctrine taught by the churches that a life of wickedness may be cancelled by an instantaneous act of "repentance and faith," that which denies to men any goodness, or any power of elevating themselves without this faith in Jesus, seems to me most unnatural and unhealthful.

Here is a passage taken *verbatim* from a sermon of Dr. Talmage, preached two or three years ago, and repeated within a few months. It deserves credit for the frankness with which these doctrines are presented, if for no other virtue:—

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ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

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

Address NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

ORGANIZE! CHARTERS

For Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, conferring the privilege of representation by five delegates in the Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, will be promptly sent on application, according to the following provisions of Constitution of the same:—

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

These Charters are beautifully printed on the best of paper. Adorned with the handsome Seal of the National Liberal League, they will, if tastefully framed, make a fine ornament for any hall.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1878.

WHOLE No. 441.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD, will lecture at Jacksonville, Ill., June 7, 8, and 9.

THE ATTEMPTED assassination of the Emperor of Germany by Hödel is said to have given a serious check to Socialism in that country. Violence would do the same thing here. To attempt revolution by force in a country where the people have all power is not only a crime, but a blunder.

THE Directors of the American College and Education Society, on April 10, appointed a committee to inform their beneficiaries that this society will pay none of their funds to any young student who has "adopted" or is "inclined to adopt" any opinions inconsistent with belief in the "old" doctrines of the "atonement, endless future punishment," etc. Consistent, if not liberal.

THE ACTIVITY of Orthodoxy in propagating itself ought to set intelligent liberals at work with their brains first, and with their purses and hands next. This is what the Sunday School Union reported as its work for the year ending April 1: New schools organized, one thousand one hundred and thirty-eight, with five thousand two hundred and twenty-seven teachers and forty-one thousand seven hundred and seven scholars; schools visited and aided, three thousand one hundred and eight, having fifteen thousand two hundred and seventy-five teachers and one hundred and forty-one thousand two hundred and twenty scholars; Bibles distributed; two thousand five hundred and seventy-one; Testaments, six thousand two hundred and eleven; families visited, thirteen thousand; sermons and addresses delivered, four thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven.

ACCORDING to the New York Tribune, there is a Socialist society in Syracuse which is composed almost entirely of members of Trades-Unions. It was formed a year ago by an agent who acted under instructions "from the headquarters of the national order." The members are mainly Germans and Frenchmen. The presiding officer is Anton Amon, a carpenter. He states that the organization is opposed to monopolies and capitalists; and its fundamental principle is this: The laboring man is justified in resorting to any lawful extremity to obtain his rights from corporations, monopolies, and employers generally. When asked if there is any prospect of a general railroad strike this summer, he admits that he has received advices which lead him to expect such a demonstration late in June. If a strike occurs, the members of his society will be in duty bound, he says, to extend to the insurgents against capital all the aid in their power.

"INEXORABLY JUST"! This is the London World's idea of "inexorable justice": "The late Lord Leitrim was a man of strong likes and dislikes, and one of his chief antipathies was a horror of goats. An old woman, one of his tenants, had a favorite goat, which he espied one day and made her bring up to him by the side of the road. Without a word of warning he took out his knife and cut its throat. The woman, as far as she dared, reproached him with his ruthless act, whereupon he gave her a £20 note, saying, 'Take this to buy a cow with.' It was characteristic of the man; hard, unyielding, easily moved to anger, but as swift to make amends, and always inexorably just." As if the insolent tyrant had a particle of right to slaughter the goat, or as if capricious charity could atone for infamous cruelty and injustice! If the assassins of Lord Leitrim had only hastened to send £20 to his heirs, would the World have applauded them as "inexorably just"?

THIS is the year 1878, yet the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle published this dispatch from Indianapolis, dated March 8: "A startling event that occurred on Wednesday night last, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Leiter's Ford, is regarded by

many people in Indiana as a direct interposition of Divine Providence for the punishment of the scoffer. A revival had been in progress in the church for two weeks. Elias Bidinger, a married man about twenty-five years of age, and Robert King had been disturbing the meeting by making sport of those who led the services. On Wednesday night about seventy-five persons were present. During the exercises Bidinger and King began to create a disturbance. Mr. Jones, the minister, went to expostulate with them, laid his hand upon Bidinger's shoulder and urged him to change his way of life. Bidinger replied with an oath that he would never change his ways. A few moments afterward, while Michael Shadle, a member of the congregation, was leading in prayer, lightning flashed into the church, extinguished all the lights, killed Bidinger and prostrated King upon the floor. King, as soon as he returned to consciousness, called upon the spectators to pray for him, and declared himself converted. The occurrence resulted in swelling greatly the ranks of sinners seeking salvation in that church."

REV. HENRY GERSONI, D.D., a well-known Jewish rabbi whom we had the pleasure of meeting at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, recently published in the American Israelite this paragraph, which ought to send a blush to the cheeks of the Chicago city government: "The old synagogues of great European cities, with their barred windows and citadel form of structure, are always of unpleasant recollection for me. I hate to be reminded of our old historical troubles, of the prejudices of the Christians, the mobbing of synagogues, the massacres. But the other day I was forcibly reminded of the same by a standing remembrance in the city of Chicago. I have seen a beautiful Jewish temple, erected in one of the most fashionable thoroughfares, every window and pane of glass of which was protected by wire grating. I inquired into the cause of this precaution, and was informed that a set of loose fellows lying in the neighborhood of that shrine had made it a practice to break the windows, to spoil the pavement, and sling stones into the temple every time the congregation was at devotion. The congregation had applied to the police and even to the mayor of the city, but all to no purpose. They had spent several hundred dollars in repairing the windows, but the stones came flying, and again destroyed them. At last the bars had to be resorted to. Now such a barred synagogue in the centre of a large city in this country is indeed a standing contradiction to your vaunted enlightenment, liberality, and 'Christian' civilization. Neither the police with its 'secret service' nor the mayor with all his power could protect a Jewish house of worship against the damages of a handful of 'Christian' loafers. Whether they could not or would not is the question. Such outcroppings of the poisonous old growth is sufficient to destroy all hope and comfort by which the much-praised liberal institutions are apt to rock us into forgetfulness of our origin. The politicians create liberal laws in so far as their ends are served, and the masses throw stones in spite of them. The politicians may yet insert a god or a Christ or an Olympus or a devil in the Constitution before we know anything about it, if their purposes (of acquiring power and stealing money) will be favored by it; and by 'true Christian liberty' to destroy Jewish synagogues, to desecrate Jewish graves, to compel Jews to observe the first instead of the seventh day as the Sabbath, the 'true Christian civilization' will show itself in all its glory. Chicago professes to be the 'Queen City of the West.' Your communities in which the desecration of Jewish graveyards took place are 'respectable' communities; your ruling judges are ruling judges as the spirit of their religious profession teaches them, as the pure Christian blood in their veins prompts them to be."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Wisdom a Loving Spirit.

A DISCOURSE.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

One of the most interesting books in the Old Testament is the Book of Wisdom. It is not printed in the editions of the American Bible Society, not being part of the "canon," as it is called, but is found in the Bibles that come from the Oxford press, under sanction of the English Church. The spirit of the book is not pure Jewish, but is Jewish mingled with Greek. It belongs to the period when Greek speculation, which was rife at the city of Alexandria, in Egypt, invaded the dominion of Hebrew faith; for the Jews were numerous in Alexandria, and carried their faith with them wherever they went. They were intellectual, too, and zealous; their system offered material for thought on the greatest problems of life and mind, and tempted endeavors to engraft on it other systems. The writings produced under the inspiration of this combination were philosophical rather than dogmatic, and intellectual rather than sentimental. The moral tone was earnest to enthusiasm; but it was created by elevation of thought, rather than by depth of feeling. In some respects, the doctrines inculcated closely resemble those taught in the name of science in these modern days, only the temper of them is more impassioned. In the book we are considering, the chief word is Wisdom. To wisdom are ascribed all the attributes that are commonly imputed to faith. It is described as "the worker of all things," "an understanding, spirit, holy, simple, manifold, subtle, active, clear, pure, kind to man, steadfast, sure, free from care, omnipotent, omniscient, the breath of the power of God, a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the brightness of the everlasting light, the unstained mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness. Being but one, she can do all things; remaining in herself, she maketh all things new; and in all ages, entering into holy souls, she makes them friends of God and prophets." "The true beginning of her is the desire for knowledge; and the care of knowledge is love; and love is the keeping of her laws; and the keeping of her laws is the assurance of incorruption; and incorruption bringeth us near to God."
The essence of wisdom is defined as "the fear of the Lord"; in other words, as an awful regard for the established laws of the world. We should describe it in modern speech as regard for the laws of Nature, devout recognition of the conditions of life. Wisdom is what, in our phraseology, might be called an entire obedience to the known constitution of things.
Wisdom, by this definition, is a practical thing, not speculative, though resting, as all practical things must, on a basis of thought. Wisdom is "the knowledge how to live." It is not learning. The man of learning may be a simpleton, so far as the conduct of affairs is concerned. The learned Neander, when his friends, in order to save him the fatigue and exposure of a long walk from his house to his lecture-room found a house in the neighborhood of the university from which a straight, short path led to the college buildings, continued to traverse the long, roundabout way he was used to, not having discovered the advantage of the short cut. Wisdom is not intellectual talent or brilliancy, for these often lead off into eccentric tracks, where the plain high-road of conduct is lost. Wisdom is not genius or knowledge, or skill in any special art, or familiarity with any particular science. It is simply the insight into practical arrangements which results in conduct. It is "knowledge of the world." All wisdom is knowledge of the world. But knowledge of the world owes its quality and value to the conception of the world whereto the knowledge pertains. The small world implies the small wisdom, the large world the large wisdom. The wisdom that consists in conformity with the ways of the world, as it is commonly understood, is well named "common-sense." The wisdom that consists in conformity with the ways of the world, as it is comprehended by profound and capacious minds, is uncommon-sense. As is the world, such is knowledge of the world; such is wisdom.
We may suppose a narrow, limited, cramped world, a world of daily care and business, with no upward look towards things ideal, with no backward look into the past, with no extensive outlook towards the future; a world of merely private responsibilities and personal relations, with no generous recognition of human duties or of social claims; wherein men are regarded as individuals convenient for purposes of external intercourse in the way of business or entertainment, creatures to be taken advantage of or enjoyed as the case may demand, but not fellow-beings to be aided or blessed or approached in close sympathy; a world in which eating and drinking, dress and amusement, are the chief interests,—God being a phrase in the prayer-book, and immortality an article of the creed; a world wherein existence may be likened to a game of billiards or a turn at skating, the higher aims and purposes of life being not so much repelled as disregarded. Such a conception of the world is by no means uncommon; it is probably the usual conception, it is probably the habitual conception, the working conception of nearly all men; it is only in choice hours that any save the few have a better. The wisdom that meets all its conditions is neither deep nor beautiful. It consists in knowing how to shuffle, deal, and play the cards; in keeping ourselves comfortable while others suffer, happy while others are miserable, full while others are empty, safe while others are ruined; it is a knowledge of the arts and devices, the policies and tricks,

by which men succeed, the weaknesses and vices, the vanities and follies, which can be taken advantage of to further one's own schemes. To buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest; to be on good terms with the controllers of public opinion and the patrons of influence; to be cautious and complaisant; to vote on the winning side and belong to the dominant party; to join the fashionable church, profess the popular creed, echo the prevailing opinions of men and things, glide skillfully through the mazes of controversy, giving no offence to either party in the dispute, is a first principle in this philosophy of common-sense. It is wisdom, but wisdom of the serpent kind.

A different conception of the world implies a different kind of wisdom. Let us assume a view of life in accordance with which man is a rational, social, accountable being, with indefinite possibilities of growth in intelligence and character; with wishes, hopes, expectations, thoughts, transcending the hour; with powers of usefulness, capacities for happiness and unhappiness; with sentiments of right and wrong, a sense of duty, feelings of sympathy, notions of obligation, consciousness of will, respect for truth, recognition of virtue, some sort of conviction that existence has a purpose beyond mere enjoyment; a world of mental and moral activity, in short, wherein each is called on to do something for himself and others. Such a conception is not fantastical. Few entertain it all the time, but few are wholly unvisited by glimpses of it. Observing people, intelligent people, in proportion as they are intelligent and observing, confess the reasonableness of it. It is simply the rational view of the world. Assume it, and a new conception of wisdom as the practical conduct of life is at once and almost by instinct formed. According to this theory, wisdom consists in truthfulness, sincerity, earnestness, and generosity. The noble conduct is the sensible; the best life is the most prudent; sympathy is a wholesome self-love; humanity a sure guarantee of joy. Into such wisdom, faith, hope, and charity enter as component elements; an honest confidence in the moral constitution of the social world, and an honest reliance on the moral forces of human nature; trust in the better feelings of the heart, the worthier promptings of the conscience, the intuitions of the unsophisticated mind; a disposition to take men and women at their best; belief that from the nature of things knowledge must be more profitable than ignorance, truth more enriching than error, honesty more remunerative than knavery, sincerity more binding than insincerity, honor more ingratiating than dishonor. The practical infidelity of the voluptuary, the hypocrite, the flatterer, the indolent self-seeker, will be repudiated as matter of course. The wise man after this type will look beyond to-day to to-morrow, will be sure that after to-morrow will come many days, that clouds will clear away, obstacles disappear, crooked things become straight; that the wise way will prove the safe way, that the foolish way will lead to confusion. He will count on long reaches of time, and will plant for generations of men. He will be cordial, kind, considerate, patient, self-forgetting, making allowance for human infirmities, and bearing with human follies. He will pity human defects, correct human errors, pardon human sins, having in view rather some great good to be achieved than some small profit to be gained.

This is wisdom,—neither more nor less than a careful regard for the practical workings of experience. The aim of it is to satisfy the conditions of personal and social well-being. So long as this is held in view and made paramount, there need be no fear of unhealthy enthusiasm or fanaticism. The spirit of speculation is kept constantly in the distance; no more "views" are allowed to dim the vision or hamper the will. The conduct of life is all in all.

Such is wisdom; a thing that supposes no theory of the universe, no theology, no philosophy of any school; it simply subordinates theory to practice, and holds men steadily to concrete aims. The higher wisdom that has been described is that commended in the book I have been speaking of. This is the wisdom that is called a loving spirit. It is the aim of what we called science to throw light on the working laws of the world. It is knowledge as distinct from sentiment or conjecture. Its purpose is to teach men how to live. Physical science concerns itself with the forces and combinations of forces by which living beings are produced. Sanitary science is concerned with the material laws and conditions of life by conformity with which individuals, families, communities, larger and smaller, may be preserved in normal condition, their lives prolonged, their vigor sustained, their animal spirits raised, their human powers exalted and made fit for their work. Social science is concerned with the conditions of health and wealth in society at large, discovering and enforcing the laws by which poverty, crime, demoralization of every kind, may be prevented, and the course of the race towards its social destination be hastened. In every department its purpose is the same: practical, not speculative. Science seems unfriendly to theology and philosophy, because it confines itself to these practical ends, disregarding the systems that contain ideas merely, without regard to their bearing on the conduct of life. It is hostile to such systems in proportion as they discourage the interest in practical things, or mislead men in regard to them, teaching notions concerning practical things that are bewildering and harmful. Much of what is called theology and philosophy does this. It either diverts the mind from the vital concerns of immediate interest to mankind, teaching creeds instead of wisdom, or it inculcates practices that are injurious to the daily welfare of men; as, for instance, encouraging the notion that people should live for another life and not for this; that they should cultivate the "spiritual" at the expense of the "material"; that

they should disregard the simple conditions of terrestrial welfare; that they should give aims profusely in obedience to a Scripture text, unmindful of the changed requirements of modern life. Science respects wisdom, pure and simple. Theology respects tradition. Philosophy respects "principles."

Science draws lessons from organized Nature. Mr. Mill has arraigned Nature for cruelty; declares that it reveals neither wisdom nor goodness; that as far as it teaches any lessons they are lessons of recklessness, heartlessness, and inhumanity, which could not be imitated by rational beings without bringing them to a lower level than that of wild beasts, and could not be adopted as regulative principles of society without reducing society to barbarism. But Mr. Mill is speaking of incomplete Nature, of Nature as unmodified by man; of Nature, unorganized and undeveloped. He advises the study of Nature; he insists that all knowledge and improvement depend on the wise use of natural agencies; he maintains that rational obedience to the laws of Nature insures the well-being of the human race. In his view science points towards wisdom; it is the method of wisdom, because it leads to that complete understanding of the laws of the world which results in noble conduct.

That wisdom thus apprehended is a loving spirit is what many will doubt; yet it is, we are confident, what many will come more and more to believe. As wisdom justifies itself this will more clearly appear, and that it will justify itself cannot be doubted. In its very first manifestation the loving spirit of it is disclosed. It has a cold aspect, bright but unempathetic; it is without a motion; its keen, comprehending eye is unmoistened by tears; it contemplates the melancholy condition of men without compassion; it passes from one end to another, mightily surveying all things, but it never turns aside to rectify a wrong; it indulges no fancies, jumps at no conclusions, listens to no complaint; yet in its train endless benefit accumulates. She seems cruel, but is kind. Already she furnishes us with illustrations which fill our souls with hope. The many contrivances she has invented, simply in the course of her explorations among the mechanical laws, contrivances with which we are all familiar, have multiplied comfort a thousand-fold, and abolished misery from vast areas of human existence. The inventors were not, we may allow, specially humane men; they had no specially humane intentions; they simply pursued their investigations, interested and absorbed by the task of making new combinations and proving new powers. They probably forgot everything in their occupation, not caring much whether their discovery resulted in the substantial benefit of their fellow-men or not. But the benefit resulted. Not immediately; at first, the benefit did not come. The most obvious effect was disastrous and cruel. The cotton-gin, the sewing-machine, created alarm among the people who had depended on their manual labor for a livelihood, and now saw their means of support taken away from them by these inhuman contrivances. They resented the intrusion; they cursed the inventor; they would not believe that he was a servant of the good God who had thus substituted steel fingers for fingers of flesh, and leathern bands for muscles and nerves. Rather it was an emissary of Satan, who envied them the small satisfactions of their lot, and dispossessed them of the humble proceeds of their toil. Riots, frequent and violent, greeted each fresh demonstration of the power of obedience to natural law. The machines were in some instances broken in pieces; the lives of the inventors were endangered. But the love showed itself at last; showed itself in unexpected ways, in all ways, material, personal, social, moral. The necessities of daily life were multiplied and cheapened, the drudgery of toil was lessened, new occupations were opened, more hands were needed, wages were increased, homes were made more comfortable, desires were augmented, wants became eager, poverty became less desperate, pauperism laid by some of its most heart-rending features; the least observance of this new "fear of the Lord" showed a disposition to revive the earth. Still we complain, and we ever shall complain until the obedience becomes perfect, and perfect wisdom shall beget perfect love. Indeed, people complain more in proportion as they have something to enjoy, for the contrast is then greater between their condition and their desire; desire, being once awakened, will not rest till it is completely satisfied. There is more complaint among laboring people now than there was in times of greater misery; for in those times it was idle to wish; the very power of wishing was paralyzed; misery was voiceless; sorrow was dumb. The narrow lot was accepted without remonstrance, as the appointment of heaven. Even resentment and hatred were unaroused. There are those who doubt whether this form of wisdom, which consists in calling in natural forces to perform the tasks once committed to human hands, is productive of kindness, whether wisdom thus far has been parent of love. They are of opinion that its material advantages have been purchased at the expense of personal happiness and social order. Yet the toilers themselves, if consulted, would refuse to go back, if they could, to the days when love shone on them, now and then, in the form of charity from their superiors; when their wretched hovels were gladdened occasionally by the visit of a sister of charity or a kindly priest. The changes for the better that knowledge of the physical conditions of life has introduced among the working classes, have raised them to a position of privilege and command which they will never abdicate. It has clothed them with human attributes, the capacity for suffering, the capacity also for hope and endeavor. It has made them a power, opened for them a future, given them a taste of the bounty of life's feast; and these are satisfactions not to be lightly estimated. The spirit

that loves them as human beings, making them capable of joy and of sorrow, of good and of evil, of aspiration and discouragement, of the soul's tormenting hunger and thirst, demonstrates towards them a love as compared with which what has always passed for love, the love of pity, the love of beneficence, almost deserves the name of coldness and hate. The wisdom that raises them in the scale of human beings is a loving spirit; if the expression of the love be imperfect, it is because the revelation of wisdom is imperfect.

Among the painful occurrences of this hard winter, there was one recently that called forth discussion on this very point. A poor woman sat begging, with her infant, on the cold street. The passers streamed by, a crowd of hurrying men and women. Her appeal was neglected; her hunger was unfed; from cold and starvation her child died. The heart of human pity received a stab. "Were there none in that living mass of men and women who passed her as she sat there, an unfortunate, sickly creature, to give a thought to her need, to drop a penny into her lap? Were all priests and levites? Were none Samaritans? Is this the fruit of Christian charity in a rich city, where millions are spent in building churches and maintaining ministers of the gospel of Jesus?" The rebuke was sharply administered, and in many quarters keenly felt. But remonstrance was met by remonstrance, rebuke by rebuke. The retort was flung back by one whose life is literally devoted to the task of applying the method of wisdom to the manifold woes of society. This patient hard-worker, who knew by personal observation and study how unhelpful and unloving the impulsive charity of sympathy is, and who was daily giving a vigorous mind's strength to the task of substituting wisdom for compassion, repelled the insinuation that heartlessness alone was the cause of the child's death on the street. Heartlessness there was, truly, but whence the heartlessness? Whence, but from the neglect to study the actual causes of poverty, the natural conditions of health and wealth? So habitual is this neglect even in modern communities, so hopeless the apathy it engenders, that even the consciousness of it, the outspoken belief of it, fails to stir the mind to investigation, or the will to endeavor. Kind-hearted, compassionate, humane people pass the beggar in the street, unmoved by the most unmistakable signs of want. They reason thus: "The woman is in all probability an impostor; she has gone out, or been sent out, by a lazy husband, to play on the sympathies of kind people, and to pilfer in the name of charity. The child in her arms is not her own, but borrowed to add pathos to her appeal. If we give her anything, ever so little, others will do the same, actuated by the same impulse; if many do, as many will, the woman will obtain more by a day of beggary than industry will earn by a day of labor; mendicancy will become a profitable profession; honest industry will be disheartened; the poor will lose their self-respect, their pride, their vigor of purpose, their love of independence; pauperism will be encouraged, and with pauperism will come depravity, sensuality, filth, disease, theft, the perishing and the dangerous class that is the plague and terror of the European world.

This is the voice of wisdom, earnest, almost impassioned, pleading for knowledge against sentiment, for facts against feeling, for the wisdom that is loving against the love that is unwise. The voice of wisdom, it may be admitted, is not always so earnest. There is a wisdom, a lower wisdom because conformed to a less worthy conception of the world of society, a wisdom that takes the name of "common-sense," which speaks in a less impassioned tone. "Let Nature's laws work without human interference," it says. "Let the weak perish; let the sickly die; let those who cannot earn bread go without it; let Nature drive in the goad, swing her pitiless scourge, employ all her ministers, fever, hunger, cold, to start humanity from its deadly apathy; shut the hand; close the heart; do not interpose between the natural forces that discipline mankind and the discipline that is intended. The survival of the fittest is the decree. Such as obstinately refuse to qualify themselves for the struggle, or cannot maintain it, must go to the wall."

But this is to do precisely what Mr. Mill holds to be preposterously inhuman and irrational; namely, to imitate Nature. That such imitation would result in kindness of any degree or sort must be questioned. The *non-survival of the fittest*, the survival of the cold-hearted, the calculating, the brutal, the extinction of the finer qualities that beautify human nature, the predominance of the coarser qualities that assimilate human nature to the bestial, would probably be the outcome of that experiment. The truer wisdom mingles thought and endeavor with patient study; is never weary of seeking knowledge and making experiment in science; it has the welfare of humanity in view all the time, and labors to increase it by more and more sagacious adaptation of means to ends. While it feels and confesses that "the beginning of wisdom is discipline," discipline that is very severe, the continuance of wisdom will be prudence, and the end of wisdom will be love; and the discipline can be made to result in love, wherever wisdom will be earnest. At first, "she will lead him in crooked ways, and torment him with her discipline, and bring fear and dread upon him, until she may trust his soul; then will she return straightway to him and comfort him, and show him her secrets."

Wisdom, it has been said, is a practical spirit. It is prudent; it considers ways and means; it consults policies and expediences; it seeks definite ends. Instead of assuming causes and coming down to effects, it mounts from effects to causes. This spirit has not been in good repute among religious people, who have preferred to begin with general principles, ab-

abstract ideas, broad sentiments, absolute axioms, and compel circumstances to yield to their sway. They have repelled and almost resented the maxims of prudence. To consult expediency has been stigmatized as the base error of low minds that had no appreciation of moral laws. With them the soul is an oracle, the heart is prophet and seer. The proverb "honesty is the best policy" is found fault with on the ground that honesty and policy should not be confounded together, honesty being a principle and expediency being a device, principle and policy standing at opposite poles. Some have spoken as if it was a misfortune that honesty should be the best policy; as if the temptation to be politic endangered the character of the honesty. To recommend the right way as being the safe way is, in such judgment, to compromise the right way by encouraging people to pursue only the safe way. It has been maintained that the practice of honesty, on the ground that it was the best policy, was no pursuit of honesty at all. Would the advocates of this proposition maintain that if honesty proved to be the worst policy, it ought nevertheless to be pursued? under all circumstances? in spite of consequences? "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall!" But how do we know that what we call justice is justice, except by the fact that it prevents the heavens from falling? If the enactment of justice pulled down the heavens, that would be a brilliant refutation of justice.

"Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens by Thee are fresh and strong."

is the declaration of the poet Wordsworth. The study of "the most ancient heavens" has revealed the omnipotence of simple justice,—the beautiful order that results from obedience to established law. There was a time when it was doubted whether wisdom did uphold the firmaments, and all manner of accessory forces were called in to support the framework of things. Each star was supposed to be animated by an intelligent being who guided its course. The constellations were supposed to be arranged and impelled by the sound of music. The apparatus was taken away, the supports were removed, the spirits were banished; nothing but pure law was left. But then, for the first time, the majesty and glory were disclosed, and the grand conception of symmetry burst upon the intelligence of mankind. Had the heavens fallen the idea of law would have been defeated.

The better way, therefore, is to proceed from wisdom to love; to study conditions and thus arrive at principles. How many problems would not this method solve! How much bewilderment and controversy arise from pursuing the opposite method, assuming principles and enforcing them over circumstances! starting with love and acting as if love must of necessity be wise! The habit of reformers is to lay down, and try to enforce, an abstract sentiment. They assume love as an imperative necessity, a principle that is a law to itself, and then demand that the arrangements of life shall fall in with its requirements. Sometimes it is the instinctive love which attracts the sexes for which this absolute prerogative is claimed. Sometimes it is the compassionate feeling of the heart for human infirmity. Sometimes it is the impersonal love of humanity that goes by the name of justice. In each and every case the abstract sentiment is made primary and actual arrangements are judged.

The method leads to inextricable complications, from which it indicates no issue. An honest beginning at the other end would probably reach the desired result much sooner and more satisfactorily. Suppose, for example, that in the discussion of the agitated question of the marriage laws, instead of beginning with the principle that the feeling of love must have all its rights; that feeling must never be balked or put aside; that the satisfaction of desire must be primary; that laws must be altered so as to accommodate the moods of instinct, and social arrangements be newly shaped with a view to the complete indulgence of emotion,—suppose that, instead of this, the principle were adopted of making existence as happy as circumstances allow, taking people as they are, estimating temperaments and dispositions at their just value, combining conditions and bringing the greatest amount of happiness out of given arrangements, trying, in a word, to make things work as well as circumstances permit, is it not likely that the sum of happiness would be much greater, the peace more assured, the content more profound? Is it not likely that each character would be more harmoniously unfolded? that each would justify itself more completely? And is it not likely that many a question would be answered that now is asked clamorously and in vain? The romantic demands of sentiment cannot be satisfied, but the sober demands of wisdom may be; and in the course of their satisfaction, the reasonable requirements of feeling will be met.

It is a natural belief that women will sooner attain their rule, and consequently their happy condition in modern society, by studying the actual state of society itself, and adjusting themselves as well as they may to it, thus by degrees accommodating themselves to altered circumstances, working their way to the places they are competent to fill, conforming to present exigencies, improving open occasions, seizing offered opportunities, and welcoming conceded privileges, than by making a sweeping demand on some absolute ground, taking up a lofty position, laying down a theory of human nature, and insisting on its adoption by society at whatever cost to instituted customs. The practical spirit which studies expediences will untie knots which the theoretical spirit can only cut; will propitiate instead of exasperating, persuade instead of irritating, and win where conquest cannot be attempted. The object being to

adjust women fairly to an altered condition of society, it is desirable that this should be effected in the way of gradual accommodation rather than in the way of sudden revolution.

But it must not be forgotten, and that it may not be forgotten it must be iterated and reiterated, that wisdom is not cold, critical, arrogant; that it is not stiff, set, conservative; that, on the contrary, it is eager, laborious, impatient, hopeful, ever on the lookout for new knowledge, ever ready to seize new opportunities, full of sunlight. Its task is to examine, explore, amend. If its expectations are moderate, its purpose may be strong. If it promises little, it strives for much. It does not serve by standing and waiting; it stands and waits only when necessary. Whenever it sees an opening it starts to its feet and moves on. Richard Wagner, the composer, argues that the doctrine of pessimism is better calculated to make people happy than the doctrine of optimism, because the optimist, expecting to find things much better than they are, is exposed to continual disappointment, while the pessimist, expecting to find things as bad as they can be, may be delighted at some unanticipated pleasure. So in this old controversy between love and wisdom, love, glowing and enthusiastic, easily falls into complaint and bitterness because things do not work according to its desire, while wisdom thankfully accepts the smallest advantage, and through some crevice of circumstance gazes into an ocean of good.

NATHAN THE WISE.

(RESUME OF A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BY MR. HOSKINS D. OORWAY.)

Among unbelievers, through the Christian ages preceding the Reformation, the heaviest suffering fell upon the Jews. It is, alas! an unhappy chapter in their own history, that two centuries ago the Jews excommunicated the very man who brought about the first faint turn of the tide in their favor. That man was Spinoza, whose intellectual power and moral grandeur were the means of opening the eyes of everybody in Europe who had eyes, to the monstrous falsity which the Christian war against thought had bequeathed. Even after the Reformation had thundered forth, as from another Sinai, the right of private judgment, it was still possible to banish the best man in Europe, because he exercised private judgment. Even the so-called Paganism of Germany had a higher standard of moral courage than these pious people demanded. Men like Bruno, Servetus, and Spinoza rescued the fair reason of man from its prison; while the demons of dogma hunted and yelled behind, to change them into dark, dogmatic pebbles like themselves. The first man who started out from the Christian side to discover where the true religion lay was Lessing, and the first work which impressed that discovery on the German people was his drama of "Nathan the Wise." In this great poem the scene is Jerusalem, at the time of the Sultan Saladin and the Knights Templars. The Sultan spares the life of a certain Templar, because of his resemblance to a brother who had disappeared some years before. The pardoned Templar then saves the life of a Jewess from the flames, at the risk of his own, this Jewess being the supposed daughter, though real foster-daughter, of Nathan, the most wealthy and distinguished Jew in Jerusalem. These three became, by personal situation, most near and dear to each other. The Christian patriarch at Jerusalem was plotting to burn Nathan for bringing up a Christian maiden as a Jewess; but she turns out to be the niece, and her rescuer, the Templar, to be the nephew, of Saladin, children of his brother who had disappeared.

The gem of this drama is an epilogue addressed by Nathan to Saladin. The Sultan is in sore need of money, and turns to this wealthy Jew. He had heard Nathan spoken of as wise, but did not know him personally. He sends for the Jew, and, before demanding the money, desires to amuse himself a little by fencing with him. He wishes to know from Nathan what dispensation, faith, or law seemed best. Nathan asks leave to tell a tale, as follows:—

"In olden time, there lived an Eastern chief, who owned a ring of priceless worth from one he dearly loved. The stone, an opal, flashed the broken light in a hundred lovely hues upon the eye, and had the miraculous power to make him loved of God and man who, strong in this assurance, wore the ring. What wonder, therefore, that this Eastern lord never let the treasure from his hand, and made such disposition as to secure it as an heirloom in his house forever, that his heir might bequeath it in turn to the one he most loved; and, more, that the possessor of the ring, without regard to claims of prior birth, in right of ownership alone, should rule as lord of all? So came the ring from sire to son, until at length it fell to one, the father of three living, all beautiful alike, and all by him cherished with like regard. Thus, then, each one appeared in his eyes dearest and best; each, in a word, seemed worthiest of the ring, and he, with pious weakness, promised each that he should have it. Time ran on and on, till the old man, knowing his end drew near, began to feel the pain of this position. It grieved him sorely that he must needs defeat the hopes of two among his sons, each one of whom he knew relied on him. What could be done? How escape from this dilemma? He summoned, privately, a jeweller, of whom he orders two more opal rings, after the pattern of the one he wore. The artist triumphs; the ring is produced. The father cannot tell which of the three is his. Content, resigned, he calls his sons to his bedside, and gives to each his blessing and a ring, and soon thereafter dies. You mark me, Sultan?"

"I mark you well, but pray end your tale."

"It is already at an end," said Nathan; "for all that follows may be readily divined. The father dead, each son displays his ring, and would assert his place as lord of all. Discussion follows dispute, in vain; the true ring cannot now be known,—as little known as among ourselves this day is the true religion."

"But the ring?" cries the Sultan. "Falter not with me in this. Methought the three great dispensations were verily distinct from one another, even to the meat, the drink, and the garb of those professing them."

"Not distinct," says Nathan, "as to the grounds on which they rest in common. The sons could come to no agreement; each swore in turn, before the judge, that he had his ring from the hands of his dear father."

"And how true was this?"

"Thus spoke the judge: 'As ye do not, cannot, produce the father, I dismiss the suit. What! think you I am here to unravel riddles? or shall we stay till the true ring appears? But hold! The true ring has the power, it is said, to make its owner loved of God and man. This must decide. The counterfeits, you will own, have no such virtue. So, then, as ye stand, which of the three loves two of you the most? What! silent all? Each loves himself alone, and ye are doubtless all alike deceived. The rings ye wear must needs be counterfeits; the magic ring was lost, it seems, and, to conceal the loss, your loving father had these ye wear made like it.'"

"Excellent," cried Saladin. "Proceed, I pray."

"The judge went on to say: 'If ye seek judgment, I counsel give; but would ye rather be advised, I would say, Attend well that the matter stand. If from the father each had a ring, let each believe his own to be the true one. It is possible your father willed to end this sovereignty of one among his sons. To me, it would plainly seem he had loved you all alike. Let each resolve to show the world that, in the ring he wears, he holds the prize, his virtues being shown to man in acts of meekness and mercy, to God, in thoughts of love and heartfelt trust. And when a thousand years are passed away, and children's children, wearing the ring, come anew before the judgment seat, one wiser than myself might then sit here and make the award.'"

Saladin, overcome, bids Nathan leave his presence, but remain his friend; and the Jew has almost to beg on his knees that the Sultan will take the money he meant to demand. The money is finally restored untouched.

The three brothers came before the judge, remembering only the magical side of their ring, forgetting its virtue of winning love to God and man. Three such rings were the Sultan, Nathan, and the Templar. Suddenly they become involved in a purely human emergency, in a situation whose issue is life or death to those they love. They have only to stand to their creed, and all that is done. But sect sacrificed, manhood rises up; sect down, charity stands out. The long-forgotten virtue of the ring, love, now comes forth from where it has been hidden amid passion and strife. Each finds that his first step towards true manliness is away from his sect and creed. If you go with these three men, why not with the whole world? As these three men stand in the drama, hovering between the fancied supernatural authority of the rings, on one side, and the only real value, love and justice, on the other, so stands all the world. Mankind suffers under the delusion that there is something nobler than the heart's nobility; something truer than truth; something wiser than wisdom in the magic of their creed or name. Each claims to have received the genuine words of God. They imagine to this some potency so high that to its value reason may well be sacrificed, justice may be overthrown, and human love scorned. That side of their ring which they call religion is no religion at all; it is only the tradition of very ignorant people, the survival of certain primitive speculations of science about this world and man's nature, too antiquated to be supported by reason and common sense, and found untrue and false every day, from the fact that they no longer agree with the virtues which first consecrated them. Why, the religion of Christ—that gentle Sermon on the Mount—now means anger, dispute, controversy between brothers, sneers at reason, discouragement of thought, and the desire to suppress science,—that is what it means.

Dr. Andrew Wood, of Edinburgh, in the preface to his translation, says: "Even the Christians may learn a lesson from Nathan." Even the Christians! What! Then is there virtue implied in being Christian? What is there in religion, since Jesus fell asleep, beyond what Nathan lived in thought, word, and deed? Does the sun shine more brightly on Christians than on others? Does it make wisdom more wise to call it Christian? Yet is this translator of a work he cannot comprehend, right? Christians may learn from Nathan how useless are their magic and occult charms, or the ritual of their rings. They may learn how true wisdom and high rectitude ignore the baptismal font. Many religions have been tried; how they have failed is written over the earth in human blood and ashes.

One religion now remains to be tried, the religion of simple humanity—a religion of the noblest virtues conceivable in human character,—which shall teach men to bind up the wounds of humanity. And only when men learn that an honest, frank denial is holier than a cowardly acceptance; only when it is felt that any God worthy the name of a God would prefer Athelism to mean, servile Orthodoxy; only then shall we have reached the threshold of that larger temple, where the sorceries of fear are unknown, where the spells of a name are broken, and where man, from gathering ages of superstition, shall see his world saved at last by humanity's grand success. —London Secular Review, March 30.

COL. ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

A recent biographer of Robert G. Ingersoll says that he is the son of a Congregational minister, that he was born in Dresden, a small town in northern New York, and is forty-three years old. He was baptized, when he was three years old, in a theatre in New York city. His father was then preaching in the city, and in this theatre, his church having been destroyed by the great fire. His father, it seems, inclined towards liberalism, and the strifes and the annoyances he was subjected to from the narrow belief of his flock early embittered the precocious youth, and filled him with the utmost hatred of the gloomy spirit of Calvinism. The father died in 1859; but when Robert uttered that famous lecture on "Heretics and Heresies," and in which occurs that graphic picture of John Calvin, he said, when he returned to his home, "Father, I've paid back another of the insults they heaped upon you." He received only a common school education. When Robert was ten they came West. Robert was a precocious boy. He was a great reader, and his favorite author was Robert Burns. He had committed the works of that poet to memory, and it is probable that it was from this fountain that he first imbibed that glowing, fiery hate for tyranny and contempt for sham of every sort, that form such an effective part of his character. When Robert was still under age he had studied law, and been admitted to the bar. In 1860 Robert was nominated for Congress against William Kellogg. He conducted his part of the campaign as if it were a huge frolic, and yet on the stump he displayed qualities that astonished alike his friends and enemies. He tore Judge Kellogg's arguments in pieces, worried him in every debate, out-talked and out-argued him. Running on the Democratic ticket, he went far beyond his opponent in denouncing slavery, and solemnly avowed that, rather than interfere between any human being in his efforts to secure his liberty, "I would be condemned to be chained in the lowest depths of hell." Bob was beaten, and it was the last time he ever ran for an office.

In 1862 he went to war as colonel of the 11th Illinois Cavalry. In 1866 he was appointed Attorney-General of the State by Governor Oglesby. In 1868 he was spoken of for Governor. Since then he has been engaged in the practice of his profession, in which he has been extraordinarily successful, until the Cincinnati Convention drew him out. In 1862 he married Miss Eva Parker, the daughter of a farmer of Groveland, Tazewell County, Ill., a rare woman in any age. An affectionate, tender, true-hearted, and loving woman, she transformed the reckless, careless, heedless genius into a great-souled, strong-brained, versatile, and pure-minded man. Two daughters are the result of this union. Few households equal this in strong, but tender, affection, manifested simply and naturally, without affectation and without concealment.

When he goes on any long journey his family always accompany him. Together they went to Europe; together they made the campaign in Maine and New York. Nor is here the masculine intellect that partakes of all his triumphs, and drives him forward because she is ambitious. Dress and society and place and position are things she cares as little for as he. In intellect she doesn't strive to be his peer; but in womanly qualities, in devotion to him, in wifely regard, in the domestic virtues, she surpasses most women as much as he, in masculine strength and vigor, surpasses most men; and he repays this affection with a constancy, a care and attention, a delicate deference to her wishes, and a loyal devotion to her that reveals the ideal lover of the romantic school. There is, however, in all this, no sentimentality and no gush.—*New York Tribune.*

SCHOOLS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

Speaking the other day of primary meetings it was remarked, incidentally, that under our present city charters, general meetings of citizens for the consideration of the important interests of the community had gone out of fashion. Under the old city charter of Boston, Section 60, such general meetings of citizens were provided for, and were formerly held. The custom ought to be revived. There are many subjects on which the citizens could obtain information and exert influence not available in any other way. Let it once be understood that one evening in a month will be regularly given to this object,—say the first Monday of the month. Let a convenient hall be secured, the largest that can be had in the ward, and its use for this purpose, on the appointed day in every month, from October to May, be made certain. Let the warden of the ward, or, in his absence, some gentleman well known, be appointed to preside. Announce that the first meeting will be devoted to some subject or subjects of social order still before the community for decision.

It is desirable, of course, to avoid the mere speculation of a debating society. But it is better to run into theory sometimes, than to know nothing of practice. Let such questions as the education of craftsmen, the taxing of the people for the higher schools, the taxation of churches, the prohibitory system, be discussed on both sides by competent men. Let such national questions as that on which all public business has been arrested at Washington, the conditions of public faith, the currency, the tariff, the Alabama award offers, be discussed. Let the questions not far in the future, such as the Chinese emigration, the rights of such associations as the Jesuit body, the question whether Congress or the local authorities shall count votes, the rights of small States and large States, be discussed before such assemblies. It would be convenient at first to lay down a few rules of procedure, a fifteen-minute rule, for instance. But the meeting would soon make its

own rules, judging by its own experience from its own convenience.

In a single winter of such discussion almost all the voters of that ward would obtain more real information on the subjects at issue than any but a very few obtain now. They would come to know their public men; and they would soon see who had axes to grind, and who were caring for the State when the time came for party meetings and the preparation of tickets. After a year or two of such experience, tickets would not be made up in a mass from names that nobody ever heard of. The persons who had most favorably impressed the audiences would be, on the whole, the persons most prominent in nominations; and, when the time came for voting, the voters would know who and what they were voting for.

There is no danger but that the meetings will be large. Those who attend them will take care that they are interesting; for they will pass by the subjects which are not made attractive, to take up those which are. The forms which discussion would naturally take would be those of resolutions. Suppose the programme of an evening were:—

"Resolved, That the members of this ward in the next legislature should support a reduction of taxes on savings-banks."

"Resolved, That the next city government should set on foot some system for training in the mechanic arts."

"Resolved, That the State legislature should discourage the accumulation of large property by religious corporations."

Suppose the discussion on one of these dragged. The assembly would table it or postpone it to a fixed time, in order to come at some subject more interesting. And the men who wanted to maintain a particular cause would take care to be on hand.

The great mass of the people has not too many occasions for meeting of an evening,—has not enough which are at once entertaining and instructive. The lyceum long since ceased to instruct, and, except in rare instances, has ceased to entertain. But a vigorous discussion of living themes, by capable men, will always be attractive.—*Boston Advertiser, May 16.*

MASSACHUSETTS CHILDREN'S PROTECTIVE SOCIETY.

President, William Gaston.
Vice-Presidents, Josiah Quincy, Quincy; Martin Britmer, Boston; Samuel E. Sewall, Boston; Henry W. Longfellow, Cambridge; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; James Freeman Clarke, Boston; John D. Long, Hingham; Mary Hemenway, Boston; Mrs. P. S. Canfield, Worcester; George F. Hoar, Worcester; Henry K. Oliver, Salem.
Secretary, Loring Moody.
Treasurer, Frederick S. Cabot.
Special Agent, Francis Hinckley.
Directors, William Gaston, Nathan Appleton, Daniel Needham, Fenno Tudor, A. A. Miner, E. S. Converse, Lyman Hollingsworth, F. S. Cabot, Francis Hinckley, F. J. Greene, Loring Moody.

This Society having been duly incorporated under the laws of this Commonwealth is now actively at work. But it is without pecuniary means. And those to whom it appeals for sympathy, cooperation, and support should know to the fullest extent, what are its aims and modes of operation.

Its aims are briefly stated in the "purpose" set forth in its constituent articles of agreement, as follows:—"To secure all needful legislation, and to enforce all laws of the State, for the protection of children from abuse, cruelty, and deprivation of their rights to education, and the means of fitting them to discharge their duties in life with the best advantage to themselves and the public, we, the undersigned, hereby form ourselves into a corporation to be known by the name of the "Massachusetts Children's Protective Society."

Its modes of procedure will be more fully developed by the individual cases as they arise; and the citation of a few such cases as may demand our assistance will enable the public to judge of the need of such active, helpful interference as we propose to extend; and also whether it will not be cheaper and wiser for the State to take charge of these children, and educate them for good citizens, than under any plea to suffer them to drift into evil ways, and at length be compelled to maintain them, and a warfare against them, as criminals and peace-breakers.

Although fuller details of these cases are in our possession, they are here condensed to very brief statements.

A small girl was seen standing barefooted on the snowy sidewalk in mid-winter, holding out her hand and begging. Unable longer to endure the cold, she ran into the house to warm her feet. From the opposite side of the street a woman was seen through the window to take down a rattan and drive her out again to resume her begging.

Small boys are frequently found begging in railway-cars, for money for older people to get drunk on, and often whipped when their beggings are unsuccessful.

Mr. Chase Cole found bright little boy with nothing to sleep under but old bag; father drunk; mother dying on a wretched bed, beseeching Mr. Cole to take the child away from father who beats him without mercy.

We have been called upon to protect a girl whose head was scarred, her arm broken, her back scalded with hot water by her father.

Another little girl, whose mother is dead, deserted by her father, kicked from the street down the basement stairs, confined naked in attic, beaten with a leather strap by woman having control of her.

A blind, sick baby, nine months old, hungry, moaning in a starch-box; deserted by father; mother without work, and unable to procure it food or clothing.

Little children of tender years dragged about by organ-grinders, to perform instead of monkeys.

Unreared-for children in a state of partial nudity sleeping in entry-ways, or wherever night might overtake them.

Man in Malden whipped his ten-year-old boy on his naked back with horse-rein, with buckle on the end; selectmen and others who examined his back "never saw such a sight; back cut up, skin peeled and torn."

Agent found family of eight persons living by the begging of the children, who could not attend school. Three of the boys had slept all winter in an old barn, on a bed of dirty straw, the doors and windows of which were gone, their only covering being ragged pants and coats; boys acquiring habits of theft in their efforts to provide for the family.

Another family of thirteen persons living in house of one room. Children ranging from one to twenty-seven years of age. Never known to go to school. Daughter with three illegitimate children. All profane, intemperate, beastly, and given to every vice. Eighteen-year-old boy said he only wanted a plenty of rum and tobacco, and he could be happy.

These cases, from a much larger number which have come under our notice, will illustrate the need of associated efforts to protect children, not only from cruelty and abuse, but to save many from the high-road to vice, crime, and ruin.

We shall follow these children to their homes, search out their conditions, and afford such relief as each case may require.

To do this, we need money to maintain an office, carry complaints before the courts, support active agents, afford temporary relief in distressing cases, pay printers, and all expenses necessary to the prosecution of our humane work.

Life members pay fifty dollars; annual members, five dollars; patrons, one dollar and under five dollars. Your cooperation and support are cordially solicited.

Donations and subscriptions may be sent to Frederick S. Cabot, Treasurer, Rialto Building, 131 Devonshire Street, this city, or paid directly to the agent on application.

F. J. GREENE,
 F. HINCKLEY,
 F. S. CABOT,
 LORING MOODY, } *Executive Committee.*

N. B.—The Society has established an office in Room 7, No. 8 Hamilton Place, where all persons having knowledge of cases of cruelty or abuse of children are requested to report them for investigation. BOSTON, 1878.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

TRUTH.

The wind may moan, the sky may cloud,
 The storm may rage, destroying all;
 The heart may shrink, in death be bowed,
 Or human souls by tyrants cowed,
 Yet dwell I far above the fall!

The war may rage, and nations send
 Their shafts of hate in noble forms,
 The city burn, and races bend
 Whereat the conquering swords descend,
 Yet I am safe above their storms!

The priest may pray, the zealot burn
 His brother at the driven flame,
 And noble souls in dungeons yearn
 For light that's never to return,
 Yet live I on a deathless aim!

The poor may starve, the merchant wrong
 His fellows through the speeding time,
 And wealth unjustly aid the strong,
 Oppression hold its sway and long,
 Yet I know not the sad-wrought crime!

The slave may labor 'neath the sun
 And misery feel in every vein,
 The sea of famine fierce o'er-run
 Where once its fury has begun,
 Yet I feel not the gnawing pain!

O man! know me a spirit free!
 In vain your crimes and wrongs and hates,—
 I dwell on high o'er land and sea,
 I dwell in realms wherein for thee
 Are woven the eternal Fates!

HORACE L. TRAUDEL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 1.

M. G. Kimball, \$3; E. C. Wilcox, 10 cents; A. J. Gros, \$1.75; E. W. Meddaugh, \$103.50; Alben Andrew, \$4.70; F. H. Lotthrop, 80 cents; Sarah Fagh, \$5; H. E. Howe, \$3.20; E. B. Wolcott, \$3.20; H. Schoepky, \$2; Free Religious Association, \$3; Edgar St. Clair, 60 cents; C. M. Cuyler, 25 cents; J. B. Wolcott, \$3.30; Dr. J. Harmon, \$5; J. A. Simon, \$5; Thomas Tasker, 10 cents; J. J. Barker, \$6.75; John Dodge, \$3; D. B. Boehld, \$3.20; E. C. Westlake, \$3; Abel Fletcher, 80 cents; A. D. Dickinson, \$3.20.

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

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

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

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 6, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLSON OFFICE, No. 35 MONROE STREET; J. T. FAY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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 MILLS, W. D. LE SURUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

"WE ARE informed," said the New York Independent of April 25, "that an Oberlin freshman has been expelled for writing two essays of an atheistical tendency." There is a specimen of college freedom, as enjoyed in this country. Probably this audacious freshman would not have been expelled, if he had written essays of a Christian tendency; yet one course is no worse than the other. How hard it is for the world to learn the simple lesson of the gospel according to Nature, that *thought has a right to be free!*

CHURCH PROPERTY is subject to taxation in the District of Columbia, as it ought to be everywhere. On May 8, in the Senate, Mr. Edmunds introduced a resolution, which was adopted, calling on the commissioners of the District of Columbia for a detailed statement of the church property in default for taxes, under the act of June, 1874; what legal steps, if any, have been taken to enforce the collection of such taxes; and if no such steps had been taken, why not. So it seems that the District churches have been defying the tax-gatherers and defrauding the revenue.

OBJECTING to the suggestion that the abolition of Sabbatarian laws will not interfere in the least with the preservation of Sunday as a legal holiday and day of rest, the *Christian Statesman* says: "The belief that God our Maker has reserved one day in seven from secular uses, and requires it to be observed religiously, furnishes an adequate logical basis for legislation in regard to the Sabbath. If that ground be abandoned, none remains on which the institution can stand for a moment. The American people must choose between the total loss of the Sabbath as a day of general rest, and its maintenance on the only ground on which it can be vindicated." Well, it is precisely that Divinely ordained "Sabbath" that the American people are making up their minds it will be a gain to lose. But they will maintain Sunday as a day of rest, if they want one; and if they do not want one, we do not see why it should worry the *Statesman*. There is no danger that churches will ever fall to be protected in their worship; but there is great danger that they will not always be allowed to prescribe what everybody else shall do or not do on that day.

REV. JOHN SNYDER, a Unitarian pastor of St. Louis, wrote as follows to Col. Ingersoll under date of April 30: "The liberty I take in writing is based upon a hasty introduction, in St. Louis, which you, doubtless, have forgotten. I want to give you a little piece of information which you may desire to use in connection with your criticism of Mr. Wendling's lecture. Mr. Wendling was invited to St. Louis by a public call, inserted in the daily press, which was signed by some prominent gentlemen of this city. He came, and, in the course of his review of your infidelity and its social, political, and moral consequences, particularly emphasized the effect such teachings would have upon the mercantile honor and property interests of society. A few days afterward I discovered that the name of a very prominent and respectable Unitarian gentleman attached to the call was *deliberately forged for that purpose!* He had not even seen the call previous to publication. I do not say Mr. Wendling knew of this piece of Jesuitism. I believe, really, that he was ignorant of it. It must have been done by the Y. M. C. A. managers of the affair, who, for the glory of God and the discomfiture of his enemies, did not scruple to do a deed which gets less respectable people into the penitentiary. You are at liberty to make what use of this communication you please."

A "TRIBUNAL OF SCIENCE."

Edward W. Cox, Esq., Sergeant-at-Law and President of the Psychological Society of Great Britain, published at London in 1876 a very ingenious volume called *The Mechanism of Man*, in which he advanced various theories respecting man's spiritual nature and destiny. We have no intention of discussing these, but only of calling attention to the following interesting suggestion:—

"I may, perhaps, be permitted to throw out a suggestion which has occurred to me when painfully reminded of the disregard of the rules of evidence that prevails in scientific debate. Would it not be possible to apply to scientific inquiries the same system of trial which is found to be so efficient a means of ascertaining truth in disputes referred to law? Would it be altogether visionary to propose the establishment of a society, to be formed for the express purpose of trying by a *Tribunal of Science* disputed *scientific facts*, pursuing precisely the same procedure as is so successfully employed in determining other disputed facts? A judge, a jury, advocates on both sides, witnesses *pro* and *con*, examined and cross-examined, speeches to the jury, a summing-up by the judge, and a verdict,—the same rules of evidence to be observed as in a law-court. The uses of such a tribunal would be manifest. It would not lack work. A new discovery in science—a new and important fact—is asserted and contested. Either party to the controversy may challenge the other to investigation by this Tribunal of Science. If the subject should be deemed by the council of the society sufficiently important to deserve inquiry, a trial would be awarded. The hearing would be of itself an invaluable teaching to the whole scientific world; it would deeply interest the outside public, and the verdict would extinguish controversies upon which much thought, time, ink, and paper might otherwise be wasted.

"The scheme is not in itself impracticable. Its benefits, if it could be accomplished, are not doubtful. I submit it to the consideration of other minds by whom, if this mere hint of it be approved, the scheme might possibly be matured hereafter."

We are frank to say that we consider this suggestion as one of the most fruitful that has come under our notice for a long time. Not that the precedents and rules of a law-court would be found wholly applicable to strictly scientific controversies, or that the principles of evidence adapted to the sifting of human testimony could be adequate to the settlement of disputes respecting natural phenomena; that is a supposition not to be entertained. But, establishing such regulations as to the constitution and methods of the proposed "Tribunal of Science" as would be required by the nature of the case (and what they should finally be could scarcely be determined except by an experimental trial of the plan), the world at large might find many advantages in the adoption of Sergeant Cox's idea. It would certainly tend to the suppression of quacks and pretenders who now flourish like green bay-trees. Put the "Keeley Motor," for instance, on its trial; that would have saved credulous capitalists some of the cash they are reported to have sunk in ridiculous experiments. Anybody who had a maggot in his brain, and was likely to become a public sponge, could be summoned to show good cause why he should not be laughed out of court. Various uses can be imagined to which the "Tribunal of Science" might be put, and which might give it a practical utility of considerable scope. Especially for the determination of the rights of discoverers and for the authoritative decision between conflicting claims to the glory of great discoveries, such a tribunal might prove exceedingly useful. The "trial by newspaper," and the equally resultless trial by pamphlet, might be superseded by the sober, dispassionate, carefully conducted investigation of competent judges, and genius might receive even in its lifetime some of the reward which is now too often stolen by noisy pretence. Poor Dr. Charles T. Jackson, who discovered the blessed usefulness of sulphuric ether in producing anaesthesia, might not now be languishing in an insane asylum.

But above all, the "Tribunal of Science," if so constituted as to command public confidence by its competency and impartiality, would illustrate in a most forcible manner the fact that there is a *universal reason of mankind* higher than the supposed sufficiency of "private judgment." Radicals, in particular, are prone to forget that individualism is a smaller word than universalism. They are apt to set at defiance the changeless laws of thought in the conceit of private illumination. They have not always learned that thought not according to law is in-

effective as a discoverer of truth, and that all men are amenable to a higher authority than their own "insight." The truth which is for all men must appeal to the reason of all; and reason is the least personal part of us. Victor Cousin taught a great doctrine when he proclaimed the "impersonality of reason." If the radicals of our day were to comprehend that they cannot without absurdity throw themselves back on the inalienable right of "thinking as they please," and were docile enough to learn that the laws of logic are too strong for any man's whim, wilfulness, or egotism, they would less frequently expose the right of "freethought" to public contempt. Thought may be as "free" as air; but, if it be not also disciplined thought, thought dominated by severe regard for facts and the immutable relations of facts, it is as worthless as it is free. The existence of a universally respected "Tribunal of Science" would accustom men to the conception that thought is subject to law, and is valueless if lawless. It could never degenerate into another Papacy, resting on the authority of dogma, but would create gradually in all minds reverence for the eternal authority of truth, as objective to the individual and resting on that universal consciousness of the race which eliminates the vagaries of individuals. Every man remains a petty creature until he becomes aware of the universality of all that is best in his own nature. The tendency to foster this element of moral greatness, and to make the private soul conscious of the august character of that vast Whole in which it forms a tiny part, would be the very best contribution which the "Tribunal of Science" could render to the education of mankind.

CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM.

General Butler presented the following extraordinary petition in the House of Representatives, May 20:—

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

In the name of the "National Workingmen's Greenback party" we would respectfully present you this memorial. The Son of God, when on earth, expressly declared that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; and believing that our Savior, possessing Divine wisdom, knew that such were the corrupt influences surrounding the possessors of wealth as to make them unworthy to associate with the virtuous and good of earth, and in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, he clearly presents to our minds the fact that they can never aspire to the joys of the Celestial City, and as most of our Savior's teachings were in condemnation of the corrupt practice of a class of vile, hypocritical men who, claiming to be God's chosen people, for a pretence made long prayers, that they might be heard of men, and who thanked God that they were not as other men are, proving conclusively that such men must be the most corrupt of earth, and as the history of the past has taught us that corrupt rulers have relied on large standing armies to perpetuate their power and subvert the rights and liberties of the people, we would therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to reduce our army to the least possible number. And as an order we swear eternal fidelity to the republic and death to the usurper. Respectfully submitted by unanimous consent. MOSES H. GALE, President.

Who is the "usurper"? President Hayes? Capitalists as a class? Or who?

Such a document as the above shows that it is not "French and German infidelity" which chiefly fosters communistic violence and civil commotion, but that Christian fanaticism is at least equally dangerous to the public peace. Since the army is to be disbanded as a preliminary step before the "National Workingmen's Greenback Party" proceeds to bring "death to the usurper," it is evident that they intend to take the law into their own hands. The truth is that Christianity lends itself as easily to revolutionary violence as any other form of "Communism"; for in its origin it taught the community of property, as the New Testament itself shows; and, as the above shows, it offers the testimony of the "Son of God" against the possessors of "capital."

The only permanent corrective of the extravagances and excesses of the communistic spirit, whether in its Christian or any other form, is the development of that strong sense of individuality and individual rights which had its origin, not at all in Christianity, but in the Teutonic love of personal liberty which lies at the foundation of all Anglo-Saxon civilization. To develop this passion for personal independence and individual rights in due harmony with the softening, refining, and ennobling consciousness of the solidarity of man—this is the aim of Free Religion, which, far more than Christianity, is destined to inspire and guide the civilization of the future.

THE RELATION OF BAACON TO MODERN SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It would seem to be a work of kindness to transcribe, for the benefit of Rev. A. B. Bradford, who apparently thinks that modern science and civilization owe their birth to Lord Bacon, the following passage from Prof. Huxley's recent article on "William Harvey." (Vide *Fortnightly Review*, February, 1878.)

"It is, I believe, a cherished belief of Englishmen, that Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, and sometime Lord Chancellor of England, invented that 'Inductive Philosophy' of which they speak with almost as much respect as they do of Church and State; and that, if it had not been for this 'Baconian Induction,' science would never have extricated itself from the miserable condition in which it was left by a set of hair-splitting folk known as the ancient Greek philosophers. To be accused of departing from the canons of the Baconian philosophy is almost as bad as to be charged with forgetting your aspirates; it is understood as a polite way of saying that you are an entirely absurd speculator.

"Now the *Novum Organon* was published in 1620, while Harvey began to teach the doctrine of the circulation in his public lectures in 1619. Acquaintance with the Baconian Induction, therefore, could not have had much to do with Harvey's investigations. The *Exercitatio*, however, was not published till 1638. Do we find in it any trace of the influence of the *Novum Organon*? Absolutely none. So far from indulging in the short-sighted and profoundly unscientific depreciation of the ancients in which Bacon indulges, Harvey invariably speaks of them with that respect which the faithful and intelligent study of the fragments of their labors that remain to us must inspire in every one who is practically acquainted with the difficulties with which they had to contend, and which they so often mastered. And as to method, Harvey's method is the method of Galen, the method of Realdus Columbus, the method of Galileo, the method of every genuine worker in science, either in the past or in the present. On the other hand, judged strictly by the standard of his own time, Bacon's ignorance of the progress which science had up to that time made is only to be equalled by his insolence towards men in comparison with whom he was the merest sciolist. Even when he has some hearsay knowledge of what has been done, his want of acquaintance with the facts, and his abnormal deficiency in what I may call the scientific sense, prevent him from divining its importance. Bacon could see nothing remarkable in the chief contributions to science of Copernicus, or of Kepler, or of Galileo. Gilbert, his fellow-countryman, is the subject of a sneer, while Galen is bespattered with a shower of impertinences which reach their climax in the epithets 'puppy' and 'plague.'

"I venture to think that if Francis Bacon, instead of spending his time in fabricating fine phrases about the advancement of learning, in order to play, with due pomp, the part which he assigned to himself of 'trumpeter' of science, had put himself under Harvey's instruction, and had applied his quick wit to discover and methodize the logical process which underlay the work of that consummate investigator, he would have employed his time to better purpose; and at any rate would not have deserved the sharp, but just, judgment which follows: 'That his (Bacon's) method is impracticable cannot, I think, be denied, if we reflect, not only that it has never produced any result, but also that the process by which scientific truths have been established cannot be so presented as even to appear to be in accordance with it.' I quote from one of Mr. Ellis's contributions to the great work of Bacon's most learned, competent, and impartial biographer, Mr. Spedding.

"In the latter half of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth, century, the future of physical science was safe enough in the hands of Gilbert, Galileo, Harvey, Descartes, and the noble army of investigators who flocked to their standard, and followed up the advance of their leaders. I do not believe that their wonderfully rapid progress would have been one whit retarded if the *Novum Organon* had never seen the light; while if Harvey's little *Exercitatio* had been lost, physiology would have stood still until another Harvey was born into the world."

The italics in the above extract are mine. Now the question is whether Macaulay, from whom Mr. Bradford seems to have borrowed his estimate of Bacon or Prof. Huxley, is the better fitted to judge of the degree of service rendered by Bacon to the cause of science. It so happens that Macaulay's

essay on Bacon is perhaps the one out of all his essays that has been convicted of the most glaring insufficiency. For example, the late Sir George C. Lewis, probably the most learned statesman of modern times, writes thus in a private letter: "I have read Macaulay's article on Lord Bacon in the *Edinburgh Review*. It is written in his usual sparkling, lively, antithetical style, and the historical part of it is interesting and amusing. His remarks on the ancient philosophy are, for the most part, shallow and ignorant in the extreme; his objections to the utility of logic are the stale commonplaces which all enemies of accurate knowledge and the eulogists of common-sense, practical men, etc., have been always putting forth. There is generally throughout the article a want of soundness and coherency, and a puerile and almost girlish affectation of tinsel ornament which, coming from a man of nearly forty, convince me that Macaulay will never be anything more than a rhetorician." In the light of this judgment compare what Prof. Huxley has said above with the following definition by Macaulay of Bacon's position. "There (namely, in the first book of the *Novum Organon*) we see the great law-giver looking round from his lonely elevation on an infinite expanse; behind him a wilderness of dreary sands and bitter waters, in which successive nations have sojourned, always moving yet never advancing, reaping no harvest and building no abiding city; before him a goodly land, a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey." According to Prof. Huxley, instead of occupying a "lonely elevation," he did not occupy as high an elevation, in point either of scientific knowledge or of scientific method, as several of his contemporaries, who were engaged in doing what he was only somewhat loosely speculating about,—that is to say, pushing forward the boundaries of physical science, and affording to the world signal examples of rigorous scientific induction.

In the present day there is generally a good deal to be said upon every question, and Mr. Bradford will find it to his advantage not to trust unreservedly to the authority of any man who undertakes to discuss so many subjects, and pronounce so many dogmatic judgments, as the late Lord Macaulay. If I had to choose, I should say that a little "nebulosity," in connection with real depth and force of thought, was preferable to a simplicity purchased at the expense of ignoring or discarding all that does not at once fit in with one's favorite theories. "Fruit and Progress" are well; but there is such a thing as clutching fruit before it is ripe, and making progress into untenable positions, or hopeless, blind alleys, where all progress comes to an end; and, unless I am mistaken, a considerable class of liberals to-day fall into both errors, and so fall of the influence they ought to exert in the world. Mr. Potter, whom Mr. Bradford criticises, belongs to the higher class of thoughtful students, men of a well-grounded faith, but who have read and reflected too much to launch into the sweeping affirmations which come so readily to less cultivated minds. If men of this stamp produce less striking effects than the bold, popular orator or the trenchant controversialist, this at least may be said for them: that the work they do is well done, that the influence they once acquire is never lost, and above all that, for everything they destroy, they give something better, which is more than can be said of some who are very potent in denial, and very absolute in all their opinions.

Yours very faithfully,

WM. D. LESUEUR.

OTTAWA, Canada, May 21, 1878.

AGE OF THE IDEA OF HELL.—In the first place it is necessary to rise above that narrowness of view which regards the doctrine of hell as especially a Christian doctrine, or as the monopoly of any particular religion. On the contrary, it is as ancient and universal as the systems of religious faith that have overspread the world. The oldest religions of which we have any knowledge—Hindoo, Egyptian, and the various Oriental systems of worship,—all affirm the doctrine of a future life, with accompanying hells for the torture of condemned souls. We certainly cannot assume that all these systems are true, and of divine origin; but if not, then the question forces itself upon us; how they came by this belief. The old, historic religious systems involved advanced and complicated creeds and rituals; and if they were not real divine revelations in this elaborated shape, we are compelled to regard them as having had a natural development out of lower and cruder forms of superstition. To explain these religions—as to explain the earliest political institutions—we must go behind them. There is a prehistoric, rudimentary theology of the primitive man, the quality of which has to be deduced from his low, infantine condition of mind, interpreted by what we observe among the inferior types of mankind at the present time.—Prof. Youmans, in *Popular Science Monthly* for March.

Communications.

PROF. CLARK TO PROF. PIERCE.

CINCINNATI, May 19, 1878.

PROF. BENJ. PIERCE:

Sir,—I was present at the opening exercises of the Congress, in company with many socialists of the city, and was pleased with the promise given that the question, which we deem the most important one of the times, shall be fully discussed in the light of science.

At that part of your address, where allusion was made to the labor question, my comrades thought that you betrayed a lack of information on certain points, which unfitted you to discuss intelligently and profitably that theme.

By their request I give you a few items, which may guide you in future research, hoping you will excuse the liberty taken.

A trade union is a combination of working-men, of any trade, their purpose being to maintain wages at a living rate, and to protect its members against reductions brought on by the competition of bosses. Sometimes they extend to members aid in cases of sickness or death.

When the unions of different countries unite, they become Internationals.

Though continually in this country and in Europe revolutionary purposes are ascribed to them, their purpose is neither political nor social. They simply band together to prevent that competition in the labor market which enables bosses to cheapen the price of that commodity. Such combinations are surely as legitimate as those of merchants, or manufacturers, or railroad corporations, who thus band together to prevent a lowering of the cost of the commodity in which they deal.

Their mode of enforcing their demands is by strikes; and since these strikes so often result in collisions between the authorities and the strikers, upon their shoulders must be laid part of the blame, if there be blame, of the labor riots which disturbed the peace of the country last summer, and which are the standing scarecrow of the press.

I say part of the blame, because I believe the chief blame rests with the railroad managers, who first built more roads than the trade and travel of the country demand, then wasted the already scanty wages fund in senseless and ruinous competition, and finally sought to make up losses by reducing the pay of their working-men to the starvation point.

It is strange that, though trades unions have existed in this country for more than a generation, and though labor riots are far from being new things, that the writers for the press almost uniformly charge the labor disturbances to the discussions of the Socialistic Labor Party, so recently organized; though its members proclaim their purpose of depending upon argument and the ballot for success, and likewise regard strikes as the most costly and injurious form of labor agitation that can be adopted.

The Communists of this country are found mostly in Shaker villages,—at Onelda, Icaria, and other places of the same sort. They are peaceful in their modes and motives. They seek no general division of property, believing mankind not prepared for it, and desiring only to gather a favored few into their unitary homes.

No man of intelligence will accuse them of revolutionary purposes, unless it be the itemizers for the press; and of them we know that sensation and not truth is the main object of pursuit. Of Communists of the Parisian stripe there are none except a few refugees. There is no necessity for them. The French Communists struggled for local government in cities. In America, we have that already. The purpose of the American Communist is purely social, and has no political bearing whatever.

The Socialistic Labor Party of the United States is an organization which deprecates the constant strife between capital and labor; which believes as firmly as if all its members had been educated at Harvard that there is no natural strife between them; which believes that they are allies, father and son, if you please; with this reservation, however: that labor is the father.

They recognize the fact, however, that there is an actual conflict between those great forces; that there is war when there should be peace. They deplore the increasing poverty, so manifest in the civilized world; view with alarm the heaped up and increasing wealth of individuals and corporations; and with greater alarm, the want, the ignorance, the immorality, which this state of things breeds on the one hand, and the arrogance and almost unlimited social and political influence which it produces on the other.

They are charged with revolutionary purposes; but they recognize the fact that our government is already changed, that the oligarchy of Southern masters has joined hands with an oligarchy of capitalists in the North. This combination settled the question of the disputed presidency. This combination now talks under its breath of a dictatorship, with General Grant at its head. Through its agents it is filling the papers with false reports of Communistic armings, and of Communistic conspiracies, the purpose being to reconcile the people of the United States to the crime which they propose to perpetrate when the American Bonaparte shall see his way clear to his Second of December.

That this purpose exists, and has made its existence known, is shown by the fact that the iron-hearted chancellor of the German Empire has dared to include the United States in his programme for crushing liberty of speech on the labor question.

The Socialistic Labor Party believes that the politi-

cal condition of the people in the middle ages is paralleled by their industrial condition in this.

Then the humble citizen dwelt in the shadow of the castle of some great baron, who exacted obedience in all things, and gave in return such protection and such privileges as he saw fit.

In the fierce and frequent conflicts which were the normal result of such a state of society, the vassal shared the ruin of his lord, though that ruin was brought about by no fault of his own. A man who refused to live in such vassalage had but two ways to escape: he might become an outlaw, and practise on a small scale the violence which his master practised on a larger; or he might shave his head and become a monk.

There was no effectual remedy for this condition of affairs until the State arose, and through its representative, the king, subdued these haughty barons, and compelled them to respect the rights of their fellow-subjects.

To-day, the lords of capital, singly and in corporations, control the industrial world as absolutely as their predecessors controlled the political world. They grasp the means of labor, land, and machinery, and the armies of labor come and go at their bidding. In their sharp conflicts they waste vast wealth; and when periodic ruin overshadows the marts of the land, the working-man shares in the ruin he had no hand in producing; and dismay, suffering, and gaunt hunger invade a hundred thousand homes.

There is no escape from this vassalage to capital, save in pauperism or crime. A man may give up the struggle and sink into a tramp; or he may enroll himself in the ranks of crime, and curse society with the energy and ingenuity which should have been its blessing.

In consequence of this industrial serfdom, irremediable poverty has come upon thousands. The possession of wife and child, the enjoyment of the elevating influences that cluster around home, are daily becoming unattainable to more thousands.

All over the country we are breeding a mass of corrupt men, whose influence pervades every walk of American life. They swarm around our ballot-boxes, and render our elections, not farces, as they are sometimes called, but infamous frauds. Money to buy these wretches, is a legitimate item of election expenses; and men whose gorge does not rise at contact with them, who can manipulate them, are in great demand as managers of elections. We reward these managers with minor offices; and they, knowing that the great politicians are dependent upon them, deride our efforts at official reform, and make our civil service stink in the nostrils of all decent men. We call in vain upon the better classes to unite against these vandals within the walls. They, like the ass in the fable, are indifferent who is master, so long as they must bear the unavoidable burden.

Upon the eradication of this mass of corruption depends the welfare of American society. Schools cannot cure the evil, for these creatures will not attend schools, nor will they permit the enactment and enforcement of laws requiring compulsory education. To be frank, to educate them, is to increase their power and our danger. Soup-houses, reformatories, prisons, only make them worse.

A few months since, the papers of the country contained many items concerning an unfortunate girl, the inmate of a county poorhouse, who avenged her neglected childhood by becoming the ancestress of a progeny which was, for generations, a burden upon the community in which they lived, as paupers or criminals.

This affords a hint of the way out of our danger. Since debasing influences, mental, moral, and physical, may train a man to crime, so elevating influences may train him to virtue.

The very poor, from whose ranks the criminal classes are in so large a degree recruited, must be surrounded by elevating, humanizing influences. A home must be made possible to every man. Antenatal conditions must be improved. God's creatures must be permitted free access to his air, his water, his earth. Monopolies of land and of machinery must be checked, and eventually abolished, and every man who can work have the opportunity afforded him.

As when, freed from the anarchical rule of the barons, men established governments which guard securely their social and political rights,—so if the sway of the lords of capital be broken, they will organize themselves into industrial guilds, competition, which is the death and not the life of trade, will cease. Poverty will be banished, vice reduced to a minimum, and many an idea, now relegated to the realms of Utopia, will be realized on this fair earth of ours.

The Socialistic Labor Party as a remedy for this actual antagonism between labor and capital, for this hinting at despotism, for this increasing poverty, for this dangerous mass of corruption, invokes the aid of the State, of the government founded by the people and for the people.

It alone is competent to deal with the mighty interests involved,—to repress equally the anarchy threatened by revolting labor, and the despotism of greedy capital. It alone can establish the firm peace which results from the enforcement of justice.

Concluding, let me assure you, sir, that all the men who join in the discussions of the working-men are not of "malicious disposition." If you should emerge from the calm, scholastic cloister in which you dwell and mingle with them, you would find their intellects as keen, their motives as pure, their philanthropy as broad, their patriotism as deep, as that of many who have been more fortunate in winning your favorable regard.

I am, sir, respectfully yours,

PETER H. CLARK.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XXVI.

Science is dualism (separative, dispersive) and religion is unismal. The logical order (of investigating subjects) begins with dualism and proceeds to unism—reverting the natural order; and this is the reason, as shown at the close of the preceding article, why I have chosen to dispose, in the first instance, of the various classifications of the sciences, reducing them to unity, before entering upon the consideration of the domain of religion.

In other words, science is, in predominance, analytical or distributive, and only in a secondary sense synthetical; while religion is primarily (in predominance) unitive, and only in a secondary sense (in subdominance) dispersive (tending to break up into sects, etc.).

In one word, RELIGION IS THE SENTIMENTAL, THE SPECULATIVE, AND THE SOCIAL DRIFT AND TENDENCY TOWARD UNITY. This is its highest scientific definition. It is primarily, therefore, sentimental; secondarily, dogmatic; and ultimately, social; its dogma playing the quasi-scientific rôle of science within the dominantly unscientific and mainly experiential scope of religion as such. It is, nevertheless, religious dogma or creed, and the underlying common origin of, and essential unity in, it, in the midst of all its seeming manifoldness and variety, which I am now about to consider.

It might almost be said that the fundamental article of the creed of the Reconciliative Church of the Future will be that: There has ever been, and is, and especially that in the future there will be, one only religion, in and for the whole world; and that consequently the seemingly various religions, which have succeeded, or coexisted and replaced or conflicted with, each other, were branches merely of the one underlying and all-embracing religious movement of the world, their conflicts being the necessary or (in religious phrase) the providential differentiations incident to the immense religious evolution in question.

The NEW THEOLOGY, therefore, holds and teaches that the various grand religions of the world, as, for example, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Taoism (or Confucianism), Sintoism, Egyptianism, Olympianism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, Spiritism or Spiritualism, Free Religion, and Positivism, are merely larger sects within the pale of the Universal Church; and that such sects or segments of the Church Universal, whether large or small, are merely in the nature of the different classes in a great school-house, all undergoing education in their various degrees. This idea is the basis of their universal reconciliation and future cooperation, in the place of mutual depreciation, prejudice, and persecution, as in the past; for nothing can be more unphilosophical and barbarous, not to say irreligious, than for the several classes of the same school to oppose, persecute, and rend each other.

It is true, however, that the later religions are, in an important sense, the older religions—in that sense in which we are older people than our grandfathers, having our experience added to theirs,—that is to say, they are the higher classes in the great religious school-house of the world; and for us, as Christians, or other advanced holders of later creeds, to sneer at or malign those farther back, or for those who think themselves more advanced than Christians to do so with respect to Christians, is something analogous with the habit of hazing in our colleges and universities, a remnant of barbarism, a custom "more honored in the breach than in the observance."

The Universal Church which shall embrace, reunite or reconcile and coordinate, all these branches of the great religious experience and education of mankind may properly receive and bear the name of the Church of the Grand Reconciliation; or as an alternate name, it might be called the True, but better, *ex gratia modestia*, the New Catholic Church; and this in turn is, in conception, the religious branch or department of the pantarchical régime, or universal government, or culminative administration, of the totality of collective, that is to say of societal, human affairs. A convenient popular name for the communicants of this new church would be: The Reconciliationists.

The chief factor of religion is not, as I have said, the dogma or doctrine, which is of the intellect, and may be varied in its form of presentation, according to the capacities and grade of advancement of each class; it is, on the other hand, that sentimental bond of unity which binds heart to heart fraternally and in the worship of THE MOST HIGH, and which prompts to mutual acts of kindness and love. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this: To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world."* It is by no means to be inferred, however, that the dogma of religion is therefore unimportant, but that, being the intellectual or rational element of religion, it is more amenable to the scientific method, and more susceptible of graduation to the capacity and state of the catechumen.

INTEGRALISM is the name of the new philosophy, coupled with universoology, which covers the whole ground of Nature, Science, and Art. ART is the effort, through labor, to realize our ideals. RELIGION, in its social aspect, is the result of the reflex action of our highest ideals on our conduct, by stimulating the earnestness of our efforts to realize or to attain to them, exciting especially the *unifying sentiment*, or the *sentiment of the unity of mankind*. As a *cultus*, it is the worship of the most high; meaning, thereby, not necessarily a personal God, an ideal heaven in another world, or any special definite form

of conception, but simply that which is the highest, whatsoever it be, to which each individual mind has attained, as an ideal. The woman who casts her infant into the river, or the fire, or the devouring jaws of an idol; the scientist who labors, from the love of truth, to discover new truth; or the atheist who devotes his life to blasting what he believes to be the deleterious delusions of the Christian or any other faith, is as truly religious in his devotion to what he conceives to be the truth as the most devoted Christian. The truth of opinion is another matter, and belongs to the region of inquiry and instruction,—to science rather than religion. It is a perversion of the meaning of religion to make it consist mainly of dogmas, which must, of necessity, undergo change from age to age, with the mere increase of intelligence. It should be the first object of the New Catholic Church to educe, distinctly, and definitely fix this fundamental conception of religion, as the common elementary ground of unity for all sects and special religions, in the higher religious life, and in the higher organization of the religious development of the future, in harmony with Nature, science, and art. The edifice to arise on such a foundation will be rightly entitled to be called THE GRAND RECONCILIATION,—"*the final restitution of all things.*"

It is the mistake of the Church, at this day, to continue to teach dogma as if it were assured knowledge; and the mistake of sciences to attack dogma as if it were essentially erroneous. Dogma, held as hypothesis, reinforced merely by faith, but held subject to revision and improvement with advancing knowledge, is perfectly legitimate, even from the scientific point of view, and so soon as it ceases to pretend to be anything more will be accepted and cultured by science. Faith is not knowledge, and should not be claimed as such. The very word, "*I believe*," confesses that "*I do not know.*"

The Scripture phrase, "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face," is as applicable to the unfolding future higher knowledge of this world as to the other life believed in by Christians.

The recognition of the consecration and devotion of the whole being to the worship of the most high, or of whatsoever highest ideal, as the essential basis of religion, is, at the same time, the basis of a true and universal religious fellowship, now, perhaps, for the first time distinctly propounded and scientifically defined. Upon this ground, and upon no other, the universal religious reconciliation of mankind becomes possible,—the cooperative unity of all, in a higher and broader sense than that in which the Christian world is now beginning to aspire after a renewed unity; as, by the discovery of universoology, a similar reconciliation of all intellectual conceptions is effected; and as, by pantarchism, the practical orchestration of all human affairs will be accomplished. The measuring rod, the cubic structure of the New Jerusalem, and the governing force of the mystic or sacred numbers, as revealed to the interior vision of St. John, are realized in the exactifications of universal science. The New Catholic Church is, therefore, THE CHURCH OF THE GRAND INTEGRAL AND FINAL RECONCILIATION.

To belong to the New Catholic Church involves little or nothing of ceremony, and does not necessarily demand separation from any other religious or secular body, any more than to be a citizen of the United States precludes citizenship of the individual States of the Union. It is socially and religiously as the United States are politically, and as the pantarchy will be, for all nationalities, *e pluribus unum*. Within its pale, the other religions and sects of the world are regarded as lower and higher classes engaged in conducting the religious education and training of mankind.

The old religious strongholds will not be subdued by simply denouncing them, in the spirit of a negative infidelity. They will be, easily and even gladly and gratefully, overcome and absorbed, or annexed, by being transcended in their own sphere.

The essential unity of religious dogmas is now to be searched for, first, in the past history of doctrine. The idea of essential unities of human affairs in the past, where we are accustomed to see only diversity, is beginning to be familiarized. August Fick, the distinguished German philologist, has published a work entitled *The Early-Time Speech-Unity of Hindu-Germanic Europe (Die ehemalige Sprachinheit der Indogermanen Europas)*. We need a similar treatment of the early-time religious unity of the world; and it is my purpose to give here a radical inception to that kind of elaboration, sufficiently distinct from anything touching on this subject in the labors of others to dispense me from the necessity of specifically naming them.

The foundation conception of theology, that from which the very idea of a religious system of ideas flows, concerns the existence and attributes of a Supreme Being; and modern research is every day more clearly demonstrating that in every nation of the past in which such conception was at all developed, the Supreme Being or the Most High has been conceived of, and held to be, either absolutely one, or relatively one,—as two or three in one, and so recombined in some sort of higher unity or godhead. The Chinese, the Hindu, the Greek, the Jew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan agree in this, and this alone would constitute them, at bottom, members of the same Universal Church.

The idea or conception of the one God is, radically, that of some primal, central, and single source or fountain-head of thought and being, such as human reflection cannot do otherwise than recur to, whenever the attempt is made to account for the nature of things. Hence, as religion, sentimentally considered, resolves itself into the one word, *unity*—sentimental unity being also love,—so, dogmatically, or on the intellectual side, the religious *schematismus* of thought also resolves itself into the idea of unity. The whole fundamental conception of religion has

* James, 1: 27.

relation, therefore, to oneness, and, by analogy, to the arithmetical unit, or one; and again, to the geometrical point, centre, and origin (as, on the other hand, *thought* relates primarily to division or discrimination, and hence to the number two, and geometrically to the limit, or line. Hence it is that religion is unimal, and thought, knowing, and science dualism).

Max Müller in his recent treatment of the subject of religion recurs to and reaffirms his former definition of its subjective element as "a mental faculty which independent of, nay, in spite of, sense and reason enables man to apprehend the Infinite, under different names and under varying disguises." He adds: "If we but listen attentively, we can hear, in all religions, a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God."

Upon a close scrutiny, this will prove to be only another method of saying the major part of what I have just said. The infinite identifies itself with unity thus: Infinity is the removal, the thinking away, of limits or bounds. The substance which remains, as the unlimited, then flows together, as one; as undistinguished mass; so that substance, apart from limits (Spinoza) and unity are virtually the same idea. There is this difference however. It is impossible to succeed, absolutely, in the effort to think away all limits. The last and least, but persistent, relic of limitation, in the mental struggle to be rid of it altogether, is this notion of unity, or rather of wisdom. This vanishing point of limit, which still refuses wholly to vanish, identifies itself, therefore, with the substantive mass of unlimitedness around it; and so with the Infinite; and, most naturally, as its centre. It is the intellectual residuum within the Infinite, while infinity as such pertains to the feeling,—and they two together—Infinity and its centring unity—are the kernel of religion.

With the God-idea thus defined as essential unity, the conflict between theism, pantheism, and atheism virtually ceases, and pletism and rationalism are reconciled; that is to say, there is found in this ultimate analysis a legitimate place for each. As feeling predominates pletism results; as intellect predominates rationalism results; and rationally, if the single unity of the total infinite is conceived of as one-centered, we have monotheism; if the centre is posited many-where or everywhere; for which there are rational considerations; we have polytheism and pantheism, and if the Infinite seems to exclude the idea of centre, we have atheism. These last three phases of conception are simply so many natural outcomes of the wavering intellectual effort to comprehend that which to the intellect is incomprehensible; for, to cognize (to think or know intellectually) is to posit limits; and at this point the intellect is endeavoring to limit away all limits. That which must have something to stand on is endeavoring to stand upon nothing, and in its failure to do so, it may fall upon either side,—except that in theism, the toppling intellect resorts to, and steadies itself by, feeling. In that case, the result is religious faith, which expresses itself in the *credo*, and is quasi-intellectual.

MORAL THOUGHTFULNESS.

A plain word in season is sometimes the wholesomest of tonics. Thus an obstructive conservative will often say, with a wonderful deal of complacency, that he does not pretend to be any wiser than his neighbors. But why will he not speak his real thought more correctly? Why will he not say that he prides himself on being as great a fool as his neighbors? That is what he really means, for folly is only relative, and in a community of quite wise people the wisest among us would be thought a fool. We ought to keep an ideal standard of conduct continually in view. This will spall our self-conceit. No matter. It is this realization of the absoluteness of duty which imparts to a man that moral thoughtfulness which bishop Butler and Dr. Arnold have so justly extolled. A little more of that quality, however, will have converted those two men to infidelity, for it was nothing but a defect thereof which led them to shirk or slur over arguments which they could not fairly meet. But then we must use a little tenderness for the Almighty's feelings, lest, by sad chance, "God's truth" should prove to be a lie.

When the seeker after wisdom, Faust-like, throws down his book and pen, and asks, What am I? what do I know? what is the good of it? that is the supreme tragedy. Yet we rise from the study with our souls exalted and our nerves fresh braced, not wishing to live in a fool's paradise,—no, not even though there be no other paradise attainable. Carlyle says of Hume that he did not so much morally live as critically examine. There are indeed two enthusiasms,—of life and of knowledge. And this is one guise of the everlasting contradiction and strict necessity of the totally impossible, which, like the beam of light through the kaleidoscope, assumes an hundred hues, yet is in all the same. This is the problem of problems unsolved. Every one has solved it, but only by a bastard compromise. It may seem more necessary to live than to know; but yet may we not say of the seeker after wisdom that he hath chosen that good part which should not be taken from him? "Strike, but teach me!" exclaimed the Athenian of old; and this is the only decent instance of humility. Besides, when all is said, what is the worth of life except to know and to contemplate? It is only this which exalts men above the brutes. It is culture which constitutes the whole of the difference between R. W. Emerson and psalm-singing Senkey. More science does not suffice for an enlarged knowledge. It is necessary to combine, like Emerson, the qualities of poet and philosopher. So long as men are what they are and live as they live, surely moral elevation is even more a desideratum than any species of material increase. Religion for-

bids grossness, but culture prevents it. Mark well the difference. The Christian devotes must forego his vicious pleasures, or else say his prayers and wash in the blood of the lamb. After all, we who love wisdom are like the pious, with a difference. We both have our enthusiasms. Thine is for what they please to call the truth; ours is for truth; and where truth leads, though into the jaws of death and hell, there will we follow it.

NEW YORK CITY. CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

SPIRITUALIST RESOLUTIONS.

CHICAGO, May 24, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I herewith enclose you a copy of some resolutions and "hints" which have been almost unanimously adopted by the Spiritualists of Chicago.

A goodly proportion of the prominent Spiritualists were either personally present or represented by others.

It is safe to say these resolutions and "hints" express the sentiments of the larger class of enlightened and progressive minds among our more advanced Spiritualists and thinkers. Agreeably with the resolutions I enclose you a copy for publication.

Fraternally yours, D. P. KAYNER, Sec'y.

Resolutions.

At a meeting of Spiritualists held in the parlors of the Third Unitarian Church, Wednesday evening, May 22, the following resolutions with regard to Messrs. Bastian and Taylor, and also with reference to mediums in general, were adopted with but a single dissenting vote:—

WHEREAS, A respectful request has been made to Bastian and Taylor by a large number of those interested in the investigation of spirit phenomena that, in view of the many recent exposures of professed mediums, and of the doubts and disbeliefs excited in the public mind as to the genuineness of any form materializations, and in justice to themselves as professional mediums, and to the cause they profess to regard, they would give a series of test sances, that their exhibitions might be observed under conditions affording accuracy of observation, and which reasonable request Messrs. Bastian and Taylor have refused to grant: and,

WHEREAS, Truth always should seek and submit to the most thorough and searching investigation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That in our opinion, their refusal to satisfy the just demands of the Spiritualists of Chicago, is presumptive evidence of practices upon their part, which will not bear investigation.

Resolved, That we will not give countenance, encouragement, or support to Bastian and Taylor, until they give evidence of the validity of their claim, as they have been requested to do; and we recommend to all Spiritualists throughout the United States that they discountenance them, lest the large and deserving class who follow the vocation of mediumship and the cause shall suffer from their final exposure which is sure to follow.

Resolved, That the daily papers of this city and the publications devoted to Spiritualism throughout the United States be requested to publish these resolutions.

A. B. TUTTLE, Chairman.
D. P. KAYNER, Sec'y.

Resolved, That we fully approve of the following suggestions, and recommend that all mediums who ask indorsement of Spiritualists be required to assent and conform thereto.

Physical Phenomena.

Hints to Investigators and Mediums.

1. A genuine, honest, and intelligent medium will, in his own interests, desire that the tests of the phenomena shall be so stringent as to preclude suspicion or doubt. He will wish to have such conditions as no mere impostor can submit to.

2. The minute a medium begins to show irritation at the reasonable and respectful exactions of investigators, he shows, unless he can give fair reasons to the contrary, that he is not cooperating with the truthseekers, and becomes justly an object of distrust. Suspect that medium.

3. Phenomena occurring in the dark should always be accepted with caution. But there are conditions which even darkness does not vitiate; for instance, where the medium comes unattended, and while his hands and feet are held, musical instruments are intelligently played on and independent hands are felt. But the hands and feet should be grasped before the room is darkened; and if released for a single moment, on any plea whatever, the light should be struck and the conditions again resumed in the light. Never trust to the sense of feeling alone in such cases.

4. To establish extraordinary facts, the proofs must be extraordinary, and this the medium, unless he is either a simpleton or an impostor, will admit and act up to.

5. A medium known to be unscrupulous, mendacious, or tricky, should be trusted only where the phenomenon is of such a character that it would be unreasonable even for the most unbending sceptic to deny its occurrence. For instance, if the investigator is allowed to take his own locked slate, untouched by the medium, and to hold it out in his presence, in broad daylight, and if under these conditions there is produced a written message, indicating clairvoyance, the test is irresistibly strong. This has been repeatedly done.

6. Our duty where mediums, however genuine, have been detected in fraud, is to put the public on its guard against them. The penalty which impostors must pay is to have it known generally that they have cheated once, and are likely to cheat again; and the safest way is to avoid such mediums altogether.

7. Conditions, however, ought to be so stringent that nothing is left to depend on the assumed good character or respectability of the medium. The phenomena are of a scientific character, and as such can-

not be established as authentic by mere opinion, but only by actual knowledge. Faith cannot become a factor in the problem.

8. Where a medium has been repeatedly tested by all the investigators present, of course there can be a relaxation of stringent conditions for familiar phenomena, but not for any new ones.

9. It is hard to state generally the absolute test conditions for all cases. We have given two examples for particular phenomena. Investigators must exercise their reason in fixing absolute conditions.

10. Where several investigators are present, it often happens that the responsibility of scrutinizing closely is so divided that no one person gives to the medium's movements all the attention required. Each thinks that his neighbor will make up for his own deficiencies, and that in the aggregate there will be certainty. This is a delusive supposition; and so the most successful results (as in the case of the slate-writing phenomenon) are often obtained where only one investigator is present with the medium.

11. Investigators who are jointly investigating should consult together in advance of the sitting, and each take his particular share in the general scrutiny. Until a medium is thoroughly tested, take nothing for granted. Trust not to smooth words or fair looks. Some of the deepest villains have the art of appearing frank, open-hearted, and guileless. Impose such conditions that it shall matter not to you whether the medium is honest or dishonest.

12. When you have had one successful sance, before publishing it to the world as conclusive, try another, and still another, varying the conditions if possible, but not making them less stringent.

13. Distrust the medium who would have you think that he must have his own particular room, because of its "magnetism," for his manifestations. The genuine medium will almost always let you choose your own place for a sitting, provided there are no obvious objections to it. Investigators should carry with them the most harmonious personal conditions possible, and approach the presence of the medium with a feeling of kindly interest. Absolute test conditions may be imposed upon mediums for physical manifestations without subjecting such mediums to physical injury, pain, or discomfort.

14. Cut out these hints, submit them to the medium, and learn from him or her what objections, if any, he or she may have to any part of them. Give not too much credence to excuses for modifying strict conditions.

THE END OF POLEMICS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

An eminent divine, writing some time since in the *Independent*, thus forecasts a good time coming "when the Church will be one organic, visible body, with an organization growing naturally out of the one distinctive doctrine of Christ crucified,—which involves on one side self-abandonment and Christ-accepted, and on the other God pardoning sin and bestowing his Holy Spirit. And here," he adds with charming naïveté, "will be the end of polemics!"
Saneta Simplicitas! H. B. B.

A RATIONAL CHURCH NEEDED.

As it is not the mission of the Liberal League to teach morality nor to cultivate the spiritual and æsthetic sentiments in human nature, I believe that a Liberal Church, based on rational and moral principles, would meet a very vital want of liberalism. Of course there are many liberals who would scent the priestly spirit in any attempt to organize a church inside of liberalism, and many of them could not be benefited by such an institution; but there is certainly material among freethinkers for an organization designed to promote a higher degree of moral culture than that contemplated by the Liberal League.

Impossible as it would be to organize any large class of liberals on any common basis of speculative belief, there is certainly sufficient unanimity of opinion among the independent thinkers of the country on the principles of morality and practical righteousness for some institution which would serve to strengthen and utilize the moral and spiritual energies of our natures more than can be done in our present disorganized state. One of the great defects of liberalism, as it appears to me, is its lack of moral earnestness. It needs consecration to the moral ideals of life,—a stronger devotion to the mission it has but as yet partially espoused. It is certainly time for liberalism to begin to manifest some positive, constructive faith. It has remained in a crude, puerile state of negation long enough. If it has anything more than disbelief to propagate, it is time the world knew it. It has intellect sufficient to accomplish much, if it had a corresponding amount of soul.

Because every liberal could not join such an organization as the one suggested here is no reason why the thousands who feel the need of more religious sympathy and association than they now enjoy should remain in their present unorganized state. Liberals have a broader mission than that of securing the Demands of Liberalism, just and necessary as these may be. I do not seek to disparage the cause and labors of the Liberal League; but I believe we need something more than this organization. We need an organization that will by the cooperation and sympathy it furnishes strengthen our moral impulses, and elevate our ideals of life and all of its sublime obligations. Call this religious culture or anything else you please, but give me the thing itself, and I am satisfied. Discard the names, religion, and Church, if they are odious; but let us have some organization that will cultivate those sentiments of human nature that have even been too beautiful and pure, too refined and aspiring, to be fitly designated by any symbol of thought known to the language of man.
H. CLAY NEVILLE.

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To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

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MISS DEVEREUX' BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES AND CHILDREN, at Irvington-on-Hudson, will re-open on Monday, Sept. 17, 1877. Miss Devereux refers, among others, to the following gentlemen: Rev. Orville Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.; Mr. A. C. Richards, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. H. R. Bishop, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. Wm. H. Orton, Pres. W. U. Telegraph Co., N.Y.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION REPORTS.
Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.
The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?
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ARTICLE V.—All charter-members and life-members of the National Liberal League, and all duly accredited delegates from local auxiliary Liberal Leagues organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, shall be entitled to seats and votes in the Annual Congress. Annual members of the National Liberal League shall be entitled to seats, but not to votes, in the Annual Congress.
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WHOLE NO. 442.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE. PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS B. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

THE LATE REVIVAL in Richmond, Virginia, seriously interfered with the attendance of the negro children at the public schools.

THE NEW HAVEN public schools, not including the High School, have 68.33 per cent. of foreign parentage among the children that attend them.

THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY recently voted \$50,000 to the Catholic Protectory, on the plea that it was not a "sectarian institution." This plea should be classed among the shams which are also shames.

THE *Army and Navy Journal* "advocates the abolition of chaplaincies. All religious services in the army should be voluntary, and it claims that missionaries are plenty enough to perform such services."

THE INDIANA State Executive Committee of the National Liberal League has been duly constituted as follows: Dr. N. D. Watkins, chairman, Xenia; Dr. J. R. Monroe, Seymour; Col. W. B. Erskine, Madison; Dr. Kersey Graves, Richmond; B. F. Hayden, Colfax.

ONE DOES NOT like to hear such things as these of a religious body which has itself suffered so much persecution: "It is rumored in London that an order has been issued to all the synagogues to publicly curse Hannah de Rothschild for having married the Christian, Lord Roseberry; and the faithful are also ordered to spit on the ground when her name is mentioned."

WE TAKE considerable interest in the conflict going on among the Free Masons over the question of religious liberty. The *Washington Post* of May 9 stated that—"The Grand Lodge of Masons of the District of Columbia held an administrative session last night and passed a resolution condemning the action of the Grand Lodge of France, which has eliminated a belief in God from its constitution, as a requisite for membership."

THE SCHOOL LAW of California, in violation of the Constitution of that State, practically excludes all "Mongolian children" from the benefits of the public schools. A petition of thirteen hundred Chinamen not long since requested the Legislature to allow them (equally with Africans and Indians) separate schools, urging that the Chinese of San Francisco, in the year 1876-7, contributed \$42,000 towards the school fund. What monstrous injustice to render such a petition necessary! And it was refused!

IT IS SAID: "The Roman Catholics are complaining, with self-evident justice on their side, that there is only one chaplain of their faith in the United States army, and not one in the navy, although about half of the soldiers and a large majority of the seamen are said to be Catholics by profession." We beg pardon for differing, but there is no "self-evident justice" but abolishing chaplains everywhere, and ceasing to tax the people for the support of priests, whether Catholic or Protestant. These are "hard times," and the people can afford to economize in chaplains.

A PITTSBURG "Communist" writes to the *Leader* that the workmen are preparing to rectify some of the "cursed evils" of the power of capital over them. They stand ready "to cope with capital through the clash of arms, the moment they are ready for the bloody work." In order that the editor may not be "floundering in the dark and theorizing any longer upon a practical question," he proclaims that the aims and purposes of the labor organizations are simply to gain justice and right,—“peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must.” “A short season longer we will appeal to the reason of those who seek to make us slaves; but if the inhuman desire of capitalists to add to their wealth by further oppression of labor

continue, then force shall assert what reason and persuasion failed to bring about. This is all there is of it, and this is all there will be of it.”

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S voluntary retirement from the Presidency of the Free Religious Association, after a faithful and honorable service of eleven years in that capacity, from the Association's birth, cannot be suffered to pass without at least a few words here in grateful recognition of what he has done for the society which he helped to found. As a presiding officer at its conventions, he has won the highest esteem and the affectionate regard of his fellow-workers, and commanded the admiration of his audiences by his ability, eloquence, and unfailing courtesy and fairness. We cannot say good-by to him as the President of the Association without a pang of deep regret, scarcely relieved by the knowledge that he will still continue to act in a new capacity with his old associates for the furtherance of the same principles which they have so long served shoulder to shoulder. It has been a most honorable record, now most honorably and unselfishly closed; and his comrades in the good cause of "Freedom and Fellowship in Religion" will always cherish its memory as one of the things of which they will always be proud. At the same time, we would extend a hand of most cordial greeting to the new President, Professor Adler, and assure him of our heartiest welcome to his new position. He has already won golden opinions on every hand by his character, ability, and quiet but deep enthusiasm for the cause of humanity. His election was made with the unanimous approval of the members, and we hope his term will be as long and distinguished as that of his predecessor. Better than that we do not know how to wish him.

IT WILL NOT be improper, we trust, to quote these two passages from private letters of Mr. O. B. Frothingham and Mr. C. D. B. Mills, considering the weight of their names and the need of forming an enlightened public opinion on the point touched upon. Mr. Frothingham writes: "I want you to feel that I am heartily with you in regard to the wisdom of *modifying*, and the unwisdom of *repealing*, the law against obscene literature. The distinction between free-thinking and free-living is one that by all means must be drawn, and this crisis offers precisely the opportunity needed for emphasis. I have indeed grave doubts as to the policy and principle of tampering with the mails. The evil, it seems to me, may be checked at the termini where it occurs. This, however, is a matter of detail, and does not affect the substantial merits of the case we make. Ingersoll is a tower of strength on your side." With regard to "tampering with the mails," the decision of the Supreme Court, quoted in our leader of this week, shows that this is not permitted by the law, even as it is. Mr. Mills writes: "I have wanted for some time to write to you and assure you that your word with regard to the obscene literature agitation is cordially and emphatically approved by friends that I know in this section. That word is brave, is many, is fitting, is eminently timely. There can be no effective stand made except on the ground you have assumed. Our greatest dangers in all this warfare, as I fear, come from the professed liberals themselves, from inside rather than outside the fort. We must make it to appear that we stand unequivocally for right, for justice, for public as also for private purity, for the vital interests in the moralities of human society, and never by possibility allow ourselves to be identified or implicated with those who seek to undermine and destroy, to debauch the public mind and morals, or we shall be overwhelmed as we deserve with utter defeat." These gentlemen belong to the class whom the *Truth Seeker* stigmatizes as "the miserable few who howl for culture and high-toned decency." Let the public judge who is in the right.

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Freedom in Religion.

An Exposition of the Principles of the Free Religious Association.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH, ST. LOUIS, MAY 19, 1878.

BY HON. NATHANIEL HOLMES.

The following able and interesting lecture was delivered at the Church of the Messiah, on Sunday last, by Hon. Nathaniel Holmes, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri:—

My Friends,—I have no commission to speak in the name of the Free Religious Association. I presume it was because my views were believed to be in accord with the objects and aims of the Association that I was selected for a Western Vice-President, and that I now have the honor of addressing you here. Indeed, it has been with much hesitation that I have ventured to appear in this place and to speak on a topic which would seem to belong rather to the higher spheres of the reverend clergy than to those lower realms of law and philosophy in which my studies have been groping. But,—freedom in religion! Perhaps a layman may be heard to speak his word for that. You have recently heard the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jew; next, surely, must come the Gentile. When such high and delicate matters can be discussed (as they have been) with ability and candor (if I may not say, also, with brotherly kindness), we may certainly congratulate ourselves that we live in an age of general knowledge and liberal culture, and under a constitution of government which secures to all alike freedom of thought and action, freedom of conscience and of speech, and freedom in religion.

The constitution of the Free Religious Association declares its object to be "to promote the practical interests of pure religion, to increase fellowship in the spirit, and to encourage the scientific study of man's religious nature and history."

These are high and important objects; you must not expect me to attempt an adequate exposition of them. I may say that, as it appears to me, this Association comprises among its members some of the best scholars, thinkers, writers, and divines of this country or of this century. Such names as Frothingham, Emerson, Wales, Potter, Abbot, Channing, Samuel Johnson, Bartol, and Alger are a guarantee in themselves of the learning, sincerity, earnestness, and wisdom of the undertaking. In the sphere of religious thought and of the culture of humanity I regard it as the foremost movement of our age. It may be said to represent the advance-guard of the entire intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress of our time. It signals the transition which is going on all around us and in spite of ourselves, silently, but inevitably, from old to new beliefs, from the dead things of the past to the living future. It rises above Bibles, creeds, liturgies, to those clear truths of Nature, of mind and soul, both divine and human, which are or may become credible to all men. It takes its stand upon that high platform of enlight- ened reason and faith in Nature and in man, as well as in God and religion, where the learned Hindu, the pious Mussulman, the Jew and the Christian, the Chinese Confucian and the thoughtful Buddhist, the theist and the atheist, may join hands in good-fellowship, and each convert the other to his own doctrine, in good humor, and without the least diffi- culty, because each and all can and must, at last, be- lieve in the same universal truth and reality. To the orthodox Brahmin, who takes the Vedas to be the actual word of God, and the only criterion of truth or religion; to the orthodox Jew, who does the same thing with the Old Testament; to the orthodox Christian, who does the like with both the Old and the New Testaments; to the orthodox Moslem, who does the same with the Koran; or if there be any other inveterately orthodox Scripture, free religion appeals alike to all, in a spirit of kindly sympathy, to reform a belief which, in either case, is so equally groundless and so unreasonable, and which consti- tutes, to this day, the chief barrier to friendly inter- communion among the most cultivated peoples of the earth; which hinders the diffusion of knowledge, obstructs the progress of science, hampers education, retards the advance of civilization and the arts among the nations, keeps whole races in the bonds of ignorance and superstition, begets violent hatreds and devastating wars, disturbs the harmony or limits the freedom of social intercourse everywhere, and renders anything like a truly religious brotherhood among men next to impossible, and which, finally, is mere matter of blind opinion, that now does, if it has not always done, more harm than good to man and the true culture of his religious nature. Free religion would persuade all to listen, and without jealousy or fear, to real truth, to the results of sci- ence, of speculative philosophy, of critical research. It is not alarmed, though evolution be carried from animals to men, and even to the sidereal spheres; though philosophy unfold its profoundest theory of the conscious One, or of the unanimous All; no, not even though all biblical cosmogonies, all miraculous revelations and inspirations, and all the infallibilities erected thereon, should be tumbled from their anti- quated foundations. In short, it is the outcome, cul- mination, and flowering of that Puritan liberty of conscience and belief which had its birth scarcely three centuries ago, when the people of Holland cut their dikes and allowed their cities to be swallowed up in the sea, rather than submit their souls to men- tal and spiritual slavery.

I believe it does not seek to abolish the sects or the churches, but rather to aid and advance them in that process of refinement and thought which, under

the light of increasing knowledge, is steadily going forward within every church and sect, in spite of itself, in spite of creeds, the beliefs of ancient sages, theoretic dogmas of school divinity, or the formalities of worship. It knows that in every and all progress there must be a van- and rear-guard, as well as a main body; all cannot march in front. But there is, always and everywhere, that lofty line on which

"honor travels in a strait so narrow,
Where one but goes abreast."

The world has many peoples. In every people there are many societies, churches, communities, and families. The leader must needs fly at the head of his harrow. There are many flocks and many leaders. The foremost, everywhere, must bear aloft the torch which is to light the way for all the rest. There can be no danger from too much light. It is only half-knowledge that makes men mad.

We have looked to Christianity for moral guidance and spiritual light. The friends of freedom in religion are by no means hostile to the truly moral and spiritual welfare of mankind, nor, indeed, to Christianity in so far as it ministers real instruction, true guidance, and beneficent relief to struggling humanity. Correctly understood, such seems to be their own great purpose. That main body of truth and wisdom, and the religious reverence, and the graceful solemnities which the Christian teaching has gathered up and absorbed into itself, and inculcated and molded into form, along the line of eighteen centuries of human progress, and which constitute its essence and real worth, they do not oppose. They would distinguish the virtual substance from unessential forms and pernicious adjuncts, truth from error, fact from myth, vital morality from blind opinion, an intelligible theory of Providence and fate, of man and Nature, from the narrow dogmas of an obsolete theology; and, finally, religion itself, pure, universal, free religion, from mere sectarian bigotry and superstition. They would unloose all spiritual bonds. They do not hesitate to recognize the patent and undeniable fact, that historical criticism and modern research have utterly undermined and overthrown, for every enlightened and free people, the miraculous authority of all biblical revelations, and rendered incredible henceforth the pretended infallibility of the Old Testament or the New, of the Christ, the Church, or the Pope. To the greater knowledge and deeper insight of the nineteenth century into the physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual laws of the universe, and into the history of religions and of the human race, it matters not at all, in their view, whether theoretic divinity came from the Jews, the Neoplatonists, or the Fathers of the Church; whether the doctrine of the Trinity, of the last judgment, of future rewards and punishments, and eternal damnation, came from Paul, or from the Egyptians, or from Plato (in whose writings something like it may be found); whether the idea of the Christ came from the Jewish expectation of a Messiah or from the man Jesus; whether the morality of Christ's teaching was original with himself or was derived from the Esenes, the Stoics, the Buddha, or the Chinese classics; nor, indeed, whether that high religious fervor which bore Jesus of Nazareth to the cross on Calvary were a natural-human or a supernatural-divine inspiration; for the same religious power of the soul may now, as ever before, inspire living men to good deeds and a better life, and even drive the best of men to the taking up of some cross, likewise, following him.

Ah! but, just here, what about the future life, the promise of immortality, if you sweep away the divine authority? Yes,—

"To die—to sleep;
To sleep! perchance to dream; ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause."

Christ, as it is said, spake as one having authority. What authority? Miracles, some say; but, alas! the miracles have all faded away into myths, and ceased to be credible to the enlightened mind. What could he know about it more than we do, more than Cicero, more than Plato, five hundred years before, or Proclus, five hundred years after? It was not a new idea with him. The belief was entertained by many pious philosophers before his birth. If we imagine the voice of God was more powerfully heard in his soul than in that of other men, yet it must have been heard in the same way. There never was any other possible way. So it was heard in Moses, in Socrates, in Plotinus, in Swedenborg; so in Bohmen, in Bunyan, in Wesley, in William Penn. More direct announcement, any special authority, is neither conceivable nor credible. The Scriptures itself gives no definite or intelligible information concerning it, but leaves it in all the vagueness of an oriental dream. How should God himself know, in advance, what he would finally do with any created soul? With the strongest Christian faith, it is but a hope, at best. It can be nothing more. Emerson (a Vice-President of the Free Religious Association) tells us the best proof of it he can find is the feeling and desire to have it; but he adds, what we most need is not eternal duration, but more depth. The young child said: "To live forever! how tired I should be!" Here is the thought of Homer's Achilles, in the youth of Greece: When Ulysses visited the prophet "Tiresias old" in Hades, he met there the shade of Achilles, and said to him: "In life the Argives honored thee like a god, and now again in thy greatness thou rulest the dead here where thou art." He straightway made answer: "Console me not in death, noble Ulysses! Would rather that I were a bondsman of the globe, the servant of a master, of some poor man, whose living were but scanty, than thus to be the king of all the nations of the dead."

There are, there always were, and perhaps always will be, many and different opinions about it. Plato

argued rather for the immortality of the universal soul than for the eternal continuance of finite souls, though, in parables, he hinted at that. The philosophy of Aristotle explicitly denied the immortality of the finite soul (Grote's *Aristot.*, II., 232). The Nirvana of the Buddhists was a resolution into the Eternal One and Same,—the being freed from all finite limitation, a deliverance from fate. This, of course, in a rigid, metaphysical analysis, would be equivalent to the annihilation of the finite existence as such; but in the practical belief of the Buddhists, it is most probably some vague, uncritical notion of immortality, or a termination of the transmigrations of the soul in an eternal state of pure contemplation. The philosophy of Hegel seems to maintain that the divine soul, creating Nature, returns through the order of natural limitation to freedom again as self-moving soul in man; and that human souls may fly off, as it were (like bubbles blown into the air), into the blank void, to lead an independent self-existence, dwelling in eternity. One of Jean Paul Richter's disputants believed in an eternal ascent, but in no created culmination. The Neoplatonists held that the creative intelligence let itself downward (as it were) through a sort of hierarchical ideal architectonic of lesser intelligences, superior and inferior gods, angels, spirits, souls of men and of animals, even into the fixed order of material Nature; that the body lives in the soul, not the soul in the body; and that human souls may rise again to any sphere of the heavenly intelligences. This is about the most rational theory for the immortality of the soul that I know of. Swedenborg seems to have been much taken with it, and tried hard to introduce it into the Scriptures, or, at least, to find it embodied in them. But here comes another, a new-fangled evolutionary theory, proceeding, not from above downwards, but from the dark abyss upwards—gravity, falling atoms, protoplasm, animalcules, insects, mollusks, vertebrates, monkeys, men,—and believes that the body is the soul, and that when it dies it descends again to carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, gravity. I do not find many friends of free religion advocating this theory. The scientific evolution, rightly understood, may be true enough as far as it goes, but it may turn out that the entire universe is an evolution of mind and soul into a creation.

No argument can reach beyond a certain degree of probability. Dr. Dewey's splendid discussion of the problem of human life and destiny, grounded in part on the continuous moral discipline of this earthly life—not to be so abruptly cut off—amounts to little more. The earnest Mr. Abbot of THE INDEX can give no reason for the hope he cherishes which he would himself think ought to satisfy another mind. Dr. Sonnenschein thinks the belief is "a necessary sequence of a belief in the eternal God of life"; but admits that the Jew does not adopt it "with an implicit faith," knowing he may be mistaken in details; but that the "mysteries are for the Eternal, our God."

On any theory, what matters it? Are not life, law, order, duty, the true, the good, the beautiful and divine, here, exactly as much as they possibly can be anywhere? These things have something perennial and eternal in their own nature. They are indeed relative also, and admit of all degrees of their contraries. They descend from the highest, or (if you please) they ascend by degrees ever upward from the darkest depths to the height of that absolute One that dwells in eternity, that is the highest good in the whole, and is the life and the light of all that lives and of all that is. No imaginable other world can exist, as good as this or better than this, where is not some like infinite order of differences and degrees, in the whole constitution of things, as we find here; where is not both providence and fate in all that is created. Who could bear an eternal monotony of one and the same? Is not one life enough? And should we not rather be thankful for that than waste our energies crying for more? Or, if there is to be another world for us, can any mortal expect to fare the worse for having made the best use of this one? I believe not. Says Goethe:—

"Life's no resting, but a doing;
Let thy life be deed on deed."

Says Shakspeare:—

"Joy's soul lies in the doing."

So far as I know, the friends of freedom in religion do not lose themselves in mystical contemplations of immaterial, empty spirit, or other visionary phantasms that can have no real existence, either in the universe or outside of it. They rather aspire to a knowledge of that essential and real spirit that works in and through the universe. Nor do they merely wander in metaphysical abstractions, but rather look to the practical uses of life, the real interests of men and women, the integrity of the family, the welfare of society, the good of the State. They regard rights and duties. They value industries, economy, and property as the source of all prosperity and the means of higher culture. They do not despise wealth, if it be honestly acquired and wisely employed. They seek to better the conditions of common life, and to raise the tone of higher life. They would lend a really helping hand to the poor, the oppressed, the down-trodden of all the earth. They would send forth at least an encouraging voice to all those peoples to whom liberty of conscience, thought, and speech is as yet unknown. They would advance the whole nature and state of man here upon the green earth; they do not waste themselves in idle dreams about that "undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns." They are willing to listen to all speculations, all voices and signs, theories and facts. They would suppress no truth. They are equally ready to scale the loftiest ideas of Plato, to sound the deepest categories of Aristotle or of Kant, to explore the Neoplatonic hypostases of the good, the intelli-

gence, the soul and Nature, the divine substance of Spinoza, or the thinking essence of Berkeley, the mounds of Leibnitz, the atoms of Dalton, the matter and force, and the new-fangled energy (kinetic and potential), and the interstellar ether of the latest scientists. They will even look into the Darwinian evolution, the physiological psychology of Lewes, the the Spencerian sociology, and all the other ologies and isms, even to atheism. I presume they would not shut their ears even to Matthew Arnold's obtuse metaphysic of being, nor utterly scorn his rare and thin definition of God as the sum total that makes for righteousness. Mill's heavy logic of materialism might prove indigestible to them; but even the atheists, who believe that matter always was and ever will be, that there is no providence but necessity and pessimism, and that gravity is the first and last power and cause in the universe, are not excluded from humane consideration; for even in them there is some underlying religion of law, order, and duty, truth and right, honesty and honor, wisdom and humanity, founded, at least, in the eternal nature, necessity, and fitness of things, which ever remain what they are, by whatever names called, however vaguely conceived, or madly unheeded. For free religion would leave all perfectly free to pursue "the order, operation, and mind of Nature [as Lord Bacon said], from the meanest mechanical practice up to the highest immortality, if that be possible."

But there are some things, I think, which even free religion cannot wisely undertake to do, namely, in short, to unmake the order and constitution of things which God and Nature have ordained and established, at least for the present geological period and for this epoch in the history of human development. It cannot abolish the distinctions of race, color, age, or sex. It cannot, at least not in a hurry, raise semi-civilized to civilized nations, much less barbarous and savage peoples. The blessings of free government, of full liberty, are not yet possible for them. We hear much about the animal being the man in the making. There is a glimmer of sentimentality in it, and perhaps some science, but very little practical sense. Much is said of the rights and grievances of women. There may be some little sense here, but I fear not very much. Rights and duties are correlative, and both together are relative to their place in the order and constitution of things. Nature must have some on the middle platform to lift the child up to the man. There must be a head of the family, as well as a head of the State. Civil rights are such as the civil laws create and define, and are not necessarily natural rights at all. They are indeed founded in Nature, but also in politic wisdom in reference to individual, social, and public good. There cannot be two masters at once, though there may be wisdom in counsel; a house divided against itself must fall. Said a great Lord Chancellor, The Duke is the strength, the Duchess the ornament, of the house. With us the man at twenty-one, now (or shortly to become) the head of a family, is the constituent element in the political government, and represents the family therein. This is the fundamental idea and principle. The rule, not the exception, should prevail.

The Constitution of the United States prohibits Congress from making any law for "an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." "The object was," says Mr. Justice Story, "to cut off forever any pretence of any alliance between Church and State in the national government." But this prohibition does not extend to the several States. "The rights of conscience," he observes, "are indeed beyond the reach of any human power." Commenting on the Constitution, forty-five years ago, he added these remarkable words: "It yet remains a problem to be solved in human affairs whether any free government can be permanent where the public worship of God and the subject of religion constitute no part of the policy or duty of the State in any assignable shape. The future experience of Christendom, and chiefly of the American States, must settle this problem, as yet new in the history of the world."

The celebrated William von Humboldt lays down the principle "that all which concerns religion lies beyond the sphere of the State's activity," and should be "left to the free judgment of the communities, without any special supervision on the part of the State."

This is the sound doctrine; it is the true result of any proper metaphysic of ethics and law. Religion, morality, science, as such, do not come within the proper function of civil government; they belong to the vast realm of philosophy in general. Matters so comprehensive and deep cannot be embraced, or but partially, within the domain of the positive law. They are a part of that liberty which the government itself is ordained to establish and secure. It is only by securing this liberty that a free government makes religion, morality, science, philosophy, learning, and wisdom possible for a free people. A people that is not capable of this liberty is not capable of free government at all.

The youthful nations of antiquity had not realized the distinction between civil law and the moral and divine law. With the Hindu, the Egyptian, the Hebrew, these matters were all blended into one hierarchical system. Neither Greece nor Rome had reached this important distinction. The constitution of Solon made a beginning toward it; the Roman jurisprudence made some advance; but still the Pontifex Maximus was a part of the law. Christianity was merely substituted in place of the old religion, and was mixed up with it in the constitution of the Roman State. The laws of Manu, the Hebrew Bible, the codes of Justinian, alike begin with a fantastic and visionary theory of the creation of the world, and they all alike incorporated existing religions and superstitions into the body of the law. Hardly any State in Europe, unless it be Switzerland,

has got clear of this confusion, down to this day. It was reserved to the glory and honor of the Constitution of the United States, after many ages of painful experience, to mark this grand distinction, and for the first time in the history of nations to establish complete civil liberty, which means nothing less than freedom of thought and action, of conscience and of speech, of opinion and worship, of life, person, property, and the pursuit of happiness,—liberty protected by law, not license and impunity.

This old mistake, of confounding law and religion, still survives, not only in foreign nations, but among some of us; for even here, in free America, there are some who would put God, even Christ (if not the Pope), into the Constitution. They do not themselves know what they mean by it. You might as well put the wide universe into a nutshell! Free religion would by all means keep out of the Constitution and laws; it holds itself to be a part of that liberty which the government was instituted to guard and protect, not to control and suppress. It would preserve the Constitution upon its purely secular basis. It would establish no religion; it would secure equal liberty to all religions. It insists that the national government shall act in conformity with its principle and theory, and expend no public money for religious purposes.

In colonial and puritan times, by a sort of atavism in the science of government, there was some reversion towards the ancient hierarchical politics. This spurious political religion was not entirely weeded out of the State Constitutions. Traces of it still remain in the laws of some States, more especially in the shape of Sunday laws for enforcing a religious Sabbath, and against what is called blasphemy, laws for reading the Bible in the common schools, and for exemption of church property from taxation; as if it were still necessary that religion should be enforced by law.

Now Sunday has come to be, practically, and for the most part legally, what it should be,—a civil institution, founded in the needs of human nature and the good of society and the State, in which all are alike concerned; a secular day of rest and recreation, as well as for religious worship for such as choose to use their liberty in that way; and therein the rights and liberties of all should be equally protected by law from invasion or disturbance. Such was the Sunday of the common law, from midnight to midnight. The Lord's Day, as one of the *dicta fasti*, having its origin in the Christian Church, was only the solar day, from morning light to sunset; and even that, says Lord Coke, was upheld by the courts on civil reasons, as good for rest and relaxation, as well as for divine service. Such is the Sunday of this State. Such, I imagine, would be the Sunday of free religion everywhere.

In some States, however, statutes, partaking of the spirit of the age in which they were made, have been chiefly instrumental in introducing the tenets and faiths of Christian belief into the law. The dicta of judges have even said that Christianity was a part of the common law; meaning, probably (if they understood themselves), in the same sense that reason, justice, right, honesty, are a part of the common law. If it were ever true in any sectarian or superstitious sense, it was that part of both the law and the Christianity which has been for some centuries, and is now, rapidly becoming obsolete. Free religion would have such laws repealed.

Another trouble is the Bible in the common schools. We have, happily, got rid of that in Missouri, I believe; but some older States are still lagging behind. Now, the common schools are a civil institution, created by law and supported by general taxation; it is an essential part of republican government. Its object is to secure to all children of this republic the means of that knowledge, intelligence, and virtue without which no free republic can stand. This is the ground and reason of its being made a part of the law of the land. No friend of freedom can or will dispute it; no enemy, no foreign power, will be heard to deny it. For two centuries it has been growing into the statute and common law of these States, and into the hearts of the people. The Bible has crept into the common schools much in the same way that the "Lord's Day" got into the Sunday laws, as it were adventitiously. It is not wanted there as a school-book, but for sectarian religious purposes only.

With some, the real motive may be to impress the rising generation with that strong delusion, that the Bible is the literal word of God, or with that other delusion, that the only religion in the world is the Catholic religion. These vague notions are the chief source of all the pernicious orthodoxes, and of all the disputes about religion in the schools. These mischievous ends are contradictory to the ground and principle of the system. They are inconsistent with the common liberty. They are contrary to the only ground and principle on which taxation for educational purposes can stand and be justified. Leave it out, and all just ground of complaint would be gone. I hear of no complaint in this State on that score. Free religion would accomplish the same result everywhere.

Exemption of church property from taxation is another grievance with some. The only ground I see on which such exemption can plausibly be justified is, that such encouragement of moral and religious culture in churches, synagogues, mosques, temples, or whatever else may fall within the exemption, may rest, like the common school system, on the principle and reason that the moral and religious instruction of the people is necessary for the stability of free republican institutions. All these matters belong to the municipal jurisdiction of the several States in their sovereign capacity; the national government has nothing at all to do with it. Should the people see fit to amend the Federal Constitution, and lay a

prohibition on the States, in this particular, they have the power to do so; as to the wisdom of such a measure, I have nothing now to say. I don't know that the Free Religious Association has expressed itself on this matter. If the churches are on the whole an effective means of intellectual and moral, as well as spiritual, culture, and perform an educational function that is serviceable, not to say indispensable, for the State, it matters but little, in reference to this question, if religion, or even if some erroneous or superstitious doctrines, be also taught therein; for I am of the old Scotchman's opinion, that if there must be churches we must even take such as there be, until we can have better. It is enough that the State has nothing to do with man's relation to his Maker, and the Church nothing to do with the citizen's relations to the State. And the intermeddling of any church as such, with matters of law and government, may justly be regarded as a sheer usurpation of both function and authority.

At last the question must come home to every person, What is your theory of this universe, and of life and destiny in it? Every one must and will have his own theory, whether he knows it or not, and will, in the main, govern his life accordingly. It may be any phase of the biblical theory; a theistical or an atheistical theory; a sensational or an idealistic theory; a materialistic, unconscious, machine theory, or a conscious, spiritualistic, and more or less comprehensive philosophical theory; or it may be merely a bread-and-butter or a whiskey-drinking theory. Nevertheless, in the case of all, the dread responsibility continues. The solution of the great problems of life is difficult enough for any and all. It is but natural that man should look in various ways for a guiding light. Some take the Old Testament, some the New, some the Koran, many the other sacred books of the world; some look to science or philosophy, and religion itself; some see the world in the aspect of a knowing providence, some in the aspect of an unknowing pessimism; and some give up the problem in despair, or, like the animals, never think of it at all. No wonder, then, some infallible authority should be grasped at. Is the infallibility of the Pope, or the Church, any more or less absurd than the infallibility of the Bible? of Jesus than of Plato? Reason, historical criticism, ecclesiastical history, science, philosophy, all oblige us to answer, Not one whit. All these books and teachers contain many good things and some bad, much truth and much error, and some little revelation to man. But the greater revelation ever is, and must be, through the entire volume of creation, the book of God's works, that lies ever open before us,—the one most infallible authority of all, perhaps, if only it could be read and interpreted aright. Who shall undertake to read it all, or to interpret, finally, for any but himself? Those ancient worthies had read but a small part of it; the popes seem not to have read much more of it. If Plato or Aristotle, Kant or Hegel, Goethe, Carlyle, or Emerson, Büchner, Darwin, or Tyndall have read a great deal more of it, still much remains to be read and understood before we can hope for a complete revelation and an infallible guide. How else was it ever possible for a genuine revelation of the whole truth, of Nature, or of the divine providence in the world, to be made to man? Compared with our present lights, all the knowledge those venerable sages of the ancient days possessed was as a rush-light to the full blaze of the sun. To set up the Bible and what they said and believed two thousand or three thousand years ago, against our clearer science and vastly greater knowledge and wisdom, can be no less absurd than the Pope's infallible fulminations against all modern progress and the free culture of humanity, or than a Papal Bull against the comet,—a degree of presumption, bordering on the ludicrous, that has but one parallel and but one other example that I can name on the face of the earth, and that is in the perpetual succession and supreme spiritual and political dominion of the Grand Lama of Tibet.

It is inevitable that as scientific knowledge and more critical thought reach the general and common mind, these old beliefs, authorities, and reverences are completely upset. Many jump to the conclusion that there is, then, no real basis for religion or morality, and they plunge off into sheer materialism, or into utter hopelessness, perhaps into wild license or into blank despair. No faiths remain; all rule, all guidance, all difference between vice and virtue seem to be gone. Now (as I believe), it is the main idea and central purpose of this whole liberal movement to teach some new and living truth that may take the place of the superannuated incredibilities and out-dying falsehoods; something that may be credible and good for all persons:—

"What may be sworn by, both divine and human,
Seal what I end withal."

If geology demonstrates that the book of Genesis does not truly describe the manner or order in which the world was created, does it, therefore, follow that it was not created at all? By no means. In what way, then, was it created? If plants, animals, and men were not created in the scriptural manner, does it follow that they merely grew and were not created at all? I think not. If evolution were in some part the manner of it, then, what was the whole manner, cause, and law of it? If a change of specific form comes about under the rule of the survival of the fittest and other conditions, still, what makes it come about in that way, or under any conditions whatever, and what makes the conditions and the way? If the first animal life appeared in protoplasm, then whence came the protoplasm and the life? If a piece of living protoplasm were segregated into an absolute void by itself, would it continue to live of its own mere motion? Has it a potency of life in itself alone? Prof. Tyndall, I presume, does not believe that. Certainly I shall not believe it until ex-

periment has demonstrated the fact. If the fly-catching leaf is merely physiological and mechanical in its mode of operation, and really has no soul of its own, though it can digest flies and may exhibit something analogous to sleep or to a habit of memory, is that all? What carries on the whole plant and the flies? Mr. Darwin has not had time to inquire; has not yet found out, and, perhaps, does not know. Does it follow, therefore, that nobody does or can know? I think not. Prof. Tyndall traces a snow-flake from the Alps back through the clouds to the ocean, and sees no God, anthropomorphic or other, no mind, no thought, in it anywhere. What sort of God, or mind, he was looking for he does not tell us; perhaps he did not know. Does it follow, therefore, that there was none at all? What power was it that was carrying on the ocean, the cloud, the snow-flake, the Alps, and Dr. Tyndall himself? and under what laws and in what manner? The spectroscopists tell us of that enormous ball of fire, the sun, and of its prodigious expenditure of heat. Whence comes the heat? Heat is motion of matter, it is said. Then, whence both matter and motion? They have not time to inquire; it belongs to the unknowable, perhaps. Mr. Croil, however, thinks he knows, and tells us that two such solid bodies moving in space at a planetary velocity, and coming into collision, would be instantly converted into one fiery sun. Very like; but whence the two bodies and their velocities? He does not stop to tell us. Matter and gravity, perhaps; but whence and what are they? Some physicists resolve all matter into molecules, and guess that these are composed of atoms. But whence the atoms they do not pretend to know, or even guess, and remit them, perhaps, to the unknowable. Others, indeed, conceive the atoms (metaphysically, for the senses cannot verify the fact) as little whirling eddies in the interstellar ether, deriving their forms from their motions, like Saturn's rings, and rather think the ether itself comes from some still more ethereal essence and power. Who knows to the contrary? Prof. Harkness tells us that the star Groombridge is moving directly across our visible world of stars into space beyond at such an enormous velocity that not all the attraction of all the stars can avail to change its course; and he supposes (on the Newtonian theory) that it will keep straight on forever. But what if it should arrive at the outermost limit of the ether out of the whirling motions of which its atoms and itself are made up in the ether itself? Then, I suppose, all its motions would suddenly cease, and the star would vanish, whist! like a lost wave of light, into the absolute infinity of nothingness beyond,—and there an end forever of the star, the ether, and all the ether that was before, still remaining!

According to the Neoplatonists (as I would now interpret them in brief), a total one real essence, in a state of eternal activity, or (what is the same thing) moving itself (other than which is only the boundless nothing of oblivion), is a necessary truth and fact, and to be accepted as a first and last fact; and, being active under principles and laws (also necessary truths) constitutive of universal intelligence, is soul-creating Nature, wielding the laws of intelligence into a process of thought and creation, in a certain free, artistic manner, as "a proceeding intellect," eternally creating and destroying particular things, as such (after the manner of evolution and extinction, if you like); itself, however, dwelling in eternity, without beginning, end, or middle, inexhaustible, "the ineffable fountain" (as Plotinus called it); yet the whole given creation, from top to bottom, from beginning to end, from the highest freedom to the last degree of fixity, even to the final terminus of the process, necessarily bound in the links and degrees of that adamant chain of necessity and law by means of which the order of Nature is established and the work of creation carried on; and which is thus both providence and fate in all that is created. With them it was a knowing process, for knowing was nothing else but that, divine or human. It was a conscious process, for consciousness was nothing else but the fact of knowing, divine or human. It was a process of will, for will was nothing else but that, in God, or in us; but with the important distinction, that we only share and partake of the essential life and intelligence partially, being bounded off into the particular souls and bodies that we fare; as when a net is let down into the sea the water is in the net and the net is in the water partially, not wholly—the whole net, indeed, is in the sea, but not in all the sea,—so man is in the creation, and the creation is in man, not wholly, but partially only. We are still capable, perhaps, of passing over by the bridge of that very intelligence (which, though in us but partially, is, nevertheless, in itself, its laws, and principles, always and eternally one and the same) to a knowledge of the universality and reality of essential life and intelligence; and by means of a thorough scientific experience of all Nature (if science should ever get so far) we may have the evidence of all external phenomena in confirmation of our internal knowledge, and thus, in thought, at least, pass from the natural to the supernatural side. At least, to some such conclusion as this, as it appears to me at present, all our science and philosophy are now tending, and have been tending, from Parmenides or Aristotle to the present hour.

These necessary truths, laws, principles, facts (whichever you please to call them), seem to underlie all our sciences, mathematics, and theories of matter and mind. There would seem to be no other ground of knowledge, of philosophy, science, religion, or experience either. To deny these truths is to abnegate all rationality, all possibility of knowledge, truth, or wisdom, and to reduce ourselves to the level of soulless material things. Even these are thoroughly bound up in the general laws of Nature, and so, in some small measure and degree, participate in the

universal reason. It is only on the higher plane of organization that Nature rises again to the height of self-moving soul in animals and men, who share the essential life and intelligence in a larger measure and a higher degree—in nearly all degrees from instinct to the largest minds,—but still partially only, not wholly.

Said Aristotle: "The action of intelligence is life. God is this action; and this action hinges on itself, and his life is perfect and eternal. So that we say, God is living soul, perfect and eternal. Life and duration, eternal and continuous, belong to God, and it is God."

What the poet Æschylus said is not much different:—

"Zeus is the air, Zeus earth, and Zeus wide heaven; yea, Zeus is all things, and the power above them."

Pantheism! cry some. Well,—if any prefer to call it by that name. But what if it is pantheism? If material essence and real spirit are, at last, one and the same, and are the power that creates and governs the world—are even "great creating Nature" (as Shakespeare called it),—what matters it, what difference does it make? except that all visionary and uncritical notions about immaterial, unessential, empty spirit must be remitted to that limbo of oblivion where all fantastic dreams and illusions have to go.

And the dreadful pessimism of evil and fate! Is there, then, no escape from that? Only, it would seem, by rising to that height and power of mind and soul that may dominate, endure, and control it. We must mount the laws of Nature, of reason, of prudence and virtue, of moral justice and right, with such religious faith as we can have, and ride them through this world with what safety we may. Said the poet Fletcher:—

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

Fixity is fatal only while it is fixed. No fixity of things in Nature is unalterable; no equilibrium of stationary balance in bodies remains forever permanent. Everything is in movement, however slow or rapid. The universe is alive with movement. It appears to be, in fact (as Plato said), motion and standing all in one, or (as Aristotle said) motion in the immovable. Nobody or thing could possibly exist and be what it is without having precisely the limitation in time and space which it has, giving its form and place. This is a part of that fundamental necessity and truth that underlies and pervades the universe of mind and matter. In this sphere of temporary fixity and ever-changing permanency, in this moving world of phenomena and facts, the mere naturalist finds the field of his labors and the materialist the scope of his philosophy. He is dealing with material facts and natural laws only. He reports what he can discover and know; he is merely silent about what he has not discovered. His strict scientific methods are good enough for his purposes, nay, doubtless, the best; but he who would successfully investigate and interpret all Nature, and rise to any rational comprehension of all her facts, laws, and ways, even to the universal essence and intelligence itself, creating Nature, must carry the torch of metaphysics in his hand to illuminate his mind.

In this nethermost region of the adamantine chain is room enough for the properties of bodies; for the play of blind mechanical forces; for all sequence of secondary instrumentation; for what is chance, accident, and fate for us; for evolution and extinction; for the convertibility of forces and the conservation of energy; for atoms, gravity, momentum, heat, light, elasticity, electricity, etheriality—even to the eternal *Vis Viva*, or "the bright effluence of bright essence increase,"—and room enough, certainly, for the whole dismal science of blind mechanism, unconscious pessimism, physiological brain theories of mind, utility theories of morals, greatest-happiness theories of life, and Spencerian sociology,—theories useful enough in their place and way, and better, certainly, than visionary biblical dreams or Papal infallibilities, but not rising to the height of any comprehensive and satisfactory theory of either God, Man, or Nature.

Even in the fixed order of Nature, where (according to physical theories) the atoms are so infinitesimally small and far apart, and are in themselves, perhaps, but mere motions of an invisible, insensible ether, who can say that the free, conscious power and providence are entirely excluded from direct action on any part of Nature, or to what extent, law and necessity notwithstanding, it may control or influence the entire order of things and events? It seems absurd to imagine providence in a stone; true, science may make even that rationally conceivable, if only it be conceived in the right way.

We hear a great deal about the unknowable. There are even some philosophies of the unknowable, and perhaps some unknowable philosophies. Men are apt to think that what they do not know nobody else knows; that what they cannot discover is undecipherable; that what is unknown to them is unknown to all. Materialistic sciences, positive philosophies, and some theories deal largely in the unknowable. What their narrower methods cannot discover, they are prone (rather dogmatically) to pronounce not only unknown but unknowable. Improve the methods, then. For my part, I do not admit that anything that really is is unknowable. Certainly, if the universe itself be a knowing process, then nothing contained in it can be unknowable; and there can be nothing outside of it but the mere *is* (so to speak) of that boundless shadow and absolute void of oblivion into which all forgotten things go; and even that is knowable for what it is; *viz.*, nothing. He who knows all that is surely knows enough; what need to know more? If mortal man

cannot rise to a perfect knowledge of all that is, even to that height where being and knowing is all one, does it, therefore, follow that the all, even God, is unknowable? I think not. Who shall set bounds to the knowable, now or hereafter?—*Globe Democrat.*

PRACTICAL DREAMING.

If the Society for Ethical Culture, founded by Prof. Felix Adler, has had no other result, it has certainly demonstrated that an association may be held together for purely humanitarian effort, and that men may make a religion of moral progress, altogether independent of creeds and dogmas,—indeed, independent of theological speculation. The membership of the society has long since ceased to be exclusively Jewish, although in its origin it was rather representative of a liberal Jewish movement, and now numbers from seven to eight hundred persons of all races and nationalities, the Hebrew possibly dominating a little in point of numerical superiority. Indeed, Dr. Adler, like most of the original members of the association, formerly belonged to a wing of Jewish thinkers designating themselves as the Reformed Judaists; a denomination that had its origin in Germany, and may be considered as the Hebrew correlative of the great German rationalizing movement, of which the late D. F. Strauss was one of the ablest representatives. Moses Mendelssohn, a German Jew of considerable literary celebrity, was the founder of the movement, and is regarded by our ethical-cultists, if such a term be admissible, as a kind of Moses of the nineteenth century. The Jews, according to Adler's view of the case, have ceased to be a national unit, and will hereafter exist as a confederation of religious societies. Of course, the real test of permanence in such a movement must be its value in the resolution of the moral and social problems of human life in the nineteenth century; a century that one sometimes suspects of making problems for no other purpose than to resolve them, as some reasoners raise objections to their own views just to show their cleverness in replying to imaginary disputants. Now, as measured by the preceding standard of permanence, what has the Society for Ethical Culture accomplished? It has established a free kindergarten school at the National Assembly Rooms in West Forty-fourth Street, for the benefit of the poor, which has now about seventy pupils, between three and six years of age; it has founded a lyceum for workmen, which has now about eighty members, and holds fortnightly meetings in the hall of the Bond Street Savings Bank; it has placed a well selected library of six hundred volumes at the disposal of workmen who may wish to inform themselves upon the great issues now agitating the world. It proposes by-and-by to establish an institute for the workmen, differing from the Cooper Union in being under the control and administration of the class it is intended to benefit. But this last project is still in the dream-land of the by-and-by,—an unfulfilled fragment of Prof. Adler's active brain; and what wondrous cities and institutions, what unfulfilled designs, what Eden pictures of the ideal life, the man of reveries carries within his brain no anatomist can find out; though some clever physiologist has aptly observed of Mr. Longfellow that every cell in his brain is a potential germ that may at any moment bud and blossom into a poem. Again, a kindergarten, a lyceum, and a library are things that can be accomplished without societies for ethical culture,—by orthodox philanthropy, for instance. Evidently, some mission more deeply penetrative than this must be predicated of a movement claiming to expunge supernatural religion from the needs of man, and to substitute a moral training for it. The deepest problems of human life are not met by a method that takes no cognizance of the realities that lie folded within the term humanity, as though man were pursued by a psychic spectre of himself, by his own image reflected in the overlying. From a purely negative point of view, the poet is correct when he says or sings:—

"Ah, life, unto myself I say,
A dream by night, a dream by day,
And just as actual doth seem
The sleeping as the waking dream."

In other terms, no negative method can discriminate between the sleeping and the waking dream of this enigma named life, and that only can take deep hold on the imagination which establishes some theorem of such discrimination. Mr. Herbert Spencer has struck the deepest note of human existence here; the unknowable may be inconceivable, but it is, nevertheless, true and real; not only that, but a potential element in life. It is at this juncture that positivism becomes negativism, and that all scientific theories of psychology utterly break down. Can Prof. Adler give his followers the interpretation to this dream?—*N. Y. Library Table.*

MRS. THOMPSON.

Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of New York, is a lady of fortune, and is a "cheerful giver." She is distinguished for sowing by the side of all waters. Her charities have been scattered broadcast, from the "Free College for Women" in Boston, endowed by her, to Longmont, a little town she founded at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Some seven years since, Mrs. Thompson caused a public hall to be erected at Longmont, the first building put up in that region. One wanted it for a hotel, others for a school-house, and many of the people thought it must be used for a church. Mrs. Thompson decided that it must be used for a house of work, until they were able to build a house for such purpose. She put up a fine bell, and raised the American flag. There were not ten families within twenty-five miles; yet they all came to the dedication, when one part of the building was set apart for washing clothes and bath-rooms, Mrs. Thompson insisting that cleanliness was

next to godliness. The main part of the edifice was to be used for a school-house, town-hall, church, or any other good or educational purpose. She enjoined upon the settlers to abstain from profane swearing, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, gambling, scandal, or gossip in the premises.

Four years after, she returned to find a pleasant, flourishing town with about one thousand inhabitants, two school-houses, a hotel, bank, one newspaper, a number of shops of various kinds, but not a single place where liquor was sold within twenty miles. The settlers all respected her wishes, as she had done so much for them, and became a law unto themselves. Mrs. Thompson has the highest regard for the faith of others, and is even charitable toward those who have no charity. The great desire of her heart at the present is, that the rising generation shall be taught to become useful, practical citizens. Every person, male and female, she insists should be taught, at the public expense, some useful trade or occupation. Mrs. Thompson has given for charitable purposes some \$500,000 within the last ten years, and devotes annually all her large income to various charitable purposes. She is willing to assist anywhere in establishing institutes whose object shall be to teach youth to work, or how to help themselves. She says she always has the best of help, as she always helps herself.—*Boston Advertiser.*

DEBASEMENT OF COIN IN ENGLAND.—The coinage of England, although it has suffered less than that of any of the older countries, has still undergone great debasement, which has begotten misery and trouble enough to make her experience of great value. At the time of the Norman Conquest the silver or money pound weighed twelve ounces, the system of coinage being the same as that of Charlemagne, and it was continued untouched until the year 1300, when the standard was tampered with by Edward I. By increasing the number of shillings made from a pound, he set a pernicious example which was followed only too well, so that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth fifty-eight shillings instead of twenty shillings were coined out of the pound weight of silver. Up to the reign of Henry VIII., although the weight was decreased, the sterling fineness of coins was not debased; but that eminent head of the Church, after dissipating the immense wealth which he received from his father, resorted to the most disgraceful means to supply his riot and extravagance. He so adulterated and degraded the silver coinage that the pound sterling contained but four ounces of silver, £2 8s. of it being equivalent to the pound sterling of five hundred years before. Under the reigns of his children—Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth—the fineness of the coin was gradually restored, and its degradation arrested, so that it was the boast of Elizabeth that she "had conquered now that monster which so long and devoured her people." The coinage of England has had nothing further to endure at the hands of her princes.—*E. R. Leland, in Popular Science Monthly for March.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

IN THE CRUCIBLE.

SUGGESTED BY THE TRANSIT OF MERCURY.

O thou that sittest near the throne,
How is thy glory vanished now!
The haughty radiance that shone
Upon thy far imperial brow!

Is this the star whose presence bright,
Too royal for familiar gaze,
Masked its proud smile in morning light,
Or gleamed through veil of sunset haze?

Here art thou captive, doomed to tread
You fatal furnace all aglow!
Mortal may haste (thy scorn is fled)
To view thee where thou liest low.

Religion hath her system vast
Of spheres revolving, great and small;
And each would be a sun, and cast
Its primal lustre over all.

Yet should our eyes presume to scan—
Presume to probe the ray it bears,—
'Neath sheen of truth 'twould hide from man
The false and borrowed light it wears.

But sometimes one is snared within
The disc of science self-blinded;
And sorely tested it hath been,—
Perchance its brilliancy consumed.

Flung in that crucible of light,
Shall faith of ours the same endure,
Or lie, like thee, a spot of night
Upon that breast of glory pure?

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 8.

Henrietta Hyde, \$3.20; W. C. Head, 10 cents; L. P. Habb, \$1.00; Benj. Cobb, Jr., \$4.40; J. C. Merrill, \$3.20; J. H. W. Tooby, 25 cents; F. S. Cabot, \$3.20; Chas. Nichols, \$1.00; Rev. F. Hinckley, \$1.00; F. Frndley, \$1.25; J. T. Merrey, \$5.00; W. A. Abbot, \$3.00; J. W. Roberts, \$3.00; Lyman Reed, 50 cents; J. E. Oliver, \$10.00; Joseph Knight, \$3.20; John Stinson, \$3.20; G. H. Foster, 84 cents; B. D. Bardwell, \$1.20; Jas. N. Clark, \$5.00; S. R. Wells & Co., \$5.25; E. C. Thaxter, \$1.00; Jno. J. Kerr, 80 cents; R. G. Fell, \$5.00.

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

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 13, 1878.

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

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 8, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. O. CROCKETT, GEORGE JACOB
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MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSET, Editorial Contributors.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL Meeting of The Index Association was held at Toledo, Ohio, June 1. The old Board of Directors was reelected for the ensuing year, as follows: W. J. Potter, A. E. Macomber, E. W. Meddaugh, G. W. Park, H. K. Oliver, Jr., C. E. Pratt, J. A. J. Wilcox, E. Wright, and F. E. Abbot.

MR. H. L. GREEN sends this note of the late meeting of the Friends of Progress at Waterloo, N.Y.: "This, the thirtieth annual meeting, was attended by some two thousand persons, and was addressed by Prof. Oliver, of Cornell University, C. D. B. Mills, Mrs. Joslyn Gage, Mrs. Clara Neymann, Mrs. Somerby, T. C. Leland, W. S. Bell, Charles Ellis, H. L. Green, and others. The subjects discussed were 'The Relation of Science to Religion,' 'Evolution,' 'Capital and Labor,' 'The Liberal League Movement,' 'The Currency Question,' 'The Rights of Woman,' and 'Church and State.' Nearly all the speakers urged the organization of Local Liberal Leagues. Prof. Oliver's very able address on the 'Relation of Science to Religion,' I am pleased to learn, is to appear in THE INDEX."

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL Meeting of the Free Religious Association was held in this city, on May 30 and 31. At the business meeting of Thursday evening, officers for the ensuing year were elected, with some changes in the former list. Mr. Frothingham declined reelection as President, and Professor Felix Adler was elected in his stead; but Mr. Frothingham's name was placed in the list of Vice-Presidents, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Robert Dale Owen. Mr. John Weiss and Mr. C. K. Whipple declined to serve another year as Directors, and their places were filled by Miss Rebecca Buffum and Mr. John L. Stoddard. On the following day, addresses were made by Mr. Frothingham, Mr. G. W. Curtis, Mr. T. B. Wakeman, Mrs. E. O. Smith (who read a poem), Mrs. Clara Neymann, and Mr. M. Ellinger. The usual social festival in the evening closed the proceedings of the day.

A MEETING of "Communists," composed of "work ingmen who had seen service as soldiers," was held at Turner Hall, St. Louis, May 16, at which Ferdinand Amrein, the presiding officer, "stated that the purpose of those who had called the old soldiers together was to take steps toward the formation of military organization, to be composed exclusively of workingmen, and to serve the purposes of workingmen. . . . It was evident that the workingmen must rely entirely upon themselves for friendship and protection, and a recognition of this fact had led to a call for the present meeting. It was designed, he said, to form complete military organizations, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and in order to secure the greatest degree of effectiveness in the shortest time, it had been deemed best to invite only veteran soldiers—men who had seen service in either Europe or America—to become members of the companies which were to form a nucleus, as it were. With a few companies of such men the workingmen would be prepared to oppose force to force, and resist any encroachment that the militia or police may in future make upon their rights. He therefore requested all veterans present to step forward and sign a roll of membership, stating in what branch of the service he had had experience." In half an hour two hundred and fifty veterans had signed the roll of membership.

THE TWO SIDES OF THE SHIELD.

Civilized society has two great and supreme interests, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY and PUBLIC MORALITY: individual liberty, or the right of the individual to think, to speak, and to act without interference from any quarter, so long as he bears his just share of the public burdens and refrains from violating the equal rights of any other individual—public morality, or the right of society to perpetuate itself by exacting from all its members practical respect for these natural limitations of individual freedom. Society can only exist by maintaining a proper balance between these centrifugal and centripetal forces of Liberty and Law—the latter word being taken in its broadest sense as inclusive of the unwritten law of public opinion and public conscience. If society fails to show itself equally enlightened in both of these directions, then greater or less disaster inevitably overtakes it.

There happens just now to be a law upon the statute book which creates a grave issue between these two supreme interests, although neither of them is safe except through the harmonious maintenance of both. We refer to the "obscene literature" law of 1873. A meeting of the "Society for the Suppression of Vice" was held at Park Street Church, in this city, on May 28, at which we were present for a portion only of the time; but we heard and saw enough to bring forcibly to our mind the old legend of the two knights, fighting over the question whether a certain shield was made of gold or silver, and being too angry to observe that the shield had one side of silver and the other of gold.

On the one hand, the Christian party are so eager to defend the interests of public morality that they are showing themselves quite indifferent to the equal interests of individual liberty. They have got a law enacted for the suppression of a real crime against society, which is just as properly made subject to legal penalty as any other crime. But, instead of defining this crime precisely and fully, and throwing the protection of this precise definition about all persons accused of committing it, they have left the law so loosely worded that an over-zealous and fanatical agent, clothed with powers which ought to be greatly restricted and intrusted only to the most judicious hands, has applied it to doubtful cases, and apparently used it for the purpose of attacking particular religious opinions which he does not like. This agent, Anthony Comstock, has justly rendered himself obnoxious by the means he confessedly uses, and by the sectarian animosity he has shown in selecting the wrong persons in some cases for prosecution. The danger to freedom of thought and of the press as the law now stands, the tyrannical and persecuting spirit evident in some of Comstock's suits, the infamous means avowedly employed by him in getting evidence, etc., all combine to render it plain that a radical reform of the law is imperatively needed. The following accurate report to the New York *Evening Post* of a passage which we witnessed at the Park Street meeting is sufficient proof of the vile means used by Comstock in procuring convictions—means which are justifiable by no sophistry and for no object:—

Resolutions were then read which proposed the organization of the "New England Society for the Suppression of Vice." When the vote was to be taken upon their adoption, a muscular-looking clergyman arose and expressed his desire to ask Mr. Comstock three questions. Mr. Comstock consented. "Did you ever use decoy letters or false signatures?" "Did you ever sign a woman's name when writing a letter?" "Did you ever try to make a person sell you forbidden wares, and then, when you had succeeded, use the evidence thus obtained to convict him?" After an explanation in each case, which was vociferously applauded by the audience, Mr. Comstock answered each question in the affirmative. Meanwhile an attempt was making to suppress the questioner. He would not be suppressed, however. "I am a Congregational minister," he screamed, "my name is Jones (laughter)—Jesse H. Jones,—and I have as much right to be here and to be heard as anybody." When Mr. Comstock had answered the last question, Mr. Jones shouted at the top of his voice: "Then I say that Mr. Comstock has done what would be pronounced disgraceful in a policeman in any court in Boston."

At the same time, it is impossible for any just or clear mind not to recognize the fact that the primary object of the Christian party, in getting this law passed, was to subvert the cause of public morality by putting an effectual stop to a real and heinous crime against society. Why should not liberals be ashamed to be unjust even to their religious opponents? The trouble with the Christian party in this matter is not that they place too high a value upon public morality, but that they place too little value

on the liberty of individual thought and speech. They see only one side of the shield.

On the other hand, those who understandingly signed the petition against the law of 1873 (and we suspect that very few of the signers even now really understand the position in which it is placing them, though against their will, before the country) manifest a one-sidedness equally deplorable in its consequences. They exhibit an indifference to the cause of public morality every whit as reprehensible as the indifference to liberty exhibited by the Christian party. Flippant denials of the existence of the evil in question will avail nothing; the evidence is too strong to be pook-pooed away; and it reveals a miserable partisanship of which liberals should be ashamed to pretend that Anthony Comstock has wilfully invented all the facts on which the United States courts have convicted one hundred and seventy-four vendors of vile literature. Mistakes have doubtless been made in this matter, as with regard to all other crimes. Human judgment is fallible, and it would be wonderful if no mistake had ever been made. The records of the courts are open; let them be scrutinized in the most jealous manner, and the mistakes exposed. But it will be necessary to include a large proportion of the secular journals of the country in the conspiracy against innocence, if the courts and Comstock are held to have engaged in one in this matter. Take, for example, this extract from the Newark *Register*:—

Anthony Comstock has been unearthing a villainous business in connection with the introduction of obscene literature in the public schools of Brooklyn. Whatever may be said of Comstock's tactics, the fact remains that he does bring to light evils which shock the moral sensibilities of the nation. In this last move of his he has shown that young girls from twelve to sixteen years of age, attending the schools of Brooklyn, have been reached by the vendors of vile literature and obscene pictures, and that many of the brightest and richest children of the schools have been supplied with these demoralizing goods. Parents who never dreamed that their children ever had an impure thought have awoke to the painful consciousness that their little ones have been eagerly reading and feasting upon the vile narratives and disgusting pictures with which the country is flooded. . . . Parents must jealously watch what their children read. . . . It would do no harm for parents to examine occasionally the effects of their children, which they have stowed away among their treasures. It was by doing this that these Brooklyn parents came to the knowledge that their children were the subjects that were being corrupted by the distribution of these pictures, etc. Investigation soon gave Comstock evidence enough to prove that this evil was not confined to a few humble homes here and there, but that it was wide-spread, taking in its compass the children of wealth. The men or women, whoever they may be, engaging in this terrible traffic, are fiends, and worthy of the severest penalties which outraged law and decency can effect.

It must be possible to reach this evil without having recourse to the use of decoy letters and other infamous means which Comstock has systematically and confessedly employed; it must be possible to prove such offences as the above, and ferret out the offenders, without establishing a system of espionage disgraceful to any free country. But, simply because the agent has made himself a common detective and stooped to practices which the regular police would scorn to be guilty of, to deny the existence of the evil and the right of society to treat it like other crimes is surely to show as little regard for public morality as the Christian party show for individual liberty. Honest zeal for morality leads some Christians into reprehensible disregard for liberty; honest zeal for liberty leads some liberals into reprehensible disregard for morality. In either case only one side of the shield is looked at, while truth and justice alike demand that both sides be fully recognized.

Now, in this lamentably muddled state of affairs, the practical advantage remains wholly with the Christian party, and the liberals are shoved to the wall. The petition for the repeal of the law of 1873 (we have repeatedly explained that it asks for repeal first, and for modification only as a secondary object in case repeal is denied, and the pretence that it asks for the latter primarily is so transparently an afterthought as to be scouted contemptuously by the Christian party) has been, contrary to all attempts to make the fact appear otherwise, unanimously reported against by the House Committee to which it was referred; at least, Comstock declared before the Park Street meeting that it was a unanimous report, and he would not dare to make public a statement so easily refuted, if the fact were otherwise. The *Congressional Record* for June 1 thus reported the action of the Committee and the House of Representatives:—

Mailing Alleged Obscene Literature, etc.
Mr. Bicknell, from the Committee on the Revision

of the Laws, reported back adversely the petition of Robert G. Ingersoll and others for the repeal or amendment of Sections 1785, 2491, 3878, 3893, and 5389 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relative to sending through the mails of the United States certain alleged indecent, obscene, and immoral matters, or of supposed immoral tendency; which was laid on the table, and the accompanying report ordered to be printed.

Mr. Bicknell moved to reconsider the vote just taken, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

The Boston *Advertiser* of June 8 gave the exact words of the Committee's report as follows:—

Mr. Bicknell, from the Committee on the Revision of the Laws, submitted the following report: "The Committee on the Revision of the Laws, to whom was referred the petition of Robert G. Ingersoll and others, praying for the repeal or modification of Sections 1785, 3878, 3893, 5389, and 2491 of the Revised Statutes, have had the same under consideration, and have heard the petitioners at length. In the opinion of your committee, the post-office was not established to carry instruments of vice or obscene writings, indecent pictures or lewd books. Your committee believe that the statutes in question do not violate the Constitution of the United States, and ought not to be changed; they recommend, therefore, that the prayer of the said petition be denied."

As we feared, therefore, and as we warned the liberal public when the petition was started, the result of it has been to strengthen the existing law and to give Comstock a new lease of power, notwithstanding the dangerous perversion of which this law has been proved to be capable. Every attempt to repeal that law will have the same effect; and every such attempt greatly lessens the probability of getting it so modified as to be inapplicable to such cases as those of D. M. Bennett and E. H. Heywood. These men do not belong to the class of vendors of obscene literature, properly so called—that is, literature mainly and manifestly devoted to the propagation of vice. It cannot be truthfully said that they have not overstepped the boundaries of decency or that they have not thereby tempted prosecution; but neither can this be said of the Bible, or of a large proportion of the classical literature of the world. We insist that one impartial rule ought to be applied to all such doubtful cases: either to prosecute all alike, or to let all go alike free. But the practical effect of the petition has been to disgust Congress by its apparent insensibility to the heinous evil at which the law was really aimed, and therefore to leave all such publishers as Bennett and Heywood (who have a perfect right to advocate publicly any opinions they think true and who should have exercised this right without any defiant disregard of public decency) exposed still to the danger of being legally included in that class of vendors of obscene literature from which they are very far removed.

From this danger and injustice we have strenuously endeavored to shield these men to the small extent of our power; but they have foolishly resented the endeavor because we have at the same time expressed our frank and independent opinion of the unwisdom of the petition they favored. It was sheer madness to make common cause with the vendors of really obscene literature, to refuse to make obvious and all-important discriminations, to denounce all statutory restrictions on obscene literature in the name of freedom of the press, and to attack their real friends as if these were allies of Comstock in the effort to crush them! We will stand by any man in the exercise of freedom of thought and the decent public utterances of it, ay, to the uttermost; but if we are expected also to stand by those who do not think at all, but aim only to pollute and destroy the young, then we say shortly, emphatically, and sternly—No. With such as these we will have nothing in common. And when this inflexible resolve brings upon us, as it did last week in the *Truth Seeker*, column after column of misrepresentation and calumny and silly anger, we shall heed it no more than the pattering of last year's rain. When a journal sinks so low as to decide "the miserable few who howl about culture and high-toned decency," it forfeits all claim to the consideration of those who respect themselves.

One thing remains to be said. The law of 1873 is continually declared to be "unconstitutional," in defiance of the fact. This point has just been decided afresh by the Supreme Court of the United States, without a dissenting opinion. A dispatch from Washington to the *New York Tribune* of June 4, to which we invite the closest attention, was as follows:

WASHINGTON, June 3.—The full opinion in the original case of A. Orlando Jackson, on petition to the Supreme Court of the United States for writs of *habeas corpus* and *certiorari*, has been filed by Justice Field, the other justices concurring. The peti-

tioner was indicted in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, for knowingly and unlawfully depositing, on the 23d of February, 1877, in that district, in the mail of the United States, to be conveyed in it, a circular concerning a lottery offering prizes, enclosed in an envelope addressed to one J. Ketcham, at Gloversville, N. Y. He was subsequently tried, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of \$100, with the costs of the prosecution, and to be committed to the county jail until the fine and costs were paid. Upon his commitment, which followed, he presented to this court a petition alleging that he was imprisoned and restrained of his liberty by the Marshal of the Southern District of New York under the conviction; that such conviction was illegal, and that the illegality consisted in this: that the court had no jurisdiction to punish him for the acts charged in the indictment; that the act under which the indictment was drawn was unconstitutional and void; and that the court exceeded its jurisdiction in committing him until the fine was paid. He therefore prayed for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to the Marshal to bring him before the court, and a writ of *certiorari* to be directed to the Clerk of the Circuit Court to send up the record of his conviction, that this court might inquire into the cause and legality of his imprisonment.

The writs were denied by the court, on the ground that his imprisonment is legal. The decision is very elaborate, and reviews at length the legislation in relation to the mails affecting the case. Following are the points decided:—

First—The power vested in Congress to establish "post-roads and post-offices" embraces the regulation of the entire postal system of the country. Under it Congress may designate what shall be carried in the mails, and what shall be excluded.

Second—In the enforcement of regulations excluding matter from the mails a distinction is to be made between different kinds of mail-matter; between what is intended to be kept free from inspection, such as letters and sealed packages subject to letter postage, and what is open to inspection, such as newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and other printed matter, purposely left in a condition to be examined.

Third—Letters and sealed packages subject to letter postage in the mails can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued upon similar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing to be seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search in one's own household. The constitutional guarantee of the right of the people to be secure in their papers against unreasonable searches and seizures extends to their papers thus closed against inspection, wherever they may be.

Fourth—Regulations against transportation in the mails of printed matter which is open to examination cannot be enforced so as to interfere in any manner with the freedom of the press. Liberty of circulating is essential to that freedom. When, therefore, printed matter is excluded from the mail, its transportation in any other way cannot be forbidden by Congress.

Fifth—Regulations excluding matter from the mails may be enforced through the courts, upon competent evidence of their violation obtained in other ways than by the unlawful inspection of letters and sealed packages; and with respect to objectionable printed matter, open to examination, they may in some cases also be enforced by the direct action of the officers of the postal service upon their own inspection, as where the object is exposed and shows unmistakably that it is prohibited, as in the case of an obscene picture or print.

Sixth—When a person is convicted of an offence, and sentenced to pay a fine, it is within the discretion of the court to order his imprisonment until the fine is paid.

The hopelessness of any further attempts to secure the total repeal of the law of 1873 must be now apparent to all who are not deaf to every suggestion of common-sense. That law is based upon a correct apprehension of the requirements of public morality and the public welfare. But at the same time the law is so vaguely worded as to render it possible to persecute free thought under pretence that it is "immoral." All liberals who are sufficiently intelligent and sober-minded to see both sides of the shield would certainly favor an attempt to secure such modifications of the law as shall guard against any further abuses of it, and prevent any further violation of individual liberty of thought and speech. The chance of success in any such attempt as this has been seriously lessened, at least for the time being, by the ill-considered petition already presented to Congress; but when the liberal party shall prove by its action that it is equally alive to the interests of public morality and of individual liberty, they will certainly carry their point in the end. We hope yet to see some movement initiated which shall command the support of all liberals without exception by fully and fairly recognizing both sides of the shield.

A CORRECTION BY COL. INGERSOLL.

We are glad to publish this note from Colonel Ingersoll, which we found awaiting us on our return from Toledo:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 31, 1878.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—I read your article in your last issue about the petition to have the law relating to obscene

literature repealed or modified. You have made a mistake. I did not say that I never signed the petition. I said that I did not remember of signing it. I did say that I never read it. As a matter of fact, I do not believe I did sign it, but am not sure.

I am going to file an argument with the committee asking for an amendment.

I agree with you. We want all nastiness suppressed forever; but we also want the mails open to all decent people.

Your always,

R. G. INGERSOLL.

It is by all means best to be accurate, and we are pleased to have our slight misunderstanding of Colonel Ingersoll's words rectified, though we are sorry to have misunderstood him even in a trifling particular. The essential facts of his position are exactly as we stated them; and this is put beyond a doubt by the above welcome letter.

In our turn we desire to correct a misrepresentation of what we said at the same interview. It has been stated in print that we "requested the Colonel to abstain from advocating the cause of the petition," and knowledge of the fact is pretended to have been derived from "a mutual friend who conversed with the Colonel subsequent to the Abbot interview, and to whom the Colonel made the statement." We utterly disbelieve that Colonel Ingersoll made any such statement. If he did, he misunderstood us. We simply inquired if there were no way to rectify the blunder that had been made in asking at all for the repeal of the law, instead of asking solely for such a radical modification of it as should prevent any further abuse of it by Comstock to purposes of sectarian persecution.

To this Colonel Ingersoll replied that he intended to make a personal effort in that direction; we forget his exact language, but think he used some such expression as is contained in the above letter about "filing an argument with the committee asking for an amendment"—by which he may mean either an amendment of the law or an amendment of the petition. We thereupon expressed our gratification; but we made no "request" whatever. If he files his argument, it will be the result of his own unprompted good sense, and not of any impertinent "request" of ours.

THE WATERLOO MEETING.

The meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, just closed at Waterloo, was one of the largest, and, I think, best, ever held by these Friends. It is, as you know, as an institution, one of the oldest, or rather, I presume, quite the oldest, of any of the kind in our country. The gathering this year was the thirtieth annual meeting. It has from the beginning been on a very catholic, liberal basis, and latterly especially has sedulously sought to plant on the basis of broadest universal religion.

The attendance throughout was large—there were four sessions, lasting two days,—and the earnest, intent look of the multitude assembled, many of them subject to great discomfort and fatigue, the unwearied, careful, eager attention, told of the deep interest that the themes of life are at this hour creating in the public mind. On Sunday the congregation overflowed the house—a plain Quaker structure capable perhaps of seating four or five hundred people,—and filled the yard, so that it became necessary to provide for another audience also, a "church outside the door,"—outside, but in spirit, in fellowship, in this case, inside as well.

The discussions were varied and animated, and the speaking, almost without exception, good. I presume the readers of THE INDEX may have from another pen some account of the meeting in its main features, and I have no need here therefore to go into any particular description.

But I must say that we were very especially indebted to two friends that were this year with us,—Prof. Oliver (Professor of Mathematics in Cornell University, one, I hear, of the few eminent mathematicians of America, and a very earnest liberal indeed), and Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York City. The address of Prof. Oliver will, I trust, be written out in full and forwarded to THE INDEX. It was a delight to see one so thoughtful, so cultured, so wise as he, standing on this platform and speaking from the riches of his mind upon those vitally important themes this meeting was gathered to consider. Such educators and scholars, scholars that are withal and first of all men, lovers of human kind, and deeply interested in whatever pertains to man's welfare and full redemption, we greatly need in meetings like this, and I hope we shall have their presence and assistance there more and more.

Of Mrs. Neymann I have occasion only to say that

she charmed and delighted the house, and seems the right one in the right place on the lecture platform. With her ardor of enthusiasm, her magnetism, her sweetness and earnestness of spirit, her singleness of devotion, and her discerning apprehension of the needs of the hour, she is, I think, qualified to do effective service in our country in the cause of religious emancipation.

Some one has said, I do not now distinctly remember who—perhaps it was Patrick Henry when the American Revolution was breaking upon the horizon, and the hour was hesitant, was critical,—“The cause will raise up armies for us.” To-day the cause of spiritual liberty is raising up champions, defenders, eloquent, powerful pleaders, new men and women of whose existence among us none of us had had the slightest apprehension hitherto, and we should be quick to see and warmly welcome them to the work they were ordained to do.

I should like to speak of others that added greatly to the interest of the meeting, but the narrow limits forbid. Altogether it was an excellent gathering, one to incite, to refresh, and inspire. I hope others of like kind will follow. We need them all through the land, to instruct, to stir and arouse the public mind; need through them for ourselves the arming, the resolution for work they are adapted to impart.

C. D. B. M.

JUNE 5.

RE-DEFINITIONS.

For the third time in less than six months the writer defines communism in THE INDEX as being, according to Worcester, “community of property.” The *commune* is the direct, legitimate, and inevitable result of the dissemination of communistic principles: that is to say, it is practical communism in contradistinction to the theoretical and visionary communism taught by the socialistic writers from Fourier down to “F. S. C.” The *Internationale* is the parent of modern communism. The cooperative communities formed by the Shakers and other peaceable citizens comprise so inconsiderable a proportion of the whole body of modern communism as to be more fitly designated as peculiar forms of religious organizations, having little or nothing political in their nature. No individualist objects to these cooperative communities (formed as they are under the impetus to a reaction from the super-selfishness characterizing our modern civilization), so long as they confine their efforts to increase their numbers to moral suasion and rational argument. The communism, however, that is rampant in Europe and America to-day proposes no compromise or middle ground to its antagonists. As Mr. Maverick has well shown, it proposes either to rule or ruin; and its natural outcome is illustrated in the Commune of Paris in 1871. Nor can any writer who denounces the accumulation of property by individuals as injustice to the proletarians deny his responsibility in precipitating anarchy upon society, by asserting that he favors only peaceable methods of attaining the ends proposed. Ordinary human nature, having been educated down to the belief that it is imposed upon by the capitalistic class, that laws are made only for the benefit of the lawyers, and at the expense of the laborers, it is plain will not be contented to remain quiescent under such assumed outrages. But it is susceptible of mathematical demonstration that not more than one man in four or five can be deluded in this manner; and it has been conceded by leading socialists in Europe that they can never hope to secure a majority by peaceable methods of procedure. Hence it is seen to be essential to their success to inaugurate a reign of terror, hoping thus to coerce the majority into an acceptance of their illogical, unpatriotic, and unnatural social theories.

The minority, being once convinced both of their impotence as missionaries to convert humanity to their creed, and also of the justice of their cause, gravitate inevitably toward revolutionary conspiracies, which take different shapes in different places, but aim everywhere alike at the very life of the body-politic.

The talk of “marrying communism to individualism” is as idle as to speak of wedding darkness to light, positive to negative, earth to air, or fire to water!

That individuals exists in communities no more indicates a tendency to a mutual ownership of previously acquired personal possessions than to argue, because trees grow side by side in a forest, that each helps to nourish the others. That tree that is girdled by the axe of the squatter realizes little benefit from the close proximity of its untouched neighbor; and, as Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill and Adam

Smith and Malthus have all united in asserting, “individualism” is the price paid by humanity, under the law of the survival of the fittest, in order to achieve a constant progression toward improvement of the race of mankind. Only by restricting the number of births, and adopting the beneficent plans urged by Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, can any approach be made to the ends desired by the socialists.

A. W. K.

Communications.

PRINCIPLES, METHODS, MEN;
OR, THE SCIENTIFIC FORMULA OF ORDERLY SOCIAL
PROGRESS.

BY JOHN ORVIS.

What is the issue out of the labyrinth of the vices and miseries of our existing civilization? Has the clew been grasped by our modern agitators, in their partial schemes and fragmentary efforts? In negro emancipation? In the crusade of the good templars against rum and tobacco? The anti-war cry of the peace societies? The eight-hour law agitation of the trades-unions? In the anti-Christian fermentation of the freereligionists and infidels, as we know it has not been by partisan politicians in their vulgar clutch for office, notwithstanding the air rings with “Reform,” from shouting thieves on all sides.

Is the woman suffrage movement and the clamor for woman's rights the clew? Perhaps it comes more nearly to it than any other of the merely fragmentary efforts of the hour, because it lies nearest the social focus, which woman preeminently represents, and because it leads directly to a consideration of woman, her function, relations, and duties, as a constituent force in society, and, consequently, the position which in virtue of these is rightly hers. But the movement in itself is fragmentary, and as such, like all others of its class, is useful chiefly for agitation, as showing the need of a higher civilization; but it lacks the remedial, constructive, and harmonizing power of the unitary idea, which demands an integral righteousness, and insures the individual and collective well-being, by uniting and reconciling in the structure of society itself the interests and pursuits of all its members.

It is not negroes' rights nor woman's rights that we really and instinctively seek; but it is the reign of love and justice among all human beings, in the universal relations of society, in their special as in their general, in their minutest as in their larger, aspects and bearings.

The intuitions lay hold on that world of ideal beauty, and struggle to lift the plodding understanding up to a conception of the methods of its realization. They fall in the effort, because in our daily practical life ideality and spirituality are ignored. Divorced from the intuitions, the intellect, instead of being the inspired and heroic worker of altogether noble and beneficent ends, becomes the stolid surf of mammon, or the crafty plotter of intrigues, or the vulgar slyster of thieves and robbers whose real characters are disguised by some conventional euphemism.

As a consequence, the best we have as yet been able to do has been to get here and there a mind to see that these fragmentary reforms, which like bubbles come to the surface, burst, and disappear, are not the reforms which even their own advocates seek to effect, but, rightly read, are the manifold confessions to the need and to the demand for one thorough, comprehensive reform, which shall be nothing less than the transformation of society as a whole into the organic form of justice and truth.

With the vast majority there is not a distinct recognition of what is wanted, but only that something is wanted. It is only they who have grasped a knowledge of that great law of being which ordains that function shall determine organization, and that organization shall determine limit, and fix the nature, character, and form of manifestation or use, and that this law applies as truly to social structure and social organization, and is as true in the spiritual as in the material order of the universe, who see with a vision so clear that no doubt or uncertainty can cloud it, that the only issue out of the crimes of a competitive social order, or which can secure the individual and collective welfare, is through the reconstruction of society upon the basis of general cooperation and unity of interests.

A conception of that law and its required methods must be deeply planted, not only in the religious and spiritual sentiments, but in the understanding of the people, before much can be done in constructive reform. The clew which is to lead us out of the existing social discords will conduct us to a higher civilization. The new social state will be the child of the new Church, the CHURCH OF PRINCIPLES, supplanting a church of dogmas and ritualism.

The intelligent student of social evolution will be struck with the fact that each great epoch in history has been inspired and dominated by a peculiar religious faith which has given to that epoch “its very form and pressure.” Just in the degree that the religion of any age has been broad, free, intelligent, and humane have the social and political systems, under it secured liberty and equality for the people, and equity in social administration.

But there is a science of society, as there is a religion of humanity; and these must work together in any successful scheme of social regeneration. As over the entrance to the grove where Plato taught was inscribed this injunction: “Let no one enter here who is ignorant of geometry,” so over the threshold of reform should be written this injunction: “Let no one enter this field who is ignorant of social science.”

As the ancient Greeks thought no one fitted for the study of philosophy who had not been trained in mathematics, so now it may with equal force be claimed that no one is qualified to lead in society reform who is unacquainted with the true social laws. It was held that the mathematics, by their severe demand upon abstract thought, not only gave the student the highest mental discipline, but also furnished the correct method in all rational inquiry. A few simple axioms, which the reason accepts intuitively, have given us the key to a knowledge of the form, weight, measure, distance, relations, and motions of atoms, worlds, and systems, and guided to a comprehension of the laws and order of the material universe. And though it may not be claimed that mathematics can be applied to a determination of the principles of social ethics and the true form of social relations, it is affirmed that there is a science of society based on axioms as self-evident as those of mathematics; and, rightly applied, they will conduct us to a demonstration of the laws, order, and form of a true harmonic society as unerringly as the latter have revealed to us the harmonies of the material universe. So that it is possible to formulate the order of social movement, or the method of social evolution.

It is in the divine economy that man shall cooperate, through intelligence and the moral sense, with the Supreme Intelligence and Beneficence in the accomplishment of his own destiny, by discovering and applying the science which is to evolve that destiny. Man comes to his good no more than his evil fortune “by a divine thrusting on.” His destiny will be what he, as a collective force, shall make it. It is a vast problem which he himself is to solve, working from the known to the unknown. Social science is the focalization of all the sciences, and is fundamentally the science of equity. It has its axioms not less than the mathematics, and these have their basis in the moral sense, as those of mathematics have theirs in the understanding or reason. The commandment to love truth, justice, and equity supremely and to love one's neighbor as one's self, whether written on tables of stone, amid the thunders of Sinai, or uttered on the sacred mount of Jerusalem, or written in the moral constitution, are axioms of social science which no amount of reasoning can make clearer to the understanding or moral sense than by their simple affirmation. They are injunctions of the soul itself, and constitute the absolute basis of all solid social science.

All efforts, therefore, to cure our social ills, or to promote human advancement, which do not start with the purpose of organizing the social system upon these fundamental bases, not loosely and theoretically, but practically and in solid fact, will end in disappointment and misery; and they who engage in them will find that they but box the compass of a vicious circle, without making any progress. They only change the type or form of evil, but do not root it out by substituting a positive good in its place; and until the latter is done, no advance can be made.

ELAM'S ATTACK ON “EVOLUTION.”

DEAR INDEX:—

The *Popular Science Monthly* (supplement for May) contains an essay by Dr. Charles Elam, republished from the *Nineteenth Century*, entitled “Man and Science: a Reply,” in which the writer, with much brusqueness of expression, assails the theory of evolution and its most distinguished advocates. He, in effect, stigmatizes those gentlemen as mountebanks and charlatans, and their theory as a transparent humbug. He says: “It” (the evolution hypothesis) “is unutterably disgusting and humiliating, profoundly and irredeemably unscientific, founded in false data, false conceptions, and false reasoning.”

Nevertheless, the theory so indignantly and so contemptuously repudiated by him is accepted by many, probably by a large majority, of the best intellects of the age, as resting upon a foundation of such strong probability as closely to approximate demonstration. Of this portion of the Doctor's essay, however, all I propose to say is, that his furious onslaught will probably be about as effective in destroying the Darwinian theory as Professor Jasper's attack upon Copernicus has been in upsetting that celebrated astronomer's theory of the solar system. My attention was more particularly drawn to that part of the essay which is a criticism of Professor Tyndall's Birmingham address, entitled “Science and the Soul”; and it is upon that that I have a word to say. It will be recollected that in that address, the professor treats, as considerable length, the doctrine of necessity as opposed to free-will, maintaining the former with much boldness and ability. Dr. Elam, however, disposes of the professor's arguments in the same curt and flippant manner that he does of the arguments used by the evolutionists to sustain their theory. Having quoted a pregnant sentence from the address, he replies to it in the following dogmatic strain: “Many thanks for the information, but I know by daily and hourly experience that of several courses left open to me I can select one and reject the others, and I offer to submit this faculty to any test that you can suggest.” Now, I do not decomplex question of man's free agency, in all its sign to enter upon an elaborate discussion of the length and breadth and depth; but there is that contained in the foregoing extract which is so at variance with my own “daily and hourly experience,” that I feel justified in attempting to show its incorrectness. I will premise by saying, that unless I misapprehend Professor Tyndall's position, it is this: that we invariably act in obedience to the preponderant motive; that we possess the faculty which enables us to balance motives, but not the power to create them; that motives have their origin in “organism and environment,” and exist independently of the

will. This view I will endeavor to illustrate, by relating, briefly, a suppositive experience; one that, certainly, cannot be regarded as exceptional.

I will suppose that I am a bachelor, that I am possessed of an ample fortune, that I have exuberant health, that I am fond of all manner of rational amusements, that I have neither wife, child, parents, brother, nor sister, nor, indeed, any one dependent upon me for support, and that, so far as external signs indicate, I am as completely a free agent as can be imagined. I will further suppose that I arrived in Boston the day before yesterday, after an absence of twenty years, and that I took rooms at the Revere House with the intention of remaining there for a couple of months, where I hoped to enjoy, without let or hindrance, my own *free-will*. But

"The best laid plans o' mice and men
Gang aft agley,"

as will appear in the sequel.

I arose from my bed yesterday morning at seven o'clock, took a bath, ate my breakfast, returned to my room, and sat down to read the morning paper. In looking over the amusement column, my eyes rested upon the announcement that Patti would appear in Norma, that evening, at the Globe Theatre, for the last time prior to her departure for Europe. Now, being an ardent lover of music, especially operatic music, and having, also, a strong desire to hear the celebrated cantatrice in a favorite rôle, I was, naturally enough, elated at the prospect before me of a delightful evening's entertainment. My mind was quickly made up; I would go to the box-office at once, and procure a ticket for the evening. Congratulating myself upon my rare good fortune, I was about to lay down my paper, when I chanced to cast my eyes upon the following: "Professor Tyndall will deliver the last of the course of his highly interesting and instructive lectures, at Music Hall, this evening, commencing at eight o'clock; subject: *Spontaneous Generation*. This will be the professor's last lecture in the United States, as he intends taking passage for Liverpool in the steamer that leaves for that port to-morrow at twelve M." Now, strong as was my desire to hear Patti sing, equally so, at least, was it to hear the professor talk. Upon placing the conflicting motives in my mental balances, I discovered that the latter was the weightier. So, giving up all thought of the opera, I, very decidedly, determined to attend the lecture. At the proper hour I put on my hat, took up my cane, and started for Music Hall. I had not gone far, however, when, by mere accident, I met a gentleman and his wife—old and very particular friends of mine—whom I had not seen for twenty years, and who had come a long journey, from a neighboring State, purposely to hear the famous Patti sing. They urged me, with great fervency, to forego my previous determination, and to accompany them to the theatre, saying that they had a private box with a spare seat for me, that they were to leave for home on an early morning train, that they were very desirous to have a talk with me, and that they would feel themselves greatly obliged if I would accede to their request. Here, then, had arisen an unlooked-for additional motive to attend the opera,—weighty enough to turn the scale in that direction. So, in company with my friends, I directed my footsteps towards the Globe. Just as we came in sight of the entrance to the theatre, my lady-friend had the misfortune to slip upon the pavement, and severely sprain an ankle, which necessitated the abandonment of our plan, and the return of my friends to their hotel. Relieved from the weight of the *additional motive*, the prior one reasserted itself, and I again found myself gravitating towards Music Hall. I had not quite reached there, however, before I encountered several fire-companies rushing through the streets in the direction of my hotel. As they passed, I heard some one cry out: "the Revere House is on fire!" Remembering that I had left in my room a valise containing sundry valuable papers, I was seized with an irresistible impulse to make an effort to save them. In obedience to that impulse I started in the direction of the conflagration. Arrived at the Revere, I found the firemen engaged in removing the baggage to a neighboring warehouse. There I had the good fortune, after a prolonged search, to find my own; but it was now too late for either the opera or the lecture, and all my nicely arranged plans for the evening had been frustrated.

Here, then, had been performed, or attempted, a series of acts which were the natural sequence of sundry motives having their origin independently of my will, and over which I had no control. Now I respectfully ask, Did I, or did I not, in the foregoing hypothetical case, act, throughout, from *necessity*, and in obedience to an authority independent of, and superior to, my own *free-will*? If answered in the negative, I shall demand proof; and unless it can be shown that the power to weigh motives—which man undoubtedly possesses—constitutes him a free agent, and that he does not habitually act in obedience to the preponderant one, then I shall insist that the *necessarians* have the best of the argument. The doctrine is, however, repugnant to many secular minds, because its tendency is to abate man's inordinate self-conceit; and to all Orthodox believers, because it strikes a blow at the dogma of Adam's fall; but if it be contended that its tendency is to moral delinquency, my answer is: Not at all: we should still be subject to the same inexorable laws of heredity and environment, that we should continue to act, then as now, in obedience to the weightier motive, and that, instead of exerting a baneful influence upon society, its general acceptance could not fail to have the opposite effect, since it would teach humility and the necessity of cultivating, with greater assiduity, that now shamefully neglected, but transcendent, virtue,—CHARITY. DANIEL CONT.

Woburn, June, 1878.

WHAT IS THE NEBULA?

TROIS ESTATE, TRINIDAD, British West Indies, }
9th of April, 1878. }

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In return for the pleasure which your paper, presented by a friend, has given me, I will send you this article.

Cromwell F. Varley sent some time ago a paper styled "Scientific Prophecies" to the *London Times*, in which he took objections to that part of Professor Huxley's address to the British Association in Liverpool in which he said: "And if it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically-recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions, which it can no more see again," etc., etc.

After a mathematical demonstration of the fact that "the collision of matter in motion generates heat," he says (article 4): "As there is a process of retardation in space, all the planets must as a remote period fall into the sun, and the suns in their turn fall into each other, each time augmenting their heat-giving power, as their mutual masses increase." "The result will be, that ultimately the heat from collision will be so tremendous as to redistill matter over space, when 'creation' will recommence." Allow me now to add my speculation.

1. Astronomy shows, with the aid of the present telescopes, that the number of visible stars exceeds twenty millions. [Sir William Herschel and Struve.]
2. Light requires thousands of years to reach this globe from many of these far distant cosmical bodies. [Bessel. The distance which light traverses in a year is not more appreciable to us than the distance which it traverses in ten years. Therefore any endeavor must fail to convey to the mind any idea of a magnitude exceeding those that are accessible on the earth.]
3. Millions of years are as nothing compared to the idea of ETERNITY, as no possible number could express endless duration.
4. Spectroscopic astronomy shows that all suns and planets have come from the hot gaseous form, yielding up their heat by radiation into space. [Cromwell F. Varley.]
5. The collision of matter in motion generates heat.
6. Chemistry shows the indestructibility of matter, and the adaptability or fitness of things.
7. The laws of Nature have no exceptions. [Faraday.]
8. Geology shows that the forms of organisms rise to higher perfection in every subsequent geological formation or period.
9. The highest idea is the idea of a *personal, self-conscious, eternal God*, the almighty creator of the universe.

To follow up and harmonize these data the power of imagination must come to the aid of science. The danger here is certainly that imagination may lead to error and dogmatism, but so long as these high subjects are only approached with awe and reverence, the seeker after truth will meet with beautiful and grand results.

The solar system is not in the centre of the universe; hence, even if telescopes reached perfection, millions of stars could not be seen from this globe, nor could space be penetrated to a boundary. Time has been defined as a succession of motions. As it is impossible that motion should cease in the universe,—that the forces of gravity and attraction which are inherent in all matter should be annihilated,—that indestructible matter should be destroyed,—endless duration is demonstrated.

If all cosmic bodies have come from the hot gaseous form (article 4), the nebula contains the *Urstoff* of all suns and planets.

"Even granting the nebula and its potential life, the question 'Whence came they?' would still remain to baffle and bewilder us." [Tyndall.]

But why should it bewilder us, if the "Whence came they?" cannot be demonstrated by science? Philosophy (in the German sense) may help to lift the veil. J. H. Fichte, in his *Idee der Personlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer*, speaks of God as the eternal, self-conscious Creator and Director of the universe, whose visible creation is the garment with which he covers his unfathomable glory, and not as the unconscious first cause from which all things emanate by self-made laws.

Might not, then, the nebula be the BREATH OF GOD ALMIGHTY? When unable to explain a thing, the answer both of the ignorant and the philosopher is, that it is the nature of the thing. [Faraday.]

Tolstoes does not deny a continuation of creation, nor prove the necessity of a universal caldron in which all suns and planets have to fall to redistill matter over space in a gaseous form, "when creation will recommence." [Cromwell F. Varley.]

"Mann durchstodert die klein und grosse Welt,
Um es am Ende geben zu lassen
Wie's Gott gefallt." [Goethe.]

Yours very truly,
CONRAD F. STOLLMAYER.

DEFINITIONS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I second "D. S. G.'s" motion in favor of definitions, and only regret that he did not give us a definition of communism, and of the teachings of Fourier, which would have explained his thought that Fourier was a communist. The only conceivable way by which Fourier can be proved to be a communist is this: "A communist is a socialist; Fourier was a socialist; therefore Fourier was a communist."

It seems to me that the best way is for the communists to define communism so that its opponents may not waste their strength on a man of straw, as "A. W. K." appears to do. There is certainly no defini-

tion of it except that which would make it coequal and coextensive with socialism, which would justify any one in thinking Fourier to be a communist. I am constrained to think that those who fancy that great INTEGRALIST to have been a communist do not understand what he taught.

He believed in individualism as well as in communism, in egotism as well as in altruism; he regarded communism when put for social science as partial, fragmentary, simplistic, and hence as false. He recognized all the faculties of man as alike good, and as equally entitled to their full, free, and complete development in a harmonious society, whose very harmony would come from the orchestration of all these affections, or passions of the soul, as he called them. He would ignore or suppress none, but integrate all.

"I do not propose," he says, in a hundred places, "any plan or system of my own; I give the system of Nature; that is, the natural order of human society, based on the laws of universal order and harmony. If my plan is defective or false in details or as a whole, let those interested in the welfare of mankind correct it by studying Nature's laws, and deducing therefrom the true plan of social organization."

There is but one way in which the laws governing social organization can be discovered, and that is by studying the laws which govern in the human mind, or as Fourier calls it, the analysis of the passions of the soul.

If communism shows us how to give complete and harmonious development to all the passions or faculties, or affections of man, then it is true social science; if not, not. The object of social science is to point out the conditions under which we can fulfill our destiny and make ourselves perfect men, in a threefold unity of man with God, man with man, and man with his planet.

Is not this worth working for, and is anything less than this worthy? F. S. C.

COMMENTS ON THE QUESTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As between yourself and Mr. Heywood on the subject of obscene publications, it seems to me that common-sense decides in your favor. I will assume that Mr. Heywood has children,—girls and boys, say from eight to fourteen years of age. Would he object to some plan or contrivance—if nothing more feasible, such, for instance, as shutting his children in a dark closet—whereby an attempt on the part of amiceant to put before them obscene pictures or filthy reading could be in his absence thwarted? If yes, then he concedes the point at issue. He is in favor of a law to prevent the circulation of obscene publications, and, if such a law is now in existence, he is himself opposed to its repeal. On the other hand, if Mr. Heywood is willing that his children may have free access to literary filth, then he is *consistently* in favor of the repeal of laws against its circulation. If Christian bigotry has succeeded in so wording these laws that the officers thereof are obliged to prosecute "heresy" also, let them be modified; but, heaven knows, free-thought is carrying as heavy a load of undeserved obloquy as it can stagger under, without inviting the other kind. Z.

CAMDEN, N. J., June 4, 1878.

DEAR SIR:—

I have been reading with much regret the controversy now being carried on between yourself and Bennett, and that rather crusty interloper, Theron C. Leland. I am with you in your view of the petition matter, and am extremely glad that Ingersoll, with his usual wisdom, has taken the right side. I think it ill-becomes Mr. Bennett to act in so questionable a manner. Instead of consistently and openly writing on the petition affair, I see that in his last issue he tries to chastise you in an editorial on "Culture," and falls woefully. It is ridiculous to bring in such side issues. His ridiculing your "culture" does not disprove the wisdom of what you say in your "obscenity law" comments. However, I think Mr. Bennett will cool down into his usual common-sense mood ere long, and perhaps recant his vilifications,—though I would not ask that he retract his original advocacy of the repeal movement, which I oppose without disparaging those who favor it.

Wishing you success in every way in behalf of THE INDEX, I am, as ever, very sincerely yours,

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

LINCOLN, Neb., June 4, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—I have read and re-read your article on Colonel Ingersoll in THE INDEX of the 30th of May, and I sincerely thank you for your grand defense and unanswerable arguments in favor of a pure and lofty liberal sentiment in our country. To win in this great struggle, we must not permit all liberals to be led into the support of lax morals, or low sensuality in any form. There is no affinity between lofty liberal opinions and loose morals; but there is a class of loose liberal papers, speakers, and writers doing the cause of liberty great injury by putting arguments and illustrations into the mouths of our inveterate Orthodox enemies, who richly enlarge all facts at their command. Your position is the only true one for our ultimate success; and success we should not have, if it brings a pollution of public and private morals.

Let me again thank you for your good work in this matter, and I am confident you will be fully supported by every thoughtful and considerate liberal, on the merits of this fortunate controversy.

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The following extracts from the Constitution of the National Liberal League explain the privileges of membership:—

ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League. Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which this Constitution was adopted, are hereby declared permanent or charter-members of the National Liberal League.

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

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ORGANIZE! CHARTERS

For Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, conferring the privilege of representation by five delegates in the Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, will be promptly sent on application, according to the following provisions of Constitution of the same:—

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

These Charters are beautifully printed on the best of paper. Adorned with the handsome Seal of the National Liberal League, they will, if tastefully framed, make a fine ornament for any hall.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 443.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE 1.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformable to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be conscientiously, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

GLIMPSES.

MASSACHUSETTS has passed a law against pool-selling which will make mischief at church fairs.

THE SECOND RADICAL CLUB of Boston had a picnic at Waltham last Sunday, and voted to dissolve. But they will probably reorganize under another name in the autumn.

THREE NEW LIBERAL LEAGUES are added this week to the list of those chartered by the National League. There are now forty-five chartered Leagues, entitled to send two hundred and twenty-five delegates to the Annual Congress.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE has been organized at Cortland Village, New York. The Constitution and full lists of members and officers have not yet been received, but the President is Hon. Stephen Brewer, and the Secretary is Frank Goodyear, M. D.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE was organized at Moberly, Missouri, on June 2, after a lecture by Mr. W. F. Jamieson, of Chicago. The roll of membership includes twenty-five names, and the officers elected are as follows: President, Stephen Coddling Mason; Vice-President, H. A. Higgin; Secretary, Charles Knight; Treasurer, D. A. Pease.

THE ASSOCIATION OF FREE-THINKERS of Bell County, Texas, which was organized on September 12, 1875, and which published its Constitution in Col. Peterson's lively *Common Sense* (afterwards removed to St. Louis), voted on May 26 to declare itself a Local Auxiliary Liberal League, and take out a charter accordingly. It has a list of thirty-two members, with officers as follows: President, Dr. L. J. Russell (whose cruel scourging by a party of religious miscreants on the night of October 6, 1877, was fittingly referred to at the time in these columns); Vice-Presidents, John Marshall and J. V. Bell; Secretary, J. B. Nunneley; and Treasurer, M. B. McAfee. Dr. Russell is also chairman of the Texas State Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, and a gentleman whose high personal character renders the outrage to which he was subjected by ruffianly church-members an indelible disgrace to the community in which he resides.

THE BOSTON *Commonwealth* says: "Rev. Photius Fiske, of this city, has generously offered to erect a granite monument over the remains of Capt. Jonathan Walker, at Muskegon, Michigan. He will give it a suitable inscription, and place on the shaft a *fac simile* of the 'branded hand.' The work will be done in Boston, and the monument forwarded to Muskegon. Excellent photographs of Capt. Walker, at fifty cents each, can be had of his widow, Mrs. Walker, post-office box 396, Muskegon, Mich., the sale of which will contribute to her support. All anti-slavery people should desire to possess a likeness of this hero, one of the noblest that the cause ever reared in the old Bay State." Mr. Fiske is himself one of the few "original abolitionists" whose abolitionism does not date since the period when abolition became successful; and there is a poetic propriety in his erecting this monument to one of the truest heroes of that great movement.

THESE TRUE remarks are from the Boston *Sunday Herald*, of June 10: "It is a common belief that a republican form of government offers a safeguard against religious persecutions; but the experience of the Republic of Ecuador shows that this opinion is unfounded, and that a bigoted majority can sometimes be as tyrannical as any of the kingly despots of whom we read in history. This South American State has recently passed an amendment to its constitution prohibiting, under severe penalties, any religious discussion. (In other words, there is but one form of religious belief which the State will sanction, or even tolerate, and to question this in any way is made, not only a moral, but a civil, offence. This shows how much more necessary it is, in order to

secure personal freedom, to have liberal opinions rather than a liberal code of government. Laws of this character, which are passed with popular approval in a misnamed republic, could not be made, much more enforced, in countries like Germany and Austria, where the chief rulers are emperors. The danger attendant upon the introduction of religious questions into political affairs is, that no sect is non-ambitious, and, as the colonial records of this State give proof, a denomination which possesses civil power is exceedingly apt to use it for the purpose of crushing out its rivals."

SAID the New York *Tribune*, of June 14: "The French Academy acted with a nice sense of discrimination yesterday when it elected the historian, Henri Martin, to the seat rendered vacant by the death of ex-President Thiers. As M. Martin has attained an advanced age, and received the triennial prize of twenty thousand francs from the Institute, in 1866, for his *History of France*, he had a strong claim to succeed the historian of the Consulate and Empire. The eulogy which he will be expected to deliver on the career of his predecessor will be looked for with interest. His American admirers would have wished M. Taine better success, but as he received fifteen of the thirty-three votes cast, he retires without discredit, with fair prospects of being chosen in the place of some member whose literary career corresponds with his own. The choice of M. Renan to succeed the late M. Bernard is in harmony with the non-sectarian spirit of the time, and will recall the election of M. Littré, in 1871, which incited Bishop Dupanloup to tender his resignation. By a singular coincidence the rival candidate was Senator Wallon, a devout student of the Scriptures, who was one of the ablest combatants in the controversy to which *La Vie de Jésus* gave rise."

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT is dead,—the eldest and greatest of the triumvirate of American poetry, Bryant, Longfellow, and Lowell,—the "patriarch of American literature," as Dr. Bellows aptly characterized him in the funeral address. Less popular as a poet than either of his renowned contemporaries, there is in his verse and in his character a Doric grandeur, a lofty simplicity, an austere and inaccessible majesty to which there is no fitting parallel in outward things save the Sphinx in the lonely Egyptian desert. There are those—they are perhaps not many—who owe to his influence the same debt which they owe to the massive man of the early Roman republic, and have been educated by it to appreciate the rare and superb masculinity of a spirit which, though superficially affected by the Christianity of his day, is yet, in the grandest sense of the word, pagan to the core. Angur well of the youth who is fascinated by the moral strength that is the life of Bryant's finest pieces. It is impossible for one who comprehends it to imagine Bryant on his knees; his only prayer is the soliloquy of the erect and unbending soul, exalted and inspired by the love of Nature and communing with the universe, as it were, on equal terms. There is something surpassingly sublime in the dignity, the self-poise, the formidable and invincible self-possession with which this severe man sustains his own manhood even in the felt presence of the Moral Infinite. Modest as all great souls are modest, he yet never forgets what is due from the whole moral universe to unsullied rectitude and self-conscious integrity; he is constitutionally incapable of grovelling, and knows nothing of a religion which is oblivious of self-respect. Here lies the innermost secret of Bryant's genius on its moral side; and no young mind can come into close and sympathetic contact with it and not be borne upwards on its strong pinions into the atmosphere of a higher life. And Bryant is dead? Nay, perish the thought! He lives, and will live, while human souls can thrill to his grand and simple strains.

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[For THE INDEX.]

The Genesis of the God-Idea.

A STUDY.

BY LEWIS G. JAMES, OF NEW YORK.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. By Herbert Spencer. STUDIES IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND HISTORY. By A. M. Fairbairn. THE ANCIENT CITY. By Fustel de Coulanges. THE CHILDHOOD OF RELIGION. By Edward Clodd, F.R.S.E. THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL. By J. Knappert, Pastor at Leiden. BLENDING LIGHTS; OR, THE RELATIONS OF NATURAL SCIENCE, ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY TO THE BIBLE. By Rev. Wm. Fraser, LL.D.

"An honest God is the noblest work of man." This text of Col. Ingersoll is capable of a two-fold interpretation. Considered as the smart saying of one who disbelieves in the existence of any Deity, it seems flippant and irreverent. Considered as a recognition of growth and development in the ideas which men have held concerning the character and attributes of God, it suggests a profound truth. The finite ever fails to comprehend the Infinite. Imperfect language is impotent to express the qualities of infinite perfection. Each individual mind is the measure of its own comprehension of Deity, and its definition of God can possess no attributes loftier than those which inhere in its own nature. Hence, as the race has advanced out of primitive barbarism toward higher and higher civilization, man's conception of God has correspondingly undergone development and change. From this undeniable fact, materialists have been led to the inference that the Deity is wholly a subjective creation, a creature of human imaginings, having no objective reality, no actual existence. It is important at the outset, therefore, carefully to discriminate between the actual being of God, and the ideas which men have held concerning him. From the theistic stand-point, God is conceived as an Infinite, Self-existent, All-powerful, and All-wise Being, "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." The God-Idea, however, has had a beginning, and has been subject to various changes from age to age, in which may be traced a law of growth and development corresponding with the progressive civilization of the race.

To the question How did the conception of a Deity first enter the mind of man? various answers have been presented, and various theories suggested. The common orthodox view, that this belief is the result of miraculous, divine inspiration, meets with a serious difficulty, even with believers in the inspiration of the Bible, in the unquestionable fact that the God-Idea was in existence before any portion of the Hebrew Scriptures was written, and has been found among many peoples and various religions wholly independent of Hebrew or Christian influence. Accordingly, the ablest orthodox writers have relinquished this solution of the question, and suggested other theories founded on natural religion, instead of revelation. Philosophers, too, have not been idle. Materialists and sceptics, as we have remarked, have referred the origin of religion and the conception of Deity wholly to human imaginings, deeming them the invention of priests or poets or earthly rulers, who desired to make use of the superstitions of the masses to insure their submission to their arbitrary dictates. A certain appearance of rationality has been given to this sceptical theory by the fact that early governments were universally theocratic; the Church and State were one, making common cause to repress all growing democratic tendencies. The Epicureans, accepting this hypothesis, held that the gods were created by superstitious fears. Comte, who attempted to found an elaborate ecclesiasticism on the basis of atheistic negation, asserts it as a law that "the theological, or fictitious, is the first stage of our knowledge,—the necessary starting-point of the human mind."

Hume, another eminent writer of the sceptical school, attempted to prove that the belief in gods was derived from ignorance and fear, which led men to personify the unknown causes of natural phenomena, the accidents and eccentricities of Nature; and deemed that monotheism, or the belief in only one supreme Deity, grew out of the gradual concentration of flattery, offerings and sacrifices on one of these personifications.* Dupuis held that all religions had their origin in the worship of Nature, pure and simple, and declared, in harmony with Col. Ingersoll, that "the gods are the children of men."

Modern philosophers, like Spencer, Darwin, and Sir John Lubbock, who belong neither to the theological nor the atheistic schools, accepting the belief that primitive man was a rude being, but little higher than the animal, and that civilization is the product of a gradual evolution from his primitive condition, hold that he was originally destitute of any conception of religion or a Divine Being, and suggest various theories to account for the origin of these conceptions in the human mind. Of these, the most elaborate and consistent is that of Mr. Herbert Spencer.† This deems the idea of the gods to have originated in ancestor-worship, which was a product of primitive funeral rites and ceremonies. These

*Natural History of Religions, 551-viii. †The Principles of Sociology,—Spencer.

rites grew out of the belief that the spirits of the dead were still existent, would sometime reanimate the physical body, and needed food, clothing, weapons, and various offerings for their comfort and sustenance. The phenomena of sleep, dreams, fainting, catalepsy, and trances are suggested, to aid in accounting for this primitive belief in the existence of the individual after death. Subsequently, the notion is supposed to have arisen that if the various rites and sacrifices were neglected, the departed spirit would become an evil demon, working injury to human beings, or would itself suffer torment for the neglect. Hence the idea of propitiation entered largely into the rites of the primitive religions, and fear or terror was a prominent motive for religious observances.

It is the object of this paper to consider some of the objections which have been raised against what may be termed the rationalistic view of the genesis of the God-Idea; to correct, if possible, certain misconceptions of the objectors concerning the nature of the rational theory, and to endeavor to harmonize certain views which are apparently antagonistic, but which rest in reality upon a common ground of fact.

Mr. Fairbairn, in his very interesting *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, objects to the propositions of Mr. Spencer, and others who have propounded similar views concerning the origin of religions, that they derive religion, and the conception of the gods, from the lower faculties; that they base them upon false and delusive imaginings, which have no objective reality, and that the early religions thus evolved must, therefore, have been injurious to man. Their imaginary terrors must have been fatal to his moral nature, tending to throw him back into animalism. "How, then," he says, "could the admitted virtues of religion be evolved from this barbarous faith? *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The highest moral qualities do not come from the lowest." This theory, he says, leaves man's faculty or tendency to believe in invisible things still unexplained.

"Our theorists assume," he says, "that the aboriginal state of our cultured peoples was similar to that of the lowest living savages. But surely the difference in their conditions, the one savage, the other civilized, hardly warrants such an assumption,—implies, rather, original differences, physical and mental, fatal to it. Then they assume a theory of development that has not a single historical instance to verify it. Examples are wanting of peoples who have grown, without foreign influence, from atheism into fetishism, and from it, through the intermediate stages, into monotheism." "Spontaneous generation is as little an established fact in mental as in physical science, and its truth need not be assumed until it is proved."

He calls attention, also, to the unquestionable fact that the various polytheistic systems of religion were so developed as to indicate ages of growth out of simpler conditions, and that the Indo-European nations all tended to an extravagant polytheism. These facts he presents as arguments against the hypothesis that monotheism was a development out of preëxisting polytheistic systems, instead of the reverse. He admits, however, that "the religions of the world, with one exception (the Hebrew), were polytheistic in their earliest historical form." With the results of the ablest biblical criticism of modern times at hand,† supported by consistent inferences from the text of the Old Testament, which prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Hebrew religion, like all others, originated in fetishism, and advanced through the polytheistic stage, by a process of gradual and perfectly natural development, toward monotheism, which was not reached even by its most enlightened prophets and expounders until about the eighth century B.C., we shall not be able to allow him his single exception. Accepting, then, his admission as the statement of a universal fact, that all the religions of the world were polytheistic in their earliest historical form, together with the unquestioned evidence of history that monotheism has gradually grown out of these polytheistic systems, the argument thus far seems to be wholly in favor of the rationalistic view; and it certainly devolves upon the objectors to this view to show by evidence, which must admittedly be other than historical, that these polytheistic systems were themselves evolved out of a preëxisting, prehistorical monotheism.

The first argument in favor of this view is based upon the admitted growth and development of the polytheistic systems. But this fact is fully accounted for by the rationalistic theory, without presupposing a primitive monotheism. The first religion was that of the family altar. Its gods were the spirits of deceased ancestors, or the sacred fire, or fetiches which these ancestral divinities were supposed to have animated. The family gods were originally few in number; but the family worship was confined strictly to the gods of its own altar. Each family worshipped its own gods, but admitted the existence, none the less, of the deities of other families. As the family grew into the gens, and thence into the tribe, and finally into the nation, society became more complex, and the number of gods to whom individual homage was rendered thus gradually increased. The development of polytheism, therefore, was simply illustrative of that universal principle of evolution which educes the heterogeneous from the homogeneous, the complex from the simple.

Underlying the popular development of polytheism, however, among the Indo-European nations, as the mind of man grew in capacity and thoughtfulness, arose certain philosophical systems, which discussed theological subjects from the stand-point of intellect rather than emotion, and which ultimately arrived at an intellectual monotheism. Plato had developed this conception in Greece, anterior to the

Christian era, and in India the loftier minds had substituted Brahm, the universal essence, for Brahma, the personal creator and factor of the Hindu Trimurti. Yet in both these countries the polytheistic systems still maintained their position as the popular religion. In Persia, the great religious teacher, Zoroaster, twelve hundred years before Christ, had proclaimed a pure monotheism, by enthroning Zêrâna-Akerâna as the infinite creator of the dualistic deities Ahura-Mazda and Ahriman. In Egypt Aten was announced as the only infinite and omnipotent deity. The Hebrews, as a nation, probably accepted monotheism earlier than any other people; but the monolatry of the period from the time of Moses to that of the eighth-century prophets should by no means be confounded with the pure monotheism which the Hebrews attained, as a people, only after a long struggle with the polytheistic idea.

The argument based upon the supposition of a primitive revelation, though suggested by Rev. Wm. Fraser,* of Scotland, and other writers, has absolutely no evidence in its support. It is admitted that the Hebrews had no written revelation previous to the time of Moses, and the investigations of Kuenen and the ablest critics of the present day show conclusively that very little of the Scripture testimony was recorded for many centuries after his time. Mr. Fairbairn admits that "a primitive revelation were a mere assumption, incapable of proof, capable of most positive disproof." "The theory that would derive man's religion from revelation," he says, "is as bad as that which would derive it from dis-tempered dreams."

Having admitted the impotence of history to deal with this question or rather, as we have seen, that the argument of history, which traces all religions back to polytheism, is wholly favorable to the rationalistic theory, his only remaining resource is the argument based on philology and ethnology. And here, for obvious reasons, he confines himself wholly to the Indo-European nations, with their richly-developed polytheistic systems. Comparing the Greek word *Zeus*, the Latin *Ju* in Jupiter, the Gothic *Tius*, the Scandinavian *Tyr*, and the old German *Ziu* or *Zio*, he finds them all identical with the parent Sanskrit word *Dyaus*; that, in common with this word, they constituted or entered into the composition of the names of their chief gods; and infers that the word, in its primitive form, was the name of a deity, and that the name of the deity it denoted was acknowledged by the whole Indo-European family. Thus far the inference is natural and probably correct.

When we examine the meaning of this word *Dyaus*, however, we find that, together with the Sanskrit *deva*, it came from a root meaning "bright, or shining," which suggests an origin in the beliefs of Sabaism; from which also are traceable all those Semitic deities into which the root *El* enters, including the Hebrew *Elohim* and *El Shaddai*. Now the early systems of Sabaism were all polytheistic, and developed, as Mr. Herbert Spencer so clearly shows, out of the preëxisting ancestor-worship of more primitive times. There is absolutely no evidence that *Dyaus-pitâr* was the earliest deity of the Aryans, or that he was their sole deity. His prototypes, Jupiter, *Zeus*, *Tius*, were, in their respective nations, only one of many gods, achieving preëminence and supremacy over the others only as the religion reached a higher phase of development than the equality of the earlier polytheisms. Reasoning from analogy, and from all we can learn by means of historical, ethnological, and philological investigations, we can only conclude that *Dyaus-pitâr*, like the Greek Jupiter and the Hebrew *Yahveh*, gradually reached the position of chief deity, or natural god, through a process of natural development out of the preëxisting polytheistic system. The argument based upon philology and ethnology, therefore, seems to support, rather than weaken, the rationalistic theory.

Mr. Fairbairn attempts to strengthen this philological argument by another, based upon derivatives from the Sanskrit root *deva*. From this he derives the Zend *daeva*, the Greek *θεός*, the Latin *Deus*, the Lithuanian *déva-s*, the Old Prussian *deiva-s*, and the Old Irish *día*,—words which are interpreted to mean God in general, as distinguished from particular gods, or particular names for deities. He argues that as *Dyaus* and *deva* were from the same root, the primitive Indo-European mind conceived them as ultimately identical; the personal deity *Dyaus-pitâr* as identical with *deva*, God in general, "just as the Hebrew identified, in his ultimate thinking, *Yahveh* and *Elohim*." Here, to say nothing of the probability suggested by the greater similarity of the words that *θεός* and *Deus* are derived rather from *Dyaus* than from *deva*, his illustration is fatally weak. Kuenen shows that *Yahveh* and *Elohim* were, in all probability, originally the designations of separate deities in the primitive polytheism out of which the Hebrew religion grew. The name *Elohim* is itself plural, meaning "the gods" rather than one particular god; which fact is rendered more significant by the use of its singular, *Eloh*, once in the Hebrew Scriptures. The composition of the Pentateuch renders it evident that the ultimate identification of *Yahveh* and *Elohim* was deliberately planned and aided by the later writer, who uses the terms interchangeably, whereas the earlier manuscripts had kept them distinct. To base an argument for primitive monotheism on a comparison of this kind is manifestly absurd.

The idea of a Heaven-Father, or Sky-Father, presented by *Dyaus-pitâr* and its Indo-European derivatives, suggests both sun-worship and ancestor-worship, and thus furnishes added confirmation of the rationalistic hypothesis of the genesis of the God-Idea.

Another objection to the rationalistic theory suggested by Mr. Fairbairn is that it conceives theism to

be a development out of atheism. The religious condition of primitive man which preceded ancestor-worship cannot, however, properly be termed atheism. Atheism is the conscious rejection of the God-Idea. But an idea which has not been presented to the mind certainly cannot be said to be rejected. So far from rejecting the God-Idea, man made haste to accept it as soon as offered; at first crudely and imperfectly, of course, according to his undeveloped capacities; but more and more clearly and intelligently as he pushed forward toward the stature of perfect manhood. The process of development, as far as we are able to trace it, is precisely what it should be, to harmonize with the rational conception of the origin and growth of man.

This leads us naturally to the consideration of the kindred objection, that the rationalistic hypothesis derives religion from man's lower faculties,—from fear, and distorted imagination, and dreams. Let us see if this is a correct statement of the theory. Mr. Fairbairn supposes the primitive monotheistic idea to have originated coordinately with mind. "Mind conscious of self," he says, "was mind conscious of obligation. The idea of God was thus given in the same act as the idea of self." This argument, however, proves too much; for many animals undoubtedly have a consciousness of self-existence, which ought, on Mr. Fairbairn's supposition, to prove them to be good theists. The point, however, where man became religious was precisely the point which raised him above the mere animal. Let us see what are the leading characteristics of this stage of his evolution.

Ancestor-worship, as we have seen, originated in the rites and gifts which were intended to give comfort and sustenance to the spirits of the dead. These customs arose under the primitive family relation, when the family was the social unit, and finally grew into the religion of the family altar. The constitution of the family was the first step which man took out of brutishness,—his first self-recognition of his obligations as a social being. Out of the mutual helpfulness and mutual dependence of this family relation grew a higher form of affection than had previously existed. Man's habits, heretofore wholly predatory and selfish, now became to some degree social. Here, then, arose the social instinct and the first promptings of unselfish super-animal affection. Out of this affection grew the earliest belief that the dead were not annihilated,—that the soul lived and would again inhabit the body. The earliest funeral ceremonies and rites of ancestor-worship were acts of affection, and not of fear. The idea of the existence of the wandering demon or ghost, separate from the body, and purposing evil, was of later origin, and of secondary importance.

What, then, becomes of this final objection to the rationalistic conception of the genesis of the God-Idea? Instead of originating in the lower faculties, it is seen to have been born of the noblest and most unselfish impulses of which primitive man was capable. Worship grew out of love, not fear. Out of love, also, grew the recognition of obligation to others, ultimating in conscience, or the moral sense. Both came from the development of the associative faculties, are coordinately with the earliest evolution of the social life of man. Religion and morality are thus traced back to a common ancestry. Both were born of the first promptings of unselfish human love. They were united in their very natures from the beginning. So let them live forever. What God has joined together let no theologian dare put asunder! Let us hear no more sturs upon "mere morality." It bears the same divine sanction as religion, and an infinitely greater sanction than any system of theology. Theology is the expression of man's puny thoughts about the Infinite One, whose majesty is unsearchable, and who cannot be caught in a definition, or confined by any formula of words. Morality is obedience to God's perfect will, in the relation between man and man. It is the high privilege of rational religion to proclaim forever the marriage of morality and religion, to join in a perfect and indissoluble union the two equally divine principles of love to God and love to man.

But Mr. Fairbairn asserts that there is no historical instance of a people rising from fetishism to monotheism without contact with other nations. A similar argument is presented by Dr. Fraser, under the evident impression that it is fatal to the theory of evolution. Parallel propositions might be stated with equal force and truth. There is no instance where man ever rose out of the animal stage, until he became associated with his kind in the family relation. There is no instance where he has risen above the conception of arbitrary government and primitive religion involved in tribal and nomadic relations, until contact with other tribes and greater permanence of habitation have developed the conditions suitable to the establishment of the city and the State. All that these propositions really assert is one of the essential conditions of the evolution theory: that a fixed environment secures permanence in type,—the repetition of the same phase of development, either in physical organisms, or in the mental life of man; while a changing and expanding environment induces growth and development,—the modification and improvement of the existing type, or the genesis of a new and better one.

The working of this law is everywhere observable in the growth of religions, as well in the Hebrew as in other forms. The contact with Babylon and Persia during the captivity planted in the Hebrew mind the seeds of a vital belief in immortality,—a conscious existence beyond the grave. Dr. Howard Crosby, in a recent lecture, suggests as a reason why Cyrus permitted the return of the Jews, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, the bond of sympathy between the two monotheisms,—the Hebrew and Zoroastrian systems. There is certainly probability in this sup-

**Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p. 20.

†*History of the Religion of Israel*.—Kuenen. *The Religion of Israel*, by J. Knappert.

**Blending Lights*, by Rev. Wm. Fraser, LL.D.

position; and it lends added force to the conception of a vital contact of the two religions, the result of which is so apparent in the subsequent development of the Hebrew theology.

Three centuries of contact with Greek influence, subsequent to the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great, prepared the way for the teaching of Jesus, which substituted a Heavenly Father for the jealous and awful Yahveh. The conception of God as Father, as presented in *Dyads-pitár, Zeu-pater*, Jupiter, and the Alwater of the Norse mythology, is peculiarly a product of Aryan thought, and only entered the semitic theologies after contact with the Indo-European races.

So also, after the birth of Christianity, it was vitalized and spiritualized by contact with the Platonic philosophy, especially as presented in the writings of Philo, the Alexandrian Jew.

Schelling and Hegel were philosophically and actually correct in tracing the origin of religion and government, the genesis of the God-Idea and the foundation of the state, to one and the same source. Both grew out of the primitive social life of man. In their conception they were one. Government was theocracy; religion was arbitrary in form and irrational in many of its beliefs. In the light of the evolution-philosophy, it is, however, wholly illogical to insist that therefore the State should still remain subject to the Church that government should forever retain its theocratic form. Through the working of the principle of differentiation, the steady tendency of healthy and natural growth has been to separate the functions of religion and government, and permit each to develop naturally in its appropriate sphere. To labor for the reversal of this tendency would be as futile and unnatural as to attempt to restore the full-fledged bird to the egg from whence it came, or to replace the mighty oak in the shell of the acorn. False and fatal indeed to the welfare and happiness of man is that purblind conservatism that fails to see that through all the operations of Nature and life

... "one increasing purpose runs;
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

It was not our purpose, however, in this paper to trace the *growth* of the God-Idea, or to discuss its relation to human government. We have sought merely to consider its source, and the conditions of its origin, and to examine certain objections which have been raised to the rational conception involved in the theory of evolution. We have stated these objections fairly, in the language of one of their ablest advocates. We have endeavored to show that they arose in part from a misconception, or rather from an imperfect conception of the grounds of the evolution-hypothesis of the genesis of the God-Idea, and that the facts upon which the objections were based, so far from presenting difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the rational theory, offer, on the contrary, strong evidence in its favor. We have endeavored to supply the "missing link" which accounts for the earliest belief in invisible beings, and, if correct, we have discovered it in the natural promptings of human love.

Tracing the origin of religion and the recognition of a Divine Being back thus to the noblest and most unselfish emotion of which the human heart is capable, we see why religion, in spite of its many errors, absurdities, and mistakes, has always, on the whole, tended to elevate man, to render him more unselfish, more courageous to meet the inevitable conflicts of life, more hopeful and patient. Its rational foundation is thus seen to be not ephemeral, but enduring, based upon the most powerful impulse in the soul of man. We may confidently hope, therefore, that it will steadily outgrow its superstitions and imperfections, under the expanded environment of a wider intelligence, a deeper sincerity, and a purer reason.

And so, born of love into the life of man, its impulse shall always induce him to seek the correspondence of this love in the infinite life in which he lives and moves and has his being. Immortal in its essence, it shall be a light unto his path in all the future ages, when the recollection of the petty contests of the theologians shall have perished from the memory of man.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Free Religious Association began its eleventh annual meeting last night at Horticultural Hall, with the Rev. O. B. Frothingham in the chair. The meeting was called to order about eight o'clock, and the report of the secretary, Mr. W. J. Potter, was first listened to. In addition to his report of the last meeting, May 31 and June 1, 1877, he read from the report of the treasurer, showing that the receipts for that year were \$2342.42. His report was accepted, and the report of the treasurer, Mr. R. P. Hallowell, was next called for. In order not to take up time he read only a statement of the condition of the treasury, showing that the receipts for the year have been \$1515.89, and the disbursements \$1746.97, leaving a balance of \$231.08 due the treasury.

The report of the nominating committee was then read. The chairman, Mr. C. D. B. Mills, was obliged to be absent, and had written a brief report. The committee had been compelled to omit the name of one in the nomination for president whom they had been privileged to nominate on former occasions. They had been unable to induce the Rev. O. B. Frothingham to change his decision to resign, and were, therefore, under the necessity of seeking a new name. They had selected the name of Professor Felix Adler, of New York, who is a well-known advocate of free religion. The association had suffered a loss in the death of Robert Dale Owen, one of the vice-presidents, and, with the kind consent of the retiring

president, Mr. Frothingham had been selected to fill the vacancy. The Rev. John Weles and Mr. C. K. Whipple have resigned from the board of directors, and Miss Rebecca Buffin, of Lynn, and Mr. John L. Stoddard were nominated for the vacancy.

The Rev. O. B. Frothingham then made a brief address explaining his motives for resigning. He was sure that the motive was not in the least personal. The duties were not arduous, and he had taken great pleasure in presiding. His object in retiring arose from his regard for the association. He had been president from the formation of the society. His residence being in New York it was impossible for him to meet the directors as he would like to, and there were considerations relative to his living at a distance from the scene of action which seemed to make it impossible for him to continue in office. He tried to resign a year ago, and had now determined to, in order to force a new departure. He spoke of Mr. Adler as precisely the person for the office. Mr. Adler is not a materialist, said he, as has been falsely attributed to him, nor in any sense an atheist. As for himself, he intended to be not a nominal, but a working, vice-president.

The report of the executive committee was then read by Mr. Potter. It gave a brief review of the year's work, stating that the committee had felt, more than ever, the need of assistance from the treasury, and had been obliged to abstain from any publications except the regular report. Numbers of the reports back to 1872 were on hand, and will be for sale at the meeting to-day.

In the meantime the balloting had been going on. The result of the election was announced, stating that all the nominees as given above had been elected. In speaking of the election of Mr. Adler, Mr. Frothingham said that two objections to the association had been removed by this choice. First, that the association was composed of cast-off Unitarians, which objection the association had disposed of by electing a Jew. And second, that it was not in the least practical, not aiming at anything, never had done anything, and never would. Mr. Adler, said he, means business, and has the direct practical instinct of his people, which makes it imperative for him to do something. He spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Adler, and his sentiments were warmly applauded.

It was then announced that Miss Anna C. Garlin, who had been announced to be present to speak on the practical work of the association, was ill, and could not be present. Mr. C. E. Pratt moved that the report of the nominating committee be spread upon the report of the meeting, as the sense of the meeting in relation to the resignation of Mr. Frothingham. The meeting was then open for general discussion.—*Advertiser*, May 31.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

The Free Religious Association continued its meetings yesterday in Beethoven Hall. Mr. O. B. Frothingham presided, in the absence of Mr. Felix Adler, and in an opening address he answered those who claimed the association had done its work and might as well disband. He acknowledged that the speculative idea of the association had been pretty thoroughly made known, but as Christianity was not merely superficial after an existence of nearly two thousand years, there was sub-soil work to be done. It was necessary to go to the roots of things, and radicals meant to do so without tearing up the roots. The association had an idea upon which it sought to build, and all who build upon an idea are conservatives. The speaker said that it was only an accident which placed the association in the hands of the radical wing of the radically independent body; but the time would come when those ladies and gentlemen would quietly step aside to make room for those who now regard themselves as conservatives. There is one phase of growth which the association has not yet reached, and that is the phase of institutions; and until free religion has found its way into institutions, will the full force and pregnancy of the idea become known,—until children are born into it, until it writes school-books and prescribes courses of study. In view of this work a president has been elected who is trying the experiment, among others, of training boys and girls in free religion; and the discussions of the day will be in the direction of organization.

Mr. George William Curtis, one of the vice-presidents, was then introduced. He spoke as follows: I have at this time no speech to make, but I could not be in the city, knowing that the association was to hold its convention, without showing myself upon this platform, to thank you for the honor which you have constantly conferred upon me in placing my name among your vice-presidents. In accordance with the remarks which Mr. Frothingham has already made, I do not of necessity accept this hour as a sign of community of faith, but of spirit. It does not mean necessarily that we think alike, but that we think honestly; and honest thinking is as hard a task as a man or woman in this country is like to set himself. [Applause.] The tendency of society is naturally to conformity. Intellectual independence in religion, in politics, in any branch of human thought or interest, leads to unconformity. Consequently reformers are simply those who do not conform. Undoubtedly the aspects of reform are often distasteful or often unreasonable; are often even repulsive even to men and women of education, of refinement, of high and cultivated taste. And yet except for that spirit of intellectual independence which it is the central principle of this society to promote and encourage, Quakers would to-day be hung on Boston Common, and the man who should question the right of the State to hang them would be driven from the State in exile. Now the principle of conformity to-day expresses itself in a different form from the halter or the axe. Conformity to-day denounces the reformer as an

atheist, as an infidel, as a heretic. You will grant surely, ladies and gentlemen, that this is a much less offensive form of opposition than the latter one. It partakes rather of the method of the man who not liking the looks of his antagonist's fists contented himself with making faces at his sisters; and I think you will also agree that this principle has made immense progress; for surely it is much better to be called an infidel and atheist and heretic by men who in their hearts still approve and respect you, than it is to be hung upon Boston Common by those who sincerely believe that you are a limb of Satan. And the same thing is equally true of the sphere of politics. The tendency in political life in this country is equally to a rigorous conformity. Party despotism wields a scourge of scorpions, and the man who ventures in the least to differ from the dictum of his party may take his choice between being denounced as a traitor or derided as a sore-head. Hence you see whence springs the difficulty of which I spoke,—of honest thinking. It is that all the great prizes in life, the great prizes which society holds out to allure the ambition of youth, are mainly given to conformity and are withheld from dissent; and consequently every young man is under the strongest temptation either to think as other men think, or else to conceal his thought. The intellectual demoralization is sure, and it is evident. This was seen forty years ago by one of the most illustrious men that this country has borne, and who stands among the list of our vice-presidents. In his Phi Beta address to the young men at Cambridge, which first revealed to his generation the presence of a great reforming genius, that man said these words: "Gentlemen, when you shall say, as others do, I must renounce—I am sorry for it—the promise of my youth, I must let learning and romantic expectation go till a more convenient season, then dies the man in you, then perish the buds of art and poetry and science, as they have died already in a thousand thousand men. The hour of that choice is the crisis of your history; see to it that you hold yourselves fast by the intellect." He spoke these words; he is now an old man; he has kept his faith with himself; he has kept his faith with the promise of his youth; he is to-day a leader in the army of liberation and humanity. No man in his life, in his character, in his career, more fully embodies the spirit which it is the principle of this society to cultivate and in the constellation of American greatness there is no name that shines with a sorer and purer and more permanent lustre than that of our vice-president, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Mr. F. B. Wakeman, of the Society of Humanity, New York, addressed the association on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it May be Organized." He appealed for active efforts for the permanent establishment of institutions representing the idea of the association.

Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, of New York, read a poem on "Soul Questionings," and Miss Anna M. Garlin, of Providence, having delivered an address on the practical work of free religion, the association adjourned to three o'clock.

The afternoon session was called to order by Mr. Frothingham, who made a brief address. The old system of ecclesiastical dogmas and the old creeds were passing away. The people did not believe in them, and those who did believed in them sentimentally and not vitally. He referred to the articles published in the *North American Review* recently, written by the leaders of the various sects and denominations to which, except by the Roman Catholic writer, the old doctrine of perdition was given up. Decay had set in, and the free religious party began, not by destroying anything, but by taking the public sentiment as it now really existed. The time was coming when foundations would have to be solid. The members gave the old system credit for all it had done for the world in preserving education and the spirit of reverence; indeed, they probably did it more than justice in this regard. In closing, he presented Mr. William H. Spencer, of Haverhill, who read an essay on "The Religion of Supernaturalism and Why and How it Should be Disorganized."

Whatever the process, he said, by which ancient men came to regard supernatural as the abode of the supernatural, they did come so to regard it. They worshipped mystery with fear and trembling, and did not look for God in the natural but in the supernatural; they did not see him in light but in darkness. The power of God, mysterious and in mystery, was the tap-root of the rude and even of the higher religions, from which even modern Christianity drew a large part of its life-juices. God was only to be seen by the eye of faith, and in the darkness of mystery lay a Bible more or less inspired, a heaven more or less beautiful and happy, and a hell more or less horrible and painful. The first evil in Christian supernaturalism was that it necessarily antagonized the spirit of science; the second was that it tended to beget a tamper and type of mind unfavorable to perfect intellectual honesty and manly integrity. Christianity was to be honored for its charity and what it had done for the relief of suffering and misery in the world. Charity made a sweet nature, but it must be supplemented by other virtues to make a strong and well-rounded character. The crowning virtue of integrity must be put in as one of the corner pillars of individual character and of the republic too, or both would topple over in ruin. Whatever was due to Christianity as an exemplar of the charitable virtues, she could claim little for the manly virtues; she must hang her head for shame at the mention of fairness, and justice, and intellectual honesty. The speaker referred to the persecutions of the early Church, and then to the petty persecutions of liberals now by the modern Church. People concealed and perverted the truth and the Bible to sustain their religion. He combated the idea that the Bible was a winnowed book, and quoted from a divine engaged in

the revision of the Bible some years ago, to the effect that they had to give it up, because they were afraid if they began to winnow the Bible of evil and changed it any, the people would lose faith in all of it. The speaker believed the frauds in religion were some blood-relation to frauds in trade; that bankruptcy of religious sincerity was in partnership with bankruptcy of business honesty. What church did he belong to, of what Sunday-school was he superintendent, were pertinent questions when a man cheated his creditors out of a hundred thousand. When a man was insincere in his creed, he was a man of flabby morals. Sincerity in religion, or sincerity without it if not with it, was what we wanted, and we could never have it till we got rid of this supernaturalism that could only defend itself at the sacrifice of truth. The only way this could be done was by confronting error with truth. Truth was the general, and men must be her soldiers; she was dumb, men must speak for her. The spirit of the age was powerful only because it was incarnate in an army of men who were willing to struggle for it; and in order to disorganize superstition, liberal thinkers and men who loved truth must think, speak, and toll for it. Speaking generally, science was the fact that was destroying superstition. The man of the nineteenth century was a sort of universal Yankee. He eclipsed the miracles of old by performing new miracles more wonderful, and all in the name of law. He recognized the supernatural as only an upper story of the natural; but there were no vacant rooms; they were all occupied by law. The essence of religion, the speaker said, was the worship of the ideal; the fiction in religion was the embodying that ideal in some personage who lived years ago. The religion of liberal thought was engraved on the heart of mankind, rested on no history, and was everlasting. The essay of Mr. Spencer was received with much applause, and it was a very eloquent and forcible paper.

Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, was the next speaker. She rejoiced in every liberal convention and gathering, because it showed the world that liberals were no longer in the background, but were up and doing. She mentioned as reasons why more women were not connected with the free religious movement, that in the past their education, especially in the classics, which broadened the range of thought, had been neglected; that they had received much recognition in the Church; that the most intelligent women were engaged in another direction in obtaining the political and other rights of the sex. In this connection, she remarked that independence and freedom in religion and independent citizenship for women were intimately related to each other. Another reason why more women were not connected with the movement was because they were afraid of injuring their own peculiar cause. Mrs. Neymann then spoke for this peculiar cause, making a forcible woman suffrage address. She afterwards spoke strongly for a greater morality, a larger spirit of self-sacrifice, and a profounder recognition of the rights of others in the world. The old creed had been, love of God and obedience to his will; the new one was, love to man and obedience to the laws of Nature. A deep, reverent love of man for humanity must take the place of the love and reverence which had been given to God in the past. The esteem and honor in which his name had been held must be given to man, and the sacrifices of the future laid down on the altar of humanity. The speaker entered into a long and intricate argument to show that man was indebted to humanity and his fellow-men for the best things he had, and that his success depended largely on the assistance and cooperation of others. He could never pay back to humanity but a very slight portion of that which he had received. Life for others, therefore, was a constant duty, the consequence of the fact that he lived by others.

Mr. M. Ellinger, editor of the *Jewish Times* of New York, followed Mrs. Neymann, speaking for the religion of humanity. He showed how religious opinion and organizations had always been changing, and that the work of organization and disorganization had continually been going on. He hoped the time would come, and he thought it would, when the race would have a religion under which all could live in peace. Such a religion could only be built upon one foundation, that of the broadest toleration, and this was the work of the Free Religious Association.

The members of the association, following their annual custom, closed the formal meetings with a social subscription-festival at Horticultural Hall last evening. The floor was cleared of everything except a row of chairs around the hall and another through the centre, so that ample space was left for the promenade. Little desks, with labels signifying the willingness of the ladies who presided at them to receive subscriptions and donations, were scattered about, but sociability and pleasant conversation prevailed everywhere.—*Advertiser*, June 1.

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

A large meeting of clergy and laity was held at Oxford last week for the purpose of securing the cooperation of Roman Catholic prelates and priests, as well as members of the Established Church, in promoting the unity of Christendom. The bishop of Bombay presided, and on the platform there were several Roman Catholic priests. Resolutions were passed declaring that the advance of the infidel movement throughout Europe, and the actual threatened dissolution of the relations of Church and State, constitute a fresh call on all sincere believers to pray and labor earnestly for the reunion of Christians in one faith and one fold; that the accession of Leo XIII., and the reawakening life of Eastern Christianity afford at the present moment special ground for renewed energy and hope; and that the ultimate aim and solution of the Oxford movement

of 1833 must be sought in the restoration of the corporate union of Christendom.—*London Graphic*, of May 25.

Concerning the above meeting, the *Graphic* has a leader, as follows, under the title 'A New Eirenicon': "The possibility of war abroad and the existence of industrial troubles at home have so occupied men's minds lately that a meeting, held last week at Oxford, for the promotion of the reunion of Christendom, has probably attracted less attention than the intrinsic importance of the movement deserves. The aim of the conveners of the meeting appears to be the union of the Church of England with the Church of Rome on terms of mutual independence; and two reasons are alleged for bringing forward the proposition at the present time; namely, the advance of anti-Christian opinions throughout Europe,—a fact which, as one of the speakers observed, should cause Christians to sink their own differences; and, secondly, the accession of a Pope who is generally supposed to hold less uncompromising views than his predecessor. The movement may fairly be styled an important one, when we remember that a large number of the clergy of the Church of England do more or less closely approximate to the Roman Church in the doctrines which they hold, and, what is more, that they are applauded and upheld by a considerable portion of the laity, especially among the young people: It is a fact—which may be distasteful, but which is not the less a fact—that among church people, especially of the upper and middle classes everywhere, the parents are evangelical or moderately 'high' in their creed; the children are frequently either sceptical or ritualistic. Some people may go so far as to say that they are both, and that a creed which lulls the conscience with forms and ceremonies is quite compatible with practical unbelief. Be that as it may, these young people will, a score of years hence, be the guiding spirits of England, and it is worth considering what the prevailing religion of England will then be. Certain minds are led by ritualism inevitably into Romanism; others, holding apparently precisely the same views, appear able to remain conscientiously in their native church. Which influence will chiefly prevail in the coming generation? For ourselves, we are inclined to think that the English laity, although willing to accept at the hands of their clergy a good deal of doctrine highly-flavored with Romanism, will not very readily swallow the Pope and all the other consequences of submission to that spiritual potentate. If in the proposed Eirenicon, as was hinted by a Roman Catholic speaker at the meeting, the Roman Church is only prepared to give way on such comparatively minor points as the recognition of Anglican orders, and the celibacy of the clergy, she will probably have to content herself for a good many years to come with a few stray converts per annum, most of whom will be clergymen. If, on the other hand, she adopts a bolder course, and says to her Anglican sister, 'Retain your present belief, manage your own affairs, only come back into the family, she may in the end achieve a very important victory. But in order to do this she must abandon that which, to Protestants generally, is her most objectionable characteristic; namely, her pretensions to infallibility; she will have to admit that other people may possibly be in the right as well as herself."

AN HISTORICAL LESSON ON LIBERTY.

The Corporation and Test Acts were passed in the reign of Charles II., rendering it obligatory that every person holding any public office or trust, whether civil or military, should receive the sacrament in church, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. Thus more than two hundred years ago religious profession was ordered to be tested as a condition of employment in any public capacity, and other grievous provisions were included in these Acts. Against their unhonored memory radicals nowadays cry out so lustily that it becomes needful to remind the public that the Protestant Dissenters supported the passing of the Acts, in the hope of resisting Popery, of whose advancement they were sorely afraid. They were willing themselves to bear the infliction of the Acts for a while, if only the dreaded Romish rival might be kept in check. The Acts, however, pressed harder upon the clergy than upon the Non-conformists, as is ably shown in a leading article in the *English Independent*—a radical dissenting organ,—which points out that reception of the sacrament being an indispensable preliminary to taking any public office, it was impossible to leave to the clergy the responsibility and power of refusing to administer the sacrament to persons whom they might not consider fit to receive it, or else the clergy would have had control over every appointment, and would thus practically have ruled the nation. It was therefore made obligatory upon the clergy to administer to every one who desired to qualify for office, no matter how bad his character might be. If a clergyman dared to refuse he did so at his peril, and would at once be confronted with the threat, "You won't give me the sacrament, Mr. Reverend, won't you? Very well; we'll see who will win at that game. We'll have you in *Banco Regis* in no time, and I'll have good round damages out of you. You have spoilt my preferment and lost me my place, and you shall pay for it. I'll let fly my little *Per Quods* at you, and we shall soon see who'll smart for the costs." The case of the clergy was so hopeless that such a threat was not often necessary. But the scandal of the thing pressed much more heavily upon them than upon the Non-conformists. Irreligious persons about to qualify would loiter in the neighboring public-house till they saw the bulk of the congregation coming away from service at the close of the sermon; then they crossed over the road and went into church, when the clerk would "bid" them

in such fashion as this: "Those who want to be qualified will please to step up this way"; and then the Holy Communion was administered. Such is the picture which the *Independent* draws. In vain did the clergy appeal for reform. The grievance continued unredressed for a century and a half.—*Birmingham Gazette*, England.

THE CHURCHES need all the money they can get; and, if matters keep on as they have been going lately, they will soon need more than they can get. Complaints of a decline in church revenues steadily increase. Few rents are, of course, the main financial reliance in all the churches, and these have declined all around. In many of the costly up town churches, which carry heavy loads of debt, and support expensive choirs, the revenues from pew rents are not more than two-thirds what they were a few years ago. The pastors keep telling the people that the church should be supported, no matter what else is neglected; that the debt they owe to God should be paid before any other: notwithstanding frequent appeals of this kind, the receipts still fall off. Many pew-holders allow their rent to fall in arrears, and many others give up their pews altogether. One church that formerly gathered in \$30,000 a year now finds it difficult to collect \$15,000. Another that was in receipt of \$40,000 now considers itself lucky if it gets \$25,000. Hundreds of steady church-going families find it absolutely necessary to cut down expenses in church as well as out of it, and have been forced to give up costly pews, and hire cheaper ones instead. In many cases, where pews have been rented by women, they have been entirely given up. It is much harder for a woman to come down in the world than it is for a man; and, in most cases, a woman who has occupied a high-priced pew would rather leave the church altogether than change to a low-priced one. The tremendous decline that has taken place in Plymouth Church rentals (from \$70,000 in 1875 to \$37,000 in 1878) illustrates, though in an exaggerated degree, the falling off in all church revenues. Many ministers are at their wits' end for means to meet demands of one sort or another; and it does not seem at all unlikely that bankruptcy will be the ultimate resort in more churches than one.—*Hartford Times*.

Poetry.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR, 1819.

[Republished in consequence of the judgment of the Master of the Rolls, 1878.]

I curse thee by a parent's outraged love,
By hopes long cherished and too lately lost,
By gentle feelings thou couldst never prove,
By griefs which thy stern nature never crost;

By those infantine smiles of happy light
Which were a fire within a stranger's hearth,
Quenched, even when kindled, in untimely night,
Hiding the promise of a lovely birth;

By those unpractised accents of young speech
Which he who is a father thought to frame
To gentlest lore, such as the wisest teach;
Thou strike the lyre of mind! Oh, grief and shame!

By all the happy see in children's growth,
That undeveloped flower of budding years,
Sweetness and sadness interwoven both,
Source of the sweetest hopes and saddest fears;

By all the days, under a hireling's care,
Of dull constraint and bitter heaviness,—
Oh, wretched ye, if ever any were
Sadder than orphans, yet not fatherless!

By the false oant which on their innocent lips
Must hang like poison on an opening bloom,
By the dark creeds which cover with eclipse
Their pathway from the cradle to the tomb;

By thy most impious Hell, and all its terrors,
By all the grief, the madness, and the guilt
Of thine impostures, which must be their errors,
That sand on which thy crumbling power is built;

By thy most killing sneer, and by thy smile,
By all the acts and snares of thy black den,
And—for thou canst not out-weep the crocodile
By thy false tears—those millstones braining men;

By all the hate which checks a father's love,
By all the scorn which kills a father's care,
By those most impious hands that dared remove
Nature's high bounds, by thee, and by despair;

Yes, the despair which bids a father groan,
And cry, My children are no longer mine;
The blood within those veins may be mine own,
But, Tyrant, their pointed souls are thine.

I curse thee, though I hate thee not: O slave!
If thou couldst quench the earth-consuming hell
Of which thou art a demon, on thy grave
This curse should be a blessing. Fare thee well.

—*National Reformer*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 15.

Chas. Storrs, \$5; New England News Co., \$10.74; V. B. Martin, \$3.20; Wm. T. Menefee, \$5; I. A. Root, \$1; M. A. Shepard, \$2; W. E. Coleman, \$1.50; Emerson Bentley, \$2.50; J. Burnham, \$10; Aug. Brentano, 10 cents; American News Co., \$10.05; A. Ela, \$100; T. B. Gunn, 5.67; E. L. Winham, \$2.50; J. H. Deering, \$3.20; Mrs. L. Grant, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, JUNE 20, 1878.

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERRY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. OLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
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MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

WE ARE GLAD to learn that Mr. Horace Seaver, the veteran editor of the *Investigator*, is to receive a "testimonial benefit" under the auspices of the Paine Hall League, Tuesday evening, June 25. There will be a dramatic and musical entertainment, followed by speeches from Messrs. Seaver, Underwood, and Marshall, and dancing. Tickets to be obtained at the Hall, at Ditson's, and at this office.

MR. CHARLES C. BURLIEGH, one of the ablest and purest of the original Abolitionists, and for many years resident speaker of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Massachusetts, was injured by a railway accident on June 3, which resulted in his death on the 14th. The funeral took place at Florence last Sunday. He commanded the deep personal respect of all who knew him by the beauty and simplicity of his character, no less than by the force of his intellect and the long, self-sacrificing devotion of all its powers to the cause of the slave. The world is made poorer by his death; but his memory will abide in many hearts as a constant stimulus to all that is good and true. One such life as his is a sufficient answer to the charge that liberalism leads to immorality; for he was a radical in religion whose name, wherever he was known, was a synonyme for moral spotlessness. The *New York Tribune* gives the following particulars of his career: "The death is announced of Mr. Charles C. Burliegh, the eminent anti-slavery advocate. The event occurred at Florence, Mass., on the 14th inst. On the 3d inst. he was struck by a locomotive which was passing him, and received injuries which have proved fatal. He was born at Plainfield, Conn., on the 10th of November, 1810. His father, Rinaldo Burliegh, was distinguished as principal of the Plainfield Academy. Two other sons of his, William Henry and George S., were poets of some celebrity. Charles made such early progress that he was ready for college before he was twelve years old; at fourteen, he was teacher of a public school; at twenty-one, he was admitted to the bar of Windham County, Conn. But he soon became interested in the anti-slavery movement. His first work was to edit an abolition newspaper called *The Unionist*, edited by his brother William and published by Miss Crandall, who it will be remembered was indicted for setting up a colored school in Connecticut. He was one of the speakers in Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia when that edifice was burned by the mob in 1838. Mr. Burliegh bore his full share of the odium which was visited upon the early abolitionists. When Mr. Garrison was assailed by rioters in Boston, Mr. Burliegh's presence of mind did good service. He it was who closed the door of the office in the face of the crowd, and confronting the assailants gave Mr. Garrison time to escape. A kindly message from his old leader cheered his last hours. He was among the earliest and most active supporters of what are usually called the 'Rights of Women,' and also of religious liberalism. For fifteen years he was 'resident speaker' of the Free Congregational Society in Florence, Mass. For one year he preached to a similar society in Bloomington, Ill. In his later years, he spoke frequently in behalf of the cause of temperance. He was a man of vigorous intellect, and of strong convictions of duty; and his ability as a close reasoner was of the first order. The old American Anti-Slavery Society had no more useful member. He published several works, and among them, *Thoughts on the Death Penalty* (1845), and a tract on the *Sabbath*, enforcing strong anti-Sabbatarian views. Mr. Burliegh married Gertrude Kimber, of Kimberton, Penn. She died at Florence, Mass., in 1869, at the age of fifty-four years, deeply regretted by a large circle of friends, to whom her loveliness of character had greatly endeared her."

CHRISTIAN KIDNAPPING.

Mr. Moncre D. Conway wrote last month as follows to the *Cincinnati Commercial*:—

There is one more turn to be given to the screw which is being brought to bear against the freethinkers. The husband of Mrs. Besant, a clergyman of the English Church, when he drove her from home because of her heresies, signed an agreement by which she was granted the charge of her little daughter Mabel,—a beautiful child. He now prosecutes his wife, to take from her this child, because she is an atheist, opposed to Christianity, and joint publisher of the *Fruits of Philosophy*. This trial comes on next Saturday. The situation is strange, wonderful. The Judge, whose decision will be absolute, is Sir George Jessel, a Jew. This Jew will sit, in a Christian land, as arbiter between a clergyman and the wife from whom he has separated. The mother will plead for her child; the Christian will try and deprive her of it; the Israelitish Judge will listen and decide on the Sabbath day (Saturday). Of this trial I shall have something to say when I next write, as I shall be present in the court.

We have not seen Mr. Conway's account of the trial. But it resulted in Mrs. Besant's being deprived of the custody of her child by order of the Court, on the grounds alleged by the father; and this decree seems to be unjust, cruel, and oppressive to a degree which ought to have been impossible in the nineteenth century. There are special features in the case which must arouse the indignation of all fair minds against the plaintiff and the Judge.

On the plaintiff's part, Mr. Bardwell (we quote from the *National Reformer's* "Special Trial Number," which, however, does not contain all of the proceedings) said to the Court:—

Your lordship is quite aware of this, that until the year 1878 it was quite impossible that a father could give up the legal custody of his infant children; such was held to be an obligation of parental duty by the state of the law, and until that year it could not have been done according to law. No doubt, however, by the Act of 36 and 37 Vic., cap. 12, the law was altered in that respect, by which it was enacted that no agreement in a deed of separation between a father and mother of an infant or infants should be held to be invalid by reason of the father having given up to the mother the custody of an infant or infants. But in that Act there is an important proviso which I, as representing the child Mabel Emily Besant, to-day must draw your lordship's attention to. The words of the proviso in the Act are: "That no Court shall enforce any such agreement, if the Court shall be of opinion that it would not be for the benefit of the infant or infants to give effect thereto." I say, my lord, emphatically, on the part of that child, that it cannot be for her benefit that her custody should remain with Mrs. Besant. Putting apart for the time all questions with reference to those works which, unhappily, have obtained such great notoriety, and putting it simply as a question between the father or mother having the custody of the child, I say, speaking to your lordship as a father, it cannot be said that it would be better for the benefit of this child that she should, during her tender years, be associated with Mrs. Besant.

Against this pleading, Mrs. Besant, who conducted her own case (and did it with marked ability), contended:—

The Rev. Frank Besant is entirely, by the deed he signed in October, 1873, cut off from all right to take part in this matter at all, whether as petitioner or as next friend. Now, words cannot be stronger than the words in the deed in which the father resigns all right of control over the child. It says: "The said Annie Besant should have the sole charge and custody of the said Mabel Emily Besant, free from interference or interruption on the part of the said Frank Besant, or any person deriving or claiming authority from him." It was contended by the learned counsel who leads in this case that the State gives the right and the duty to the father to overlook the religious education of the child, and that the father cannot, by any possibility, by his own act, divest himself of that control. I would submit to your lordship that the Act 36 and 37 Vic., cap. 12, distinctly says that a deed shall not be held invalid because the deed provides that the father shall give up the custody of the child. That clearly does away with the whole of the cases which before that statute might have been held to have had weight with your lordship, because the "custody and control" must clearly apply to the whole care and education of the child; and where the father has given up the control by his own voluntary act, and where the statute has legalized such action on the part of the father, I do not doubt, with all submission, that your lordship will fairly think that Mr. Besant has shut himself out from all right to come to this court, and ask the Court to enable him to break his word.

HIS LORDSHIP.—There you see, Mrs. Besant, you are again in a legal difficulty; you do not know I have already decided that very point the other way not very long ago, and no counsel could argue such a point.

MRS. BESANT.—In which case, —re Talbot and Shrewsbury, my lord?

HIS LORDSHIP.—No.

MRS. BESANT.—In the case of re Carnegie? That case is not yet reported; but if I was informed correctly, my lord, in that case your lordship founded your decision distinctly on the ground of immoral conduct on the part of the mother.

HIS LORDSHIP.—I decided that the father had not

by the separation-deed, in which he allowed the mother the custody of the child, deprived himself of the right to come to this court and reclaim the custody of the child. I decided that the Act of Parliament must be read as it is written, and not that any gloss should be put upon it. The words of the Act are simply these: That the agreement shall not make the separation-deed invalid; it does not make the agreement valid; and it goes on to say that "No Court shall enforce any such agreement, if the Court shall be of opinion that it would not be for the benefit of the infant or infants to give effect thereto." That agreement relates only to the custody or control of the mother; and all the Act says is, that the insertion of such a clause in the deed shall not make the separation-deed invalid. It does not at all make that clause valid, unless the Court shall think fit.

MRS. BESANT.—I shall not further argue that point, my lord. . . .

HIS LORDSHIP.—Then I want to explain to you what the whole question turns upon. The agreement by the father to give up the control and custody of his child was, until the 24th April, 1873, illegal. He could not do it at all. By no contract whatever could he deprive himself of the custody of his children. This Act was then passed, and by it an exception was made in the favor of the mother to a very limited extent, and all the exception is this: It, first of all, says that no agreement contained in any separation-deed entered into between a father and mother shall be held to be invalid by reason only of its providing that the father of such infant, or infants, shall give up the custody or control to the mother. That gets rid of the illegality of the agreement; but it does not make it valid, because it goes on to say, "provided always that no Court shall enforce any such agreement, if the Court shall be of opinion that it will not be for the benefit of the infant, or infants, to give effect thereto." This is a prohibition to the Court to enforce the agreement; in other words, the Court is not to interfere with the father's legal rights, unless it is of opinion that it shall be for the benefit of the infant that it should do so. That is how the law stands. Then, even if I doubted it, I should give effect to the father's right. It is not, you see, a question of depriving a father of his rights, but as to enforcing them.

MRS. BESANT.—Quite so; and I would urge upon your lordship that I do not really stand in the position of a mother as against a father, for, as I am aware, a married woman has practically no rights in this country; but, rather, as the guardian appointed by the father of his own free-will, and valuable consideration on my part having been given for that.

HIS LORDSHIP.—I take it that I have nothing to do with that; I have only to say that I am prohibited by law from interference with the father's agreement to give up the custody of the infant, unless I am of opinion that it would be for the benefit of the infant to give effect thereto. Therefore, you will have to satisfy me that it is for the benefit of the infant to give effect to the father's agreement.

MRS. BESANT.—I will endeavor to do so, my lord. Then I will not press the point which I intended to raise, that it would have a bad effect on public morals if your lordship decides that a father who simply desires to get rid of his wife has only to bribe her by giving up her children to her, to get indemnified for all responsibility with regard to her maintenance, and may then come to this court—while he keeps the whole of the valuable consideration, the indemnity against all liability for maintenance,—and then he is to be permitted to come here and take from the woman that for the sake of which she consented to the deed of separation.

HIS LORDSHIP.—I take it that this is wholly immaterial. All that the statute requires is that the infant's benefit is to be regarded and nothing else.

MRS. BESANT.—Then, my lord, I will remind your lordship that the conduct of the father, however bad, has been held not to be sufficient ground for the interference of this Court. Your lordship will remember the case of Flynn, reported in 12 Jurist, where it was held, under very extreme circumstances, that the Court would not interfere to deprive him of his parental rights, although such deprivation would be of advantage to the infant.

HIS LORDSHIP.—That is quite a different case. MRS. BESANT.—Yes, he was only notoriously profigate and drunken, not irreligious. But I will submit to your lordship that there is no case for the removal of the child merely on the ground of speculative opinions, and your lordship is really asked to do that for which there is no precedent on the law books.

HIS LORDSHIP.—I agree, so far. I do not know that this Court has ever taken away the custody of a child from its father, or lawful guardian, merely on the ground that the father or guardian entertained speculative opinions.

MRS. BESANT.—Quite so, my lord; that is all I desire to put; I will not press the point further.

The essential facts appear to be:—

1. That the father, the Rev. Frank Besant, gave his wife a deed of separation, dated October 25, 1873, by which "it was provided, *inter alia*, that, except during one month in every year, the said Annie Besant should have the sole custody and control of the said Mabel Emily Besant so long as she should continue an infant, free from interference or interruption on the part of the said Frank Besant, or any person deriving or claiming authority from him, and also that the said Annie Besant should have the said Arthur Digby Besant to reside with her one month in every year"; and that, in accordance with the natural equity of the case, the father was to have the custody of the boy, and the mother that of the girl,

—these two children being the only issue of the marriage.

2. That the father, disregarding wholly this sacred agreement in the deed of separation, in consideration of which the mother had relinquished her legal claim for alimony, has now broken his own word, and legally, but unjustly, wrested from the poor, helpless mother the only one of her children left to her, while he seizes both for himself.

3. That the Rev. Frank Besant has thereby proved himself so mean, treacherous, and cruel, that no word in the English language can more fittingly describe his character than the word *sneak*; and that he has earned the hearty reprobation of every man who has soul enough to detest tyranny, fraud, and treason to all that is manly.

4. That Sir George Jessel, the Judge, admitting that no child had ever been taken away from its father by his court on account of the father's speculative opinions, proceeded to take away from a mother on that account the child expressly guaranteed to her by the father in the deed of separation; and that this flagrant and disgraceful partiality, whatever may be his pretence of regard for the "benefit of the infant," should brand him as an unjust judge in the estimation of all right-minded persons.

It is impossible that Mrs. Besant should fail to receive the deep sympathy of American liberals in this her hour of maternal sorrow, aggravated and embittered as it is by a burning sense of wrong. She has proved herself faithful to her own convictions of right and truth to a degree involving courage and self-sacrifice of which few indeed are capable. Who shall say that martyrdom is unknown in our age, when such a grief as this, far sharper and more terrible than the momentary pangs of death, is thrust into a mother's bleeding heart, for no better reason than that she has obeyed her conscience to the bitter end? When such crimes as these are committed in the name of God, is it any wonder that his name becomes to multitudes an object of hatred or contempt? Our readers well know that scientific theism is the goal at which our own thought persistently arrives; but such an infamy as this almost makes us long to be an atheist. Tyranny is hideous enough at all times; but when it puts on the cloak of religion, what demon was ever yet so black or horrid? Let us all hope that English law will at last, on appeal to some higher court, clear itself by a reversal of judgment from the disgrace which Sir George Jessel has brought upon it. But the last word on this subject should be Mrs. Besant's own:—

Sir George Jessel is a Jew; he thinks that a parent should be deprived of a child if he or she withhold from it religious training. Two hundred years ago, Sir George Jessel's children might have been taken from him because he did not bring them up as Christians; Sir George Jessel and his race have been relieved from disabilities, and he now joins the persecuting majority, and deals out to the atheist the same measure dealt to his forefathers by the Christians. The Master of the Rolls pretended that by depriving me of my child he was inflicting no punishment on me. If the Master of the Rolls have any children, he must be as hard-hearted in the home as he is on the bench, if he would not feel that any penalty was inflicted on him if his little ones were torn from him and handed over to a Christian priest, who would teach them to despise him as a Jew and hate him as a dealer of Christ. Even now Jews are under many social disabilities; and even when richly gilt, Christian society looks upon them with thinly-concealed dislike. The old, wicked prejudice still survives against them, and it is with shame and with disgust that liberals see a Jew trying to curry favor with Christian society by reviving the obsolete penalties once inflicted on his own people.

Of one thing Sir George Jessel and his Christian friends may be sure, that neither prosecution nor penalty will prevent me from teaching both atheism and Malthusianism to all who will listen to me; and since Christianity is still so bigoted as to take the child from the mother because of a difference of creed, I will strain every nerve to convert the men and women around me, and more especially the young, to a creed more worthy of humanity.

Sir George Jessel pretended to have the child's interests at heart; in reality he utterly ignored them. I offered to settle £110 a year on the child if she was placed in the charge of some trustworthy and respectable person; but the Master did not even notice the offer. He takes away the child from plenty and comfort, and throws her into comparative poverty; he takes her away from most tender and watchful care, and places her under the guardianship of a man so reckless of her health that he chose the moment of her serious illness to ask for her removal; he takes her away from cultured and thoughtful society to place her among half-educated farmers. Nay, he goes further: Dr. Drysdale's affidavit stated that it was absolutely necessary at present that she should have her mother's care; and Sir George Jessel disregards this, and, in her still weak state, drags her from her home and from all she cares for, and throws her into the hands of strangers. If any serious results follow, Sir George Jessel will be morally,

though not legally, responsible for them. In her new home she can have no gentle, womanly attendance. No Christian lady of high character will risk the misconception to which she would be exposed by living alone at Sibley Vicarage with a young clergyman who is neither a bachelor nor a widower; the child will be condemned either to solitary neglect at home or to the cold strictness of a boarding-school. She is bright, gay, intelligent, merry, now. What will she be at a year's end? My worst wish for Sir George Jessel is that the measure he has meted out to me may, before he dies, be measured out to him or his.

THE WATKINS CONVENTION.

We are requested to publish the following announcement:—

The Freethinkers' Convention.

The committee having the matter in charge have decided to invite the following named as the speakers for the Freethinkers' Convention to be held in Watkins, August 22, 23, 24, and 25:—

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, Washington, D.C.; Rev. Robert Collyer, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Tenafly, N.J.; Rev. O. B. Frothingham, New York; Hon. Geo. W. Julian, Indiana; Prof. J. E. Oliver, Cornell University; Acting President, Prof. Russel, Cornell University; Prof. F. Adler, New York; Rev. M. J. Savage, Boston; Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, Albany, N.Y.; Mr. James Parton, Newburyport, Mass.; Prof. Youmans, editor *Popular Science Monthly*; Horace Seaver, editor *Boston Investigator*; Francis E. Abbot, editor *INDEX*, Boston; D. M. Bennett, editor *Truth Seeker*, New York; Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, editor *Israelite*, Ohio; Moritz Ellinger, editor *Jewish Times*, New York; Karl Heinzen, editor *Der Pioneer*, Boston; Luther Colby, editor *Banner of Light*, Boston; Col. John C. Bundy, editor *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, Chicago; Hon. Elizer Wright, Boston; B. F. Underwood, Boston; Elder F. W. Evans, Mount Lebanon, N.Y.; Hon. Martin Peabody, New Jersey; Rev. S. R. Calthrop, Syracuse; Rev. E. W. Mundy, Syracuse; Prof. C. D. B. Mills, Syracuse; Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, Elmira; Prof. William Denton, Boston; Mrs. Clara Neymann, New York; Parker Pillsbury, Concord, N.H.; Mrs. Matilda Joselyn Gage, President National Woman's Equal Rights Association; Prof. T. C. Leland, New York; Rev. J. W. Chadwick, Brooklyn; Rev. William J. Potter, New Bedford, Mass.; Rev. William S. Bell, New Bradford, Mass.; Mrs. Lucy A. Coleman, Syracuse, N.Y.; Prof. A. L. Rawson, New York; Charles Ellis, Boston; Giles B. Stebbins, Detroit, Mich.; Rev. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati, O.; Rev. T. J. Sunderland, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Wm. Ellery Copeland, Lincoln, Neb.; Rev. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul, Minn.; Rev. A. Freeman Bailey, Indianapolis, Ind.; Hon. L. W. Billingsly, Lincoln, Neb.; E. C. Walker, Florence, Iowa; Rev. J. M. Barnes, Lafayette, Va.; Miss Elmina Drake Slenker, Snowville, Va.; Prof. A. B. Brown, Worcester, Mass.; L. J. Russell, M.D., Harrisville, Texas; Hon. R. S. McCormick, Franklin, Pa.; Prof. J. H. W. Toohy, Chelsea, Mass.; H. L. Green, Salamanca, N.Y.; Mrs. E. L. Watson, Titusville, Pa.; Rev. S. W. Sample, Strawberry Point, Iowa; S. O. Kellogg, Berlin Heights, Ohio; T. L. Brown, M.D., Binghamton, N.Y.; R. Peterson, editor *Common Sense*, St. Louis, Mo.; Rev. J. H. Harter, Auburn; Rev. W. H. Spencer, Wisconsin; W. F. Jamieson, Chicago; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Boston; Hon. Fred. Douglass, Washington, D.C.; P. V. Naby (Locke), Toledo, Ohio; Andrew Jackson Davis, New York; Rev. A. B. Bradford, Penn.; Hon. Abraham Payne, Providence, R.I.

There will also be many speakers invited who are not named above. The Freethought County Committees of each county of the State will be requested to provide tents to accommodate the people from their respective counties. H. L. Green, Sec'y. SALAMANCA, N.Y., June 4, 1878.

WHEN WE BEGIN to use a telephone for the first time, there is a sense of oddity, almost of foolishness, in the experiment. The dignity of talking consists in having a listener, and there seems a kind of absurdity in addressing a piece of iron; but we must raise our respect for the metal, for it is anything but deaf. The diaphragm of the telephone, the thin iron plate, is as sensitive as the living tympanum to all the delicate refinements of sound. Nor does it depend upon the thickness of the metallic sheet, for a piece of thick boiler-plate will take up and transmit the motions of the air-particles in all the grades of their subtlety. And not only will it do the same thing as the tympanum, but it will do vastly more: the grose, dead metal proves, in fact, to be a hundred times more alive than the living mechanism of speech and audition. This is no exaggeration. In quickness, in accuracy, and even in grasp, there is a perfection of sensitive capacity in the metal; with which the organic instrument cannot compare. We speak of the proverbial "quickness of thought"; but the telephone thinks quicker than the nervous mechanism. Let a word be pronounced for a person to repeat, and the telephone will hear and speak it a hundred miles away in a tenth part of the time that the listener would need to utter it. Give a man a series of half-a-dozen notes to repeat, and he cannot do it accurately to save his life; but the iron plate takes them up, transmits them to another plate hundreds of miles off, which sings them forth instantaneously with absolute precision. The human machine can hear, and reproduce, in its poor way, only a single series of notes, while the iron ear of the telephone will take up whole chords and strains of music, and sending them by lightning through the wire, its iron tongue will emit them in perfect relations of harmony.—Prof. Youmans, in *Popular Science Monthly* for March.

Communications.

"THE MONGOLIAN PROBLEM."

Like Mr. Charles Ellershaw, I agree in conclusions on the Mongolian problem with the proletarian party without agreeing with it in method when that method is violence; and even as to argument I agree with it less completely than Mr. Ellershaw does. This proletarian argument he presents with great force (*INDEX*, May 30), and his own additions to it are well worth our most serious attention. Certainly human progress is not a natural evolution that we may fatalistically take for granted, and placidly contemplate with our hands in our pockets. Mankind and individual nations have repeatedly given instances of arrested progress and periods of retrogression toward a worse state; and mankind, as well as the particular nation whose destinies are specially entrusted to us by the fact of our being its citizens, will continue to go forward or retrograde, not fatedly, but according as every one of us leaves his hand in his pocket or puts it to the wheel. It is not even sufficient to put one's hand to the wheel; it is necessary to do it skillfully.

Of the arguments presented by Charles Ellershaw against Mongolian immigration there are two whose cogency, in the rapid brilliancy of his dialectic march, is made to appear to us as accumulative; whereas on calmer reflection we find it to be deductive. The first argument is derived from the fact that the Mongolian, in coming to our shores, brings with him his women, at least to become wives, so as to give the promise of the Mongolian immigration becoming, as the English, German, Scandinavian, and Irish, a permanent element of the population of this country. The second argument is that the Mongolian race is a sinful, diseased one, so that its mere physical mixture would be a contamination to the American people, not to speak of the worse contamination to our national morals, if the intercourse between the two peoples ever became really social, argument first having shown that it does not. That it does not, far from being a different count against this immigration scheme, is really its redeeming feature, our protection against its greatest danger. In order to make the counts derived from these two sources equal one plus one instead of one minus one, it would be necessary to show, not that the Mongolians bring with them no wives and become no permanent part of the population, as, owing to temporary causes, has been hitherto the case, but that there is the most appalling certainty that if this immigration scheme is allowed to go on a little more, Mongolians will indeed soon adopt the practice of coming to this country as permanent immigrants with women and families and all, and that in such overwhelming numbers as to not only syphillize but utterly mongrelize the American nation.

I know that this mongrel question does not yet strike the majority of intelligent and liberal-minded Americans as a very relevant one. The men and women who were the leaders of the progressive thought of this country during the ever-memorable struggle for the abolition of slavery are not all dead yet. A part of that glorious constellation has already followed its great day's twilight beyond the western horizon; the others are yet above for a while, and we admire the brilliancy of their parting smile on the land where their work is done. It is natural and it is just, that so long as these stars remain in our firmament we should see things partly by their light, and their light is that of a time when the advocacy of the most just cause made it necessary to minimize the importance of questions of race. A man, whether white or black, yellow or red, or even blue or green, if any such existed, was a man for all that; and a man certainly he is, for it is not I, a Christian bishop, who am going to inscribe myself against this sublime doctrine of the universal fraternity of mankind. The first Christian ever baptized outside of the Jewish nucleus was an Ethiopian, a negro, the standard-bearer of all of us gentiles. In the philosophic baptism, at the mystic eucharist, there is no distinction of Jew or Gentile, of Caucasian, African, Mongolian, or red Indian, but we are there one body in Christ, on a footing of the most perfect equality. But if it belongs to the Church, at her point of view and for the purposes which she is appointed to fulfil, to ignore the distinction of races as she ignores the distinctions of rank and wealth, she does not thereby imply that all such things should be absolutely ignored by statesmen, whose sphere is a different one, a sphere in which she claims no jurisdiction.

It belongs to statesmen to make laws providing that not only work but even skill shall be encouraged by material rewards. It belongs to statesmen to make laws to the general effect of restricting the reproduction of the insane, and of persons affected with contagious and hereditary diseases. It belongs to statesmen—and we are all statesmen in a republic—to make both laws and treaties securing the immigration into our country, not of any population that may choose to come, or that a private speculator may choose to invite, but only of a population whose blending with the people of the country may lead to harmonious and advantageous social, industrial, and political relations in the present, with the promise of such an offspring as will constitute an intelligent, virtuous, successful, powerful, healthy, and beautiful nation in the future.

I believe too much stress is laid on the Mongolian's alleged heathen depravity. I profess myself a Christian, but do not wish to have anything to do with fanatics. The Buddhistic creed, is next to the Christian, the most sublime one which was ever professed by any large portion of humanity. The vices of

such Mongolians as come to our shores are sufficiently explained by the fact that they come as celibate workers, without family life and without any prospect of it so long as they remain here. All agglomerations of unmarried pubes—armies, navies, convents, colleges—are by the nature of things hotbeds of sodomy and every other impurity, which does not prevent the victims of those errors, when at last they have a chance of settling down into a regular married life, from becoming decent members of society. Even the results of syphills, I believe, may be obliterated from the general average by some cure or kill process. Such would doubtless be the case with Mongolians, should they ever settle in this country with the complete elements of family life. Of the equality of the Mongolians to ourselves in intelligence, and of their great readiness to adopt any improvement in civilization for which they are not physically unfitted, there is not the slightest doubt.

This adaptability is fully shown by what is truly alleged of the position already taken by the Mongolians as successful competitors to American workmen on American ground and on the basis of American methods of industry, an evil the nature of which is not yet really understood by the proletarian party nor by Mr. Ellershaw himself. What if the Mongolian, having come to this country without a cent, returns to Asia a few years after with a bundle made heavier by a few hundred silver dollars? The assertion that he has made this country poorer by that amount is refuted by the other assertion made in the same breath, that he works for lower wages than any American would accept for the same work. If he works twenty per cent. more than he is paid for, each hundred dollars he carries away has been purchased by him at the cost of a hundred and twenty dollars' worth in property which his labor has created, and which he leaves in this country to be divided between the American people according to the laws, contracts, and methods of business that Americans arrange among themselves. If this division of the plunder is not equitable, if a few Americans alone get the whole profit of it and more too, and go to spend it in Paris, London, and Florence, leaving the working Americans poorer than if there had been no Mongolians to plunder, this is a question between Americans and Americans, not between Americans and Mongolians. So far as this point is concerned, the transmigration question, on which Congress ought to be memorialized, is not that of Celestials to the United States, but that of Americans to Paris.

Let us say it squarely, The Mongolian question, divested from all the elements which sophistry and false arithmetic, inspired too often by animosities of a low order, have added to it, reduces itself to a question of race, and ought as such to be considered by the American people calmly, as a farmer calmly considers the question with what stock to stock his farm. Some one said he would rather be Herod's pig than Herod's son, but the American people will certainly not pay less regard to the human stock which is to people their country than a decent farmer pays to the selection of the stock on his farm. Before, however, we examine which human stock we would rather have, let us ask ourselves, is the question practical?

Will the Mongolian immigration really come in such numbers as to supplant the present population of the United States? It will, as every immigration from a poorer into a richer country will do in time, unless stopped by law or treaty or unless the supply fails. The reason is simple. Immigrants are poor and come to this country in a helpless condition. They need immediate employment and purchase it by working at lower wages than the natives, as we have already seen is the case with the Mongolians. Employers will therefore prefer the immigrants to the natives, who will have themselves to emigrate to another State or to another planet. To remove, however, what is accidental in this result, let us suppose that the natives are not so foolish as to leave to a few employers the whole profit of the plunder of the helpless immigrants, but will by law secure that that plunder shall be pretty fairly divided between all the natives, as the profit of the plunder of the negroes was under certain tariff laws pretty fairly divided between North and South: will that stop the immigration? On the contrary, the immigration will take colossal proportions never thought of before, the whole native population being now interested in encouraging it. Interested, I mean, in a mere hand-to-mouth point of view, irrespective of those far-sighted and higher considerations which ought to govern a nation's policy. The native population, having an unlimited supply of cheap servants, will lose working habits. It is a law of human affairs that whenever a class or a family ceases to be able to do its own work and requires servants, that class or family is doomed to extinction. It will never learn to work again, and so long as it can live on the labor of others, it may exist; but when the cycles of time will, as they certainly will, bring in an order of things in which that family or class is thrown upon its own exertions, it must perish. The descendants of the present Irish, German, Scandinavian, and Nova-Scotian servants will possess the fair mansions and the broad acres of their present masters; but this process of substitution will be imperceptible,—so imperceptible that we do not see it, though it is actually going on, because those European immigrants are of the same race as their masters. Whether their children or the children of their masters inhabit the country and own the estates, the aspect of things would not be materially changed; and even now you might in many instances, without any injury to aesthetics, place the servant on the sofa and the mistress in the kitchen. The case would be entirely different were the Mongolians or any other non-Caucasic race ever allowed to supplant the white population of this country. Besides, Caucasian immi-

gration will soon have reached its natural limit, the approximate equalization of the means of comforts between the workmen of this country and those of Europe. But then the countless millions of wretched Mongolians will continue to pour in.

The Mongolian problem is now, therefore, narrowed within the following terms: This is our country, the country which we love and for which we endeavor to prepare a glorious future by adorning it with the beauties of liberty, virtue, wealth, science, art, political order, and social life. Shall our country after us be the home of a race Caucasian, that is, fair, tall, strong, symmetric, and which it would take only a moderate process of elimination to bring to that absolute ideal beauty of form which many of its individuals realize and which no individual outside of it will ever approach? Or shall our country be the home of a race small in stature, weak of muscle, incapable of standing in battle for our institutions, against any foreign army of full-sized Caucasians or negroes, and by its outward form alien to the arts which, since the days of Greece, have been and will forever be the inspiration of even the morals of that type of civilization which alone can be the highest? Think of our divine statuary, of our marvellous paintings, of our poetry, our opera, the brilliancy of our social life. Then think of the opera, of the ball-room, without the idealizing presence of Caucasian beauty! We have seen at Philadelphia the Mongolian substitutes for the Mellian Venus and the Belvedere Apollo. Think of an Iliad with a Chinese Thetis or a Japanese Athena! Argyropeza Thetis, Iris, Athene, Hera, Zeus, are not the peristyles of our capitol those of your temples? Do you flee from us? Save us, save our land; or if not even the gods can save a nation bent on suicide, come, Sleep and Death, carry me away from the sight of my United States with a Mongolian population.

JULIUS FERRETTE.

BISHOP FERRETTE'S METRIC SYSTEM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Allow me to thank Bishop Ferrette for his undeservedly generous treatment, in THE INDEX of May 9, of my article on the Metric Reform and of its author. While, however, his courtesy is very charming, his arguments are hardly satisfactory. In his reply to my criticisms, he has given, in detail, the table which he proposes in place of the Metric System. The ratio, it will be seen, is uniformly decimal, while a slight connection with our old measures is secured by making the foot the basis of the system, and retaining the name "ounce" for the unit of weight. Of course, the retention of the foot would be a convenience for those countries which already use that denomination; but as it is hoped to make the system universal, this feature can hardly be regarded as of any general value. As to facility of reduction, a small slip of paper which any one can carry in his vest pocket will contain all the figures needed for readily changing the old English into metric denominations, and vice versa. Bishop Ferrette still insists that his system retains the ounce, in fact, as well as in name, and that that denomination of our avoirdupois table represents accurately the weight of one "millicube" of water. Now my authority for denying this assertion may be "erroneous and antiquated," but I am unable to find anything more reliable or recent which refutes the denial. As a result of an examination ordered by the United States Senate in 1830, it was ascertained that the measures in use in the various custom-houses were badly discordant. The treasury department assumed the right to correct the evil, and, accordingly, under the auspices of Secretary McLane, uniform weights and measures were constructed and sent to the various custom-houses as authentic standards. Congress sanctioned this action, by joint resolution, June 14, 1836. The gallon adopted at this time was to contain 231 cubic inches, or 58,372.1764 grains of distilled water at the temperature of maximum density, and at thirty inches of the barometer; the bushel was to contain 3150.42 cubic inches, or 643,391.89 grains of water, under the same conditions. From either of these sets of figures, the weight of a cubic foot of water is determined to be 436,654.19 grains, or 998.0667 avoirdupois ounces. I have been able to learn of no governmental action which has modified this authorized relation. If the English gallon is taken as the standard (and in an "Anglo-American" system the precedence would properly be given to the mother country), the variation becomes still greater. A computation similar to those previously described, based on data furnished by the latest English statutes, determines the cubic foot of water to weigh only a small fraction over nine hundred and ninety-seven ounces. Clearly, the statement that a cubic foot of water weighs a thousand ounces is a loose assertion, whether obtained from "common arithmetics" or from a "minority report of a Congressional Commission."

Mr. Ferrette's statement with reference to the difficulties attending the mechanical manipulation of a liquid, in its cubic measurement, is a sufficient explanation of whatever slight discrepancies may exist between the actual French kilogram and more recent theoretical determinations. As the original experiments were made with the utmost care, and by thoroughly competent men, it may safely be concluded that they came about as near attaining absolute accuracy as is within the limits of human possibilities.

I have no criticisms to offer as to Mr. Ferrette's suggested method of "settling this metric question satisfactorily." His hearty hopefulness with reference to the realization of his benevolent plans is always inspiring. For myself, however, I must confess that I am not so sanguine as to anticipate that the proposed trinkets would ever rise much above the

grade of watch-charms, or, possibly, an honorable position in some future antiquarian's collection.

HENRY DOTY MAXSON.

MILTON, Wis., June, 1878.

FOR DIGNITY IN DISCUSSION STILL.

OZARK, Mo., May 21, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

My short article on the need of high-tone and dignity in the discussion of the issues between liberalism and Christianity, published a short time ago in THE INDEX, has called forth some harsh censure from a few indignant liberals. I have no relish for personal controversy, and shall not measure lances with my critics, some of whom have shown themselves masters in the use of a certain style of rhetoric which I do not wish to cultivate.

But the principle for which I contended I still maintain with no abatement of earnestness. A reasonable regard for the sanctity of truth demands that the great issues of modern thought be discussed in a spirit of honor and magnanimity commensurate with the dignity and importance of the subjects involved. The genius of true liberalism demands that this magnificent arena of intellectual contest shall not be defiled by any resort to the arts of the demagogue, but that the spirit of the highest polemic honor shall rule in a discussion involving the profoundest ideas and hopes of mankind. There is no reason why liberals to-day should imitate the style of discussion employed by the pioneers of free-thought. Our situation is very different from theirs. We live in an age of religious liberty and culture far superior to theirs. They could only defy the universal spirit of religious intolerance and tyranny that everywhere sought to crush the child of liberty. They had not the material for building up a new faith founded in the reason and universal sympathies of mankind that abounds to-day. They did their work according to the force of their surroundings, and the means they employed may have been the best they could command. But liberals have to-day a different mission from that of Paine and Voltaire. They have the grander work of building the temple of a new religion, instead of merely destroying the decaying shrine of an old one. The self-respect of liberals who have faith in their ideas, the respect due an honest opponent, and more than all the great interests of the world that are involved in this imposing conflict of thought, should give this discussion a tone of immaculate purity and a spirit of uncompromising honor.

I may have been unjustly severe in condemning the style of discussion to which I object, but it is unfair in those whom I have offended to hold THE INDEX responsible for the sentiments of a single correspondent. THE INDEX has never, so far as I know, represented any liberal as being "low and vulgar," and fairness demands that those who speak of it should distinguish what is published in the editorial columns from the writings of its correspondents.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

"A RATIONAL CHURCH NEEDED."

EDITOR INDEX:—

Under the above heading, Mr. H. C. Neville remarks: "As it is not the mission of the Liberal League to teach morality nor to cultivate the spiritual and aesthetic sentiments in human nature," etc. To me, this is a most extraordinary statement. "It is not the mission of the Liberal League to teach morality!" Mr. Neville, what is the foundation of all morality? Is it not justice between man and man? And what is justice but another name for truth? When we know what man's proper relations are in respect to his fellow-man, both as an individual and as that aggregate of individuals known as society, then we have truth; and when we make this truth an active, living force in government and society, we have established justice.

Now, this is the special work of the Liberal League; and if we will but do our best to make its principles triumphant in our land, we shall have done the greatest work that we possibly could do for morality. We must labor to establish justice, for justice is, so to speak, the executive arm of truth. Until we can make people apprehend the simple principles of justice, it is so much wasted breath to talk of "spiritual sentiments."

Mr. Neville speaks of "a higher degree of moral culture than that contemplated by the Liberal League." I insist that there is no higher degree of moral culture attainable than that whose germ lies hidden in the rough shell of justice, ready to burst into beautiful and robust life, whenever that justice shall have been planted in the rich soil of humanity.

Every reform which speaks for justice is a Church of Moral Culture; and none other can be abiding. Let us bear onward the banner of every reform—religious, political, industrial, and social,—having in our hearts the unfaltering assurance, that when we shall have established justice in every department of human life we shall be blessed with the purest, the highest, and the noblest morality which man can ever know,—a morality far surpassing the wildest dream of the theorist who vainly imagines that there is something better than justice, and so wastes his time and energies in fruitless "aspirations," neglecting humanity's work at hand.

Let justice ever be your aim,
Your motive, and your guiding star,
Whatever your nation or name,
Whatever your work or your faith.
Trust in Justice; it will guide you,
It will guard you, in life's hard fight;
It ever will carry you through,
And make you lover of man and maid.

E. C. WALKER.

FLORENCE, IOWA.

SLANDERING THE UNIVERSE.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Col. Ingersoll's assertion, that he has no respect for the man who teaches, or who preaches, the infamous dogma of hell, has led to some criticism. What moral right has any man to impute to any authoritative administration of the law of the universe a systematic malignity in action and purpose which is infinitely more detestable than any conceivable human meanness?—a malignity of which no evidence exists, or is possible? And with what grace can any human being of ordinary intelligence commit the subserviency of admitting to be true the impious imputation conveyed by such a dogma? To ascribe unworthy motives to a human being, without substantial basis of fact to justify it, may be a malicious libel which the law will punish. To ascribe to the divine administration, to which all are supposed to stand responsible, a course of action which implies steadfast and infinite malignity of purpose, and thus in theory to extinguish all possibility as well of normal and rational piety as of generous human sympathy, is, in the eye of conscience, no less wicked.

Col. Ingersoll's leniency of disposition is such that in manifesting very decided condemnation of the act, he stops short of very decided reprobation of the actor, merely saying he has no respect for him.

It is a virtue to love truth as being such and honestly to seek after it, and when it is found to proclaim it; but if that is a virtue, then it is a vice, through compliance with fashion or otherwise, deliberately to proclaim as true what is evidently most false and impious. Respect is merited by virtue only. Positive vice deserves reprobation.

A wide distinction of course is to be observed between the tacit and thoughtless assent to such a dogma, as prescribed by some supposed authority, and the deliberate and theoretic avowal and promulgation of it. The one may be entitled to the charity which is due to thoughtlessness and misplaced confidence; but unsophisticated common-sense teaches that the other involves a stretch of presumption which must be set down to the account either of downright demoralization, or of a solemn renouncement of all manly sense of individual moral responsibility for the right use of reason, more widely mischievous, and therefore worse, than that.

C. C.

Northumberland, Pa., June 4, 1878.

INVESTIGATING SPIRITUALISM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The resolutions and suggestions published in THE INDEX of the 8th instant, at the request of Mr. D. P. Kayner, secretary of the meeting of Spiritualists lately held in Chicago, have struck me very forcibly. These Spiritualists evidently firmly believe that there are persons, "mediums," through whom certain remarkable phenomena take place. Considering the evident honesty of the authors of the resolutions, it has occurred to me that they would be willing to assist honest inquirers into the truth of Spiritualism. Will Mr. Kayner, through your columns, be kind enough to name a person in Boston who possesses the powers referred to; or will he name some one who will come to Boston, if invited, with the understanding that he or she is to submit to tests as suggested in the "Hints to Investigators and Mediums"?

I suggest that you, Mr. Abbot, be one of the investigators. I do this because I believe that you will be just and fair to the "medium" at the same time that you are rigid in the application of the tests. I will suggest, also, that you name other investigators to be associated with yourself.

I think there need be no great haste made in applying the tests, since so many persons are about leaving for the country; but, in order that the matter may be under consideration, perhaps Mr. Kayner will name the "medium" at once, or very shortly. O.

Boston, June 11, 1878.

[We strongly second the above request, excepting only that portion relating to our own participation, since we distrust our qualifications for such a task. But we certainly desire to see a really scientific study of the "phenomena" of Spiritualism by competent persons, and consider the above proposal a most excellent one. Is there any "medium" in Boston who will accept the conditions named in Mr. Kayner's communication? If so, many will be interested to learn his or her name.—ED.]

POMP.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As there is so much that is vile laid to the charge of the Socialistic Labor Party, when there does anything come from that source which even you can approve, I presume that you would be glad to lay it before your readers. Thinking that such is the case, I respectfully ask you to give place to the following from the *National Socialist* of June 1:—

"CLEVELAND'S EVENT: Splendors of the Sherman-Cameron Nuptials.—Silks, feathers, gilt, tinsel, trumpery, broderie, insanities! Out upon the abominations! Blending with the oturd tones of the priest and the musical cadences of the epithalamium, were heard low moans of famine, and curses, not loud but deep, of hungry loungers attracted by the gay cortege. Cleveland's evil, it might more properly be called. Let people shake the head ominously at all such doings. There is everything to dread in spectacles of this sort. They are nothing less than barbarisms; displays of wretched vulgarity to impress the poor with the wide difference between the ruled and the ruler, the capitalist and the laborer. There is nothing that tends more to shock people into sub-

mission than grandeur. It is one of the secrets of royalty to impress the popular mind with magnificent sights, exhibiting themselves on state occasions with pomp and show of power,—grand coaches with liveried servants, mounted guards, and glittering lines of bayonets. Learn to despise all shows, all brilliant displays of power not publicly sanctioned by the people, and participated in as their own. Above all, spurn all individual costly shows. There is a tendency inherited from scores of feudal centuries to bow servilely to appearances. Let us resist that tendency."

Good, and amen! There has been enough of this kind of nonsense. No more ovations, at the expense of the people, of the visiting princelings of other lands! Cast your votes for those officials who maintain habits of republican simplicity in their official life. This love of ostentatious display is the root of much of the public corruption of the day.

E. C. WALKER.

ABSORPTION IN THE WHOLE.

Boston, March 26, 1878.

MR. EDITOR:—

People who are anxious, restless about their future existence remind me of our fears when reading some novel, that it "won't turn out well"; some one will die, or some one will be left unhappy. Yet authors do so leave their heroes sometimes; and shall we expect the God of the universe to cater to our interest in certain actors on life's stage? Shall we call it unfair or hard-hearted, if God does not take us to a home of just our own making? We want to see a pretty, a romantic ending to our lives. We want to be made happy by a re-union with all loved and injured ones. We would close the last chapter of life with each hero well assured of a future opportunity to receive and deal out justice where injustice has been done. I fear we are not fully aware that this existence is a part of eternity; that this is our primary-school where many hard tasks are to be learned.

We regret the lost opportunities of doing good to parents and friends now gone, while we speak the hasty word, neglect the duty, or remain unappreciative of the blessings surrounding us. Rest assured the past is dead, and we can only make reparation by taking the lesson to heart, and dealing with the present. We are not to be indulged by being granted a day of reconciliation when it is already too late! This is no child's play. Through our errors and failures are we to be made perfect.

We harp on the word "compensation." We cry for things we have a fancy for, like babes, little knowing that, if what we so grasp for as the height of our soul's longing were given us, we should but stint ourselves of the joys an all-gracious Creator has in store.

Is it so, that we would choose a continuation of our own petty individual selves, who can only love, rather than really become love and all the virtues themselves? We would not be forever worked upon! Do we not feel ourselves too cramped to give and receive all the love we are capable of? It seems to me that our soul's confinement within this physical form is not the whole reason.

It is because our souls now are individual, and so incomplete, that we cannot pass the bounds of certain heights to which we sometimes rise.

We must, in the course of life, attain individuality that we may lose it.

This life of ours, and of all things, is undying; we would put off the personal, the individual, that we may become one with the whole. SM.

CHARLES ELLIS.

MR. ABBOT:—

I am desirous of making up a lecture route in New York State among the Liberal Leagues and other liberal societies, and will esteem it as a favor if you will allow me to make such an announcement through THE INDEX.

I look upon the Liberal League as the most practical movement before the unchurched people of the country, and shall take pleasure in encouraging that work wherever I can.

I have a large list of prepared lectures, the result of many years' labor, but will select only a few, and these with a view to their bearing upon questions that are exciting unusual interest among the people.

They are as follows:—

1. The Need of Better Religion: Organization the Duty of Liberals.
2. Faith and Scepticism.
3. The Origin and End of "Hell."
4. The Orthodox "Heaven" a Failure.
5. The Vicarious Atonement a Premium on Crime.
6. Nature and the Nation: Government without Gods.

Address CHARLES ELLIS,
No. 8 Portland Street, Boston, Mass.

Mr. H. L. Green, Chairman Ex. Com. N. L. L., and Cor. Sec. F. A., of Western New York, writes: "I had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Charles Ellis at the meeting of the 'Friends of Progress,' at Waterloo, June 3, and was much pleased with his speech; and I take pleasure in recommending him to liberal societies as one who is prepared to advance the liberal cause. I wish he might be constantly kept in the lecture-field."

[Believing Mr. Ellis to be a forcible and interesting lecturer, we wish to further his efforts on behalf of the Liberal League movement, and hope he will secure numerous engagements. Friends of this movement in New York State will please take notice of the above announcement.—ED.]

GLEAMS.

"The government has purchased a little more than five hundred and twenty-five tons of silver since the passage of the remonetization act, and silver has fallen in price about one penny per ounce. Of course this lessens the intrinsic value of the silver dollar of four hundred and twelve grains about two cents."

The above statement shows that the actual and prospective purchases of silver for coinage have not raised the market-price of silver bullion, as measured by gold. The reason is not far to seek. It is because the price of silver is influenced mainly by the demand for it, to be used in the arts.

The average price of all articles of merchandise is determined by their cost, the fluctuations depending on the greater or less steadiness of the demand.

The reason that gold is a better standard or measure of value than silver is because there is no product of human labor for which the demand is so constant and unvarying. Why this is so, it would take too long to tell; but that it is so, and for reasons that exist in the constitution of man and the nature of things, is unquestionable. But this universal desire for gold is for the METAL, and not for the coin because it is used as money. It is used as money because of this desire. F. S. C.

THE BIBLE AND CONSCIENCE.

ED. INDEX:—

Never have I quite agreed with the fourth of the "Demands of Liberalism"; but I am less agreed with the usual replies. Here is a "settler," which I find going the rounds of the church papers: "Because there may be some individuals who object to having the Bible read in the schools does not prove that their consciences alone are to be respected."

Now, mark that conscience is to be respected, but not the consciences of some people "alone." It is only the qualificative "alone" that saves the sentence from utter condemnation. Read it thus: "Because there may be some individuals who wish to have the Bible read in the schools does not prove that their consciences alone are to be respected"; and you have an argument as strong as the other. Both statements are fallacious. "Conscience" must be left out of the debate. Every man's conscience should be respected, and respected "alone," as well as when in company. But conscience has nothing to do with the Bible in the schools. "As a book of religious worship"—especially in our common and uncommonly absurd English version—keep it out. "As a text-book," in the original tongues, let us have the Bible in the schools—in our highest schools "alones."

I. J. STINE.

April 15, 1878.

COMMUNISM.

Every Communist, whatever other views he holds, must believe in a community of property, more or less modified. But Nature is never one-sided, and in practice community of property, pure and simple, is impossible. What a man personally uses he must own; and, in fact, a man cannot strictly be said to own anything but what he uses. The amount that a man may use varies very much with the man, some using and needing much more than others.

The Familistere founded by Godin at Guise was built and owned by one man, who is capitalist and manager of the whole concern.

The Oneida Community holds its property in common, but that practically amounts to the man or men who manage and direct the affairs owning the property as fully as M. Godin owns his.

So with the Shaker Communities the property is practically owned by the ruling authorities or leaders, the individuals having only what they use, and little or no more control over the remainder than if it were owned by a benevolent and beneficent capitalist. F. S. C.

SENTIMENTALISM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Rev. Dr. Brooks, in a New Haven lecture upon "The Preacher's Relation to our Times," uses these words: "Another tendency of the times is to sentimentalism. A hard theology is bad, but a soft theology is worse. Our hymns have too little thought, and so have our prayers. Sentimentalism goes with scepticism, as chills and fever go together." Is this true? Is there a more common complaint against scepticism in these times than that it lacks sentiment, flouts "emotion," does not cultivate the feelings, relies upon reason rather than faith? Is Mr. Moody sceptical? Do Sankey's hymns contain more thought than those sung by Unitarians? Which theology is the softer, O. B. Frothingham's or Henry Ward Beecher's? H. L. B. B.

PHILADELPHIA.

IN THE CATHEDRAL of Chichester are entombed the Dukes of Richmond. On the marble tablet is a Latin inscription ending with the words, *Domus Ultima*, the last home, last house; whereupon this epigram:—

Did he who thus inscribed the wall,
Not read or not believe St. Paul?
Who says there is, where'er it stands,
Another house not made with hands,
Or must we gather from these words,
That house is not a house of lords?

JUDGE WESTBROOK, in charging a grand jury in Utica, N. Y., not long since, remarked, "No matter whether lotteries are at a church fair or festival, whether at a charitable fair or festival, they are forbidden by the law, and are misdemeanors."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America-that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,-is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Bear"); with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wilson and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,-together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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PUBLISHED BY THE INDEX ASSOCIATION,

AT No. 231 Washington Street, Boston.

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To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

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MISS DEVEREUX' BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES AND CHILDREN, at Irvington-on-Hudson, will re-open on Monday, Sept. 17, 1877. Miss Devereux refers, among others, to the following gentlemen: Rev. Orville Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.; Mr. A. C. Richards, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. H. B. Bishop, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. Wm. H. Orton, Pres. W. U. Telegraph Co., N.Y.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION REPORTS.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1873 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles? WM. J. POTTER, Secretary F. R. A.

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

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1878.

WHOLE No. 444.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THE SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

MISS ANNA C. BRACKETT has most keenly and sensibly criticised the Stewart-Hilton absurdity in the *Springfield Republican*.

THE RECEIPTS of the Catholic Society for the Propagation of the Faith for the last year were 6,142,926 francs.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE has been organized at Malden, Massachusetts, with officers as follows: President, Rev. D. M. Wilson; Vice-President, A. A. Knights; Secretary, Francis Hinckley; Treasurer, D. B. Morey.

MR. UNDERWOOD will lecture at Albion, N. Y., June 27 and 28; at Elmira, N. Y., June 30. We are glad to see that he has been elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the National Secular Society of Great Britain, at the meeting of June 9 in Sheffield.

MR. E. H. HEYWOOD, whose case has been decided just as we are going to press, has been sentenced to a fine of one hundred dollars and two years imprisonment in Dedham Jail. We can now only record the fact, but shall have something to say next week on this great wrong.

PROF. SWING thus sets His Lectureship, like the little McStinger after his maternal spanking, on a paving-stone to cool: "His mind is more that of a fanatic than that of a philosopher. He is enamored with the scientific style, but labors under the disadvantage of not knowing what that style is in its purity. Much of Mr. Cook's scientific method is only a method of language, a certain gravity of dress, as though a small boy were wearing the wig and gown of an English justice."

HENRY WARD BEECHER read "Thanatopsis" at Plymouth Church, June 16, and said: "A sweeter pagan song was never sung. Let me supplement it now with a Christian chant." Thereupon he read Watts' hymn, "Unvell thy bosom, faithful tomb." After this, he said: "Watts is better than Bryant. Listen now to the Sacred Word in contrast with this pagan song." Mr. Beecher is correct in calling Bryant's great poem "pagan"; and that is why it will live forever. For "paganism" is simply humanity unspelled by Christianity.

THIS IS the same moral lagging at the end of a recent letter of Rev. J. L. Atkinson to the *Independent*, dated at Kobe, Japan: "This people has yet to learn that enlightenment that is not Christianized is not a safe enlightenment, either for an individual or for a nation. . . . To the words 'enlightenment,' 'liberty,' 'reformation,' 'progress,' the Japanese need to add the qualifying, vivifying word Christian. Then under the power of 'Christian enlightenment,' 'Christian liberty,' 'Christian reformation,' 'Christian progress,' Japan will move on and up, and attain the height of its ambition."

A LITTLE GIRL of our acquaintance, six years old, came back to her home from play a few days since, screaming at the top of a very vigorous voice and holding both hands tightly to her mouth. The father rushed out to the relief of the little sufferer, and found that a tooth, loose for several days, had at last fallen out of its own accord; and the frightened cherub evidently imagined that she was all coming to pieces. "Never mind," said the paternal comforter, soothingly, "I lost all mine once, but new ones will come. All your other teeth must come out too." "No, they won't," sobbed the bereaved little one; "I won't let them." "But, my dear, how can you help it?" "I'll hold them in tight." "But that will not keep them in." "Yes, it will; my teeth are not so strong as my hands!" And she lifted up her voice afresh at the recollection of her own remissness in not applying her manual strength to the retention of her first lost pearl.

THE LONDON *Secular Review* announces that Colonel Ingersoll will visit England this summer. It adds: "It appears that the Colonel has no crotchets

anent the 'social question.' He maintains that marriage is the only sacred institution upon earth; sacred, because it is the corner-stone of the domestic life upon which all the domestic and social virtues are superimposed. With absolute marital equality for women, and with equality of rights for children, 'the democracy of the fireside' is the fountain from which will be obtained the materials necessary to establish and guarantee the future democracy of the world. As an orator, Ingersoll is unexcelled. By turns witty, pathetic, and emotional, he is also a perfect master of the English language, and holds his hearers enthralled by his marvellous eloquence. We are sure that this gifted man will receive a cordial welcome in this country, and we believe that his appearance in our midst cannot fail to expedite the progress of mental emancipation, and to give increased momentum to departing superstition. We advise the Christian Evidence Society to elect a champion to confront this Apostle of Liberty."

THE *Banner of Light* quotes this strikingly telling passage from "a recent sermon by a distinguished Orthodox divine"—whose name ought not to be hidden under a bushel: "We are afraid of Ingersoll and his infidelity, and well we may be. We are in no condition to meet the enemy. He is sapping the foundations of our faith, and I say boldly, with a sense of the weight of responsibility resting on me, if Christianity does not influence the life of Christians more than it now does in this country, there is little to choose between them. While leaders of the churches are bankrupt, while honest men by the thousands have their hard earnings taken from them either by recklessness, extravagance, or premeditated soundrallism, while widows and orphans are robbed of their little all, and are suffering for the bare necessities of life, and crying to God in their distress for help, and the men who do these things not only belong to the Church and go unrebuked, but in very many cases are leaders of it,—I say as a minister of the Gospel, if there is not enough of the spirit of Christ in the Church to stop these outrages, these abominations, the Church is not worth saving."

MISS ELIZABETH P. PEABODY writes thus to the *Christian Register*: "A friend has just sent me a photograph of Mr. Morse's bust of Dr. Channing. It has filled me with delight and wonder, for I think Mr. Morse could hardly have personally known Dr. Channing; yet it is the only attempt at portraiture of the beloved and revered original that has given the sweetness and dignity of his beautiful mouth, that feature which is always the true and living expression of the character. Mr. Morse has evidently made good use of Gambardella's portrait, which gave the primitive formation, the perfect anatomy, as in all the portraits that he made; but only the genius that must have fed on Dr. Channing's own soul-utterances could have made such use of it. For the first time since his death I seem to have seen him! I should think that every friend of his who could command the money to pay for it would order a marble copy. I am confident if one copy could get to England that many of his ardent admirers there, and friends who owe to him the highest spiritual influence upon their lives, would want copies enough to employ Mr. Morse for years. He is truly to be congratulated on his success." And our good friend, the editor, Rev. Charles G. Ames, adds this note: "When Rev. Dr. Bellows first saw a photograph of Mr. Morse's bust of Channing, of which Miss Peabody writes, he broke out in an exclamation of admiring surprise; and after closer inspection gave his opinion that, while the work of the artist did not wholly satisfy his sense of proportion and dimension, he had nevertheless caught and fixed a certain subtle spiritual expression and quality which better represents Dr. Channing himself than any picture of him ever made."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

William Cullen Bryant.

AN ILLNESS OF ONLY FOURTEEN DAYS.
THE END VERY PEACEFUL AND QUIET—CAUSE OF THE ATTACK—A FATAL RESULT FEARED ALMOST FROM THE FIRST—UNIVERSAL REGRET EXPRESSED OVER THE EVENT—THE FUNERAL—MR. BRYANT'S CAREER.

William Cullen Bryant died at half-past five o'clock yesterday morning [June 12], at his residence in this city. He passed away as in sleep, surrounded by those members of his family who are in the city, and two or three intimate friends. His illness of fourteen days dates from a fall which caused concussion of the brain. He fell in a swoon, induced by exposure to the sun and over-exertion in delivering an address at the unveiling of the bust of Mazzini, in Central Park. He was conscious only during a short period of his illness, which his physicians believed would terminate fatally, almost from the first. The news of his death was received with universal expressions of regret. The funeral services will take place on Friday [June 14], at ten A.M., in Dr. Bellows's church, and the remains will then be taken to Roslyn, Long Island.

MR. BRYANT'S LAST HOURS.

LIFE EBBS SLOWLY AND QUIETLY—THE DEATH SCENE—RECAPITULATION OF HIS ILLNESS—STATEMENT OF HIS PHYSICIAN.
Mr. Bryant's last moments were as peaceful and full of repose as the thoughts on death that form so memorable a part of his verse. Twenty-four hours before, his physicians saw signs of approaching death, but life ebbed so slowly and quietly that it was thought he might live far into the forenoon. Dr. Henry D. Paine paid his last visit just before midnight, leaving Mr. Bryant in a comatose state, without pain or fever. His pulse was regular, but very weak, and after that hour no attempt was made to give him nourishment, owing to the extreme difficulty with which he swallowed anything. There were at his bedside his daughter, Miss Julia Bryant, his other daughter, Mrs. Parke Godwin, being absent with her husband in Europe; his granddaughter, Miss Godwin; his niece, Miss Fairchild; John A. Graham, an old and intimate friend; and Frederick N. Goddard. Death was expected at any moment during the last three hours. After four o'clock he sank into a slumber that closely resembled death, and remained in that state for more than an hour. The final change was so peaceful that the silent watchers were not sure that his life had passed away until thirty-five minutes after five o'clock.

Word was sent to Dr. John F. Gray, Mr. Bryant's senior physician, and dispatches were sent to Mr. Bryant's brother, John Howard Bryant, of Princeton, Ill., who, however, was somewhat expected by a morning train. The circumstances of the death scene were sent by cable to Mr. and Mrs. Parke Godwin, who are now in Europe.

Mr. Bryant's remains were placed in the library adjoining the room in which he died. During the day ex-Governor Samuel J. Tilden, General James G. Wilson and a few intimate friends of the family called at the house to express their sympathy.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF MR. BRYANT'S ILLNESS.

Mr. Bryant had filled the place of honor on several public occasions during the past winter and spring. He had been long an ardent admirer of the life and works of the Italian patriot Mazzini, and accepted readily the invitation to participate prominently in the exercises of unveiling the Mazzini bust, in Central Park, on May 29. On that day, after eating a very light luncheon, he proceeded to the Park. The sun shone brightly, and the weather was uncommonly sultry for the season. When he stepped forward on the exposed platform to deliver his address, a friend insisted on protecting his uncovered head from the sun's rays with an umbrella, which was held over him. Mr. Bryant spoke with unusual earnestness and feeling, and, on reaching his peroration, stepped from under the umbrella and, facing the statue, threw all the force at his command into his closing words. He sat down nervous and perceptibly exhausted.

When the ceremonies were over, however, Mr. Bryant said that he was not fatigued, and accepted an invitation to dine with General James G. Wilson, whose residence was half a mile to the east of the place of the exercises. Mr. Bryant was fond of walking, and they went to the house on foot. He set out in a very cheerful mood, with one hand on the arm of his host and the other clasping the hand of General Wilson's little daughter. He was talking with the little girl about the birds flying about them, and asked her if she had ever heard of some lines to the bobolink. She answered yes, and that she also knew who the poet was who wrote them. Where-

upon Mr. Bryant, much amused, said he thought he would write out the lines for her sometime.

Mr. Bryant went up the steps of General Wilson's residence and stood leaning against the outer door-post, while his host stepped inside the vestibule to open the inner door. General Wilson had scarcely turned his hand before he heard a sound, and, looking back, he saw that Mr. Bryant was falling, as if he had taken a step into the vestibule, lost his balance and fallen directly backward, his head striking the platform step.

A gentleman, who was passing in the street, and the servants helped to carry Mr. Bryant into the parlor, where he lay for several minutes insensible. When he had recovered sufficiently to sit up, a glass of iced-sherry, which he drank, seemed to strengthen him. He put his hand to his head, moaning, "My head! my head! I don't feel well." Mr. Bryant declined every offer of assistance and seemed only to think of getting home, and desired to go in a horse-car rather than in a carriage. General Wilson took him to Seventeenth Street in a Madison Avenue car, and from there in a carriage to his house, No. 24 West Sixteenth Street. On his way down Mr. Bryant talked brokenly and sometimes wandered in thought. He did not recognize his street or home, but, as if mechanically, drew out his latch-key and opened the door himself, the servant answering the bell tardily. When the dining-room was reached, he asked General Wilson if he would like to see Miss Fairchild, his niece, and sent the servant to call her. General Wilson explained the matter to Miss Fairchild in the parlor, and she asked Mr. Bryant if Dr. Gray should be summoned. He expressed a doubt whether the doctor, who had almost given up his practice, would answer the call. He told Miss Fairchild that he was a very sick man, and on being removed to the library up stairs gave an order to the servant, and then fell into an unconscious state, which lasted until noon of the following day.

STATEMENT OF HIS PHYSICIAN.

Dr. John F. Gray, who is seventy-four years of age, being Mr. Bryant's junior by ten years, has been the post's family physician for nearly forty years. In conversation yesterday, he said that Mr. Bryant's fall caused concussion of the brain, and that he had at no time expected the recovery of his patient. The injuries were such that a younger and a stronger man could scarcely have survived them. As the spot where Mr. Bryant's head struck was lower than his feet, his head must have fallen a distance of six feet, and with great force, his head being proportionally so much larger and heavier than his body. The swoon preceding the fall was caused by a diminution or interruption of the action of the heart or of the respiratory organs. This was probably accompanied with temporary loss of sensation and other faculties.

"I sent for Dr. Carnochan, the surgeon," Dr. Gray continued. "He could find no injury to the skull, and therefore thought there was a chance of recovery. Mr. Bryant, during the first few days would get up and walk about the library or sit in his favorite chair. He would occasionally say something about diet and air. When his daughter arrived from Atlantic City, where she had been for her health, she thought her father recognized her. It is uncertain how far he recognized her or any of his friends. The family were hopeful and made the most out of every sign of consciousness or recognition.

"On the eighth day after the fall, hemorrhage took place in the brain, resulting in paralysis, technically called hemiplegia, and extending down the right side of the body. After this he was most of the time comatose. He ceased to recognize his friends in any way, and lay much of the time asleep. He was unable to speak, and when he attempted to swallow, his food lodged in his larynx and choked him. He was greatly troubled with phlegm, and could not clear his throat. There was only that one attack of hemorrhage of the brain, and that was due to what is called traumatic inflammation. After the fourteenth day he died.

"He was a man who made little demonstration of affection or emotion, but he had a profoundly sympathetic feeling for the life and mission of Mazzini, and on the day when he delivered the address he exhibited considerable emotion. That and the walk afterward certainly exhausted him, and led to the swoon. He overtaxed his strength during the winter, in attending evening entertainments and in public speaking. He had few intimate acquaintances, and was so extremely modest in expressing approbation or liking that one could scarcely tell the extent of his friendly feeling. Though I had attended him for many years, and often visited him at Roslyn, and also at his old homestead in Massachusetts, I never noticed an expression of more than ordinary friendship till I was prostrated by sickness. He made an impression ordinarily of coldness, but his poems show that he had plenty of feeling, and great sympathy for mankind.

"Once when at Roslyn we visited the grave of his wife in the village cemetery, and we saw the place by her side reserved for him. He frequently requested that his funeral should be simple and without ostentation. He has had fulfilled his wish to die in June.

"Mr. Bryant owed his long life to an exceedingly tenacious and tough constitution and very prudent living. I always found him an early riser. Although he was slight of body and limb, he seemed to me unconscious of fatigue, and he would walk many a stronger man off his legs. He did not walk rapidly, but seemed as wiry as an Indian. One day we were walking across the fields at Roslyn. Mr. Bryant was then in his seventy-fourth year, and astonished me by jumping up and catching the limb of a tree, and swinging himself by one arm."

TOKENS OF RESPECT.

The news of Mr. Bryant's death caused universal sorrow. The information rapidly spread from the

newspaper offices, where bulletins were posted early in the forenoon. Mayor Ely caused the flags to be raised at half-mast on the City Hall and on the plaza in Union Square. Flags were displayed at half-mast on many of the hotels and large business buildings. The office of the *Evening Post* was draped in black, and in the editorial rooms the doors leading into Mr. Bryant's room were closed and draped. At Union Square many flags were lowered, out of respect to Mr. Bryant's memory. On the club-house of the Century Club, in Fifteenth Street, of which Mr. Bryant was one of the founders, the flag was at half-mast. Madison Square was late in hearing of Mr. Bryant's death, but before five o'clock flags were at half-mast on the Fifth Avenue Hotel and the Brunswick. Mr. Bryant's portrait, draped, and occasionally trimmed with flowers, was seen in several show-windows on Broadway.

At the meeting of the Ladies' Art Association the president, Mrs. Henry Peters Grey, announced, with expressions of regret, the death of Mr. Bryant, who acted on the reception committee at the first reception given to the Association at the residence of the late Wm. T. Blodgett.

THE FUNERAL.

Arrangements for the funeral were made during the afternoon. The services will be held at ten o'clock on Friday morning, in All Souls' Church, at Twentieth Street and Fourth Avenue. The Rev. Dr. Bellows will conduct the services, and deliver a brief address. In accordance with Mr. Bryant's expressed wish, the funeral will be as simple and unostentatious as it is possible to make it. Friends are requested not to send flowers, and there will be no pallbearers. After the services at the church, the remains will be taken privately to Roslyn, Long Island, for interment.

CAREER OF THE POET-JOURNALIST.

Mr. Bryant was born Nov. 8, 1794, at Cummington, in Hampshire County, Massachusetts. It is a place well suited to be the early home of a poet of Nature,—a secluded and romantic spot on a forest elevation above the Connecticut River. It is marked in summer by the luxuriance of its foliage, and by the pronounced contrasts of its mountain wildness with the grace and beauty of its meadow valley. In the winter the place is exposed to the severest storms, and enormous snow-drifts often remind one of Whittier's phrase,—“a universe of sky and snow.” In this home the poet passed his first sixteen years. His mother was a descendant of John Alden, the famous lieutenant of Miles Standish, and was a woman of great force of character. His father, Peter Bryant, was the grandson of Stephen Bryant, who came to this country from England in the Mayflower. Peter Bryant was a distinguished local physician, of rare learning and accomplishments, who had travelled much and was fond of literature. He early turned his attention to the education of his children, and always took a deep interest in their intellectual and moral training. William was especially encouraged in his studies of Latin and Greek, and the father's pride was soon awakened by the appearance of several metrical translations from the Latin poets, which were published in a newspaper at Northampton. Original lines were also published. He was then only ten years of age. Rarely does history furnish a parallel with this extraordinary precocity. Pope when twelve years old wrote the “Ode to Solitude”; the boy Chatterton when of the same age wrote the “Hymn for Christmas Day”; Tasso at nine wrote lines for his mother, which have been praised; Henry Kirke White published a volume at nineteen. Bryant before he was thirteen wrote “The Embargo,” and “The Spanish Revolution.” The former was a political satire brought out by the heated discussion concerning the policy of Jefferson in laying an embargo on the shipping in American ports, to counterbalance Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees. Many of Jefferson's political opponents lived in Western Massachusetts. “The Embargo” was published in Boston, and in the following year a second edition was issued, and it was necessary in the preface to certify to its authorship. The title-page of the first edition was as follows: “The Embargo; or, Sketches of the Times. A Satire. By a youth of thirteen. Boston: Printed for the purchasers, 1808.” Mr. Jefferson was addressed in the following lines:—

And thou, the scorn of every patriot name,
Thy country's ruin and her council's shame!
Poor servile thing! derision of the brave!
Who erst from Tarleton fled to Carter's cave;
Thou who, when menaced by perfidious Gaul,
Didst prostrate to her whisker'd minion fall,
And when our cash her empty bag supplied
Didst meanly strive the foul disgrace to hide,—
Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair,
Go, search with curious eyes for horned frogs,
Mid the wild wastes of Louisiana bogs;
Or, where Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme.
Go, scan, Philosopher, thy * * * charms,
And sink supinely in her sable arms.
But quit to abler hands the helm of state,
Nor image ruin on thy country's fate.

Mr. Bryant entered Williams College in 1810, but did not complete his college course. After two years' study he took an honorable dismissal, and entered upon the study of law. He began his practice in 1815, at Plainfield, but soon after removed to Great Barrington, where he rapidly rose to high rank in the local courts. He was a lawyer ten years, but a poet as well. “Thanatopsis” was written about the time he began his legal studies, and when he was only eighteen years of age. Its publication was delayed until 1816, when it appeared in the *North American*, which was more a magazine than a review, and had not assumed the last part of its present name. The *North American* was edited by Richard H. Dana, between whom and Mr. Bryant an intimate friendship

existed for more than half a century. He was greatly impressed with the poem, and was at first unwilling to believe there was any one living in America who could have written it. One day he was told that the author was a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and immediately he walked from Cambridge to the State House in Boston, and had the man pointed out. But he was so well satisfied from the Senator's business-like appearance that he could not have written the poem that he returned home without seeking an introduction. The name of the real author was at last discovered; a correspondence ensued, and a warm personal friendship soon began between the two poets. “Thanatopsis” has been called “one of the most precious gems of didactic verse in the whole compass of English poetry.” There are few people in this country who have not read it; almost every school reader contains it; few students, even in the common schools, finish their studies without knowing it by heart. “Christopher North,” one of the most critical men of his time, said in *Blackwood* that it was “alone sufficient to establish the author's claims to the honors of genius.” While living at Great Barrington Mr. Bryant was married. It was there that he wrote some of his best verses, notably “To Green River”; “Inscription for an Entrance to a Wood” (1813), and “To a Water-fowl.” These have hardly been surpassed in later years. The closing words of the last-named are worth quoting:—

He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless air thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone
Will lead my steps aright.

In the ode “To Green River” the poet reveals the passionate love of Nature which his office studies were unable to subdue. He says:—

Though forced to drudge for the dregs of man,
And scrawl strange words with the barbarous pen,
And mingle among the jostling crowd,
Where the sons of strife are subtle and loud,
I often come to this quiet place,
To breathe the airs that ruffle my face,
And gaze upon thee in silent dream;
For in thy lonely and lovely stream
An image of that calm life appears
That won my heart in my greener years.

In 1821 Mr. Bryant was invited to deliver a poem before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College, and responded with “The Ages,” his longest production in verse. It is the only poem he has written in the Spenserian stanza, but in versification it is considered not inferior to “Childe Harold” and the “Faerie Queen.” It constitutes a survey of the past eras of the world in their successive advances in knowledge, virtue, and happiness, and seeks to justify and assure the hopes of philanthropic men for the future progress of mankind. The poem contains thirty-five stanzas, the following being the thirteenth and the last ones:—

Those ages have no memory, but they left
A record in the desert,—columns strown
On the waste sands, and statues fallen and cleft,
Heaped like a host in battle overthrown
Vast ruins, where the mountain's ribs of stone
Were hewn into a city; streets that spread
In the dark earth, where never breath has blown
Of heaven's sweet air, nor foot of man dares tread
The long and perilous ways,—the Cities of the Dead!

But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,
Save with thy children; thy maternal care,
Thy lavish love, thy blessings showered on all—
These are thy fetters; seas and stormy air
Are the barriers of thy borders where,
Among thy gallant sons who guard thee well,
Thou laugh'st at enemies; who shall then declare
The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell
How happy in thy lap the sons of men shall dwell.

COMING TO NEW YORK.

In the same year a volume of his poems was published at Cambridge. Several prose articles also appeared from time to time in the *North American*. The remainder of these ten years were given to the law. But his mind found a more congenial employment in literary work, and, at the invitation of Henry D. Sedgwick, he came to New York, and accepted a position his friend had obtained for him as editor of the *New York Review and Athenaeum Magazine*. He soon made the acquaintance of the poet Halleck and the novelist Cooper. Literary society was not large in the city then. Gulliver C. Verplanck was its leading spirit. He had written a complimentary review of Bryant's “Ages,” and the two soon became associated in literary enterprises. One of these was the *Literary Annual*, in which they were joined by Robert C. Sands. Nearly all the articles were from these three men. In 1832 Sands died, and Bryant and Verplanck edited his works. Among the other acquaintances which Bryant made were the poets Hillhouse and Percival, who then lived in New Haven, but often visited New York. While Bryant was editor of the *Review*, there appeared in it Fitz Greene Halleck's “Marco Bozzaris,” a poem by N. P. Willis, a metrical translation by Bancroft, the historian, the first of Dana's poetical compositions, “The Dying Raven,” besides several poems by Mr. Bryant. He wrote a review of Dana's “Idle Man,” and sent it to the *North American*. Mr. Dana was not the editor at that time. The magazine was published by a society of gentlemen who did not agree with Dana in his enthusiastic defence of Coleridge and Wordsworth against the ferocious criticisms of Lord Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*. He had accordingly retired from the position, and Edward Everett had succeeded him. Mr. Bryant's review of the “Idle Man,” when sent to the *North American* was respectfully declined. Some time after this the feelings of the *North American* clique toward Mr. Dana underwent a change. Edward Everett, as editor, had been succeeded by Jared Sparks, who, when Dana's “Buccaneer” appeared in 1837, wrote to Mr. Bryant that his article on the “Idle Man” would be accepted. Mr. Bryant added to it a notice of the “Buccaneer,” and the whole

article was then published. During these years of Mr. Bryant's association with literary periodicals, and before his connection with the *New York Evening Post* had begun, he wrote a "Hymn to Death." Its composition was unfinished when the poet's father died. Soon afterward the work was resumed. Asterisks being inserted, two stanzas were added, beginning with the following words:—

Alas! I little thought that the stern power
Whose fearful praise I sang would try me thus
Before the strain was ended. It must cease:
For he is in his grave who taught my youth
The art of verse, and in the bud of life
Offered me to the Muses. . . .

This faltering verse, which thou
Shalt not, as wont, o'erlook, is all I leave
To offer at thy grave; this—and the hope
To copy thy example, and to have
A name of which the wretched shall not think
As of an enemy's, whom they forgive
As all forgive the dead.

THE "EVENING POST."

Mr. Bryant was associated with Verplanck and Sands in editing the *Talisman*, and contributed the tales of "Medfield" and "The Skeleton's Cave" to a book called *Tales of the Glauver Spa*. In 1825 the "Sketch Club," which remained in existence many years, was founded by the leading artists and writers of the city, and not long afterwards Mr. Bryant became a member of it. Before the Academy of Design, which was founded by several members of this club, he delivered a series of lectures on Greek and Roman mythology. In 1826 he became one of the editors of the *New York Evening Post*, William Coleman being manager of the paper. Its leanings were then toward the aristocratic party, though it was generally wanting in positive character. The new accession to its staff at once made itself apparent. The natural spirit and originality of Mr. Bryant were infused into its columns, and the paper soon declared with great boldness on the side of what was considered the more liberal policy. In 1828 it supported Jackson, and in his attack on the National Bank the paper became his staunch ally. From that time onward for many years it never faltered in its firm adherence to the articles of the Democratic creed. After the death of Coleman, Mr. Bryant obtained entire control of the paper, and later he associated William Leggett with himself in the management. Leggett, too, was a poet. A violent political controversy ensued with the *Courier and Enquirer*, in which the latter alluded to "the chanting cherubs of the *Post*," a term which remained in vogue for many years. The paper was Democratic through the administration of Van Buren, and cooperated with the *Albany Argus* and the *Washington Globe* until the election of Harrison in 1840, the *Globe* having for its motto the words, "The world is governed too much." In those days a newspaper, with short life, was published in the city, called the *Times*, which was Democratic in tone, but differed with the *Post* in its opinions, and considered that paper its rival. One day the editor, becoming enraged at something his neighbors had said, challenged Mr. Bryant to fight a duel. Previous to this there had been some personal difficulty between the editor and Mr. Leggett, and in his reply to the challenge Mr. Bryant remarked that when the affair with Mr. Leggett had been disposed of it would be his turn, and not till then. Nothing more came of the matter. The *Post* followed Mr. Van Buren through the contest of 1840 into Free-Soilism, as also through the contest of 1848 against Cass, and down to the final defeat of the old Democratic party. In 1852 it favored Pierce. In 1860 and '64 it supported Lincoln; and it aided in the election of Grant in 1868 and '72.

The course of Mr. Bryant upon the anti-slavery question was one of great moderation; but notwithstanding his party connections, there never was any doubt of the side to which he gave his sympathies. If he did not agree with the original abolitionists, who aimed at immediate emancipation, he had still less sympathy with those who sought unfairly to suppress discussion. He was too high-minded to feel the least prejudice on the score of color. Even in 1837, when the rage against the abolitionists was not in the least abated, he spoke decidedly and wisely in favor of putting whites and blacks upon an equality in this State in respect to suffrage. He never had the least patience with the attempt to keep anti-slavery petitions out of Congress. As a matter of course, he had sustained General Jackson in his denunciation of the nullifiers of South Carolina in 1832; but it was not altogether as a matter of course that he opposed the annexation of Texas, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the extension of slavery. He definitely abandoned the political affiliations of a lifetime, when, in 1856, he supported Fremont for the presidency. As soon as there was a Republican party he became one of its most decided advocates. How much it cost him thus to array himself against those with whom he had so long been united will be understood when it is remembered that he was almost affectionately attached to the Democratic party. His associates in the conduct of the *Evening Post*, Mr. Leggett, had been somewhat in advance of him in 1835, when the pro-slavery rioters were rampant in New York. Whatever Mr. Bryant may then have thought of his friend's course, he lived to see how thoroughly noble and sagacious it was.

While Mr. Greeley was the leader of the protectionist party, Mr. Bryant was as firm in his belief in free trade. In 1868 the friends of free trade gave him a public banquet in honor of the doctrines he advocated, and as a tribute to his perseverance during forty years of a protective tariff. In 1848, Mr. John Bigelow became the managing editor of the *Post*. About ten years later Mr. Parke Godwin assumed the position. In more recent years the place has been filled by several men, among them Charles Nordhoff,

Sidney Howard Gay, Charlton T. Lewis, and A. G. Browne, Jr. For the past two years the chair has been filled by Watson R. Sperry, who was graduated from Yale College in 1871. Mr. Sperry became connected with the *Post* immediately after he left college. Apart from its party preferences, the *Post* has steadily maintained four cardinal beliefs: free trade, hard money, an independent government treasury, and the impropriety of exorbitant issues of State banks without limitation. During the past fifteen years Mr. Bryant's labors for the paper have been comparatively few. He has remained its nominal editor, but aside from a few occasional suggestions as to the treatment of questions and contributions to its columns, the work has mainly fallen upon others.

MR. BRYANT IN EUROPE.

In 1832 a complete edition of Mr. Bryant's poems was published in New York. Washington Irving, then living in London, was asked to prepare an English edition, which he did, writing an introduction in which the following sentence occurred: "Bryant's writings transport us into the depths of the solemn primeval forest, to the shores of the lonely lake, the banks of the wild, nameless stream, or the brow of the rocky upland, rising like a promontory from amidst a wide ocean of foliage, while they shed around us the glories of a climate fierce in its extremes, but splendid in all its vicissitudes." The book was dedicated to the poet Rogers. Irving took the volume to Murray, who refused to publish it, saying, "Poetry doesn't sell nowadays." Another publisher, named Andrews, was found, who issued the book on condition that Irving should put his own name on the title-page as the editor of the volume. The offer was accepted; but before the book was printed Publisher Andrews, after reading the proof-sheets, ran to Mr. Irving and insisted that no book would sell in England which contained the following lines, and asked that a change be made:—

"The British soldier trembles
When Marion's name is told."

Mr. Irving finally consented to make the first line read:—

"The foeman trembles in his camp."

This alteration afterward became the source of a newspaper controversy, in which much injudicious abuse was heaped upon Mr. Irving. Mr. Bryant published a letter in which he said that, while the change was not what he would have made himself, yet he could not blame Mr. Irving under the circumstances, and always felt that he had done him a great kindness in England. The volume was dedicated to Samuel Rogers, the poet, and was generously reviewed by "Christopher North" in *Blackwood*; and since that time the author has been almost as well known in England as at home. Among the poems which appeared at this time were "The Death of the Flowers," "Monument Mountains," and "A Forest Hymn." The first of these is known to every school-boy or school-girl. The others are almost as familiar to general readers. The "Forest Hymn" opens with the following lines:—

The groves were God's first temples. Ere man learned
To hew the shaft, and lay the architrave,
And spread the roof above them—ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems,—in the darkling wood,
Amid the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks and supplica-
tion. . . .

Should we, in the world's riper years, neglect
God's ancient sanctuaries, and adore
Only among the crowd, and under roofs
That our frail hands have raised?

The poet then addresses an eloquent hymn to the Supreme Being, which closes with these words:—

Be it ours to meditate,
In these calm shades, Thy milder majesty,
And to the beautiful order of Thy works
Learn to conform the order of our lives.

As a writer of books of travel, Mr. Bryant attained some distinction. He visited Europe three times, travelled in the Holy Land, and journeyed through the Southern States and to Cuba. The first of these trips was made with his family in 1834, Mr. Leggett managing the *Post* in his absence. He visited France, Germany, and Italy, enlarging his knowledge of the literature and language of each of those countries. His poems bear testimony to the familiarity he acquired with those languages,—especially with the Spanish, which afterward became a favorite study with him. Returning home he resumed his editorial work, and in 1845 again sailed for Europe. On his arrival in London, Edward Everett, the American Minister, gave a breakfast in his honor, and among the guests present were Thomas Moore, Kenyon, and Rogers. Rogers invited him to his own house, and there showed him the original copy of the bill of sale from Milton to his publisher of the "Paradise Lost," for £5. Rogers bade him good-by, saying he would never meet him again. But on Mr. Bryant's return, in 1849, the poet was still alive, and the two men met. Rogers remarked, however, that he had "no business here." He died in 1855, having reached the advanced age of eighty-nine years. In 1849 Mr. Bryant also visited Egypt and Syria. In 1857 he went abroad again and travelled in Spain. On all these occasions he wrote letters to the *Post*, which were afterward collected in two volumes. When riding in Spain one day, from Bayonne to San Sebastian, he saw the Atlantic Ocean. In his letter, mentioning the incident, he said: "I cannot describe the feelings awakened within me as I gazed on that great waste of waters which, in one of its inlets, steeped the walls of my own garden, and to the murmur of which, on a distant shore, those I loved were doubtless at that moment slumbering."

THE HOME AT ROSLYN.

In 1847 Mr. Bryant purchased an old Dutch man-

sion on Long Island, near what is now the village of Roslyn. The mansion had been built, in 1787, by Richard Kirk, a thrifty Quaker, who also constructed a dyke at the inlet to obtain water-power for a paper-mill. The mill disappeared many years ago; but the dyke is still to be seen in its mossy and time-worn condition, and obscured by a hedge of cedars. An inlet from the Sound extends to the very walls of the garden, and from the windows of the library the white sails of passing vessels are plainly visible. The house itself does not preserve its ancient appearance. Where once was a high stoop with massive pillars, a neat piece of lattice-work now supports a running vine, which in summer nearly covers that side of the house. Pear-trees are growing near the house which are said to be over one hundred years of age, and many cedar-trees adorn the grounds. From these cedars the place has received the name "Cedarwore." Mr. Bryant's library occupies a room from the windows of which one looks out upon the waters of the Sound. There are about five thousand books on the shelves, many of them being rare volumes of foreign literature. The wood-work is of tulip-wood, oiled and varnished. An old-time fire-place has been modernized, though the Dutch tiles, of an ancient pattern, representing events in Scripture history, illustrate its early character. In a wood near his home Mr. Bryant loved to pass an afternoon. He had classified the trees, and not long before he died said he had found thirty different specimens, but there were others whose place in botany he hoped to find. On an eminence near by, overlooking the inlet, is the residence of Mr. Parke Godwin. Among the best known of Mr. Bryant's later poems is "The Antiquity of Freedom." The following are selections from it:—

O Freedom! thou art not, as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses gushing from the cap
With which the Roman master crowned his slave
When he took off the gyves. . . .

Thy birthright was not given by human hands;
Thou wert twin-born with man. . . .

Tyranny himself,
Thy enemy, although of reverend look,
Hoary with many years, and far obeyed,
Is later born than thou! . . .

HABITS AND TASTES.

The strongest point in Mr. Bryant's character was its simplicity. This is no more true of his poems than of his prose writings; no more true of either than of his daily pursuits and habits. Travelling, as he did, through many lands and among the proudest monuments of civilization; having, as he always did in his character and position a perpetual passport to all society and every public place, his heart remained fixed in its first love of Nature. Mr. Bryant has told the story of his daily habits himself. Nothing could be simpler. The Athenian, born on the poorest soil in Greece, contented himself at dinner with the head of a fish, an onion, and a few olives. Even the rich were quite satisfied with a dish of vegetables, while people at large were accustomed to eat meat on a feast-day for the whole year. Mr. Bryant in diet and in all the pursuits of the day was quite as simple. In winter he rose always at half-past five; in summer, from half an hour to an hour earlier. With little clothing on his body, he immediately began an hour's exercise with dumb-bells, a horizontal bar, and a light chair swung round the head. Sometimes he gave more than an hour to this exercise, but never less. When it was over he bathed from head to foot. In the summer, if living at Roslyn, he usually shortened the exercise in the chamber, and went out of doors to engage at some work requiring brisk exercise, such as pruning trees or cutting wood. After the bath, if breakfast were not ready, he sat in his library. No breakfast could be plainer than his,—honey and milk, or brown bread, oatmeal, or wheaten grits, and, in the season, baked sweet-apples. Buckwheat cakes he did not refuse, but coffee or animal food he never took. Occasionally he drank chocolate, as it has no narcotic effect. After the meal was over he engaged for awhile at his studies, and, if in the city, walked down to the *Evening Post* office, a distance of three miles. After three hours passed thus he returned, always walking, whatever the condition of the streets or weather might be. If living in the country, he studied or read until weary, and then went into his garden to prune pear-trees, or walked through the woods; he seldom drove. He dined early on vegetables, with a little meat or fish. At supper he never drank tea, but was satisfied with bread and butter and fruit. Fruit formed a large part of his diet, and he ate it at almost any time without inconvenience. In the city, where people dine later, he only ate two meals a day. Water was his almost exclusive drink, though he occasionally took wine. He once said he was a natural temperance man, his mind being rather confused than exhilarated by alcohol. Milton once said, however, that the lyric poet may drink wine and live generously; but the epic poet, he who shall sing of the gods, and their descent unto men, must drink water out of a wooden bowl. According to Milton, then, Mr. Bryant was more of an epic than a lyric poet; and though his verses are not of the epic order, no one lacking the epic spirit could have translated Homer as he did. Mr. Bryant retired early,—in town at ten, in the country somewhat earlier. For several years he avoided, in the evening, every kind of literary occupation which tasked the faculties, such as composition, even to the writing of letters, because it excited his nervous system and prevented sound sleep. He never used tobacco. "I never meddle with it," he said, "except to quarrel with its use. I abominate all drugs and narcotics, and have always carefully avoided everything which spurs Nature to exertions which she would not otherwise make. Even with my food I do not take the usual condiments, such as pepper and salt." When practising law in Massachusetts he was elected a justice of the peace,

and at one time held the office of village clerk. He was often asked later in life to accept office, but he steadily refused. His name was once mentioned for the Italian mission, and he immediately responded, saying: "What would I do in the foul atmosphere of a court society which derives its tone from the sanction of royalty? Give me the pure air, the bright skies, and the green fields." In religion he was a deep, though unpretentious, believer. At Roslyn he regularly attended the little Presbyterian church, and partook of the sacrament.

OLD AGE.

During the past ten or fifteen years, Mr. Bryant has frequently appeared in public as a speaker on important occasions, and has paid several tributes to the memory of eminent Americans. In 1870 he pronounced an eulogy on the life and character of Verplanck, who died in that year. He made an address upon the career and achievements of Professor S. F. B. Morse, on the occasion of the dedication of the statue in Central Park. In 1852 he delivered a discourse on the life and writings of James Fenimore Cooper, and in 1860 paid a similar tribute to the memory of Washington Irving. On the death of Thomas Cole, in 1848, he pronounced a funeral oration, and in 1872 was the orator at the dedication of the statues of Shakespeare and Scott in Central Park. At the unveiling in Central Park last year of the statue of his friend Halleck, whose "Marco Bozzaris" he had printed in the *New York Review* in 1875, he also delivered one of the orations. His last effort of this kind was the last effort of his life,—the oration in honor of Mazzini, the Italian statesman.

When Mr. Bryant reached his seventieth year, in 1864, the event was celebrated by a festival at the Century Club, of which he has long been the president, nearly all the prominent literary men of the country being present or sending complimentary letters, which were afterward printed in a volume with the proceedings. The presentation of the "Bryant Vase," in 1876, is an event still fresh within the recollections of readers. He was engaged for several years on his translation of Homer, devoting stated hours of every day to the work. The *Iliad* appeared in 1870, and the *Odyssey* in 1871. Both volumes were generally conceded to be among the best English versions of the great epics,—some thought them to be the best. Greater credit could hardly have been given, when it is remembered that Homer has been translated into English at least a dozen times, and Chapman and Pope and Cowper and Derby are among the translators. Some years ago he published a collection of poetry, which he called *A Library of Poetry and Song*. It at once became very popular, and has taken rank as the most complete and satisfactory book of the kind ever issued. A new and complete edition of Mr. Bryant's poems was published in a large octavo volume in November, 1876. His *Library of Poetry and Song* also appeared in a new form as a holiday gift-book. He wrote an introduction to the *Popular History of the United States*, by Sidney Howard Gay, which is now in course of publication, and it was understood that he would also exercise a general supervision of the work, though this probably was only nominal. Few men were better prepared than Mr. Bryant to write the history of this country, especially the history of the past sixty years. All the men who have lived in that time, and all those who have made its history, were in his mind as though they were events in his own actual life. He was probably more familiar with the literature and history of the entire century than any other man living. He was born before Washington died, and was in the prime of life when Jefferson, Jackson, Webster, and Clay were influencing the politics and legislation of the country. Benjamin Franklin was alive when he was in his infancy. The lives of these two journalists extend back to the age of Louis XIV. Another such would very nearly reach the age of Elizabeth and Shakespeare.

Mr. Bryant was preëminently an American poet. No one in our literature was more free from foreign influences than he. His works are not only American in their subjects and treatment, but in their spirit; and history must forever hold him as one of the chief founders of our literature. As a minute observer of Nature, he was almost without an equal among poets, and the keenness of his vision remained undimmed until the last. His latest poems manifest the same freshness as those written in early life. Though he had grown old in years, and his long hair and beard were as white as snow, the poetic fancy survived in him as though it had drunk at the fountain of eternal youth. "Christopher North" said of him: "His poetry overflows with natural religion,—with what Wordsworth calls the 'religion of the woods.'" There was probably no poet in modern times to whom he was more closely related than to Wordsworth, whom some one has called "the great regenerator of English poetry."

The death of any man who has lived beyond fourscore years ought not to be considered a surprise. But the death of Mr. Bryant at any age would have startled every intelligent man in America. One may truly say of his long life, slightly changing the last lines of one of the poems of his youth:—

He so lived that when his summons came to join
The innumerable caravan which moves
To that mysterious realm where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
He went not, like the quarry-slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
By an unflinching trust, approached his grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

It is not less pleasant to recall at this time, when the clouds and cool air of the past week have given way to clear sky and warmer temperature, a little poem by Mr. Bryant called "June," in which he expresses a wish that has been fulfilled. [This poem will be found in full in our poetry column.—ED.]
—*New York Tribune*, June 12.

"THE BIBLE FOR LEARNERS."

The first volume of this book has roused a lively discussion,—enough to show that the book is well-timed. It appears when this community is especially interested in the subjects involved. It is not because the views involved are specially new; for they are not. In their foundation, the more important of them have been discussed by theologians for the better part of a century. It is rather that there has grown up an opinion that theologians have notions about Jewish histories which preachers do not often allude to in the pulpit. Men suspect—rightly or not—that in the professional conversations, even of the more conservative clergy, there is a freedom of criticism of the Jewish historical books in which the same men do not indulge on Sunday. In proportion as such suspicions gain ground is there an increasing desire among intelligent men to know what are the views of the Old Testament which interest religious teachers who retain their love and respect for the Bible.

In proportion, also, as such attacks are made on the Old Testament as have been common from the days of Paine downward, thoughtful men have been more and more aware that no policy of silence or indifference would be of avail in maintaining its lessons in the esteem of men. When such a speaker as Colonel Ingersoll wins the laughter of a great audience, in Boston, on Sunday evening, by his ridicule of the astronomy of Joshua, or what seems to be the cosmogony of the book of Genesis, of the polygamy of Jacob, and of the slavery permitted under the law of Moses, thoughtful men are all the more desirous to know what is the connection of these with the Word of God, and why the Word of God has been thought to sanction them. What Paine says, what Volney says, and what Colonel Ingersoll says, men know. Nobody can charge them with holding back half an opinion. What thoughtful men are to say themselves they want to know. They want to know what good men say who are no more afraid than Paine or Volney or Ingersoll, and who have studied these subjects a thousand times as long and a thousand times as carefully as all of them. No man in his senses to-day believes that the Bible is to be kept in the respect of men merely by the statement that it is the Word of God, and therefore is outside of inquiry or examination.

Whether, therefore, men agree or disagree with the conclusions of the Dutch professors to whom we owe these valuable volumes, they will have a wide and useful circulation among all people who want to know what has been the general drift of the studies of theologians involved for the last half-century. On minor points, it is true, the old family commentators have led the way. Scott's *Commentary* itself has to say why the book of Chronicles differs from the book of Samuel, and when we are to receive the authority of the one and when of the other. But it is to the modern school of history, which has recast and which has given life to the history of Greece, of Rome, of the Middle Ages, of England, and of France, that we owe what we may call the recasting of the history of Israel which places it in a light quite new to the general reader, and to which these volumes belong. The deciphering of the hieroglyphics and of the cuneiform characters; the very careful recent descriptions of the Semitic race and their customs; the assiduous investigation of the antiquities of the Holy Land; the new attention to the rabbinical writings,—these, and a hundred other investigations in which half a century has enlarged its knowledge of sacred history, throw vivid side-lights upon the Scripture narrative. It would be difficult, indeed, to name any historical subject of general interest which in fifty years have so much enlarged our resources as this matter of the history of the Jewish race. It is to a popular view of that history that these thorough and interesting volumes are given.

It is absurd to speak of this book, as some of the controversial journals have done, as if it were an attack upon the Christian religion. There is not a principle involved in it to which Dean Milman is not fully committed, with the full approbation of the Church of England, and Dean Stanley, in his fascinating work on the Jewish Church. In this country, Moses Stuart and Dr. Stowe have admitted the validity of all the principles which are here relied upon; nor would those principles be disavowed by Mr. Joseph Cook, who seems to hold at this moment the banner of New England orthodoxy. We do not mean that these gentlemen would assent to the conclusions of the divines of Holland, but to the essential principle involved in this book; and, in all such discussions, that each book in the Old Testament is to stand on its own merit, to be discussed as is any other historical monument, all these gentlemen assented, as does every other scholar worth naming of the present day. The great German student, Ewald,—whose orthodoxy no man ever questioned,—is the leader of the school here represented. To attempt to repress a knowledge of the conclusions of such men is, indeed, to try "to keep New England out in the cold."

The second volume of *The Bible for Learners* pleases us even more than the first. The translators, as they worked, seem to have become more familiar with the turns of the somewhat crabbed Dutch language, and their English seems to flow more easily. Messrs. Roberts have added greatly to the value of the English edition by an admirable index to the Old Testament volumes. The history is now brought up to the time of Christ. The introduction of this book to the study of teachers and classes in well-conducted Sunday-schools is already noticed. It will be impossible to keep it out of circulation by any alarm of heresy or infidelity.—*Boston Advertiser*.

Poetry.

THE BURIAL OF BRYANT.

The venerable poet Bryant had the wish fulfilled which he expressed, thirty years ago, in the following fine poem:

June.

I gazed upon the glorious sky
And the green mountains round,
And thought that when I came to lie
At rest within the ground,
'Twere pleasant that in flowery June,
When brooks send up a cheerful tune,
And groves a joyous sound,
The sexton's hand, my grave to make,
The rich, green mountain-turf should break.
A cell within the frozen mould,
A coffin borne through sleet,
And icy clouds above it rolled,
While fierce the tempests beat,—
Away! I will not think of these;
Blue be the sky and soft the breeze;
Earth green beneath the feet;
And be the damp mould gently pressed
Into my narrow place of rest.
There, through the long, long summer hours,
The golden light should lie,
And thick young herbs and groups of flowers
Stand in their beauty by.
The oriole should build and tell
His love-tale close beside my cell;
The idle butterfly
Should rest him there, and there be heard
The housewife bee and humming-bird.
And what if cheerful shouts at noon
Come, from the village sent,
Or songs of maids, beneath the moon,
With fairy laughter blent?
And what if, in the evening light,
Betrothed lovers walk in sight
Of my low monument?
I would the lovely scene around
Might know no sadder sight nor sound.
I know that I no more should see
The season's glorious show,
Nor would its brightness shine for me,
Nor its wild music flow;
But if around my place of sleep,
The friends I love should come to weep,
They might not haste to go.
Soft airs, and song, and light, and bloom,
Should keep them lingering by my tomb.
These to their softened hearts should bear
The thought of what has been,
And speak of one who cannot share
The gladness of the scene;
Whose part in all the pomp that fills
The circuit of the summer hills
Is that his grave is green;
And deeply would their hearts rejoice
To hear again his living voice.

ACTIONS.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

A PARAPHRASE OF TWO PARSEE LEGENDS.

I.

A soul that had long sinned departed from earth,
And entered that land where there's no rest but worth;
Passed into a region of blackness and cold,
Stood awed in the presence, all hideous and bold,
Of a woman black, profligate, foul, and deformed.
Wheresoever he looked, wherever he turned,
Face to face, straight before him that vision appeared,
Close into his face contumeliously leered.
Shrinking back from the sight, so loathsome and vile;
"Who art thou, O woman, that haunts me? more vile,
More horrid, more foul, no grim demon could be;
"Who art thou, base wretch?"

"THINE OWN ACTIONS," said she.

"Thy deeds upon earth done all darkly agree
With the darkness and ugliness born within me;
My nature was formed by thy life lived below;
Clasp now to thy bosom thine own self-made woe."

II.

Within the groves of Paradise,
Whose nectarous fragrance sweet
Is wafted from the upper skies,
With Godhood all replete,
There passed a soul that on the earth
Divine and grand had been,
His days filled full with honest worth,
His heart scarce stained by sin.
This soul beheld, aye, near his side,
A maid serenely fair,
Humble, yet proud with gracious pride,
Beauteous beyond compare.
"What is the name which thou dost wear,
Eunuchress?" asked the youth;
"With thee no maiden could compare
E'er seen upon the earth."
In gladsome voice the form replied,
"I AM THY ACTIONS, youth;
This is the life thou ledst below,
Thy virtues and thy ruth.
Thine earthly deeds, all pure as snow,
With me do quite agree;
Thy nature formed my nature so,
Born from thy life's calm sea."

STRAWBERRY POINT, IOWA.

E. W. SAMPLE.

The Index.

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N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston Index to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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 WARREN KILBET, Editorial Contributors.

REV. GEORGE CHAINÉY, pastor of a Liberal Christian church at Evansville, Indiana, has published a little book called *Foundation Stones*, descriptive of his society, its work, and the ideas it represents. The sermons here contained show that, like most Western Unitarian preachers, Mr. Chainéy is very radical in the main, and that, while the name Christian (still explicitly retained) is reduced almost to meaninglessness by the identification of it with goodwill and goodness in general, he preaches substantially the principles of Free Religion. We venture to think that before many years the useless label "Christian" will be worn away by the friction of further experience and thought, and that he will find his place where he belongs on the simple platform of Free Humanity.

IT IS WELL to know what the enemies of equal religious rights are saying and doing. These resolutions of the General Synod of Reformed Presbyterians, passed lately, are in point:—

"WHEREAS, Sabbath desecration is rapidly increasing in the great centres of our population and throughout the land, in the following forms; namely, Sabbath excursions by land and by sea; running of freight and passenger trains; the employment of railroad hands in workshops; entertaining friends at dinner-parties; driving to our parks for recreation; attending to secular business in counting-rooms and thoroughfares; reading secular papers and works of fiction; thereby depriving domestics and others of the privileges of attending the house of God, and thus doing dishonor to God and his holy law; therefore,

"Resolved, That this Synod condemns all such forms of Sabbath desecration, and all other forms, whether springing up in our own land or imported from foreign countries; and further,

"Resolved, That foreigners must be taught that this nation is a Sabbath-keeping nation, and that we will not barter our Sabbath birthright for the profane practices on that day so prevalent in Continental Europe."

A WRITER to the *American Israelite* recently noticed as follows one of the good works of the new President of the Free Religious Association: "On Wednesday night I attended a meeting held at the Germania Assembly Rooms, in the Bowery, where an audience as large as could be crowded into the hall came to hear Prof. Felix Adler, who spoke on the subject of the 'Workingmen's Lyceum.' This noble project owes its inception to the Standard Hall lecturer, a man of whom we Americans in general and we Jews in particular ought to be proud. The Lyceum, whose cardinal aim is the elevation of the working-classes, has already a membership of eighty. It is intended to establish a Mechanics' Institute, to be controlled by the workingmen themselves. Lectures on economic and social laws are to be delivered, and other and more practical efforts are to be made to improve the condition of the working-classes. In the course of his address, which was attentively listened to, Prof. Adler said that in France the workingman demanded the right to work. With us he demanded 'the right to virtue' as well. The miserable hovels in which the workingmen of our city are now compelled to live were considered by the speaker to form insuperable obstacles to the moral happiness of those who dwelt in them, and it would be the object of the lyceum to advocate a reform in dwelling-houses as one of the principal means of elevating the moral character of the people. The new society will attempt to bring the two extremes of society together, and will represent a new principle in the history of the labor movement in the United States. At the conclusion of Prof. Adler's address, Rev. W. R. Alger addressed the meeting on the subject of education, and his remarks were received with great favor."

VICTOR HUGO.

The New York *World's* Paris correspondent thus quotes Victor Hugo on American communism:—

A day or two after hearing this I found an opportunity of taking Victor Hugo's opinion upon the question. The substance of his counsel to the States, delivered with much earnestness was: "Don't lose your heads." "Be moderate," he said, "in dealing with the authors of this national scare. Suppose you have communistic agitators among you; well, it is a misfortune; it is an evil; but do not give them the triumph, and your brother republicans of Europe the shame, of seeing you forget your self-possession. The world expects this example from you. You are bound to do it by your own past, by the noble principle of mercy and forbearance in dealing with misguided men on which you acted at the close of a memorable struggle. You must show them that a real democracy can be as generous as it is brave. You have shown it in a great civil war; you must take care not to fail to show it in what, at the worst, is but a political conspiracy. I am sorry to hear of the alarm of the public and the general outcry in the journals. A people in that frame of mind are apt to think that they may as well be cruel just for once, for the sake of the example. Any despot can persecute, fine, and imprison in the name of order; only a great and wise government, strong in the support of the people, can temper its force of repression with pity and toleration. You have a grand opportunity and responsibilities to match; you are called on to deal, for the first time in your history, with the social danger; you must most strenuously take care, for all our sakes, that you do nothing unworthy of yourselves. Europe has often looked to you for something new; give it an American novelty in this highest department of invention,—the art of governing through the self-control of the governors."

"Are all the working-men in America," he continued, "under the leadership of the *élite* of the nation? I express no opinion; I ask the question. There is no danger in a democracy so officered, but there is every danger when the best men in the country do not strive to take their proper place in the direction of affairs. The strength of the present republic in France lies in the fact that all the most considerable persons in our society are republicans. I do not mean the mere men of rank or money. I mean the best blood of France, in the best sense; say, if you like, the best brain. That is the true guarantee for moderation,—the only one. At the funeral of Thiers I saw how this admirable population of Paris, so much maligned, may be quieted by a sign. Thiers was not altogether a favorite of the masses. It was their faith in others alone that gave them faith in him. They had something to pardon to his memory, and there were cries here and there that were not exactly cries of affection as the hearse neared the cemetery gates. A single gesture of one in whom the people had confidence sufficed to hush them. We have no fears of popular trouble in France, and I repeat that it is because the French democracy is under the guidance of the *élite* of the nation."

What mingled benignity and wisdom there are in these words! Are the American people not sane enough to follow such counsel? We believe they are. Resolute in suppressing both rebellion and riot when these monsters rear their hideous heads, merciful in dealing with both rebels and rioters when the immediate peril is past, they will not disappoint the hopes of the friends of liberty in the Old World. True, they too often suffer themselves to be guided by other counsellors than the real "*élite* of the nation," the "best brain" of the people, in ordinary affairs, and sometimes even in affairs of greater consequence; but in the long run intelligence and conscience assert their natural right to govern the American republic. The "*élite*" or "best brain" can secure in this country no merely personal following; that, fortunately, is impossible, for personal leadership and personal discipleship are the defeat of national as of individual independence. But a democracy is as much bound as a monarchy to follow its "best brain," or it will share the fate of all things which rest on ignorance, incapacity, and immorality.

Victor Hugo's great Eulogy on Voltaire, at the centennial celebration of his death, May 30, called down upon him all sorts of abuse from the clergy, especially from Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans. Through Gambetta's organ, Victor Hugo has published a most scathing reply to the latter, whom he addresses as plain "Monsieur." Mr. Smalley, the London correspondent of the *Tribune*, translates it as follows:—

Monsieur.—You are guilty of an imprudence. You remind those who might have forgotten it that I was brought up by a churchman, and that, if my life began in prejudice and error, it was the priest's fault, not mine. That sort of education is so fatal that at nearly forty years of age, as you point out, I was still under its influence. All that has been said before, I don't dwell on it. I have a certain contempt for mere utilities.

You insult Voltaire, and you do me the honor to revise me. That is your affair.

You and I are two men, better or worse; the future will decide between us. You say I am old, and you pretend to be young,—which I believe.

The moral sense is so imperfectly developed in you that you reproach me with the very act which does

me honor. You undertake to read me a lesson. By what right? Who are you? Let us come to the point. Let us see what sort of a thing your conscience is, and what mine is. A single comparison will suffice.

France has lately passed through an ordeal. France was free. One night a man treacherously seized her, overthrew her, and gagged her. If a nation could be murdered, that man would have murdered France. He brought her near enough to death to reign over her. He began his reign—since reign it was—by perjury, ambush, and massacre. He prolonged it by oppression, by tyranny, by despotism, by an indescribable parody on religion and justice. He was at once a monster and a pigmy. For him were sung the *Te Deum*, the *Magnificat*, the *Salvem fac*, the *Gloria tibi*, and the rest. Who sang them? Ask yourself. The law abandoned the people to him, the Church surrendered to him the Almighty. Justice, honor, country, gave way before that man. He trampled under foot his oath, equity, good faith, the glory of the flag, the dignity of man, the liberty of the citizen; that man's prosperity perplexed the conscience of mankind. This lasted nineteen years. During that time you were in a palace; I was in exile. Sir, I pity you.

VICTOR HUGO.

Mr. Smalley very pertinently adds this brief comment to his translation:—

Monsieur Dupanloup has a reputation as a con-troversialist; he never had a better occasion to prove himself worthy of it. As between the Bishop and Voltaire, you may think what you like, but as between the prelate who thrives by servility to Bonapartist rule and the republican who preferred exile to submission, what American can hesitate?

Those who have learned to admire the transcendent genius of Victor Hugo, to cherish gratitude for his brave and uncompromising devotion to the cause of humanity, and to glory in the lustre which his great intellect and equally great conscience have shed on modern liberalism, will rejoice to see how splendidly the fires of that mighty soul still burn, even in advanced age. Such utterances as the above are radiant, one with the mild and beneficent sunshine which calls to life all the beauty of humanity's fairest flowers, the other with the terrible glare of a lightning-bolt which blasts a very Upas-tree of sanctified hypocrisy and truckling to imperial crime. The Emperor has already gone to the limbo of departed tyrants; the Bishop will sooner or later go to the limbo of departed sycophants; but, on the simple monument which (far be the day!) shall mark the last resting-place of their former victim, no inscription could be so appropriate as the brief epitaph:

VICTOR HUGO—HUGO VICTOR.

AN OLD SOCIETY IN A NEW WORK.

Having a spare half-hour, I went into the recent anniversary meeting of the American Tract Society. I have been glad ever since that I did, for I heard some very suggestive addresses. All the speakers whom I heard were careful to emphasize the point that the new times demanded new measures. There was a plain admission that the times were "new," and that the old methods were getting antiquated. These methods might have served their purpose, it was said, when adopted, and have accomplished a most needed work; but they were not adapted to meet modern exigencies. And when the difference between the old demands and the new was explained, it appeared to amount mainly to this: that the old work of the Society, determined by the needs of past times, was the publication of tracts and books that unfolded the special doctrines of salvation contained in the Bible; the publications were exclusively and openly religious and doctrinal and scriptural; whereas the new times required a general Christian literature,—in other words, works of all kinds, but written from a "Christian stand-point and in a Christian spirit."

The arguments, in fact, appeared to imply, though this was not so distinctly stated, that the popular reading world to-day would not be reached by the requisite evangelical doctrine, if that doctrine was presented in the old frank and undisguised form. The saving truth must be put as much as possible in worldly forms, so that people might get it without knowing what they were getting. Like bitter but necessary medicine for children, it must be concealed from the eye and from the first taste of the tongue by a nicely-adjusted sugar coating.

One of the speakers, for instance, dwelt upon the importance of the Society's publishing an "attractive literature," that would find a ready sale on the cars, and at the news-stands in depots and other places where travellers are accustomed to supply themselves with the light reading-matter most in vogue on journeys. And it was admitted that, in order to compete with the books that find the readiest sale at such places, this new order of Tract Society literature must not be on its face theological or even religious. None of the ordinary forms of literature—

poetry, the drama, the novel—were to be abjured, if they could be used successfully to convey religious truth to people who otherwise would not obtain it. This new order of "Christian literature" for the travelling public must not, of course, be "sensational," but it was to have all the attractive qualities of the modern "sensational" literature without being that. Another of the speakers specially regretted that so much of the poetry of the day was not Christian nor religious, and intimated that the American Tract Society might do something to cultivate a new school of "Christian poetry." It was also urged that the magazine literature and even the philosophy of the day needed to be reconstructed from a Christian stand-point, and that the Tract Society should lead in this reformatory work.

But the climax was reached when it was seriously suggested and urged that the Society should hereafter make it a special aim to publish school-books. The school-books, it was said, in common use, are almost wholly secular (as is natural, since they treat secular topics), and as a consequence, it was argued, our children are in danger of growing up to regard the world we live in as an "atheistic world." In this field of school-book literature the Society, it was reported, had already made two experiments that were satisfactory and successful; and it was hoped that this department of labor would be greatly enlarged, since nothing could be more far-reaching in benefit than to impress religious truth on young minds through the public school-books. The speaker lamented that arithmetics should be written without any reference to the Being who created numbers. Grammar certainly, he thought, should teach the existence of the God who gave language to man, and, I thought he was going to add (though he did not), who had once miraculously confounded it. He did not explain the connection between chemistry and Christianity, but he thought that books on chemistry and on all the sciences should be written from the Christian stand-point, and that if they were the present danger that scientific teaching would undermine the truths of Revelation would be successfully met.

Now all this was seriously set forth as indicating the new field for the American Tract Society to cultivate. It is nothing less than the reconstruction of literature, science, philosophy, and even of the common school-books, on a so-called "Christian basis." It is an ambitious attempt, and in some respects may be safely left to the natural laws of mental and social progress. But it is an attempt that will bear watching. Especially let liberals be on the look-out for all school-books written and published under the auspices of the American Tract Society. W. J. P.

LAW AGAINST INDECENT LITERATURE.

The position of the editor of THE INDEX in regard to the law against the circulation of obscene literature through the mails is, in my opinion, just and judicious. The law of 1873 should be so modified that under it none but dealers in really indecent books and pictures, such as corrupt and ruin our youth, such as are unqualifiedly condemned by all pure men and women everywhere, irrespective of beliefs on religious, social, and scientific subjects, can be prosecuted and punished.

This is the position I took at the Congress of the National Liberal League, July, 1876; and as chairman of the committee on resolutions, I submitted at the last session of that congress the following resolution, which after a few minutes' discussion was adopted by the League:—

Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men, for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate, in thought or language, the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

The danger presupposed by this resolution was no imaginary danger, as subsequent events have shown. There is no doubt in my mind that the circulation of obscene literature should be prohibited by law, and that its transmission through the mails should be prohibited by Congress, which alone has authority vested in it to make laws and regulations pertaining to the postal system of the country. The absolute repeal of the present law against the circulation of

filthy books and pictures through the mails would be welcomed by hundreds of depraved wretches, whom it would help by enabling them, with but little danger, to carry on their infamous business; while the advantages that would accrue would be secured just as effectually by a modification of the law, such as is contemplated in the resolution adopted by the National Liberal League and insisted on by the editor of THE INDEX.

No doubt the thousands who signed the petition that was sent to Congress asking primarily for the repeal of the law of 1873 did so with the best of motives, believing that the law under which Mr. Bennett was arrested, and others quite as innocent of circulating obscene literature, had been fined and imprisoned, ought to be repealed at once, to prevent the possibility of similar outrages on personal liberty in the future. In their honest indignation at the attempt made to suppress freedom of speech under the pretence of suppressing obscenity—an indignation that I felt as strongly, perhaps, as any of those who signed the petition—they failed to consider fully, I believe, that the repeal of the law would facilitate and encourage the spread of a disgusting moral leprosy, and that "Comstockism" would be abolished quite as effectually by a radical modification of the law as by its total repeal, while the former would leave its good features untouched and its good results unimpaired. I know, since the subject has been discussed, that the almost universal view among liberals is that we should petition for the modification, and not for the repeal, of the law. I suggest that another petition, carefully and judiciously worded, indicating the defects, and asking for a radical modification of the existing law, be put into circulation. It could be published at and sent from the office of a very liberal journal in the United States. A hundred thousand names, or even twice that number, could be obtained before the end of the present year. B. F. U.

MR. UNDERWOOD'S SUGGESTION.

Mr. B. F. Underwood's editorial contribution this week is especially worthy of attention. His testimony is most valuable as to the opinion actually held on this subject by the majority of liberals, concerning which no one is better qualified to speak; and it is equally encouraging for all those who do not wish to see the great liberal party of this country led by foolish or interested counsels into a position which will disgrace themselves, and give great "aid and comfort" to the enemies of free thought.

We cordially second his suggestion of a new petition which shall take defensible ground on this extremely important subject. If, for instance, he and Colonel Ingersoll should see fit to prepare one, explicitly conceding the right of Congress to exclude really obscene literature from the mails, and as explicitly requesting that all laws on this subject shall be so modified as to protect fully the precious rights of free thought and a free press, they would do an incalculable service to liberty; and they could easily secure an immense number of signatures all over the country. To such a petition as this we would gladly give all possible support, and so would every other liberal and decent journal in the land.

If the issue between repeal and modification shall be put before the liberals in such a shape that they shall comprehend the enormous difference between the two positions, and the vital interests involved, it will become impossible any longer to obscure this great question by virulent personalities and ridiculous side-issues. The vast majority of liberals, just as soon as they come to understand this matter, will oppose repeal and favor modification. Nothing could be more wicked or more false than the persistent attempt to represent us as saying that the "70,000" (?) signers to the Bennett petition are consciously in favor of obscenity. We never said anything of the sort; on the contrary, we have always taken special pains to say that very few of them have understood the real position in which that petition places them. This is perfectly well comprehended by the parties who are guilty of the misrepresentation; they have transparent reasons for making it, but not of a creditable kind.

Our own readers understand the ground we have taken, and will not be confused or bewildered by the clamor that is raised. We have had but just one object in all we have said on this subject: namely, to prevent the liberal party from making a great blunder in a matter of the first importance to their cause. This blunder, if made, will inure wholly to the benefit of Comstock, and put the liberals wholly at his mercy. Against such suicidal folly we shall protest to the end, no matter at what cost to ourself

or to THE INDEX. Colonel Ingersoll and Mr. Underwood, Mr. Frothingham and Mr. Mills, and every other radical who sees that liberty and morality are equally precious interests of mankind, perceive what is the sober truth in this matter; and if anybody thinks that noisy and irrelevant abuse can long keep this truth hidden from the liberals as a body, such a notion will speedily be dissipated by the result. Again we say that Mr. Underwood's wise suggestion is worthy of all attention, and we hope to see it energetically carried out by the proper parties.

MR. HOLYOAKE ON "RADICALS."

Our noble English friend, George Jacob Holyoake, contributed recently to the *Nineteenth Century* an article on "Impatience in Politics," from which we quote this admirable passage about "Radicals":—

The persons who have displayed, during the past half-century or more, definite qualities in popular politics are mainly those called radicals. They are commonly regarded as persons who have strong, untutored ways of thinking, and who act from impulse; but impulse is not politics, which can never be dissociated from patient calculation. By others radicals are thought to be persons having great energy of unrest, and to be animated by a vigorous and even manly indignation at injustice. This, however, is insurgency; and insurgency is not politics, and not often the prelude to it, though sometimes the only means of obtaining political justice. Some writers depict radicals as persons of robust crudeness of ideas, impatient of the formalities of "respectability," of unconventional, and even uncouth, manners and dress. These are not radicals,—they are not even radicals in the raw state; in a later stage they appear as the smooth-haired, smirky-dressed, officiously compliant, reactionary Tory. On the contrary, a radical is one who begins with a principle, and whose action and hope are determined by his judgment. Some persons are resolute, energetic, peristent, but not impatient. If they never rave, they never rest. They know what they want, and they ask for that, and not for more. They do not huxter for liberty by demanding what is sure to be refused, in order to get what they are willing to take. Asking only that which is reasonable in itself, and which may be safely conceded under the circumstances, they never abate their demand. Accepting a portion, if only a portion can be won, they recommence in due time their efforts for the residue of what they deem right. They are not "moderates"; their pride is to be just. Moderation in truth is as absurd as moderation in sunlight or health. No one makes his neighbor the poorer by taking of these all he wants. But moderation is shown in not insisting upon other persons complying at once with what you think right. It is more fairness to show consideration herein; and those who do show it are called "moderate," because they are not mad. A statesman opposed to progress prefers the mad politicians, and is always civil to them in private. He tells them he prefers them—they are "outspoken," and he can "understand them,"—which is quite true. Flattered by praise and by money into wildness which ruins their cause, they damage comrades of more measured sense, and even revile them on occasions as "half-hearted," or "wanting in principle,"—which, indeed, they are, if of the mad kind. A radical of principle is one who goes to the root of things as far as he can see; and by the root of things he means the general good of the community, advanced by the intelligent sense of the majority who think. He is not adventurous; he never loses sight of himself. He is not speculative; he never loses sight of society. Though he goes down to the reasons of things, any one can see where he is. He may not know much, and may entirely mistake the good of the community; but he will be far more likely to be right in aiming at this than by aiming at any lesser thing, parochial or personal. The rudimentary principles of radicalism—as, indeed, they are of any honest scheme proposed for the public service—are the free publicity of opinion, and the free discussion of it; and these are the conditions of its action, the guarantees that it works in what Lord Hampton would call "the open," and seeks only such changes as are approved by common intelligence, and accorded by common consent. The radical, therefore, in his mind, such as it is (and I do but describe it, it not being my place to praise it), is robust as a bison. He does not sneak after progress; he strives for it boldly. He may be objected to by persons not of his way of thinking; but he is never distrusted, as though he were an element of intrigue or of danger to the State.

I DO NOT pretend to tell what all the truth is; I do not pretend to have fathomed the abyss, nor to have floated on outstretched wings level with the heights of thought. I denounce the cruelties and horrors of slavery. I ask for light and air for the souls of men. I say take off these chains, break these manacles, free those limbs, release that brain. I plead for the right to think, to reason, to investigate. I ask that the future may be enriched with the honest thoughts of men. I implore every human being to be a soldier in the army of progress.—*Ingersoll*.

POPE LEO proposes to abolish the Papal navy, which comprises sixty officers and men, under Admiral Cialdi. The fleet consists of a dispatch-boat, which has lain in the port of Toulon since 1870, awaiting repairs. Its title is the *Immaculata Conception*; and a crew of twelve men are attached to it, who give place to other sailors of the Papal navy, regularly, every three months.

Communications.

RELIGION AND MORALITY.

"Es reden und träumen die Menschen viel
Von bessern künftigen Tagen;
Nach einem glücklich-n, goldenen Ziel
Sieht man sie rennen und jagen.
Die Welt wird alt und wird wieder jung;
Doch der Mensch hofft immer Verbesserung."

Men ever talk and ever dream
Of better future days;
And after a happy, golden scheme
We see them run and chase.
The world grows old and grows young again,
Yet man hopes ever the goal to gain.

SCHILLER'S "Hope."

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Contentment has ever been praised as a great virtue and a sure means to happiness. Yet very few men there are who are really contented with their lot. Deep down in the human heart there is a never-ceasing longing for "better future days," for greater happiness, for a something desired, but hardly ever obtained, or, when obtained, for still another something. Thus an incessant craving for a future happiness, a silent aspiration after an undefined better something, ever agitates the minds of men and keeps them discontented with their present condition. Perhaps this is, after all, better for them than a perfect contentment would be; for it is an ever-driving spur to activity, inspires them with energy, is the soul of all industry and enterprise, speculation and invention, the source of all progress and improvement; while a perfect contentment would cause a stand-still, produce lethargy, and clog progress. It is therefore only in rare instances that we meet with a perfectly contented individual; the race, humanity, is never contented. No; happily *humanity* never will be contented with what it has achieved; it will, and shall, forever strive for improvement in physical and moral, individual and social, secular and religious relations and conditions; and man will forever and ever "talk and dream of better future days. . . . The world grows old and grows young again, yet man ever hopes for betterment."

If this is especially true in regard to all that concerns this life and this world, it is not less true in regard to "the life to come," to religion. There may, it is true, be found many men contented with themselves, as far as their religion is concerned, or men who, when not really contented, at least simulate such contentment. Almost all orthodox believers in any kind of religion avow great contentment in this respect, and their claim to perfect happiness becomes the stronger, the more sincere and intense their orthodoxy, or the more subtle their hypocrisy is. Religion, they say, begets such a peace giving, consoling state of mind that they who really enjoy it prize it so highly, feel the vanity of all earthly things and pleasures so intensely, that they are tranquil, contented, and supremely happy, whatever their conditions may be. If these assertions be correct, religion is, without any contradiction, certainly the most valuable and most desirable thing, beyond all hazard worthy our best efforts to obtain.

From the foregoing, results the most important double-question: "What is religion?" and "How can we obtain it?" I candidly admit that I do not know what "religion" is. And though others pretend to know it, and though almost everybody claims to have it, yet that man was never yet born who could define religion *acceptably to all inquirers* or to all who claim to possess it. That eminent scholar, Mr. Max Müller, admits that it cannot be defined. "There seem to be as many definitions of religion," he says, "as there are religions in the world" (INDEX, May 23); and, I believe, he would have been pretty nearly as correct if he would have said, "as there are believers in the world."

But, leaving the merely theological and sectarian definitions out of the count, and considering only the philosophical and rational ones, even the best of these will, after due analysis, be found to be rather a definition of morality than of "religion,"—your own definition, though in itself excellent, my dear Mr. Abbot, "the effort of man to perfect himself," not excepted. This is certainly a most calamitous case, and extremely disadvantageous, if not to religion itself, at least to those earnestly and honestly in search of religion. For if no one is able to tell what religion is, it becomes, very naturally, equally impossible to say how we can obtain it. What will then become of the great value that multitudes ascribe to it?

But it seems to me, sir, that all the laudations of religion, and all the declamations about the sublime felicities it imparts, must be mere delusions so long as we can neither satisfactorily define it, nor tell how we may get it. The reality of the happiness of which the so-called "pious" ones boast so much must, then, be doubted, and held to be but imaginary or deceptive. How different the case in regard to the sweet satisfaction that morality creates! Not, however, because all, at least civilized, men are in fullest accord as to what morality is, what acts are moral or immoral, while their opinions of religion are ever at variance; not because it is as easy to know and to say when our acts are moral as it is difficult *always* to act morally; but because it is only the practice of morality, and nothing else than the consciousness of having acted morally, that really imparts to the mind that felicitous self-satisfaction and sublime tranquillity of which religionists boast so much, and which they erroneously ascribe to religion. Yet, if even they, beside being religious, be also and really good and moral men, they, too, may actually enjoy that happiness and consolation which they claim, not however, on account of their religion, but in spite of it, and by virtue of the goodness and morality

they practise. I must perhaps also admit that religion even may in some happily constituted natures, or in some artificially excited minds, momentarily call up feelings of exalted happiness. But then these will last only so long as their cause, the momentarily enhanced sentiments (e.g., in intense devotion), or the artificially aroused sympathies (e.g., at revivals), will last; while those produced by the consciousness of rectitude and morality are lasting and enduring.

Another equally undecided, if not indeterminate, question is, again, is religion an innate, constitutional part of human nature, or is it only something acquired by man, the product of his conditions, the effect of the influences of his environments on him? In regard to this question the opinions of men are again as much at variance as are their views of religion itself. Mr. Müller calls it a "faculty," "a mental faculty to comprehend . . . the infinite." (INDEX, May 23.) But can finite man comprehend the infinite? Man, with all his physical or mental "faculties," can but conceive what has form and limits; but the infinite, to be the infinite, cannot have either form or limits. Must it not, then, be clear to everybody that religion is something beyond human comprehension,—a something that no one ever knew or ever can know? Yet the large majority of men, even the wisest and best among them, maintain that it is something *proper to man as man*, part of his being, born in and with him, and therefore found everywhere where man is found. Others, again, equally wise and good, great observers, profound thinkers, and acute reasoners, maintain on the contrary that it is not in man, but outside of, and merely acquired by, him.

Now, sir, these views and opinions are all so antagonistic that they mutually exclude and annul each other. We have, then, to look for another more reliable and substantial basis to build our theories upon. This basis is furnished by experience. It teaches us some facts which the advocates of all the various opinions aforesaid must acknowledge, since no one can effectually deny them, and which will shed more and better light on these enigmatical subjects. Man, experience teaches us, more especially in his infancy, only an imitating animal. The child observes and imitates. It thus forms from its surroundings and their influences on it its ideas, and these grow within it as itself develops and grows. When the child has become a mature man, he finds himself possessed of certain ideas thus unconsciously and early received, and nourished and strengthened through all the preceding years of infancy and youth; and his memory tells him consequently that he ever has had them, was at no period of his life without them. From these so easily and naturally explicable circumstances, men and women jump at the conclusion that their religious ideas have ever been in them; that they were born with them, and that these ideas were consequently innate, a part of themselves, instead of ascribing them, as they ought, to unmistakable external agencies (such as parentage, environments and their influences on them, etc.). At any rate, those who claim innateness for these ideas can no more prove them so, or the objects to which they relate—religion, God, immortality, etc.—than the advocates of other and antagonistic theories can undeniably demonstrate the correctness of their views, since religion itself will ever remain indefinable and incomprehensible, and all speculation on it will never attain to more than doubtful hypotheses.

But a new and mighty factor enters here by the aid of which any hypothesis may become an undoubted verity to those who embrace it. This magic factor is *faith*. Now what is faith? "A system of belief," says Webster,—"belief; the assent of the mind to the truth of what is declared by another." Hence, the hypothesis of another may become an unquestioned fact to multitudes of men. It is thus that religion originated and still exists. In the minds of hundreds of thousands of men, religion thus lives, not as "innate idea," not as the product of their own reasonings and speculations (for large majorities of them never think even, much less reason or speculate on this subject), but as a belief, as "assent to the truth of what others declare" to be truth. Because these multitudes see from their earliest youth others believing in these declarations as in truths, they accept them likewise as truths, without doubting or examining them. They have simply *faith* in them; and this "faith" (in thousands of instances a "blind faith") is mistaken for, and passes as, religion. This kind of "religion" will be the more intense, the stronger and "blinder" the "faith" of the believers is.

As long as this sort of religion is confined to the believer and his devotions, i.e., as long as it remains *personal faith*, restricted to the performance of diverse forms and ceremonies, and does not manifest itself in hostile acts towards those differing from that faith,—it may still be harmless for others or for society at large. But when the religious zeal animates the believer to hate all those who differ from his belief, and incites him to intemperate acts, both the believer and his belief or faith become dangerous. It is certainly bad enough for religion that, no matter what benefits it may be claimed that it confers on the individual believer, it neither contributes to the real elevation of the individual nor to the well-being of society, its general peace and prosperity; but it is yet worse for it that it is, and ever and everywhere has been, a cause of discord between citizens and neighbors of different faith. The record that history shows on every one of her pages is still more damaging to it; is really appalling. More than nine-tenths of all the miseries that ever afflicted mankind can directly or indirectly be traced back to religion. The most horrible, most sanguinary, most furious and destructive wars originated in religious differences; and the intolerance and persecutions that it engen-

ders prove it to be the greatest peril to society. Even to day, in these later days of the enlightened nineteenth century, it is still religion that separates man and man, neighbor and neighbor, citizen and citizen.

In the face of all this it is in vain that the partisans of religion claim so much for it. Of course, it will not be denied that there may possibly also be a better side of it; that there may even also be some good in it. But if there be, the bad most lamentably overbalances the good; and too much good is credited to it by its apologists that really does not belong to it, but to morality and the goodness of human nature (although some religions teach the total depravity of the latter!). But it is ignorance or priestcraft that thus overvalues religion, as it is ignorance coupled with fanaticism that at all times opposes its reform and improvement. The history of every religion shows that those who ever endeavored to reform or improve it were declared enemies of religion, and treated and persecuted as such by its priesthood. More than one reformer paid thus with his life the penalty of his audacity, although more than one has afterwards been deified for it. Yet all religions are more or less permeated with morality, and are thus to the same extent good and beneficial; for morality is the most beneficial and corrective element wherever found, even when mixed up with error. The more advanced, the more rational, a religion is, the more it will be found that morality forms an integral part of it. Yes, any religion, living or dead, must and will be rated and esteemed by the intelligent, unprejudiced classes just in proportion to its harmony with reason and morality, and because it does so harmonize.

But thus it also happens that so much is mistaken for religion which, in reality, is only morality. It is also this mistaking for religion what is only morality that makes so many zealous advocates of the former, even among the well-informed and educated classes. True, they cannot, and the honest ones will not, deny the records of history,—the countless evils done by religion; the horrors perpetrated in its "holy name"; nay, more, they not unfrequently even exaggerate them—in other religions than their own. But they do this in order to exalt their own. Those other religions, they say, were false religions, instigated by the devil, and could therefore have had no better results than they had. Their own religion, however, they claim, is "of God," a "revelation from on high" to "save poor, fallen humanity."

Suppose, now, these claims all true and substantiated; even then religion does not appear in a much better light, since we do not find such "revealed religion" having any better effect on the conduct of its believers in general than the "false religions,"—nay, even a worse one than any "heathen" or "pagan" religion ever had on its believers. Intolerance, persecutions, proscriptions, and penalties of all sorts, for *belief's sake*, never played so conspicuous a part in "those benighted pagan religions" as they did, and still do, in the so-called "holy revealed religions." And quite naturally so. The more firmly and sincerely a believer in any "revealed religion" believes it to be a veritable "revelation of God," the more he will value it and—*himself*, and the more he must despise or pity the unbeliever, and endeavor to bring him to believe as he himself does. His "holy religion," furthermore, teaches him that only those who believe in it are acceptable to his God, and will be "saved"; while all those who do not thus believe are "heretics," "children of the devil," "hated by God," and "lost," "damned forever and ever." If they are hated by God, must he not also hate them? And if they have a precious soul, destined to be lost, that might yet be saved by embracing *his* belief, can or ought he to hesitate at any means, any torture, by which he might save that "lost soul"? Why, then, should he not be intolerant and persecuting? These are no faults or vices, according to his religious code; on the contrary, they are great virtues, meritorious "piety." If morality teaches him differently, the worse for morality: he must be "religious" or "lost."

Thus is religion. Of morality it will not be necessary to say much more than I said in the foregoing, since its supreme value is equally admitted, not only by those believing solely in morality, but by those believing in religion as well; at least by such of them as do not discard reason and make the dogmas of their religion their sole belief. With those who do, I have no controversy. But all rational men, be they believers in any religion or not, will admit that the best element in any religion is the *morality it teaches*; that this alone constitutes all the real merit that may be found in religion; and hence, that every religion is to be judged, revered, and accepted, or disdained and opposed, just in proportion as morality is embodied in its tenets and doctrines, or ignored and slighted. Mere belief will never satisfy morality; it cares nothing for belief; it insists on practice, on a life in harmony with its principles. Religion, again, is more or less form and ritual, which change with time and circumstances; yet it regards a pious compliance with them, like the mere belief in its dogmas, as highest virtues and most meritorious acts. Morality, however, is an eternal, unchangeable law, judges our acts and pronounces them good or bad, right or wrong, according to its law. It rewards them immediately, here and now, when right and good, with that sweetest of rewards, that greatest of felicities, the consciousness of having done right; it even so punishes them when wrong with that bitterest of penalties, the consciousness of having done wrong, and the pang inseparable from it. Religionists may declaim the happiness and bliss that the religious enjoy as much as they please; but there is no other happiness or unhappiness equal to that which a satisfied or troubled conscience gives. Morality, reason, conscience, are but so many words for the same thing or idea, expressed in different relations and forms of thought,—

a real and veritable trinity, three in one, and one in three. Morality is the court before which our acts and thoughts and aspirations are tried, and at the same time the law according to which they are judged; Reason is the judge that pronounces the sentences; and Conscience is the officer that executes the sentences of the court, deals out rewards as well as penalties. It is morality, then, and not religion, that gives to man that unspeakable happiness, or that excruciating pang, that religionists claim for religion. Morality is, as admitted by all, an integral part of human nature, and, as conscience, ever present and invariably the same in every rational human being; while religion is by no means such an essential part of man, nor so ever present in him; nor is it, even if we will admit it to be shared by all men, of such uniformity in them as is morality. No; it varies in form and essence in every individual, even in members of one and the same faith. This is at the same time also a necessary consequence and convincing proof of their widely different nature and genesis; the one resulting from man's peculiar nature, the other from his training and other external and accidental conditions. Hence the one, violated and suppressed as it temporarily may be, is and remains always and invariably the same in all civilized men; the other, never exactly the same in two individuals.

Yet even religion, in spite of its many drawbacks and countless abuses, may at least become—and more especially for the less educated classes—a valuable auxiliary to, or substitute for, morality; but morality is, must, and will be, the sole infallible guide to a good, just, and correct life. Religion may fancy unspeakable happiness for its believers in another life, in order to bribe its dupes to sacrifice to it their happiness in this life; but morality, in giving real happiness in this life (as well as in the one to come, if there be one), makes it conditioned on the practice of its principles, the compliance with its law, and the rectitude of life.

MORRIS EINHSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Pa., June 9, 1878.

PRINCIPLES, METHODS, MEN:

ON THE SCIENTIFIC FORMULA OF ORDERLY SOCIAL PROGRESS.

NO. II.

Reform is a problem which formulates itself into a first, a middle, and a third term, and may be expressed in this wise: PRINCIPLES, METHODS, MEN. Just in the degree that any scheme or enterprise is defective in either of these elements does it invite failure. Principles may be divine, but bad methods will turn to dragons' teeth, in the reaping that which had been sown in hope of golden corn. Principles and methods may be just and righteous; but if left to the administration of base and selfish men the fine gold will be turned to dross. Principles and methods must not only be adapted to ends, but find their accord and unity in character, or failure, sooner or later, is certain.

Let us, then, assume that social science, not less than mathematics, has its first principles or axioms, and that these have been correctly stated, and are accepted as true by the intuitive moral sense of mankind. By this assumption we beg no question at issue, but comply with an absolute demand of all scientific investigation. The assumption that there are axioms of moral science which no demonstration could make more clear does not imply that the mind is the source of truth, nor imply the perfection of the moral sense, any more than assuming the truth of the axioms of mathematics implies the perfection of reason. The assumption implies rather the perfection of the laws of order in Nature and society. Of this perfection there can be no doubt that man has an intuitive sense, which is to him the motive or incentive to progress. To discover how to coordinate the individual and collective welfare to those laws, in the structure of the social system, is the function of humanity under the divine providence.

Man is not born into the perfect life, but is to attain unto it through experience, growth, or experiment. Falseness will not lead to it, save by devious rounds, and only as it gives wholesome lessons through suffering. Through purity to peace, from truth to righteousness, is the divine order; and they who are wise will choose only that way which shines with truth, and which leads to joy every child of humanity.

Expediency is falsehood. They who do the right only so far as it costs them nothing, so far as it does not conflict with their pride, love of ease, or personal interests, are among its worst enemies, and are dangerous in proportion to their influence and social position. One respectable and pious monopolist, usurer, or gambler in stocks is a greater social pest than a hundred petty thieves who are hourly sent to jail, and all the more dangerous from whatever personal excellence or influence he may possess. His very respectability hides the iniquity of his business and of a social system which generates and sustains it. We fail to see that, while he may be conventionally a paragon of excellence, he is by vocation a blood-sucker and a devourer of widows' houses. Disregarding principles, society has gone from bad to worse, until it has come to be accepted as a matter of course, that public, legal, and popular sanction will be given to acts done by a banking, railroad, and manufacturing corporation which if done by an individual would send him to the State prison. If I, as a private member of society, were to defraud my neighbor of a cent, I should have both constable and curate after me in a trice; but if I steal with the crowd, and according to the National Banking Act, or by the charter of a factory, railroad, telegraph, or transportation company, and thus rob suffering women and children, I am a good fellow, because I steal with a company, and none of the sufferers can say which one of us did it. But every one of the crowd feels that he is a thief; and however we may whistle together to

keep our courage up, "conscience makes cowards of us all." But who cries, Stop thief? or denounces the system by which we plunder the trusting or helpless poor? Who but a few fanatics cry out against the legislature granting a patent for stealing as a corporation, when it would send us to the penitentiary for stealing as individuals? Nobody. If the stealing is rich, deacon and clericus will run with the crowd to invest in the stock. And why not?

If it be not immoral for a corporation to speculate, to rob, to disregard the law of neighborly love, while it would be for an individual, why then let us all get into corporations and steal in hordes. But it is only the fool who flatters himself that he can rightly do as a member of an association what it would be immoral to do as an individual; and even the fool cannot succeed in the self-delusion. That law of right, put in his mind and written on his heart, like the flaming sword, smites to the inmost, and he walks a convicted criminal in his own eyes, however he may be petted by the wicked world.

Amidst the din of reform, society is driving madly to perdition from ignorance or contempt of the principles of the true social science. As a consequence we see everywhere social subversion, or an inversion of the true individual and collective life. It seems to be tacitly understood, that the rules of honor, equity, and good faith, which every gentleman is expected to regard, will be treated as pestilent spiders' webs by corporations, legislative bodies, and the officers of these. We are without a system of ethics which touches the collective morality. Nay, such a system is not even announced.

Does the college, church, or judiciary, either or any of them, undertake to decide upon, or even question, the present relations of capital and labor? the morality of our banking, our corporate, industrial, and transportation systems? Who has ever heard of such fitting work having been undertaken by latter-day Solons and Moseses? Are we told that the cost of truth or of the science of applied equity is too great? We reply, What science demands society must pay, and will pay, gratefully, so soon as men have a clear grasp, with mind and heart, of the principles and methods of the true social science, the same as we pay homage to gravitation and the principles of mathematics. Equity is the right line by which we safely build in social architecture, as we build by the line of gravity in material construction. The transition from the existing subversion to the true order may involve pain, but that necessarily attends all transitions. Birth and death are both attended with pain, but both are undoubtedly beneficent provisions of the universal economy.

The issue, then, being inevitable, should be met with courage and assured faith. All the suffering incident to a transition from the false to the true social order need not equal that now endured by the people in a single month. It would be a transition from sickness to health. Yet whatever the cost or pain, it must be accepted. But who is not ready to be just and noble when it costs nothing? And who but knows there is neither justice nor nobility in such conduct? Justice does to others what it asks of them. Love gives without barter or exchange. Justice looks at truth, the body of principles, as the eagle at the sun, with unbleached eyes, and never swerves from the line of equity. It looks not to results, for it knows that good only comes of truth. It knows that the truth never unsettles or changes the real. She only explodes shams, "uncovers the hiding-place of lies," and blows away the dust of images set up in her holy name.

Since our common mother ate that "pestilent apple," we seem to have groped in "disastrous twilight." If we gained knowledge by her heroic act, we seem to have lost wisdom by it. Affection is divorced from understanding, so that the former is without its proper continent, and the latter without its true influx. Our science is pretending, cold, proud, scoffing, and fruitless of methods, and our religion is only a dead faith in traditions. The love, if any, which it inspires in its votaries turns in practical life to selfish greed and indifference to good.

But let us not despair. There is a science of society, of social harmony. We have its axioms, its eternal principles. These are as exact and as exacting as those of mathematics. If we work in strict conformity with them we shall surely regain paradise. Our Eden will bloom again with more than pristine beauty. Not the Eden of our infancy, but of our manhood.

The compass which is to guide us in our search must be the pure and normal attractions of the soul, which are the permanent revelations to man of his individual and collective destiny,—our chart the principles of divine order preëstablished in the spiritual and material universe.

No longer does the "thus saith the Lord" of Moses stir us to an outward obedience, nor the "I say unto you" of Jesus charm us unto righteousness. We are no longer babes, to be terrified by threats; nor youths bound by the spell of a merely personal love, however revered the being who inspires it. We are men and women. We stand face to face with PRINCIPLES. We know no other authority. Our obedience springs from knowledge. We now revere Moses and Jesus all the more truly because we see that they spoke as the discoverers of the first great principles of the divine social code, in announcing the supreme love of the Good and the equal love of the neighbor to be alike the least and greatest duty of man.

Through a knowledge of principles, we seek and accept the divine government only. Henceforth no regulation, prescription, usage, or statute of human contrivance has our homage or regard, except as it is in unison with divine principles. We are no longer democrats, republicans, or monarchists. For us there is no law or binding order besides that love

and wisdom manifested in the order of creation. We stand ever in the divine presence. Interest and duty are identical; the love of self becomes one with the love of the neighbor. Expediency has henceforth no place in the maxims and conduct of life. Truth is the pearl of great price. We gladly sell our possessions, and our inheritance if need be, that we may buy it.

PRINCIPLES are the Rock of Ages. Whatever is founded on them cannot fall; and whatever swerves from them, though a hair's breadth, is as certain to perish as if the departure were measured by infinite degrees. But there are no degrees in truth and falsehood, and society will, of necessity, continue to be a chaos of injustice, misery, and crime, so long as the axioms of a divine social science are disregarded, and so long as we neglect to construct the social system, after the logical form, which that science demands.

JOHN ORVIS.

REV. W. E. COPELAND.

WHAT HE IS DOING FOR THE LIBERAL LEAGUE MOVEMENT.

EDITOR INDEX:—

For a number of years past I have been aware that there were few persons in the West doing more for the liberal cause than Rev. W. E. Copeland, of Lincoln, Nebraska. Since the commencement of the movement he has been earnestly laboring for its advancement. To give the readers of THE INDEX some idea of what he has been doing, I take the liberty of sending you for publication the following letter just received from him:—

LINCOLN, Neb., June 17, 1878.

MR. H. L. GREEN:

Dear Sir,—Fearing that you may regard me as an indifferent member of the Executive Committee of the N. L. L., I take the occasion to make a report of my work during the past year. I have organized a Liberal League at Palmyra, with S. S. Seeley for President and G. E. Bennett for Secretary; also a Liberal League at Hastings, with Dr. Lyman for President and Hon. Mr. Beatty for Secretary. The last League will begin the erection of a hall for the use of the League, which they hope to complete in September; and I have good reason to expect the organization of a League at Plattsmouth, which I will report so soon as it is effected. The two Leagues above mentioned have failed to apply for charters, simply because the members are too poor to spare the necessary ten dollars. I have spoken for the Liberal League in Lincoln once a month during the past year, always to good audiences, once a month at Hastings, twice a month to a Liberal Society organized at Fremont before there were any Liberal Leagues, and five or six times during the year (each) to the liberals of Friendville, Fairburg, and Beatrice. I have also given occasional lectures at other points in Nebraska,—Palmyra, Seward, Fairmont, and Omaha. I have been at work, as you see, though the results are not apparent in organized Leagues. Can you give me the names of liberals in Laramie City, Wyoming Territory, or Salt Lake, Utah? I desire to spend one or two months this summer in the West, and would like to lecture at those points and in Colorado. I have already written to Denver. I find many liberals throughout Nebraska, but there is a good deal of difficulty in organizing them. Please let me hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

W. E. COPELAND.

Allow me to ask the readers of THE INDEX who are able to do so, to give Mr. Copeland the information he calls for. I learn that the Palmyra League above mentioned will soon apply for a charter. And allow me to add that we hope to see Mr. Copeland at the Freethinkers' Convention at Watkins, in August.

H. L. G.

FOUR HUNDRED LITTLE VICTIMS.—The Rev. Mr. Hammond, the revivalist, recently conducted a series of meetings in Yonkers; and while he was there Mr. Elisha M. Carpenter, Superintendent of the New York Juvenile Asylum, invited him to visit that institution. Mr. Hammond had once started a revival in the Western House of Refuge, in Rochester, when Mr. Carpenter was in charge of that institution. That was fifteen years ago; but the success of the movement was so great—over one hundred of the boys being converted—that Mr. Carpenter had never forgotten it. His object in inviting the revivalist to visit the Juvenile Asylum was to try whether a similar result could not be accomplished there. Mr. Hammond went to the asylum, and attended several of the children's regular semi-weekly prayer-meetings. These gatherings had for several years been unattended by much religious fervor, and had not apparently affected the feelings of the boys and girls to any appreciable extent. But Mr. Hammond is a fiery revivalist, both as to his style of oratory and his teachings about future punishment. He told the six hundred and fifty children of the asylum that they would certainly be doomed to literal fire for all eternity if they did not become Christians. He is remarkable for his power with children, to whom he devotes especial attention in his revivals; and he impresses upon them in strong language the horrors of everlasting torment. Perhaps, believing that the asylum children were more wicked than the average, he dwelt with uncommon particularity on his doctrine of hell. The result was quick and general. Juvenile penitents crowded forward by the hundred, when he invited them to do so; and within a week over four hundred converts had been made, ranging in age from nine to fifteen years. Mr. Carpenter says that a great majority of the children under his charge are now earnest, hopeful Christians. Prayer-meetings are held three times a week, besides the usual Sunday services, and in all the religious exercises the little ones are active.

—N. Y. Sun, Jan. 20, 1878.

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THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 445.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and enforced through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SMOULDING REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS W. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

PRESIDENT ANDERSON, of Rochester, said to his students: "Friends, there are only three classes of men: first, the honest man; second, the beggar; third, the thief." We have heard worse sermons than that.

REV. JOHN WEISS proposes to give a series of six lectures at No. 2 Park Street, beginning October 31, on successive Thursdays, at 12 o'clock. The subjects are of a literary character, well adapted to give full scope to Mr. Weiss's brilliant powers. Tickets for reserved seats may be had of Messrs. Doll & Richards.

It is rough but wholesome truth (clothed in theological rhetoric, of course) that Rev. James Freeman Clarke tells, when he says that John Morrissey "may rise up in the day of judgment, with the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, to condemn the professors of religion who, while teaching Bible classes on Sunday, are robbing the corporations of which they are treasurers, during all the rest of the week."

THE *Congregationalist* is quoted as the publication responsible for this atrocious absurdity: "Is it not better to be a pure man than an impure man? Certainly; but then that does not touch the great question of salvation. A man may be pure, and honest in all his transactions, and yet be a criminal in the sight of God." To which the obvious reply is that, if the man is pure and God sees him to be impure, his "All-seeing Eyes" cannot see at all.

THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY, founded nearly a century ago, anticipated the Free Religious Association in its declaration of the right of absolute freedom of thought and discussion. The Greek letters of its name are the initials of a motto signifying "Philosophy the Pilot of Life"; and this motto sufficiently indicates the pure rationalism of its principles. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, its President, writing in the *Boston Advertiser* of June 27, said: "There is the declaration, somewhat freely made [by the founders of the society], that in the meetings of the society all subjects may be confidently discussed without the limitations or repressions by which discussion is elsewhere bound. And this seems to be put in such a way as to imply that religion, though not named, was one of those subjects." The Phi Beta Kappa Society thus instituted a free fellowship in religion as well as in philosophy and literature, and owed its origin to the same rationalistic spirit prevalent at the time which created the secular Constitution of the United States.

THE *BOSTON Advertiser* says: "Not a little sensation has been created in France by the result of the two recent elections to the Academy. The places to be filled were those of MM. Thiers and Claude Bernard. For the first of these seats the candidates were M. Taine and M. Henri Martin; and for the second, M. Ernest Renan and M. Wallon, 'the father of the constitution.' MM. Martin and Renan were successful. The chief significance of the result lies in the position of the two new academicians on religious questions. Everybody knows what are the opinions of M. Renan; and the views of M. Martin, who is as radical in religion as he is in politics, are hardly less matter of universal knowledge. In the time of Guizot such elections would have been well-nigh impossible. But the times have changed. It is evidence of the point to which the 'liberal' school of thought, so-called, has gained control among the immortals, that the candidates of the Orthodox members were not more pronounced advocates of the stricter sect than they are. M. Wallon's appointment to the chair of public worship in one of the earlier republican ministries gave great offence to the Catholics, and M. Taine is by no means a representative of conservatism. In fact, it is not very long since the clerical journals stigmatized him as an atheist. The

choice of those who were elected has caused much discussion, and not a few hard things have been said of the Academy."

REV. S. E. CALTHEOP told this good story at Boston at the Anniversary: "My friend, Mr. Conway, happened to interview a little African prince, twelve years old, whom Stanley had just brought over from Africa. He had called on Mr. Stanley to do him honor, as all Americans wanted to do, and found him out; but, fortunately for theology, the boy was in. He was very much interested in this little boy, who was in charge of the housekeeper, a good-hearted woman, who had made a vocabulary that was not good English, nor yet good African, by means of which she could make herself understood by the boy. So Mr. Conway asked that the prince might come down stairs. The request was granted, and the boy came down. But as he was on the stairs, he whistled,—and it was Sunday afternoon! 'Don't you whistle!' said the housekeeper, 'don't you whistle! It is Sunday!' The African boy stopped suddenly; it was the awful English Sunday. Then Mr. Conway said to the woman, 'My dear madam, would you kindly ask for me his opinion of Sunday?' She did so, and the boy drawled out, 'Ugh! Sunday! Ugh! Sunday!' And then, with that sweetness of tone which my friend can so well command, he asked, 'Will you be kind enough to ask him what he thinks of Monday?' She reluctantly complied, and the boy shouted gleefully, 'Oh! Monday! Monday! Monday!' (Laughter.) Now, our children must never know what that boy had begun to know. Let Sunday be a beautiful day. Let us have the sense that it is better to be alive on that day than on any other day. On that day, somehow, the sun shines brighter, and God's peace comes nearer down upon a weary world."

NOT LONG AGO the *Sunday School Times* had this paragraph: "The old adage that 'extremes meet' nowhere finds more striking illustration than in religious ceremonies. Thus the Roman Catholics encourage, to a large extent, non-communicating attendance at their communion service, or mass. Their congregations are taught to be present at that service, whether they communicate or not, to 'assist' in the sacrifice by their private devotions, rather than themselves to partake of even the wafer,—for, with the decline of the communion idea among the Roman Catholics, the cup has long been denied to the laity. This non-scriptural idea of the Lord's Supper has just reappeared among the Massachusetts Unitarians, of all places in the world. Some of the more radical churches of that body have for some years found the necessity of celebrating the Lord's Supper an irksome task. One in New Bedford has abandoned the sacrament entirely; and dislike for it led Ralph Waldo Emerson, as long ago as 1832, to renounce the Unitarian ministry. A Boston church, however, has solved the difficulty. On Easter Sunday the pastor put bread and wine on the table, and, after breaking a piece of the former, and pouring out a little of the latter, invited the congregation to contemplate them, but not to partake; remarking: 'We would discern the real presence in these symbols, and nourish our souls on that. Through the veil of material things we would commune with things eternal.' This quite agrees with Roman practice and phraseology, and is the very thing condemned in the homely phrase of the Articles of the Church of England: 'The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them.' This Boston ceremony is analogous to one performed, some years ago, in another Unitarian Church of that city,—baptizing without water. After all, the scriptural use of ordinances is as good as any." And, "after all," disuse of them is the best use of all.

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Issued to the President and Secretary, on behalf of the Malden Liberal League.
[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Honors to the Dead Poet.

FUNERAL OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

IMPRESSIVE SERVICES AT ALL SOULS CHURCH—LARGE ASSEMBLAGE OF PROMINENT PEOPLE—THE ADDRESS OF THE REV. DR. BELLOWS—THE EXERCISES AT THE CEMETERY IN ROSLYN, L. I.

The services at the funeral of William Cullen Bryant were held yesterday morning in All Souls Church. The gathering was memorable for the many prominent residents of the city and the large number of venerable men which it included. The services were marked by extreme simplicity, and the floral offerings were few, but rich. The Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, Mr. Bryant's pastor for the last fifteen years, delivered an address. The remains were taken to Roslyn for burial.

SERVICES AT THE CHURCH.

A large number of representative men of the city paid the last honors yesterday to William Cullen Bryant. An hour before the time named for the funeral, the doors of All Souls Church were surrounded by a multitude of people. Policemen were present, but as they admitted the crowd within the church gates, they could do little to prevent the great crush that followed when the doors were opened. At the house no services were held; the coffin was removed directly to the church, where it was placed in the aisle, directly in front of the communion-table.

Just before 10 o'clock the relatives and immediate friends of the family began to arrive, and were received at the door by Mr. Goddard. It was only by the greatest exertion that a lane was maintained through the expectant crowd. Among the first to arrive was ex-Governor Tilden, with Mrs. Pelton and several other ladies. When the doors were thrown open, a few minutes before 10 o'clock, there was a great rush to secure seats. In a remarkably short time the church was completely filled. Late comers found standing room in the lobbies, but no seats.

The interior of the church was severe in its simplicity; few of the usual trappings of woe were apparent. Upon the coffin, draped in black cloth, was the plain inscription, "William Cullen Bryant, Born November 3, 1794, Died June 12, 1878." Below this were several palm leaves bound together with a white ribbon. On the baptismal font was a large pillar of immortelles, white roses, and calla lilies, to which was attached the card, "From his employes, who loved him." Upon the communion-table were placed two large baskets of flowers.

The scene was very impressive when the Rev. Dr. Bellows—a venerable figure, clad in sombre, flowing robes—rose to read the opening service. Rarely have there been assembled in this city so many men famous for services in politics, in the professions, in literature, in the arts. The assemblage recalled, in some features, that which gathered recently to bid farewell to Bayard Taylor, just prior to his departure for Berlin, and at which Mr. Bryant presided with so happy a union of dignity, social tact, and charming urbanity as to be the subject of comment and admiration. Many of the same faces seen on that occasion were beheld at the church. But the audience yesterday had one striking peculiarity,—its air of age. Men whose snowy hair showed that they had passed the Psalmist's allotted span of life were seen on every hand. It was a tribute of the venerable to one who had honored length of days.

Near the front were seated the relatives and intimate friends of the family, among whom were J. H. Platt, one of the executors of Mr. Bryant's will, Captain Cullen Bryant, a nephew, John Howard and Arthur Bryant, the two brothers of the poet, Isaac Henderson, Jr., Mrs. Monnell, Bryant and Harold Godwin, sons of Parke Godwin, and their sisters, Misses Minna, Nora, and Fannie Godwin. In the anteroom were Miss Julia Bryant and Miss Fairchild. Seated with the relatives were also the old family servants, dressed in deep mourning, who followed the remains of their late master to the cemetery at Roslyn.

In the body of the church were seated delegations from the Century Club, the Union League Club, the Historical Society, the Associated Press, the New York Press Club, the Children's Aid Society, the Mazzini Monument Committee, the Italian Mutual Benevolent Society, the Circolo Italiano, the Italian Brotherly Society, and several other associations. Of the many prominent men present the following may be mentioned: Peter Cooper, Joseph H. Choate, John Jay, F. D. Tappan, John H. Yourlie, the Rev.

Dr. Ormlston, Thurlow Weed, Chief-Justice Daly, John Bigelow, Cyrus W. Field, David Dudley Field, the Rev. Dr. S. Irons Prime, ex-Governor Tilden, Colonel Pelton, the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, Bishop Potter, the Rev. Dr. H. C. Potter, the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, Jackson S. Schultz, Elliot C. Cowdin, Joseph Seligman, Charles W. Griswold, Josiah M. Fiske, Lucius Tuckerman, J. Langdon Ward, Daniel Lord, Jr., F. A. Stout, M. M. Beckwith, Thomas Hillhouse, Judge Speir, Watson R. Sperry, the Rev. Dr. William Adams, H. B. Claflin, Drs. Gray and Paine, Charles O'Connor, Richard H. Dana, Jr., R. H. Stoddard, Collector Arthur, William Rose Wallace, Henry Bergh, the Rev. Dr. R. R. Booth, Dr. Litus M. Coar, ex-Governor E. D. Morgan, Walt Whitman, John Burroughs, E. C. Stedman, Judge William E. Curtis, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood, Charles A. Graham, Salem H. Wales, Daniel Huntington, S. R. Gifford, Eastman Johnson, Edward Cooper, Erastus Brooks, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field, Stephen P. Nash, Chariton T. Lewis, Ellwood E. Thorne, W. R. Gilder, John G. Chapman, of Rome; Professor Lovering, of Harvard College; and Speaker James W. Husted.

When the large audience was seated, the organist, Melvin Brown, gave, as a prelude, the andante from Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. Then followed the hymn, "Rest, Spirit, Rest," sung by a quartette consisting of Misses Barton and Bell, and Messrs. Jamieson and Clapp. The service for the dead was then read by Dr. Bellows, after which Handel's hymn, "Come Unto Him," was rendered by the choir.

ADDRESS OF DR. BELLOW'S.

A funeral oration was then pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Bellows. The speaker dwelt briefly on the biographical details, but brought out in sharp relief the salient features of Mr. Bryant's character, his political genius, extreme simplicity, purity of life, strength of will, delicacy of insight, abounding vitality, unvarying cheerfulness, strong and abiding religious faith. The address lasted for more than an hour, and was listened to throughout with close attention. In the tenderer portions, the speaker's sympathetic voice and expressive countenance added pathos to the well-chosen words. Dr. Bellows said:—

The whole country is bending with us over the bier that holds the dust of Bryant! Private as the simple service is that consigns the ashes of our illustrious poet and journalist to the grave, there is public mourning in all hearts and homes, making these funeral rites solemn and universal by the sympathy that from every quarter flows toward them, and swells the current of grateful and reverent emotion. Much as the modest, unworldly spirit of the man we mourn shrunk from the parade of public rites, leaving to his heirs the duty of a rigid simplicity in his funeral, neither his wishes nor theirs could render his death and burial less than an event of general significance and national concern. It is not for his glory that we honor and commemorate him. Public fame, for more than half a century, has made it needless, or impossible, to add one laurel to his crown. So long ago he took the place he has since kept in public admiration, respect, and reverence, that no living tongue could now dialogue or add to the security and mild splendor of his reputation. For three generations he has been a fixed star in our firmament, and no eulogy could be so complete as that which by accumulation of meaning dwells in the simple mention of his name.

Few lives have been so fortunate and complete as his. Born in 1794, when this young nation was in its teens, he has been contemporary with nearly the whole first century of its life. If no country ever experienced in the same period such a miracle of growth, if none ever profited so much by discoveries and inventions—never before so wonderful as those made in the half-century which gave us steam navigation, the railroad, and the telegraph,—he saw the birth, he antedated the existence, of every one of the characteristic triumphs of modern civilization; and yet he died not until they became wholly familiar and nearly universal in their fruitful influence! Born and bred in New England, and on the summits of the Green Mountains, he inherited the severe and simple tastes and habits of that rugged region, and having sprung from a vigorous and intellectual parentage, and being in contact with a few persons with whom Nature and books took the place of social pleasures and the excitement of towns and cities, his native genius made him, from a tender age, the thoughtful and intimate companion of woods and streams, and constituted him Nature's own darling child. It was a friendship so unfeigned, so deep, so much in accordance with his temperament and mental constitution, that it grew into a determining passion, and shaped his whole life, while in the poetry to which it gave birth it laid the foundations and erected the structure of his poetic fame. What Wordsworth did for English poetry, in bringing back the taste for Nature, as the counterpart of humanity—a world to be interpreted not by the outward eyes, but by the soul,—Bryant did for America. One who knew them both as I did, could not fail to observe the strong resemblance in character and feeling, with the marked difference between them on which I will not dwell. Both were reserved, unsmiling, austere, or irresponsible men, in aspect; not at home in cities or in crowds, not easy of access, or dependent on companionship,—never fully themselves except when alone with Nature. They coveted solitude, for it gave them uninterrupted intercourse with that beautiful, companionable, tender, unintrusive world which is to ordinary souls dull, common, familiar, but to them was ever new, ever mysterious, ever delightful and instructive.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BRYANT'S WORK.

It was no accident that made Bryant a politician and an editor. Sympathy with individual men and

women was not his strong point; but sympathy with our common humanity was in him a religious passion. He had a constitutional love of freedom, and an intense sentiment of justice, and they constituted together his political creed and policy. He believed in freedom; and this made him a friend of the oppressed, an enemy of slavery, a foe to special and class legislation, an advocate of free trade,—a natural democrat, though born and reared in a federal community, that looked with suspicion upon extensions of the suffrage and upon the growth of local and State rights. But his love of freedom was too genuine to allow him to condone the faults even of his own party, when freedom's friends were found on the other side. He could bear, he did bear, the odium of his unpopular conviction, when what was called the best society in New York was of another opinion and belonged to another party; and he could bear with equal fortitude the ignominy of lacking party fidelity, when his patriotic spirit felt that his old political friends were less faithful than they should be to freedom and union. The editorial profession enabled his shy and somewhat unsocial nature to work at arm's length for the good of humanity and the country; and I can conceive of no other calling in life that would have economized his temperament and faculties so fully in the public service. He rebuked the headlong spirit of party, sensational extravagances of expression, even the use of new-fangled phrases and un-English words. He could see and acknowledged the merits of those from whom he widely differed, while unbecoming personalities found no harbor in his columns. His prose was in its way as good as his poetry, and has aided greatly to correct the taste for swollen, gaudy, and pretentious writing in the public press. He was not alone in this respect, for none can fail to recall the services in this direction of Charles King and Horace Greeley, not to name less conspicuous instances.

Happy the man that knows his own powers—their limits and their aptitudes,—and who confines himself rigidly within the banks of his own peculiar inspiration. Bryant was too genuine, too real a lover of Nature, too legitimate a child of the muse, ever to strain his own gift. He never made verses, but allowed his verse to flow, inspired by keen observation and hearty enjoyment of Nature, watching only that it flowed smoothly and without turbulence or turbidness, which his consummate art enabled him perfectly to accomplish. He had considered all the masters, and knew their quality and characteristics. But marked as his own style is, it is marked only with its native hues. There is no trick in his adroitness, no artifice in his art; nothing that tires, except it be the uniformity of its excellence. Considering how long his genius has been known and acknowledged, and how thoroughly he represents the old school of Dryden in his purity and fastidiousness of language, it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that his popularity as a citizen and a man has even somewhat eclipsed his immediate popularity as a poet. I think him fortunate in not having the popularity of novelty, of fashion, of sing-song verse, of morbid sentiment, of mere ingenious thinking, or some temporary adaptation to passing moods of popular feeling, whether in universities or in social circles. He curiously escaped, if indeed his truthful genuineness of nature did not give him an original defence against it, from the introverted, self-considering, and individualistic temper which has characterized much of the poetry, of the highest academic culture, in our time. Either he was born too early, or he emigrated from New England too early, to fall under the influence of this morbid subjectiveness, or his active and practical pursuits kept him in the current of real life, and near to the universal feeling of man. At any rate—free, rational, as his genius ever was,—there is not a suspicion of the sceptical or denying element in his works. He is not sick, nor morbid, nor melancholy, nor discouraged.

Sentiment enough he has, but no sentimentality; awe of the Infinite, but no agnosticism; a recognition of all human sorrows and sins, but no querulousness, much less any despair. He loved and honored human nature; he feared and revered his Maker; he accepted Christianity in its historic character; he believed in American institutions; he believed in the Church and its permanency, in its ordinances and its ministry; and he was no backward-looking praiser of the times that had been, and a mere accuser and defamer of the times that are. This made his poetry, as it made his prose and his whole influence, wholesome, hopeful, nutritious; young, without being inexperienced, ripe, without tending to decay. The very absence of those false colors which give immediate attractiveness to the clothing of some contemporary poetry gives his undyed and natural robes a fadeless charm, which future generations will not forget to honor. Every one must notice that great immediate popularity is not a good augury for enduring fame; and, further, that poetry, like all the products of the fine arts, must have not only positive quality, power, and harmony, but must add to these freedom from defects. It is strange what an embalming power lies in purity of style, to preserve thoughts that would perish, even though greater and more original, if wrapped in a less perfect vesture. What element of decay is there in Bryant's verse? How universal his themes; how intelligible and level to the common heart; how little ingenious, vague, or technical; how free from what is provincial, temporary, capricious; how unflawed with doubtful figures or strained comparisons or new and strange words; how unmarred by a forced order or weary mannerisms! He is a rigid Puritan, alike in his morals and his vocabulary; there is scarcely a false foot, a doubtful rhyme, a luckless epithet, a dubious sentiment, anywhere to be found in his works. And perhaps Nature withheld from him what is called an ear for music only to emphasize his ear for rhythm, and save

him from the danger of a clogging sweetness and a fatiguing sing-song.

MR. BRYANT'S CHARACTER.

It is the glory of this man that his character outshone even his great talent and his large fame. Distinguished equally for his native gifts and his consummate culture, his poetic inspiration and his exquisite art, he is honored and loved to-day even more for his stainless purity of life, his unswerving rectitude of will, his devotion to the higher interests of humanity, his unfeigned patriotism, and his broad humanity. It is remarkable that, with none of the arts of popularity, a man so little dependent on others' appreciation, so self-sustained and so retiring, who never sought or accepted office, who had little taste for coöperation and no bustling zeal in ordinary philanthropy, should have drawn to himself the confidence, the honor and reverence, of a great metropolis, and become, perhaps it is not too much to say, our first citizen. It was in spite of a constitutional reserve, a natural distaste for crowds and public occasions, and a somewhat chilled bearing toward his kind, that he achieved by the force of his great merit and solid worth this triumph over the heart of his generation. The purity of the snow that enveloped him was more observed than its coldness; and his fellow-citizens believed that a fire of zeal for truth, justice, and human rights burned steadily at the heart of this lofty personality, though it never flamed or smoked. And they were right! Beyond all thirst for fame or poetic honor lay in Bryant the ambition of virtue. Reputation he did not despise, but virtue he revered and sought with all his heart. He had an intense self-reverence, that made his own good opinion of his own motives and actions absolutely essential. And though little tempted by covetousness, envy, worldliness, or love of power, he had his own conscious difficulties to contend with, a temper not without turbulence, a susceptibility to injuries, a contempt for the moral weaknesses of others. But he labored incessantly at self-knowledge and self-control, and attained equanimity and gentleness to a marked degree.

Let none suppose that the persistent force of will, his incessant industry, his perfect consistency and coherency of life and character, were not backed by strong passions. With a less consecrated purpose, a less reverent love of truth and goodness, he might easily have become acrid, vindictive, or selfishly ambitious. But he kept his body under, and, a far more difficult task for him, his spirit in subjection. God had given him a wonderful balance of faculties in a marvellously harmonious frame. His spirit wore a light and lithe vesture of clay that never burdened him. His senses were perfect at fourscore. His eyes needed no glasses; his hearing was exquisitely fine. His alertness was the wonder of his contemporaries. He outwalked men of middle age. His tastes were so simple as to be almost ascetic. Milk and cereals and fruits were his chosen diet. He had no vices, and no approach to them, and he avoided any and everything that could ever threaten him with the tyranny of the senses or of habit. Regular in all his habits, he retained his youth almost to the last. The power of work never abated, and the herculean translation of Homer, which was the amusement of the last lustre of his long and busy life, showed not only no senility or decline in artistic skill, but no decrease of intellectual or physical endurance.

Perhaps the last ten years of his life have made him nearer and dearer to his fellow-citizens than any previous decade; for he had become at last not only resigned to public honors, but had even acquired a late and tardy taste for social and public gatherings. Who so often called to preside in your public meetings or to speak at your literary or social festivals? Who has pronounced as many hearty welcomes to honored strangers, unveiled as many statues, graced as many occasions of public sympathy? Who so ready to appear at the call of your public charities, or more affectionately welcomed and honored on your platforms? All this, coming late in life, was a grateful, I might almost say a fond, surprise. He had wrapped himself in his cloak to contend with the winter wind of his earlier fortunes, and the harder it blew (and it was very rough in his middle life) the closer he drew it about him. But the sun of prosperity and honor and confidence that warmed and brightened the two closing decades of his life fairly melted away his proud reserve toward the public, and he lay himself open to the warm and fragrant breeze of universal favor. He was careful, however, to say that he did not hold himself at the public's high estimate. In a long conversation I had with him at Roslyn, two years ago, he showed such a surprising self-knowledge and such a just appreciation of popular suffrages, that it was impossible to doubt his genuine humility, or jealous determination not to be deceived by any contagious sentiment of personal reverence or honor springing up in a generation that was largely ignorant of his writings. Yet he fully and greatly enjoyed these tributes,—and more and more, the longer he lived.

Of Mr. Bryant's life-long interest in the fine arts; his large acquaintance with our older artists and close friendship with some of them; of his place in the Century Club, of which he was perhaps the chief founder and of which he died the honored president, I could speak with full knowledge; but artists and connoisseurs both are sure to speak better for themselves in due time, as the city and the nation surely will.

HIS RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

I must reserve a few moments still left me to bear the testimony which no one has a better right to offer, to Mr. Bryant's strictly religious character. A devoted lover of religious liberty, he was an equal lover of religion itself,—not in any precise, dogmatic form, but in its righteousness, reverence, and charity.

What his theology was you may safely infer from his regular and long attendance in this place of Christian worship. Still he was not a dogmatist, but preferred practical piety and working virtue to all model of faith. What was obvious in him for twenty years past was an increasing respect and devotion to religious institutions, and a more decided Christian quality in his faith. I think he had never been a communicant in any church until he joined ours, fifteen years ago. From that time, nobody so regular in his attendance on public worship, in wet and dry, cold and heat, morning and evening, until the very last month of his life. The increasing sweetness and beneficence of his character, meanwhile, must have struck his familiar friends. His last years were his devoutest and most humane years. He became beneficent as he grew able to be so, and his hand was open to all just need, and to many unreasonable claimants.

I shall have spoken in vain, if I have not left upon your hearts the image of an upright, sincere, humane and simple, yet venerable manhood,—a life full of outward honors and inward worth. When I consider that I have been speaking of one whose fame fills the world, I feel how vain is public report compared with the honor of God and the gratitude and love of humanity! It is the private character of this unaffected Christian man that it most concerns us to consider and to imitate. He was great as the world counts greatness,—he was greater as God counts it.

He is gone! and the city and the country is immeasurably poorer, that his venerable and exalted presence no more adorns and crowns our assemblies. But heaven is richer! The Church of Christ adds one unaffected, unsanctimonious saint to its calendar. The patriarch of American literature is dead. The faithful Christian lives no more:—

"Thou'rt gone; the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form; yet on my very heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart."

When the address was ended, Dr. Bellows gave out the hymn—one of Mr. Bryant's own composition—"Blessed are they that mourn." Pastor and congregation then united in reciting the Lord's Prayer, after which the benediction was pronounced. Beethoven's funeral march was played as the congregation went out. A large number of those present passed around the coffin, in expectation of seeing the face of Mr. Bryant; but the coffin remained closed, and great disappointment was expressed by many.

The relatives and the intimate friends who bore cards of invitation proceeded at once in carriages to Long Island City, where a special train was in waiting to carry the funeral party to Roslyn. Shortly before 1 o'clock, the coffin was borne down the main aisle of the church and was taken away in the hearse. It was attended to the ferry by only one carriage.

THE BURIAL AT ROSLYN.

The special train left Hunter's Point by the Long Island Railroad at half-past 1 o'clock. The funeral party was small, and hardly filled the two passenger cars provided. There were, of the family of Mr. Bryant, Miss Julia Bryant, Arthur Bryant, John Bryant, Bryant Godwin, Harold Godwin, Miss Minna Godwin, Miss Nera Godwin, Miss Fannie Godwin, Captain Cullen Bryant, and Miss Annie S. Fairchild. Among the accompanying friends were Chief-Justice Daly, ex-Governor Tilden, Cyrus W. Field, Judge Howland, the Rev. Dr. Osgood, Charles Butler, Charles F. McLean, J. H. Platt, James A. Graham, ex-Secretary of State John Bigelow, S. L. M. Barlow, Isaac Henderson, Isaac Henderson, Jr., F. K. Goddard and Henry Ditmar. There was also a number of ladies.

The Roslyn Cemetery lies east of the village about a mile, and half a mile south of the Bryant country house. It is on the western slope of a rambling hill, and is full of handsome trees and shrubs. The paths and drives show care that country graveyards do not often get. The Bryant lot lies near the railroad, and may be seen from the passing train. It is surrounded by a hedge of evergreen. Within the inclosure are some fine, but not large, beech, oak, and maple trees. There is much shrubbery, too, for the lot is large. Near the western side rises the Bryant monument,—a tall, unpolished, gray granite obelisk. It bears only one inscription, as follows:—

Fanny Fairchild Bryant,
the beloved wife
of William Cullen Bryant,
an humble disciple of Christ,
exemplary in every relation of life,
affectionate, sympathetic, sincere,
and ever occupied with the welfare of others.
Born March 27, 1797,
Died July 27, 1868.

Two children of Parke Godwin also lie buried within the inclosure. Mr. Bryant's grave had been prepared just south of, but close to, his wife's grave. The mound that marks Mrs. Bryant's resting-place had been covered with fresh flowers by some of the people in the village, a few of whom were in the cemetery at an early hour.

The train arrived at half-past 2 o'clock, not stopping at the villages, but at the crossing in the corner of the graveyard. Several carriages were in waiting, for the entrance to the grounds is not close at hand. The coffin, already inclosed in a pine box, was placed in the hearse. Most of the friends preferred to walk rather than to ride to the grave. First came the members of the family and then the other friends, without any formal order.

In this way the procession approached the grave. A slight breeze rustled the leaves overhead, softening the effect of the rays of the sun, which was still high. While the attendants were placing the coffin beside the open grave, the friends gathered near its head, under the shadow of the granite monument and a cluster of young trees. For a few moments there

was a pause. Presently Dr. Bellows, standing at the head of the grave, spoke.

"My dear friends," he said, "let us draw lessons from Mr. Bryant's life; let us uncover our hearts, not our heads, to the sunshine. We have left the city behind us now, where we have done all that was possible to do to show our reverence and respect; but here let us pause and think that his dust might rejoice to find itself in the country, amid trees, birds, and flowers. While we breathe this pure air, may we not have a foretaste of the happiness he enjoys in the immortal fields? But I will not speak to you out of my own mouth. I have something better—Bryant's own words,—his own preparation for this hour, nay, this very moment. Seldom has it happened to any man to rehearse beforehand the thoughts and words appropriate to be uttered at his own grave. I shall read to you these extracts prepared by loving hands, of one who shared Bryant's cradle,—his brother."

The extracts were from the "Thanatopsis," beginning with the familiar verse:—

"So live that when thy summons comes to join,"

and from poems entitled "To a Water-fowl," "A Hymn to Death," "The Battlefield," "Waiting by the Gate," stanzas prefaced to "Thanatopsis" when first published, "The Journey of Life," "Poem addressed to Mrs. Bryant in her Last Illness," "The Life that is," "October, 1866," "November 3, 1861," and "The Two Travellers."

The conclusion of the address was a charge to the villagers present to "cherish the precious heritage of dust," and the assurance that in the future the best fame of Roslyn would be that it is Bryant's resting-place. The scriptural quotations of the Episcopal burial-service were read; a brief prayer was made, and the coffin was lowered into its place. Then a number of little children belonging to the Sunday-schools of the village stepped forward, and walking around the grave threw flowers into it until the box inclosing the coffin was nearly covered. Several branches of the century-plant, sent by the Century Club, were laid with the flowers.

The ceremony was finished. The friends stood a few moments looking into the grave, and then, in detached groups, wandered slowly toward the entrance of the cemetery. The grief of the relatives and friends was at all times quiet.

The little village of Roslyn, on the north shore of Long Island, twenty-seven miles from New York, is a pretty place, lying in a valley that opens upon a small inlet of the Sound. It is surrounded by hills well covered with inviting woods, whose masses of heavy foliage contrast pleasantly with open and cultivated fields. The churches, the houses, and the shops, that satisfy the spiritual and earthly needs of the one thousand three hundred inhabitants, are scattered along the little lakes in the bottom of the valley, upon the shores of which, in and out among the clusters of trees, wind many pleasant drives and by-paths. Quiet reigns everywhere. Even yesterday the stranger who lost his way had trouble to find any one to direct him aright.

The Bryant country house is situated about a mile out of the village. It is a two-story frame building, painted a light brown. Its outline is varied by many angles and curves, by bay-windows and verandas. The farm-house and stables are near by. The grounds are carefully kept. There is much shade and much greenward, and there are many arbors, a rustic bridge, and a charming rose-garden. Yesterday the place seemed entirely deserted until after the funeral, when a few friends, who had not taken the special train back to New York, walked and rested in the grounds.

The Presbyterian church that Mr. Bryant attended in Roslyn stands on a steep hill-side near the village. It is of wood, brown and quaint, with a modest tower. Steep steps lead up to the porch before the door, from which, through the surrounding trees, one may catch charming glimpses of the village and the lakes.

FURTHER TRIBUTES TO MR. BRYANT.

The National Academy of Design has ordered to be entered in its journal the following record respecting its "life-long friend and honorary member, William Cullen Bryant":—

"Though we mourn with the world at large the loss of the illustrious poet, the gifted journalist, the wise publicist, and the great and good citizen, and cannot add to the crown of honor already bestowed upon his memory, it is yet fitting that in behalf of the Academy and of our profession we express our great indebtedness for his deep and unwavering sympathy with our labors and fortunes, for his personal friendship, for his earnest cooperation in all our efforts for the advancement of art, and for the help his works have given us in the true reading of the great book of Nature.

"At the foundation of the Academy, half a century and more ago, Mr. Bryant warmly espoused its cause and fought its battles in the columns of the *Evening Post*, side by side with the late Professor S. F. B. Morse, the father and first president of our association. From 1828 to 1838 he was Professor of Mythology and Ancient History in the Academy schools. In 1833 he was elected an honorary member, and upon the institution of the grade of Fellows in 1868 he promptly enrolled himself in the new order. In 1848 he pronounced before us the eloquent oration on the death of his friend, our eminent academician, Thomas Cole. He delivered an address on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the Academy Building in 1863, and again at the inauguration and public opening of the edifice in 1865. In 1876 he presided at the first public meeting of citizens for the formation of the great Centennial Loan Exhibition, by means of which we were released from a long-endured incubus of debt; and from first to last he has always been so quick to understand and so ready to promote all our

efforts, and has ever maintained such intimate and kind personal relations with so many of us, that, although he never, even as an amateur, literally used pencil or pigment, we have always held him as a brother-artist in spirit and feeling, and in his death we regard Art, no less than Poesy, as grievously bereaved."

The New York Free-Trade Club has directed the following minute to be entered upon its journal:—

"In recording the death of William Cullen Bryant, an event which we lament in common with the whole community, we desire to express our admiration of his instructive, fearless, and untiring efforts in behalf of freedom of trade, and to suggest that all Free-Traders will best show their appreciation of his great economic services to the country by continuing without ceasing to work for the relief of our commerce,—a cause which he labored so zealously to promote to the very end of his long and useful life."

Alderman Morris yesterday sent a letter to Mayor Ely asking that he would be the custodian of a fund to be raised to erect a statue of Bryant in Central Park. The alderman proposed that the money should be raised by popular subscriptions in sums of five cents and upward. The mayor expressed himself as willing to do anything that he could to aid such a project.—*N. Y. Tribune*, June 15.

THE SOUL AND THE HEREAFTER.

A thoughtful correspondent having written a brief note of inquiry to Mr. Abbot of THE INDEX, asking him to explain an expression in the following editorial sentence in that paper, "To our mind the controversies on this question of a future life are profitless; we think there are grounds of hope, but none of knowledge," a very full and a profoundly thoughtful reply is returned, as such a question truly deserved. The correspondent wished to know "in what direction these grounds lie." We have rarely, if ever, read a confession of a spiritual nature that is more deeply pathetic and more universally applicable. The editor begins his reply by rejecting revelations of all kinds, and he follows it up with scolding everything like mere faith, "Orthodox or materialism." He says that logic declares to him "of two things, one; either adhere to physics and deny your consciousness now, or adhere to your consciousness and admit that physics can raise no faintest presumption against its continuance forever." He insists on reason, and says he will not be put off with faith; nor does he plead "any fanciful intuition." He insists that his "grounds of hope" are not arguments, and therefore are not to be handled for the sake of refutation. If he had grounds of "knowledge" to offer, then argument would be in order and refutation possible. And he verily believes that "some day, man will be wise enough to make up a scientific conviction on this question that haunts us all."

Here is a soul that confronts alone the supreme question of life; the sphinx which no creeds or dogmatic utterings can answer satisfactorily. As Mr. Abbot practically says, faith amounts to but superstition. What the baffled human race craves is knowledge; not a mere ground of hope, but a solid and immovable conviction.

It was to answer this greatest of all questions, at the moment when the race should ask it in a very agony of desire, that heaven-born Spiritualism descended upon earth and opened mortal eyes and ears to the truth which has always existed just beyond the cloud-canopy of our ignorance and prejudices. As soon as we want to know we are told. Heaven does not let the light into our spiritual eyes any faster than we can bear it. We know just as fast as we desire to know. There must, in the divine arrangement, be the appetite before the feast. Spiritualism came to answer this very question, which no priest nor conclave could satisfactorily answer. They told men thus and so, and then expected to be superstitiously revered as divine authority. They demanded the regard which human beings refuse in secret to give to other human beings. They would be obeyed, and through their councils and combinations worshipped. But all that does not advance the soul's knowledge of immortality. That is the supreme fact of which it is eager to become conscious, and priests and churches had no more to say on that subject than anybody else. And if they had, the proof that their communications were genuine would primarily have been that they never assumed to employ their knowledge as the agent of authority. This universal yearning and search for fact seals the doom of that authority. Its day is over, for that of the soul's emancipation has come.

As for the materialists or physicists, Mr. Abbot asserts that their logic, as it begins with molecules, so it must end with molecules. "I see," says he, "that physics have no right to admit the bare existence of conscience. Physicists may twist and squirm all they please; they shatter their own philosophy into pieces finer than powdered glass the very moment they step outside the circle of matter and motion, or admit into it any conception not analyzable into these. Yet show me the physicist who has resolved conscience, love, thought, into matter or the motions of matter. Why should I be called upon to concede that these facts of consciousness are at bottom mere physical facts? Prove it, I say. The demand to make such a concession is a bare-faced appeal to faith, and I have done with faith forever." Still, he goes on to say in a meditative strain, "all this throws no light on the future of my own soul; with these wonders of thought, conscience, will, action, love, I am freed from the impertinent intrusion of acollism parading in the peacock-plumes of science,—that is all." And that, he thinks, is much. What is bound up in the question of a future life he admits to be solely "the intellectual, moral, affectional part of me." "It is much," he adds, "to see that physics have nothing, absolutely nothing, to say about it, either here or any-

where. It is a higher science that must deal with its destiny, and that higher science is not yet born."

That may be, we answer; but Spiritualism is supplying the facts as fast as it can on which the new science, the genuinely spiritual science, is to be based. The church scouts the facts, and physicists deride them; still they keep multiplying and accumulating. The heavens are opened, and all the priests and physicists in the world cannot close them again to the lengthening sight of mortals.

In answer to the question "Has hope anything but superstition to stand on?" Mr. Abbot answers promptly, Yes. "The soul," he says, "asks no leave to be; it is here, the supreme fact of all I know. Death creates no presumption of its extinction except on premises that would deny its existence here. I can only believe in my consciousness now in utter defiance of all physicalism; it is no harder to believe in my consciousness hereafter. Molecules, if I stick to them, conduct me to other molecules or their combinations, but never to my consciousness; I cannot believe in my consciousness at all without abandoning them, and leaving the vast chasm between the physical and the spiritual. Yet here I am, believing more certainly in my consciousness than in the molecules; it is idleness to doubt it."

Yet all this the writer regards rather as negation; it lacks the positiveness on which belief is to be established, if it is established at all. Now comes the real secret. He lets it out at least without a reserve or a qualification. He says he could bear to think of his own annihilation without a pang, but the supreme reason why he hopes for a future life is because of the love that rules in his being. "It is no consideration of my own destiny," he says, "that kindles a powerful hope. It is when I stand beside the grave of those I love, or in my thought shrink from the stroke that no prayers or tears can avert, that the longing for the deathlessness of beloved spirits overmasters me. It is when I behold the Himalayan heights of humanity, the Socrateses, the Spinozas, the Emersons, the rare peaks of spiritual greatness that seem evermore bathed in the pure sunlight of the ideal,—it is then that the hope blazes forth and refuses to be quenched. And the great ground of this hope is THE IMMEASURABLE VALUE OF THE HUMAN SOUL. Just in proportion as I realize that, and comprehend that a splendid soul is the very *chef d'oeuvre* of Nature, the artistic masterpiece of creativeness, the glorious efflorescence of a lapsed eternity, do I also become permeated and saturated with the hope that Nature who creates shall be wise enough to preserve. On the one hand the beauty and sublimity of humanity, on the other hand its imperfection and incompleteness, even in its grandest growths,—these strike upon the slumbering hope like the spark upon the tinder, and kindle it to a flame. Fluctuate though it must with the varying moods of mind and the shifting scenes of life, this hope grows strong and vigorous under all influences that exalt my appreciation of the intrinsic worth and dignity of the human soul. This is the chief ground of hope, as hinting the deeper purposes of Nature, and suggesting to thought a possible reason of man's existence and a possible destiny that awaits him. It is not the only ground; the great question whether Nature is only mechanical or whether the mechanism is the utterance of Universal Mind connects itself with the question of human destiny. To me the cosmos is a vast system of hieroglyphics, with a meaning behind the symbolism of form and color and law, to which I can find no lexicon but mind. This makes me hope noble things at last."

Yet he is content without knowledge. He offers no demonstration, no argument, no ground of fixed conviction; only "a ground of hope to one, at least, of the myriad tossed and tired minds that have put out to sea on the vast ocean of modern thought,—worthless to others, yet not withheld when one wistful voyager calls to another across the waves, 'Brother, whither are we bound?'"

Were this all, life would to the awakened soul be a source of misery rather than of happiness. It is when a mind like that whose confession we have just retted cries out in an agony of suspense, at the graves of loved ones who have disappeared, that the kind heavens open and pour down their gentle floods of consolation through actual knowledge. When we hear the increasing multitude of these cries of human souls about us for help, for such help as a knowledge of the hereafter alone can give, we know that the time is ripe for revelation; that the same loving Father that has created us with these yearnings and these hungering desires has not left us without a provision for their full gratification. It was, in truth, the very expression of these desires, becoming at last a constant outflow of silent human prayers to heaven, that brought the answer; an answer that will surely enlarge and expand, become deeper and higher, according to the measure of the prayer which provoked it. Upon a slumbering and dead mass the modern light would never have beamed, for the sufficient reason that it would have been to no purpose. Heaven is always near and always ready to answer when we call. But the condition is that we call from the depths of our souls.

Here comes in Spiritualism to do its great and needed work among men. It comes to rest the human intellect that has vainly beaten itself so long against the walls of thought and speculation, and find its real repose even in its yearnings and aspirations. It supplies it not merely with "grounds of hope," but with grounds for knowledge. It converts faith into sight, and thus annihilates superstition. It brings the here and the hereafter visibly and audibly together, and proves to us that the being who left the earthly tabernacle still lives and dwells in a spiritual one, thus demonstrating beyond the remotest doubt the sublime fact of the immortality of the soul.—*Banner of Light*, June 1.

"A MODERN SYMPOSIUM."

Since our last issue we have received one of the most remarkable and suggestive books of this age of intellectual strife. The symposium of the ancients was a feast of the gods. The *Modern Symposium* is a feast of mental food provided by the most vigorous writers and thinkers of this restless and inquisitive age. Every shade of opinion, from Rationalism to Romanism, has its representative in the weighty questions under consideration; viz., "The soul and future life," and "The influence upon morality of a decline in religious belief." The method of discussion is a novel one: three lawyers, four divines, two scientists, four literary critics, and two politicians, orthodox and heterodox, discuss in writing on the method of oral debate. Frederick Harrison, a disciple of Comte, opens the first question with two papers, extending over forty-six pages, forwards the manuscript to the second (R. H. Hutton, editor of the *Spectator*), who comments on the opinions of Mr. Harrison, and forwards the two manuscripts to Prof. Huxley for his criticism, which method is continued until it reaches the tenth, when the ten manuscripts are returned to Mr. Harrison for a final review. By this arrangement we obtain the well digested thoughts and opinions of ten acute thinkers of every shade of belief on the question under consideration.

This deliberate sifting process offers the best means of arriving at certainty, if certainty can be obtained, as passionate declamation, gesture, modulation of voice, and all the tricks of rhetoric, are dispensed with, leaving full play to reason and reflection to grapple fairly with fact and argument.

The volume under notice is a valuable addition to any library. Its contents gave a rapid popularity and wide circulation to the *Nineteenth Century*, where the papers first appeared. In book-form it possesses three additional qualities: it is neat and cheap, compact and ably-edited, with a critical and explanatory preface.

The editor of the *St. Croix Courier*, May 9, after praising the book, and assuring his readers that he had read it with pleasure and profit in magazine form, and hoped to read and re-read it again, condemns the editor as partial, and asks for his dismissal. This appears to us to be ungrateful, as few would have discovered that the editor had made the acquaintance of any part of the book except the preface, had he not informed them of the fact. With all his professions of acquaintance with the contents in magazine form, renewed by a recent perusal of the book, he neither quotes, nor even substantially notices, any part but the preface. He charges the editor with thinking all the leading sects of Christianity (not forgetting to name them) are fools and liars, and that only he, and a few others, have truth and reason on their side. After a careful perusal of the preface we are of opinion that the charge is not supported by a single fact, not even by a fair inference. We consider the preface a very valuable addition to the original matter, as it furnishes information which the general reader is not only unacquainted with, but which is essential to his pleasure and profit. The lawyer may be acquainted with the legal position of the lawyers engaged in the controversy, the cleric with the divines, others with the scientists, but few will have formed the acquaintance of each and all. Hence the usefulness of a brief sketch of the disputants to readers in this country.

As the limits of our paper will only permit a very short notice of the contents of the first subject, we introduce Mr. Harrison, who opens by stating the fact that a profound change is coming over the religious belief of the world, both in the intensity of religious feeling, and in the certainty with which religious convictions are held. This state of things is also ably set forth by Frende, who says "that opinions once fixed as a rock are now fluid as water." Mr. Harrison deals mercilessly with the favorite arguments for a conscious personal existence after death, and contends very ably and earnestly that "man survives only in the activities of the race. He is willing to retain the words 'soul' and 'future life' for their associations, provided we make it clear that we mean by soul the combined faculties of the living organisms, and by future life the subjective effect of man's objective life on the actual lives of his fellow-men." This, Mr. Huxley shows, is an argument against a future life in the ordinary sense of the term; the future life, as advocated by Mr. Harrison, is but an immortality by deputy.

The earnest and eloquent plea of Mr. Harrison for the posthumous activities and their influence on the human race, with Prof. Huxley's trenchant attack on the unreality of positivist assumptions, which he maintains mean nothing firm or solid, give force to the discussion, which develops into an appearance of bitterness between these two ablest disputants; they seem to have had an old score to settle; but this Mr. Harrison disavows.

Mr. Huxley, like ourselves, regrets that he cannot find evidence of anything like certainty for the soul and a future life, and upbraids Mr. Harrison for "breaking away from beliefs, whether true or false, which embody great and fruitful conceptions, to fall back into the arms of a half-breed between science and theology, endowed like most half-breeds with the faults of both parents, and the virtues of neither." Mr. Harrison replies at the close, in a very masterly and minute manner, meeting every point at issue between himself and his critics.

Mr. Hutton denies that the Christian desire for eternal happiness is selfish, defining selfishness to be "the preference of our own happiness at the expense of some one else"; he contends that our own happiness must exclude the larger and wider growth to others, to be selfish. That the orthodox desire a state

**Religion and Science, Ancient and Modern.* Ross-Belford, Toronto.

of personal happiness, which is intensified by their escape from torment (which others have to endure), cannot be denied; as to growth, there is neither growth for the saved nor reformation for the condemned taught by any orthodox body. Lord Blachford's metaphysical argument on the percipient and perceptible is more confusing than convincing. It bestows a soul upon a butterfly and withholds it from a babe. The argument is not even convincing to his lordship, for he says: "The natural world supplies nothing which can be called evidence of a future life." He believes in God and the Bible, and believes in a future state, "because he is told."

One of the sweetest and smoothest pieces of writing in the book is the short but masterly essay of Rathbone Gregg on Addison's great argument for the longings after immortality. He says: "In our irresistible longings, misgivings will crop up, that the fabric will crumble into dust, and leave the spirit no solid sustenance to rest upon. We have aspirations to multiply; but who has any knowledge to enrich our store? Logical reasons to compel conviction I have none. I may say I share in the anticipations of believers; but I share them as aspirations, something almost approaching to a faith, but never able to settle into the constancy of a definite and enduring creed. . . . I cannot rest in comfort on arguments that to my spirit have no cogency, nor can I pretend to respect or be content with reasons which carry no penetrating convictions along with them." The whole paper is logically conclusive against the glorified immortality of orthodox future conscious existence.

The second discussion must be passed over for the present with a single remark, which appeals to the experience of all. Taking the two extremes of Christianity, Roman Catholicism and Unitarianism, those least religious are not the most debased, nor those most religious examples of moral purity. Let us not deceive ourselves in this matter. Not one of us would be a whit less upright, truthful, or useful by a change in our religious or non-religious beliefs.

This book as a radical missionary has no equal. It has more suggestive matter in it, on both sides of the subjects treated, than any book we can call to mind. The hopes and fears respecting a perpetuity of sensation are the main-stays of religion. Celestial resurrection to a future personal consciousness beyond this life is but a pleasant dream, and as far as we can judge has no support from a single fact in organic nature, nor a sound argument to sustain it.

A modern symposium is of all books best calculated to make us question the grounds of our belief in the foundation of current orthodox opinions. It is the best pioneer of freethought, as it contains the latest and best thoughts of the most acute thinkers, and is an excellent book to start the inquirer on his search for a safe and sure foundation for his convictions. That which cannot be defended is doomed; "that which may be doubted is doubtful." Here "rival opinions meet upon equal ground, and under honorable conditions of warfare," and the coward only fears the result.—*Toronto Freethought Journal*, May, 1878.

NOT THE surf-beaten rock, that lines the shore of ocean, stands half so firmly as the truth. It will live, and flourish, and will still be truth, when all its opposers have perished, and every rock is rolled from its bed.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SONNET TO VOLTAIRE.

Besom of wrath, who fiercely swept away
The myths and dogmas of tradition hoar
And let, through Superstition's jungle, ray
Of reason flash his healthful sunlight o'er
Pretentious Europe, leveling Bastilles,
Breaking the Inquisition's torture-wheels,
Which crushed the limbs of poor Calas. Your wit
No quarter gave, for 'twas the fierce recoil
Of indignation, and like lightning smit
The toppling turrets of the old regime,
With wrecks of tyranny the Gallic soil
Strewing. They do you grievous wrong who deem
You wrote in wantonness. Your atmosphere
Lightning alone could purify and clear.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE TWO WEEKS ENDING JUNE 22.

Arthur Farrar, \$2.00; A. R. Hogsdelder, 75 cents; B. Harrington, \$3.20; J. E. Maux, 80 cents; R. G. Ingersoll, \$3.20; Anna E. Thompson, \$3; F. S. Cabot, \$2.50; Stephen Winkworth, \$3.66; "F," \$10; Mrs. Orren Gillett, \$3.20; Ellen M. Wright, \$3.20; John Curtis, \$12.40; C. W. Cuyler, 25 cents; Wm. D. Pitt, \$1.25; Chas. H. True, \$3; A. Wolf, \$5; Ch. A. Hardy, \$8.24; S. K. Hazleton, \$2; J. Mitchell, 50 cents; W. P. Wesselhoft, \$3.20; Raynal Dodge, \$1; Wm. Hogan, \$3.20; P. Zimmerman, \$3.20; Rev. E. W. Munday, \$3.20; T. Tibbets, \$1; A. Hale, \$1.50; Geo. F. French, \$3.20; F. M. Vaughn, \$3.70; Henry Schoeppey, 25 cents; S. N. Allen, \$1.25; S. J. Logan, \$3.

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

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

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 4, 1878.

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

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

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1878: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

FRANCIS HILLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
 OTAVIUS BRONKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
 WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERY, GEORGE JACOB
 HOGTOAK (England), DAVID H. OLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
 ORBY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, HENRY WRIGHT, C. D. B.
 MILES, W. D. LE SURON, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

MR. B. R. TUCKER requests us to state that he is to edit the *Word* during Mr. Heywood's imprisonment, and desires to increase its circulation and frequency of issue, if possible. His address is Cambridge, Massachusetts. We certainly believe that in his hands the *Word* will lose its most offensive features; but we cannot pretend a sympathy for its ideas which we do not feel.

THE *Christian Union* is a masterly trimmer in its adhesion to "justice," when it says: "If the public demanded the taxation of church property it would certainly be wise, we think it would even be just, for churches cheerfully to accede to the demand; nevertheless, it must be counted as a good sign that the New York Senate has refused, by a vote of twenty to eight, to pass a bill imposing such a tax, for it is an indication that the people recognize the service which the churches and the clergy, without respect to denomination, are rendering the community, and believe that this service is not too highly paid for by the exemptions which already exist."

It is NOT probable that the *New York Tribune* intended to refer at all to the danger of losing the principle of secular government under the gradual encroachments of clericalism in this country, yet what it says in these words is strikingly true in that connection: "Of all dangers in a republic, absolutely the greatest is the disposition to believe that there is no danger. Indifference to public affairs, blind confidence in the fidelity and good sense of the majority, chronic belief by those who selfishly neglect all civic duties that others will neglect none, unwillingness to bear taxes or other burdens in order to guard against perils not yet visibly present,—these are vices which self-government fosters in a remarkable degree. Yet it is true now as it ever has been that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' and if this nation has not been destroyed already, it has not been because of the tardy efforts of a sleepy conservatism."

An "esteemed contemporary" thus forcibly puts the case: "We suppose many people think that the newspaper men are persistent duns; let a farmer place himself in a similar business position and see if he would not do the same. Suppose he raised one thousand bushels of wheat, and his neighbor should come and buy a bushel, and the price was a small matter of two dollars or less, and the neighbor says, 'I will hand you the amount in a few days.' As the farmer did not want to be small about the matter, he says all right, and the man leaves with the wheat. Another comes in the same way until the whole one thousand bushels of wheat are trusted out to one thousand different persons, and not one of the purchasers concerns himself about it, for it is a small amount that he owes the farmer, and of course that would not help him any. He does not realize that the farmer has frittered away all his crop of wheat, and that its value is due him in a thousand little dribbles, and that he is seriously embarrassed in his business because his debtors treat it as a small matter. But if all would pay him promptly, which they could do as well as not, it would be a very large amount and enable him to carry on his business without difficulty."

THE HEYWOOD CASE, AND THE PRINCIPLES IT INVOLVES.

On Tuesday, June 25, Ezra H. Heywood was sentenced by Judge Clifford, of the United States Supreme Court, in the United States District Court in this city, to a fine of one hundred dollars and an imprisonment of two years in Dedham Jail. He had been convicted last January in the same court, under Judge Clark, of having violated the law of 1873 for the suppression of obscene literature; but a motion for arrest of sentence was then made on the ground that this law is unconstitutional. At the present term, however, his counsel, in consequence of the recent unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court that the law is constitutional, withdrew this objection, and asked leave to amend the motion for arrest of judgment on account of an alleged flaw in the indictment. This request was denied, and sentence was passed as above.

On this case as a whole it is our duty to make some very unpartisan and dispassionate comments. It is not a pleasant duty. But the certainty that issues are here involved which must vitally affect the whole future of American Liberalism forbids us to withhold our own contribution of thought to a right settlement of them.

Is it or is it not consistent with the sacred constitutional rights of free thought and a free press to have and to enforce laws forbidding the circulation of obscene literature? That is the general question. Mr. Heywood and those who agree with him take the ground that all such laws, *either State or National*, violate these great rights and ought to be immediately and unconditionally repealed; and this is the only bold and consistent ground to take on his side, since State laws against obscenity violate these rights exactly as much as National laws do. But Mr. Heywood's position on this question is part and parcel of his more general position against all claims of society to exercise authority over the individual, no matter for what object. Hence he denies the State's right to tax any man, or to enforce any law whatever to which the individual objects; his principle is "personal sovereignty"—and this is nothing but absolute anarchy or universal lawlessness. Mr. D. M. Bennett has wavered and shuffled and shifted his ground so often that it is impossible to speak with any certainty concerning it. But his latest position seems to be that all National laws against obscene literature should be repealed, and all State laws enforced. Now laws against obscene literature, *as such*, either do or do not violate the rights of free thought and a free press; if they do, a State has no more business to pass such laws than the Nation, while if they do not, the Nation has just as much business to pass them as a State. So far as the rights of free thought and a free press are concerned, Mr. Bennett is thus very evidently and very grotesquely "on the fence," affirming them and denying them at the same time. Mr. Heywood's position is the only self-consistent, brave, or logically respectable one to take; but it can be defended only by denying the right of society to coerce or control any individual for any purpose, however criminal or dangerous may be his conduct.

Opposed to all the consistent or inconsistent protests against the right of society to suppress obscene literature, THE INDEX has taken a perfectly consistent stand from the beginning. It affirms the right both of the Nation and of all the separate States to prohibit really obscene literature, and denies that such prohibition, whether applied to the production, sale, circulation, or transportation of it, involves the slightest infringement of the real rights of free thought or a free press. We shall not pause now to recapitulate our arguments; so long as they are met only by evasion or misrepresentation, we have a right to conclude that no other or better answer to them can be found. We pass, therefore, to consider three classes of publications which need to be carefully distinguished in this connection.

1. The first class consists of such publications as permit of no controversy that their MAIN AND MANIFEST INTENTION is to inflame lewd passions, deprave the imagination, and entice to vicious practices, for the sake of profit to publishers or advertisers. This intention should be proved first of all from the character of the work as a whole,—from the general tenor of it, and not from isolated passages alone, though these could be used in showing what the general tenor is. Moreover, this bad intention should be proved to the satisfaction of the court, ever and above any alleged "immoral tendency" of the work, or else no penalty should be inflicted on the publisher or writer; and no work should ever be con-

demned by the courts, either for a real or an alleged "immoral tendency," unless the fact of bad intention had been proved first of all. All such works, however, as can be shown by their general tenor and manifest purport to have been written or published with the bad intention of inflaming lewd passions, etc., for the sake of money, should be suppressed by law. About the right of society to suppress such poisonous works as these, addressed to lewd passions alone and not intended to reach the reason or conscience at all, there can be no reasonable doubt; for the right of free thought is not involved in the suppression of literature which is not in any degree addressed to thought.

2. A second class of works are as clearly beyond the scope of just legislation on this subject as the foregoing class are clearly within it. Any publication addressed to the thinking faculties, to the reason and conscience of its readers, and designed primarily to advocate any religious, political, social, or other theory whatever, should most certainly not be liable to suppression under the law of 1873. No matter how abhorrent to the popular mind a particular set of opinions may be, it is one of the most precious rights to be allowed without harm or penalty to address arguments to the popular mind in behalf of these very opinions. As Lord Coleridge ruled concerning blasphemy, "No controversial arguments maintained in decent and proper language come under the head of a blasphemous libel," so it must be held by all enlightened minds concerning obscenity, that no controversial arguments maintained in decent and proper language come under the head of obscene literature. The right of publicly debating the "free love" theory in a decent and proper manner, either affirmatively or negatively, is a right that will be questioned only by the most bitterly bigoted and fanatical enemies of free thought; it is a right which even now, we believe, will not be attacked under cover of the law of 1873, for the liberty of every citizen to avow and defend publicly any opinions he may hold, provided he does so in a decent and proper way, has already become a mere matter of course in this country. About the right of every individual to utter, to print, and to circulate through the mails his honest and decently expressed opinions on all subjects whatsoever, there can certainly be no reasonable doubt.

3. But while these two points permit no reasonable doubt (1) that *really obscene literature ought to be suppressed*, and (2) that *no controversial arguments in behalf of any theory or view or opinion whatsoever ought to be considered obscene, if expressed in a decent and proper manner*, there is a third class of publications to be considered about which we cannot wonder that doubts have been and are entertained; for they contain *controversial arguments not always expressed in a decent or proper manner*. Men may think what they please about the immoral tendencies of the "free love" craze; they cannot think worse than we do of its namby-pamby sentimentalism, its intellectual inanity, its moral poisonousness; but if its advocates are content to plead their cause by appeals to reason or conscience, however mistaken these may be, no man has a right to complain of them for publicly advocating what they believe to be true. It is only when they stoop to indecent language or foul suggestions, that reasonable doubt arises as to the right of suppressing their incubations as obscene literature. This third class of publications, advocating or discussing social doctrines in the name of reason and conscience, yet doing so in a more or less indecent, improper, and obscene manner, stand on the border-land between publications which do and those which do not deserve to be suppressed on the ground of obscenity. It is very difficult to treat their authors with exact justice. The best way is to give liberty the benefit of the doubt, and to leave such writers free from all legal punishment. They are entitled to respect so far as they confine their advocacy to legitimate appeals to reason or conscience; they deserve indignant moral reprobation so far as they disgrace their own cause by dabbling in dirt. It is altogether safer, wiser, and on the whole more just, to inflict no legal penalties whatever, in such cases as these, but rather to let a healthy public opinion inflict its own moral penalties in its own way. In a word, let no literature be legally suppressed as obscene which is not exclusively devoted to obscenity, both in substance and form; and in all doubtful cases, in which a plausible pretence of arguing, pleading, or discussing can be made, let liberty have the benefit of the doubt in the courts.

Now to which of these three classes of publications does the condemned pamphlet of Mr. Heywood be-

long? We are very sorry to feel obliged to say that, in our own opinion, it must be ranked with the third class just described. It is not one of the worst of its class; it is evidently the outgrowth of very strong and sincere convictions respecting the right relations of the sexes; and its departures from decency are rather in its suggestions than in its expressions. Taken as a whole, it is an absurd and extravagant production, utterly unworthy of a thinker, a man of education, or a sensible reformer; its intellectual texture is of the flimsiest, and its moral influence, so far as it has any, can only be in the direction of the utter destruction of permanent family life. For such a general social theory as that there set forth, compounded as it is of the wildest and most unscientific notions, we have not a particle of intellectual or moral respect; but we have a great deal of respect for Mr. Heywood as a citizen and a man, and credit him with none but upright, pure, and disinterested motives in writing and publishing and circulating his worthless pamphlet. He might have written it so as to escape all criticism on the score of public decency; and since he cannot see that he has failed to do so, we attribute the incidental indecencies of style to a defective taste, not to a depraved purpose. The evident and main intent of the pamphlet is to advocate the "free love" theory of social morality, which he considers to be the highest possible theory of the ethical relations of the sexes; and, unless it is essentially obscene to advocate a theory (which we deny strenuously, false and harmful as the theory may be), the only obscenity in the book lies in a few incidental expressions and isolated passages.

From what we have said above, it follows that to imprison Mr. Heywood on account of this publication is a great wrong, a great infraction of the right of free discussion. It is easy to see such wrongs when you share the opinions of the party wronged; it is not so easy when you abhor them. That is precisely the case with the majority of this community; they abhor Mr. Heywood's views, and therefore see no injustice in imprisoning him because he has publicly advocated them. It happens that we abhor the views expressed in this pamphlet quite as much as the majority; but on the question of his right to publish them, and circulate them through the mails, we take our place by his side, and will share uncomplainingly the odium he has provoked. There are absolutely no views for holding or publishing which a man ought to be imprisoned; and the real disgrace in this matter rests with the court which imprisons, not with the man who is imprisoned. It is not a crime to possess a defective literary taste; it is a crime to rob any man of his liberty without just cause, and it is no just cause for imprisonment to have advocated one's honest convictions, even with very bad taste.

The grievous injustice of this imprisonment does not lie in the sentence, severe as it is, but in the conviction itself, of which the sentence was the inevitable result. The injustice of the conviction does not lie necessarily in the law of 1878, but in Judge Clark's interpretation of that law as given in his charge to the jury. This whole case hinged absolutely on the definition of obscenity which was to be adopted in interpreting that law. The law itself does not define the offence which yet it punishes—a monstrous omission! It devolved on Judge Clark to establish the definition. If he had given so narrow and restricted a meaning to the word as to include only the first of the three classes of publications above described (and a decent regard for the rights of free thought, free discussion, and a free press would have made him so define it), then Mr. Heywood would not and could not have been convicted. His whole defence should have turned on this one point exclusively; there was nothing else in his case worth arguing for three minutes. As it is, a great injustice has been wrought, and a most dangerous blow struck at the freedom of the press, by the definition which Judge Clark incorporated into the law, as an essential part of it. What was this definition? It was thus reported at the time:—

"A book is obscene that is offensive to decency. A book to be obscene need not be obscene throughout the whole; whole or in part comes within the meaning of the law," etc.

These words, italicized by us, are practically the enactment of a new United States statute by the arbitrary will of Judge Clark alone. Henceforth any book which contains a single indecent passage is liable to suppression as "obscene" under this law of 1878. Whoever mails a copy of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Burns, Moore, Byron, Homer, Virgil, Dante, Goethe, Gibbon, Victor Hugo—it is idle to enumerate,—whoever mails a single copy of any one of a vast

proportion of the greatest works in poetry, fiction, history, belles lettres, science, will be liable to imprisonment as a circulator of obscene literature! If some wealthy radical was only bold enough to order a Bible through the mails from some Orthodox society, and then prosecute them under this law, he could procure a conviction under it as it has been interpreted by Judge Clark, unless the judge conspired with the jury to overthrow his own definition. Yet it was only in virtue of this definition that Mr. Heywood was convicted. If we had been in his place, we would have frankly conceded that there were a few incidental indecencies in the pamphlet, if judged by a strict canon of propriety, though not intended to be such; but we would have contended that neither the occurrence of a few incidental and unintended indecencies, nor yet the serious advocacy of the "free-love" or any other theory, was enough to make the book as a whole come within the scope of the law of 1878. We would have compelled the judge to perceive the enormous responsibility he was assuming in establishing such an interpretation of the law as would make it a criminal offence to send a copy of the Bible through the mails. We would have compelled him to see that the law had got to be restricted to the suppression of the first of the three classes of publications above described, or else it would shut the mails to almost all books in all languages. And, if nevertheless convicted, we would have left no stone unturned to get this question of the true definition of obscenity before the full bench of the Supreme Court. On this one point, and on this alone, depended the whole result of the prosecution. Mr. Heywood is now in jail simply and solely because of a false and arbitrary definition!

The practical effect of this wrongful imprisonment will be to make Mr. Heywood a martyr for liberty, to lend to his pamphlet an importance which by no means belongs to it, and to increase its circulation. There can be no question that the law of 1878 has been stretched far beyond its proper scope, and turned into an instrument for the suppression of free discussion on the "free love" theory. Never was a worse blunder committed. It would have been impossible to make this theory respectable without persecution, but persecution will make it so in too many eyes. Since the courts are now committed to a most dangerous interpretation of the law of 1878, nothing remains but to attempt to modify that law by making it define narrowly and precisely the offence which it was framed to punish. The whole subject is now forced upon the reluctant attention of all who love freedom of thought and of the press, and who do not mean to surrender these great fundamental rights to an incipient censorship of the press by the government. It is time to think seriously and to act with energy.

ROBBING A MOTHER FOR THE GLORY OF GOD.

If the universe has been created and is upheld and governed, physically and morally, according to the conception of theism, it would seem unnecessary to force this conception on any human mind by human legislation. Furthermore, from the nature of the human mind itself, it seems impossible. If God himself does not make me believe in God, how can I expect man to do it? Does the throne of the omnipotent depend upon an act of Parliament or Congress? If a human being is placed on a throne or in a presidential chair, a statute is not required obliging every one to believe that Mrs. Guelph sits on one or Mr. Hayes in the other, for example. The fact is left to demonstrate itself to every mind concerned. So long as a person behaves properly he is left at liberty to doubt or deny the existence of both the chairs and their occupants.

Nevertheless, human legislation for ages has manifested the unspeakable folly of attempting to force the popular idea of God upon such minds as reject it, as if the very existence of society depended on the success of its endeavor. It has always failed, and yet society exists, and all the laws essential to its existence and stability are practically as much respected by atheists as by theists. It is perfectly impossible, in the nature of things, that legislation can have resulted in any increase or conservation of the belief in God, though it may have increased the pretence of such belief. Here is its great danger and evil,—the growth of insincerity and hypocrisy. If a man or woman does not entertain the popular or legal conception of God, how much better honestly and openly to say so than to pretend to entertain it, and thereby make life a chronic lie!

If Mrs. Besant had pretended to believe in God, just as the Church of England does, the Hebrew Jew Jessel would not have taken her child away from

her. As a hypocrite, would she be a better mother than as a frank and blamelessly moral atheist? The Hebrew judge, who seems as likely to have descended from Ahab and Jezebel as any more respectable Israelite, under the license of British law takes from a woman of unimpeachable morals, and intellect superior to that of most British statesmen, the custody of her female infant, and gives it to a father who in the very act of suing for it violates the most solemn engagement which a man in his circumstances could make. Never talk about the folly and wickedness of communistic juntos when a united Church and Parliament can sanction such injustice as that. Why, if that law and that judge had made a promissory note void because the latter was of opinion that the enforcement of it would not benefit the payee, it would have been a piece of sheer communism, but not a whit more destructive of the very foundations of society than this ecclesiastical outrage on the rights of Mrs. Besant. Can any "God-in-the-Constitution" person tell us how much God is glorified and his throne fortified by such doings? Are such things going to be made possible in our country? We want many more Liberal Leagues to prevent it.

Mrs. Besant's belief about the government of the universe, whether it is a monarchy, republic, or neither seems to be of no consequence to society so long as she is a worthy member of it. Whether she is a Christian theist, an agnostic, a pantheist, or an atheist properly so called, is of no consequence to anybody but herself. Probably she believes that the universe is not dead, but alive, body and soul, in every atom of it, always was, and always will be, so far as she knows; but she does not seem disposed to persecute other people for not believing in this matter as she does. What she teaches is of some consequence to society. And it is that people should not bring children into this world without thinking whether they and the world will be made happy by their coming. This may seem shocking to some as a disobedience to the "divine commandment." But society had better not burn Mrs. Besant, or, perhaps what is more painful to a mother, rob her of her child, for this heresy, till it has disposed of the problems of tramps, labor strikes, communistic rifle drills, and superfluous population generally. The old persecutions, in which theological bigots burnt each other and their over-zealous disciples were bad enough; but this persecution of a philanthropic woman is worse. A contemptible law, used unreasonably and cruelly by a bigoted judge, tends to bring all law into contempt and make mankind worse than theoretical atheists. E. W.

FATHER CURCI'S book is published, and is "about to be translated into all languages." He has refused to subject it to the revision of the local ecclesiastical authority, despite the precise injunction of the head of his order. Hence the archbishop of Florence publishes in the *Armonia* (the clerical newspaper of Florence) a "warning to the good" to be on their guard against a book published under such sad auspices, until the Supreme Ecclesiastical Tribunal shall deem it right to pronounce its authoritative judgment. The book is divided into eight chapters. The first treats of dogmas and the truths attaching to them; the right interpretations of the same, as expounded by the fathers of the Church, and the errors, falsely called dogmas, propounded by fanatics. The second treats of the legitimate authorities and the changes to which they are subject. Here it is shown that the temporal is not necessary to the full exercise of spiritual authority. In the third it is declared to be absurd to hope for the restoration of the temporal power, as it is certain that the Italians will never consent to the dismemberment of their country, and that their patriotism is perfectly legitimate, and by no means incompatible with their allegiance to Holy Mother Church. The fifth chapter, on the Catholic Press, the Syllabus, and Liberal Catholics, has some home thrusts which Catholic editors will appreciate, even while they rebel. Father Curci considers the Catholic papers as worse than useless,—detrimental to the cause which they uphold; shows that they never treat any questions of general importance, and consequently are rarely read, and certainly win no adherents to their cause. He blames the use and abuse of the Syllabus; the bigotry which condemns all books published by lovers of their country, as if they must of necessity be hostile to the interests of the Church. In the sixth chapter the Reverend Father demonstrates clearly that the hostility shown by the Holy See to Italian unity has been the cause of the loss of the temporal power; and that if this hostility continues, all influence and authority will also be forfeited. He blames without stint the abstention of the Catholics from the urn, and shows that the good and devout Italians having abdicated, freethinkers and good-for-nothings have all the power in their own hands. He holds to his former belief that the Church may yet come to terms with Italy. In the seventh chapter he narrates the history of the Church from 1870 to 1877, and his own relations; and in the eighth and last chapter studies the ways of Providence, and believes that "all will work together for good."—*Ex.*

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XXVII.

The idea of unity—which I have shown to be the essential idea, first of religion at large, and then of theology as culminating in monotheism (one-God-ism)—is, it should be impressively stated and reiterated, no other than these special applications of the mathematical idea *one*, as the primal arithmetical number; and we are hence authorized to expect, as will be shown later to be the fact, that whatever is opposed to or contrasted with religion and with God, whatever is evil or irreligious, and satanic or averse to God, will be allied in thought with the number *two*, as the opposite of one. This tendency was even extended, in many early speculations, to the female principle and everything feminine, God being taken as masculine and as exclusively good; woman therefore as evil. In the main, however, and finally, justice is done, as we shall see, to the female principle.

ONE is, in the next place, identified with point, centre, source, origin, or beginning, first-ness, or first cause; and hence with generation and *paternity*; and, hence again, the one God is the *father of all*.

The God-idea is, therefore, essentially masculoid, or associated with the male sex. It is true that, in the earlier hermetic speculation, the feminine aspect or side of God was equally provided for, as will be subsequently shown; but the Christian fathers, the founders of Christian theology, confined the term God to the male attributions of Supreme Being; while yet Christianity, as will also be shown, still adequately provided otherwise, for the feminoid aspect of Supremacy. Reference is not here made to "Mary, the Immaculate Mother of God," of the Roman Catholic Church. This dogma is the quite inadequate and merely provisional development of the larger, more rational, and more truly religious idea of the feminine aspect of divinity. It is, however, less metaphysical and occult than the truly philosophical solution; and it is far better capable of satisfying the aspirations of the souls of men and women for a supreme motherhood than the bald absence of any female representative in the divinity, which characterizes Judaism, Mohammedanism, and the Protestant sects. The various stages of the conception of Supremacy or of the Most High have, however, their justification and legitimate place, in the course of the development of the integral or total idea.

At the opposite extreme of the long career of the development of the religious conception—in this age and generation—arises the effort to found a church and a religion on the exclusion of the God-idea, and upon the lifting of humanity into the supreme place as the Most High; as, in other words, the conception and object of worship most worthy of the supreme adoration of man. The immediate originator of this "new religion" was Auguste Comte, the great French philosopher and "founder of the philosophy of Positivism." John Stuart Mill wrote, in the *Westminster Review*, in defence of the position that the traditional belief in the existence of God is now essential to the existence of religion. John Stuart Stuart-Glenie writes a work of great profundity and force, *In the Morningland*; or, *The Law of the Origin and Transformation of Christianity*, the leading thought of which is that not only Christian theology, but the whole Christian polity or system of social ideas, is effete, decadent, and ready to give place to a more positive and rational faith. Within the churches a virtual concession of this startling proposition is extensively made; and in the scientific world at large it is the tacitly foregone conclusion.

At the various centers of civilization, small congregations are beginning to gather for the organization of religious worship and effort, under this new form of religion; precisely as at Rome and at Ephesus the little knots of Christians assembled eighteen hundred years ago. In the city of New York one of the most prominent assemblies of this kind is called "The Church and Society of Humanity," and is presided over by Thaddeus B. Wakeman, who is the author of *The Epitome of the Positive Philosophy and Religion*. That Christianity is about to undergo, or is in the process of undergoing, an immense transformation cannot be doubted; but is it merely to be transformed to accord with the exigencies of the times and the progress of knowledge, or is it to give place to this new phase of religion based wholly on humanity, with the exclusion of the God-idea; or with, at least, the admission of our entire ignorance of the existence and nature of God? with, in other words, no place found, and no want felt, for that aspect of thought, belief, and adoration which hitherto faith in the existence of God has filled and supplied?

Let us contrast with the more ancient idea the newer conception of humanity. The humanity worshipped by the positivists is not the crude and universal bulk of mankind, past, present, and future. It is humanity idealized or the ideal humanity; or, in other words, the true and perfect type of collective or societal human existence. In still other terms, it is the *élite* of humanity; and this is the same word and idea as *ecclēsia*, the called forth, separated, or chosen, the select and perfected body of humanity. The humanity of the positivists is, therefore, in a large sense, and with a more modern seeming, identifiable with the early Christian idea of the Church.

It is this perfect humanity, or the Church; as it is also the "high harmony" of the humanity of the future, of Charles Fourier; and the heaven, or glorified consociations of perfect men and women, as spirits in the spiritual world, of Swedenborg, which is to be contrasted with the God-idea, in the constitution of that which is most high or supreme. And, in so far

as the God-idea is that of beginning, source, or cause, and hence of paternity and masculism,—so this contrasted idea, that of a perfected humanity or the true Church, is that of end, final purpose, or result; that which is affected and effected or caused to produce; and so with maternity, the mother-principle, and feminism at large. In the apocalypse God (as father) is transformed into the Lord, as a bridegroom or husband, and the Church into the bride.

In a word, then, God is the masculine, and humanity or the Church is the feminine, aspect of the supreme ideal. Each is from a different point of view the most high; and both, in their marriage or mystical union, are, in the supreme sense, the most high. The female sex instinctively—and so the infant-feminoid stage of the historic development of mankind, which has lasted hitherto (see *Basic Outline of Universology, Index*, words *infantism* and *infanta-feminoid*)—turns to the worship of the male ideal; and as that relates to origin and causation, it relates also to the past in history and in time; and hence the predominant veneration for ancestry and antiquity in this earlier age of the world. On the other hand, the male sex—and so the senecto-masculoid age, upon which the world is now entering (see *Basic Outline, Index*); the age dominated by science and reason, rather than by natural impulse and sentiment; turns, just as naturally, to the study of Nature and the worship of humanity (both of which are antithetical to the God-idea). It is the courtesy and devotion of the male to the female principle, succeeding to that which the world's age, prior to *now*, has rendered as the homage of the female to the male. An age which could and did instinctively worship a God in whom there was nothing, or only a subordinate presence of anything, feminine could only have been itself feminoid. A masculoid age turns admiringly towards Nature and humanity, both feminine ideals, and goes forth from science and God, which are in kind like itself, or of its own essence. We love, go to, and so manifest ourselves as the opposite of that which we are. This is a universal principle; THE ANTITHETICAL REFLECTION OF INHERENCE AND APPEARANCE. This again means, for instance, that an age which is inherently feminine will manifest itself by its tendency to the projection of male ideals; and vice versa.

This principle accounts for the fact that Comte, himself pivotally representative of the positive spirit of modern science (masculoid), projects Nature, humanity, and Naturism-in-humanity, which is woman (affectional, emotional, the opposite of the sciento-positive), as the object of worship; why, indeed, this grim apostle of the most hard-headed scientific philosophy should elevate woman into the place of supremacy; and speculate upon the possibility that the exceptional part of the Christian miracle-system may become normal, in the ideal future, and women become independent of men in the procreation of progeny. No extreme can go farther than this in illustration of the principle here invoked. We may see now why it is that, while the utmost to which Catholicism reaches is the secondary deification of the mother and child, positivism places the feminine principle in the ascendant. See the vignette heading of *The Positive Thinker*, in which the mother and child stand as the central figure, surrounded by the representative men of science.

But the Christian Scriptures, as their final legacy, exceptionally, and against the general spirit of Christianity, had prepared the way for the quasi-deification of woman, or what, by the analogy, is the same thing, of humanity, or the Church. "The heavenly New Jerusalem" (Rev. xxi.), which symbolizes the harmonic or divinized new or future order of human society, is the bride of the Lamb, that is to say of the Lord. "Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honor to him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready" (Rev. xix., 7). "And I, John, saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. xxi., 3). The church, the New Jerusalem, the true humanity, is therefore, by the symbolism, the wife of God; and thence, by the true idea of wifehood, coequal with God. If God, the Lord, "or the Lamb be, then, the King of kings and the Lord of lords" (Rev. xix., 16), the ideal humanity is, by the logic of the analogy, the Queen of queens and the Lady of ladies, or she who, equally with the Lord, is entitled to our supreme adoration.

On the other hand, as the ideal true humanity of the future is symbolized by a pure and beautiful woman, so the extant and false humanity of the past is represented as a harlot; and by another city than Jerusalem, namely Babylon, which stands for the imperfect social condition of the past. And as the true humanity is the spouse and consort of God, so this harlot of Babylon and mother of harlots is the consort of Satan. "The great dragon was . . . that old serpent called the Devil and Satan" (Rev. v., 9); and the dragon gave his power to [was transformed into] the beast (Rev. xiii., 4), and the harlot sat upon the beast (Rev. xvii., 3). We have, therefore, in presence, four personages, two male figures, God, the embodiment of beneficent masculinity, and Satan, of maleficent masculinity, and the bride, the embodiment of a pure or perfect femininity, and the harlot, the embodiment of fallen or imperfect feminine condition. The male principle, as generator or father, was at a previous point contrasted with the female principle as generatrix, or mother. This is the tempic or historical view, and the discrimination refers us to the past, or the historical beginning, and the future, or the historical end. But, here, at the close of the New Testament, we are conducted forward to a more complex relationship. The symbolism is with the good husband or man and the bad man, on the one hand; and with the good wife or woman and the bad woman, on the other hand; or otherwise, and abstractly conceived of, with the two

opposite principles, good and evil, each of them developed in a two-fold manner, according to the proclivities of sex. The consideration of this four-fold symbolism will be resumed farther on. At present let us pass to the consideration of a particular sign by which it is intimated, in the Bible record, that the principle of evil is to be specially recognized.

This distinctive sign is MYSTERY, the natural attendant upon night-time and obscurity. Mysticism and the love of mystery have been the characteristics of the past history of mankind, and especially in the religious domain. The Apocalyptic prophecy foretells the abolishment of this phase of human affairs, with the rising of the future sun of scientific intelligence. It places mystery, as a damning brand, upon the forehead of the scarlet woman, and again identifies her with Babylon, the symbol of the old, hitherto extant, and chaotic order of the world's condition: "And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth" (Rev. xvii., 5).

Positivism, the distinctive representative of science, is pledged to the elimination of the element of mystery. Such is the essential nature of science; but in the sphere of life, also, the most emphatic injunction of Comte to his followers is to live absolutely without concealment, and to be open as the day. Perhaps the two most fundamental points of distinctive positivism may be stated as: The Worship and Service of the True Humanity; and the Expulsion of Mystery from the Programme of Human Affairs.

Upon both of these points Christianity may fairly claim, as we now see, to have foreshadowed positivism; not indeed in its own practical evolution, which has belonged emphatically to the old, but in this inspired prevision of the new order. The way is therefore clear and open for the reconciliation of Christianity with positivism and the new scientific order. It need have no difficulty in submitting to its own necessary transformation, which, in the closing up of its own Scriptures, it has undeniably prognosticated. The glorified woman, in the twelfth chapter of John, is also the Church. But at first she is simply "with child," "travelling in birth, and pained to be delivered" (Rev. xii., 2). But "she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron [the rigors and exactitudes of science]; and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne," while she withdrew for a time into the wilderness. It is, thus, scientized humanity which succeeds, under the new dispensation, to that which was the throne of God, under the old,—or becomes, in other words, the controlling power over the world.

Inversely, to reconcile positivism to the Church, to the acceptance of its dogma throughout, including the God-idea, as having had an adequate scientific basis, and as truly capable of being integrated with the scientific doctrine of the future, is a severer task. For that purpose we must recur to the older world-religions, those hermetic origins from which Christianity mainly derived its theology, and to the universal rediscovers, verification, and enlargement of those primitive scientific truths.

In the meantime we have been conducted to another important basis of reconciliation. The Protestant sects have been prolific in their interpretations of prophecy. In this they have mostly concurred in charging upon Roman Catholicism the character of the scarlet woman (Babylon), the dragon, and the beast. The Catholic church, less profuse in this style of literature, has to some extent cast back the imputation. By the new theology it is shown that these wonderful symbols apply directly and mainly to the whole past, unscientific and mystery-loving development of human career. We are all, therefore, "in the same boat." Let us, then, "shake hands over the bloody chasm," and consent to be brethren, in the out-working of a higher and happier destiny for the future of the human world.

DO RE-DEFINITIONS DEFINE?

EDITOR INDEX:—

It is evidently useless to expect "A. W. K." either to admit that he knows nothing of Fourier, or to quote one line from him advocating community of property. But as some of the sincere lovers of truth among the readers of THE INDEX may wish to know more of social science as taught by one of the great thinkers of the world, I say again, and advise them to verify my assertion by the study of his works, which, I venture to assure all such, will amply repay the time and thought they may bestow on them, that Fourier teaches the opposite of community of property.

It is not possible, I think, for any intelligent man who has read the articles of "F. S. O." (except "A. W. K.") to suppose that he teaches communism. It is equally absurd and indiscriminate to assert that "the socialist writers" teach "theoretical and visionary communism." Some socialist writers teach community of property, but not one socialist of the Phalansterian school does so, and there is a large and influential class of socialists, of whom the late Josiah Warren is a type, who are extreme individualists.

Not to know these facts is to be ignorant of the A, B, C of the subject. It still seems to me, as I said once before, that we do not need any more misinformation and fog, or any half-knowledge, on a question so important to the welfare of the human race.

A very little thought would have shown "A. W. K." that all harmony, yes, that life itself, is a union of opposites, that we do not wed positive to positive, but always positive to negative, light to darkness, earth to air, and fire to water; we do not wed man to man, but woman to man.

Even a little knowledge of Fourier would have taught "A. W. K." that before he or I, or Mr. Bradlaugh or Mrs. Besant were born Fourier had written upon the problem of population, and had proposed a

remedy for over-population deduced from the study of human nature, which I and some others believe to be more scientific, and consequently more artistic and more practical, than any other that we know of.

There may be so-called socialists who think that their cause would be promoted by violence and revolution; but a large number of real socialists know that it is justice that is wanted, and not charity on the one side or anarchy on the other. At the present time, in this country at least, there is no over-population; we can produce enough and more than enough, if it could only be equitably distributed, to give everybody not merely comforts, but the luxuries of life as well.

The problem of production has been solved; that of distribution remains. It is just possible that social science will help us; and it is certain that all socialists do not regard social science and "visionary communism" as convertible terms. F. S. C.

MRS. BESANT AND HER PERSECUTORS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

As I read, in THE INDEX of June 20, your scathing but well-merited rebuke of that clerical "sneak," the Rev. Frank Besant, and the "upjust judge," Sir George Jessel, the blood mantled my cheeks, and my lips quivered with emotions of indignation to which any language that I can command would give but the feeblest expression. Such a monstrous perversion of justice, such a cool and calculating disregard of a legal and solemn compact, such a brutal trampling upon the tenderest instincts of motherhood as was the judicial decision in the case referred to is simply infamous, and will be so regarded by every man and woman who becomes acquainted with the facts, and whose heart is not absolutely hardened by the spirit of bigotry and intolerance. The unjust judgment of this Hebrew judge is analogous in principle, if not in the reach of its barbarity, to that of the King of Portugal, who, when some eighty thousand of the Jews that had been banished from Spain, toward the close of the fifteenth century, sought an asylum within his realm, and were promised protection, basely forfeited his pledge, and, at the instigation of the Romish Church, expelled from his dominions every adult Hebrew, seizing and detaining all below the age of fourteen years, and forcibly baptizing them into the Catholic Church. One would suppose that, in the heart of a Jewish law-giver, the recollection of the heart-rending scenes that followed the issuing of that terrible decree, when the Jewish mothers, frenzied with grief, inconsolable, rent the air with shrieks of anguish and piteous lamentations—in many instances frantically killing their offspring, rather than they should be thus kidnapped and subjected to the indignity of Christian baptism,—would have awakened emotions of pity for an innocent and honest, though non-Christian, woman pleading at the bar of justice, as only a devoted mother could plead, for the custody of her darling child. But no; the wretched sycophant, Jew though he is, preferred the adulation of Christian lips, which a decree against his heretical victim would surely evoke, to the approval of his conscience, which must have followed an act of simple justice to his persecuted suppliant.

I quite agree with you that Mrs. Besant will receive, as she certainly ought to, the cordial sympathy of all American liberals, in the great distress which has been brought upon her by her Christian persecutors and her Jewish judge.

It is one of the anomalies in the order of human affairs, with which we are daily confronted, and which it is difficult to explain upon the theory of divine justice, that martyrdom should, so often, be the only visible recompense for loyalty to convictions and honest endeavors to advance the cause of humanity. But so it is; and Mrs. Besant is not the first, nor will she be the last, of the victims of religious intolerance.

The defiant words she utters, however, in the article which was the fitting conclusion to your manly editorial, are an earnest that no amount of persecution will cause her to swerve from the path she has chosen, or curb her proud and royal spirit. *Brave women, be of good cheer!* DANIEL CONY.

WOBURN, Mass., June 23, 1878.

HEYWOOD'S IMPRISONMENT.

MR. EDITOR:—

Filled with an indignation which forbids coherence of expression, I will yet endeavor to preserve a method in my madness, and be as mildly reasonable as if the outrage upon equal rights was not so flagrant as to provoke and justify the most vigorous invective.

A man sent to prison for two years as a common felon for saying "I believe!"

Nothing has occurred demanding so mighty a protest since Burns was remanded to slavery by the maladministration of an iniquitous law. Charles Torrey in Baltimore jail was nothing to it. I am not a little surprised, in conversation with several radical friends—men for whom I have an unbounded respect and admiration,—to find in minds exceptionally clear on most subjects such confusion on this.

The feeling which I manifest elicits little sympathetic response, and they say to me, in substance, "It is true, as you observe, that a man is condemned and punished for an expression of opinion; but you must remember that it is not purely speculative opinion, but opinion which has a vital, practical bearing upon the morals of the people; and society is justified in thus defending itself, and the individuals of which it is composed, against such assaults upon its well-being."

That is exactly what I do not forget, and upon which I lay the greatest stress,—that the opinions so freely and boldly uttered are of a practical character, and more or less intimately connected with the moral welfare of society. Who cares much for purely speculative opinions? To defend the freedom of practi-

cal opinions is worthy of us,—opinions which help to form character and regulate conduct.

Mr. Heywood himself would claim the practical nature of the opinions for which he suffers as his justification in persisting in giving them publicity. It is only because he believes, with an all-absorbing conviction, that the tendency of his opinions is towards a freer, truer, more perfect social life that he is willing to sacrifice so much for their dissemination. He is not alone in this conviction. It is shared by many equally earnest and equally ready to suffer the odium which always falls upon the innovator.

Directly opposed in belief is another party, much the larger and older, to be sure, and possibly more sound in doctrine; but that is the question at issue, to be settled by free discussion or left unsettled. In either party, of course, is a moiety of insincerity, and some slight admixture of personal and selfish motive; but, for the most part, each is actuated by an honest desire to promote the best interests and welfare of the whole. One party, taking advantage of its power of numbers, has no right to proscribe and imprison the other, and in so doing makes confession of its want of faith in the power of truth itself.

"You shall not teach that which I do not believe" is a strange position for radicals to take. What enormity of injustice may not be accomplished, if radicals themselves so easily forget their obligation to the sacred principle of equal rights! That the doctrines set forth are false—if so be they are—is surely no reason for the incarceration of the one who utters them; that there is now and then, or still oftener, an expression which would not be sanctioned by the commonly accepted rules of good taste is no better reason; and that is the full head and front of his offending.

Zealots who would subdue error by main strength, strangely blind to the nature of the weapons which they use, are ever hurling boomerangs to their own destruction. The pamphlet which was made the excuse for this prosecution will now be read by ten where it was read by one before.

Although such attempts to muzzle the brain by abusing the body—the common practice of the dominant faction from time immemorial—have always failed, and ever will, yet our sympathy and assistance are due to the one who is sacrificed in the maintenance of our right. I am not in full accord with Mr. Heywood in the matter of his special reform; but his right to advocate that reform is sacred, and should be defended by every emancipated tongue and pen.

J. A. J. WILCOX.

THE THIRD NEW YORK LEAGUE.

NEW YORK, June 23, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

As I have made it a duty to acquaint yourself and the readers of THE INDEX with the progress of our League movement here in New York, I cannot abstain from giving a short report of our first large public meeting, which took place on Wednesday evening, June 19, at Republican Hall. The meeting was of more than ordinary interest; the audience was large and attentive, and responded heartily to the scholarly utterances of the speakers.

After the President had read and explained the platform of the National Liberal League, our Secretary, Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., presented a series of resolutions against the passage of the bill of the New York Legislature which granted the New York Catholic Protectors an appropriation of \$50,000, which bill has received the signature of Gov. Robinson. The action was shown to be unconstitutional, and the Controller was requested to withhold such appropriation and refuse the payment, except by compulsion of the court.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The speakers of the evening were Mr. Courtlandt Palmer, our President, and Mr. T. B. Wakeman, an original thinker who has investigated the old and new philosophy, adding to it his own vigorous thought, which in most questions is in full harmony with, and a reflection of, the broad scientific spirit of our age. Mr. O. B. Frothingham, who meant to be a listener only, was enthusiastically called upon the platform after the second speaker had closed his remarks, and gave one of his happiest impromptus.

We are indebted entirely to Dr. Foote for the timely measure against the Catholic Protectors; such arbitrary sectarian favoritism shows the necessity of vigilance and attention from Liberal Leagues.

The three speakers of the evening, starting from the same principle—the necessity of entire separation between the Church and our State—arrived by different modes of reasoning at the same broad conclusion: that the Church of the future must be based on a human instead of a theological interest.

The proceedings of the evening offered a rare intellectual treat seldom enjoyed by a public meeting, and the hearers went away enriched in thought, elevated in sentiment, and, let us hope, ready to enter upon the practical work of our League with that ardor which comes from clear understanding. The addresses were complementary to each other, and gave a grand picture of what the State of the future will and must be, if once entirely freed from theological bias and from sectarian influence.

Mr. Palmer's "Utopia," as he pleased to call it, was a scholarly production, and should be given to the readers of THE INDEX. The historical illustration, the progress of ideas in matters of religion, which he painted to have taken place in the latter part of our century gave to his Utopia a strong plausibility, an unusual veracity. Mr. Wakeman set the reality and near possibility of the Utopia in still bolder relief. He gave, as it were in a nutshell, the philosophical synthesis of the law of evolution applied to the growth of the State and society. He traced it from its homogeneous form through the various stages of growth, arriving in its natural course by

differentiation and integration at the greatest heterogeneity which at the termination of this long process ends in the spiritual homogeneity of mankind, as it is foreshadowed by the poet's dream,—"in the Parliament of man the Federation of the world."

Mr. Frothingham confirmed, by his apt and thoughtful remarks, the historical and philosophical views taken by the preceding speakers, making the principal idea still more clear, and pointing out strongly the practical requirements needful to reach and fulfil the high promise of the future.

Such meetings, such words, are highly welcome; they are a necessity in our present depressed state of society.

Many are ready and anxious to be instructed in the science of the day, and to learn the good which will result from it. Many an earnest mind would like to do better if it knew how. And there is no lack of talent in our country; the instructors only wait to be called out; they wait for support and encouragement to unfold the richness of their minds, the fruits of their learning and investigation.

Would that the apathy and indifference of our liberals could be metamorphosed into energy, ardor, and zeal!

Yours truly, CLARA NEYMANN.

BRIEF.

Books with a purpose, as a rule, fail to fulfil their intention. The author is either a fanatic in his or her line of thought, or lacks the constructive and picturesque faculty essential to the success of any book, and doubly so where a certain prejudice is to be overcome. But in *What our Girls Ought to Know*, Dr. Mary Studley has accomplished this most difficult task so ably, that the most carping critic will hardly find it possible to question her principles, or the mode of their presentation. As a piece of literary work it is charming, clear, direct, simple, and graceful; a model of strong Saxon; a book from which one would not blot out one line, and which is filled with a quiet, yet intense, power born of absolute knowledge and a noble purpose. The writer has lived all she writes, and her position as resident physician and teacher of natural sciences in the State Normal School of Framingham, Mass., has given her a wide experience from which to draw. A graduate of the Woman's Medical College of New York, she is pronounced by Dr. Willard Parker one of the ablest and most thoughtful women of our time, and this statement is confirmed by every page of her book. Let no one fancy her another decrifier of natural laws, or a one-sided advocate of all the isms connected with the woman suffrage movement. Her chapter on marriage is one of the most beautiful and even pathetic appeals for a better understanding of its laws, a nobler view of its responsibilities, a more earnest preparation, and an absolute belief in its sacredness, a woman has ever penned. It ought to be in the hands of every man as well as woman who plan a future together, and if read understandingly could not fail of rousing the most trifling or the most apathetic with its ringing call to thought of what life demands. No better missionary work could be done than sending this book into every family where girls are growing up; for even those most carefully trained would still find inspiration to the best and wisest use and development of power, while the untrained would see possibilities undreamed of, and find it a way out from the vapid and dreary purposelessness of the average girl's existence. There is not a line to which the most fastidious and conservative of mothers could object, and we desire all the success to which its perfect and beautiful womanliness as well as strength entitles it. This definition of temperance is the key-note of the book, yet only one of myriad paragraphs one would gladly transfer bodily: "Temperance is personal cleanliness; is modesty; is quietness; is reverence for one's elders and betters; is deference to one's mother and sisters; is gentleness; is courage; is the withholding from aught which leads to excess in daily living; is the eating and drinking only that which will ensure the best body which the best soul is to inhabit,—nay, temperance is all these, and more." The publisher is M. L. Holbrook. CAMPBELL WHEATON.

LOCAL LIBERAL LEAGUES.

There are probably over a hundred places in which there are liberal friends with whom I have been in correspondence in relation to the organization of Local Liberal Leagues and in which organization is contemplated, and some fifty other places where Liberal Leagues and other societies in sympathy with the movement are organized that have not as yet taken out charters.

To all of these friends I desire to say that, for the interest of our cause, it is very important that they organize and perfect their Local Leagues at once, and elect their delegates for the next Annual National Liberal League Congress, the call for which will be before long issued by the Directors.

H. L. GREEN, CH. EX. COM. N. L. L.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., June 25, 1878.

I WILL NOT attack your doctrines, nor your creeds if they accord liberty to me. If they hold thought to be dangerous, if they aver that doubt is a crime, then I attack them one and all, because they enslave the minds of men. I attack the monsters, the phantoms of imagination that have ruled the world. I attack slavery. I ask for room,—room for the human mind.—Ingersoll.

A NEW STEAMER, built for the Sultan of Zanzibar, is ornamented with a number of inscriptions from the Koran. The figure-head, a spread eagle, bears upon its breast the following verse: "Embark on board of her in the name of God, who is her course and her haven; for my Lord is forgiving and merciful."

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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Proceedings of Seventh Annual Meeting, 1874. Contains verbatim reports of President Frothingham's address on "The Validity of the Free Religious Platform," of Dr. Bartol's essay on "The Religious Signs of the Times," of Rabbi Sonnenschein's speech on "Reformed Judaism," and of the statements by Messrs. Calthrop, Abbot, and Higginson of their respective attitudes towards Christianity,—as "Christian," "Anti-Christian," and "Extra-Christian,"—together with the Secretary's Annual Report, and letters from Keahub Chunder Sen, Frederick Douglass, and D. A. Wasson.

Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. O. Gannett on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wilson and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,—together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Laefer, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

COLONEL HIGGINSON was present at the Centenary of Voltaire at Paris, and heard the great oration of Victor Hugo, which he praises in the highest terms. One is impatient to see this oration translated for American readers.

THIS JEST is going the rounds of the press: "A Sunday-school teacher was telling her scholars the other Sunday about a bad boy who stole \$100, when she was interrupted by one of her audience with the query: 'And how did he get such a bully chance?' " It is not at all amusing to reflect that the greed of money-getting so rife in American society fatally tends to produce the moral state of that boyish questioner. The gospel of smartness ends in theft; and the great crowd of defaulters have all been suckled on that creed not outworn.

SAYS THE *Christian Union*: "It is not an uncommon thing for a Boston business man, opening his mail in the morning, to find an envelope containing a scrap of paper coarsely printed as follows:—

Which will You do,
Forsake your Sins and go to
HEAVEN,
or Keep your Sins and go to
HELL?

We venture to say that more people are warded off from a Christian life than are won to it by such pious indiscretions and impertinences as these."

THE *Tribune* is responsible for these statements: "The room in which Voltaire died, on the quay named after him, was hermetically sealed until the one-hundredth anniversary came round. Then the windows were opened and the sunshine was let in. The proprietor of the mansion, the Marquis de Villette, had directed in his will that the shutters should not be taken down, and the room was never entered, even in 1814, when Voltaire's bones were dragged from their coffin in the Pantheon and buried with quicklime in a rubbish-corner. The opening of the windows of this historic room was one of the good results of the Centenary; a vigorous letter from Victor Hugo in reply to Monsiour Dupanloup's strictures was another."

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER WINCHELL declares, in the *Nashville American*, that the abolition of the lectureship recently filled by him is practically "a dismissal from office on account of heresy." He goes on to say: "This heresy consists in holding, with the great body of scientific men, that a method of evolution has obtained in the history of the world, but not in holding that man is the product of evolution. The overt act on which the accusation is based is the publication of my recent pamphlet entitled *Adamites and Pre-Adamites*, though, as a fact, a belief in the doctrine of evolution is not there avowed nor taught; and the only position to which strict 'Orthodoxy' could object is the opinion that perhaps the black races existed on the earth previously to the white and brown races."

WHAT A melancholy illustration is this of the tyranny which Orthodoxy exerts over our educational institutions, and from which not one of them can claim complete exemption! "The Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tenn., has signally vindicated its Orthodoxy and the pure religious faith of its founder by dismissing from his lectureship Professor Alexander Winchell, the illustrious astronomer and student of science, for the alleged sceptical tendency of his views. The unpardonable heresy which was the immediate occasion of his dismissal was the opinion that the negro race is pre-Adamite, though the expression of this opinion was coupled with an earnest and forcible tribute to the wisdom and inspiration of the Bible. His theories, it was alleged, were 'contrary to the plan of redemption.' Something similar to that, if we remember rightly, was the fatal objection to the views of that old-time heretic, Galileo."

ORTHODOXY is far stronger at the South than at the North; indeed, there is very little heterodoxy there. Hence it is instructive to read the following remarks by Rev. Dr. Fuller, in the *Atlanta, Ga., Advocate*, with special reference to the claim of the churches of being the chief bulwarks of morality: "The churches of the South, as a whole, are lacking in moral strength. The people are generally Orthodox in sentiment, believing in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the atonement, and in salvation from sin by faith in Christ alone. There is less scepticism in the public mind in the South than in the North. The first table of the law touching man's relations and obligations to God has been well maintained by the religious press and the pulpit; but the Bible view of man's duty to man has been greatly overlooked by both ministers and churches. The morality of the Gospel has been sadly neglected in precept and practice. The pulpit has been Orthodox in its teaching of the theory of religion, so far as it has gone, but weak in enforcing the divine precepts touching practical questions of right and wrong."

IN CONNECTION with our leading editorial of this week, we quote the following paragraph from the *New York Independent* of July 4: "The Rev. John C. Kimball writes us to argue that the Unitarian name is not 'divisive,' nor is its spirit and record. So be it. He tells us that the constitution of the National Conference allows the membership of Trinitarians, as well as Unitarians. We are glad that this is so. We know this to be the fact, and we, nevertheless, regard the name and the temper of Unitarianism as divisive; but the subject is not worth arguing at length." The point here illustrated is that Unitarianism, by its chief representative body, is recognized universally as planting itself on the fundamental "traditional creed" of Christianity, and differs from other Christian sects only in omitting the later and fuller creeds which have grown out of it. The Unitarian denomination cannot claim membership in the "Church of Christ" on the ground of their acceptance of this ancient and primitive creed, and then turn round to the outside radicals and profess entire "freedom from traditional creeds." Let us all be frank in this matter; it is necessary to choose between Unitarianism and perfect spiritual freedom.

IT IS REPORTED that the nephews and nieces and other heirs of Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, have brought a suit against that city in which they claim that the Board of City Trusts are not administering the philanthropist's will in accordance with its provisions, but are using the income of the property illegally. In view of this violation, they claim the accumulated income of all the Girard real estate in the city. Girard intended to found a college for the strictly secular education of orphans. The city of Philadelphia accepted the bequest, but has perverted it to uses in direct opposition to the terms of the trust by giving Orthodoxy full control of the institution. We should be sorry to see the property revert to private owners, to the defeat of Girard's benevolent and wise intentions; but a more revolting breach of trust cannot be instanced than has been committed without shame or conscience in this case by Christian cupidity, and the interests of public morality demand that such a crime should not be suffered to go unpunished. It would be a most salutary moral lesson if the courts should decide (as we fear they will not) that the Christian Church has no right to steal, even for "the glory of God," but that Liberals have as good a right as Christians to found public institutions in accordance with their own principles. There is no doubt that Philadelphia has in equity forfeited this bequest by her bad faith in administering it; but we wish that it might still be devoted to the uses for which it was designed. Is there not enough virtue in the courts to do justice in this matter?

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Sketch of Michael Servetus.*

BY M. MAURIS.

The publication of an elaborate life of Servetus in English at the present time will be welcome to many readers, who at present know little more of the man than that he was burned at the stake at Geneva, at the instigation of John Calvin, three hundred and twenty-five years ago. The progress of the world from polytheism to monotheism has had many tragic passages, but perhaps the most unique was this roasting alive of the Unitarian Servetus with green wood by a leader of the Protestant Reformation.

Dr. Willis, the author of the work, had edited an edition of the writings of William Harvey, accompanied by a biography of the great demonstrator of the circulation of the blood. His researches into this interesting subject led him to investigate the claims of Servetus to a share in this grand discovery, when it was established that he was "the first who proclaimed the true way in which the blood from the right reaches the left chambers of the heart by passing through the lungs, and even hinted at its further course by the arteries to the body at large." His study of the subject deepened the interest of Dr. Willis in the character of Servetus, not only as a physiologist, but as a philosopher and scholar; as a practical physician, freed from the fetters of mediæval routine; an eminent geographer and astronomer, and a liberal Biblical critic in days when criticism, as we understand the term, was unimagined.

Servetus was a Spaniard, born at Villanueva, in Aragon, in 1509, of an old family in independent circumstances. He entered the University of Saragossa when about fourteen years old, and there perfected himself in the study of the classics, in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, as well as in the ethics of Aristotle, scholastic philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and geography. From Saragossa he appears to have passed to the law-school of Toulouse; but theology had more attractions for him than law. A rational exposition of God's revelation of himself in Nature seems to have been a craving in the ardent and religious temperament of the thoughtful young Spaniard. While at Toulouse he read the Bible, the writings of Luther, the rational theology of Rymund de Sabunde, and the works of Erasmus. The effect of these studies was that at eighteen years of age he had already framed a theological system of his own, far in advance of the ideas of his time. Leaving Toulouse, Servetus entered the service of Juan Quintana, a Franciscan friar, and confessor of the Emperor Charles V., whose coronation he attended in Aix-la-Chapelle, and also the Diet of Augsburg, which closely followed it. Servetus was in sympathy with the Reformers of the Lutheran Reformation, and, in fact, came into contact with them, because he did not think they were sufficiently rational and thorough-going; and what he saw of the pomp and tyranny of princes and bishops was not calculated to quiet the spirit of protest that early took a powerful hold upon his mind. At the age of twenty he writes: "For my own part, I neither agree nor disagree in every particular with either Catholics or Reformers. It would be easy enough, indeed, to judge dispassionately of everything, were we but suffered without molestation by the churches freely to speak our minds, the older exponents of doctrine, in obedience to the recommendation of St. Paul, giving place to younger men, and these in their turn making way for teachers of the day, who had sought to impart that has been revealed to them. But our doctors now contend for nothing but power. The Lord confound all tyrants of the Church! Amen."

With such views, and a constitutional temperament that knew no fear, and led him to the free expression of his opinions, he was, of course, soon dismissed from the service of Quintana. He then threw himself, body and soul, into the study of theology, and in 1530 we find him at Basle, Switzerland, disputing with Ecolampadius and other theologians on the consubstantiality and coeternity of the Son with the Father, and other points in connection with the idea of the Trinity then prevailing among Catholics as well as Reformers. Being unable to make his views acceptable to the Reformer of Basle, he proceeded to Strasburg to propound his doctrines to Martin Bucer and W. E. Capito, but with no better results. Meanwhile, he had not been otherwise idle; he had written a book in which his new opinions concerning Christianity were fully explained, and he

*Servetus and Calvin: A Study of an Important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation. By R. Willis, M.D. 541 pages. London: Henry S. King & Co.

resolved upon having it printed, to make the world judge between him and the other Reformers. He was in Germany, the land of free thought, as he imagined, and among men who had thought freely; why should he not avail himself of the same right? The names of Luther, Calvin, etc., appeared on the title-pages of their works; why should his name be withheld from the world? Accordingly, the *Seven Books on Mistaken Conceptions of the Trinity* appeared, with the author's full family name, and the name of the country that called him son.

As he appears in this book, Servetus may be considered as the founder of the doctrine of real monotheism, as it was possible to conceive it in the sixteenth century. We are sorry to be unable to give more than a passing notice of the chief points discussed in this work. He believed in a kind of Trinity, but modal and formal, not real and personal in the usual sense of the word. "God cannot be conceived as divisible," he says; he acknowledges a Son of God and a Holy Ghost, finding them in the Scriptures, no word of which he would overlook, though putting his own interpretation on all they say. "The word Trinity," he writes, "is not to be found in Scriptures. The Son and the Holy Ghost are no more than so many forms or aspects of Deity. . . . To believe," he continues, "suffices, it is said (to salvation); but what folly to believe aught that cannot be understood, that is impossible in the nature of things, and that may even be looked on as blasphemous! Can it be that mere confusion of mind is to be deemed an adequate object of faith?" Speaking of the Holy Ghost, Servetus forgot what is due to a subject that has engaged the serious thoughts of so many pious and learned men. He saw some portions of the Catholic Christian dogma so unreasonable as to be unable to refrain from ridiculing them. Yet the idea of God to which Servetus had attained is unquestionably pure and grand,—the only one in fact, as we see the subject, that can be reasonably held by a true idealist. He also deals heavy blows at the doctrine of justification by faith, the leading feature of Luther's theology, in terms neither complimentary nor respectful to its author; nor less roughly dealt with is the leading Calvinistic theory of predestination and election.

The book seems to have caused a considerable stir both in Germany and Switzerland, to have found proelytes in Italy, and to have been read by every one of liberal education. Some of the antagonistic Reformers themselves could not forbear being strongly impressed with it. Ecolampadius, writing to Martin Bucer, July 18, 1531, says: "Read the book, and tell me what you think of it; as the writer does not acknowledge the coeternity of the Son, I can in no wise approve of it as a whole, although it contains much that is good." Melancthon writes to a friend, "I read Servetus a great deal." He does not agree with the author, but "I have little doubt," he continues, "that great controversies will one day arise on this subject, as well as on the distinction of the two natures in Christ."

"The Reformers of the sixteenth century," Dr. Willis says, "went little way in freeing the religion of Jesus of Nazareth from the accretions which metaphysical subtilty, superstition, and ignorance of the laws of Nature had gathered around it in the course of ages. Their business, as they apprehended it, was to reform the Church; the task Servetus had set himself, in the end, was to reform religion, with little thought of a church, in any sense, as it was conceived in his day either by Papists or Protestants." How could a book in this direction be welcome to the Reformers? It was too far in advance of their ideas; Servetus' dialectics were too stringent, and his arguments too conclusive against them.

After writing a splendid letter to Ecolampadius, for which we regret to have no room, he quitted Switzerland, whither he had returned after the publication of his book at Haguenau; and here he seems to have again taken up his quarters for some weeks or months, to write and superintend the printing of the *Two Dialogues on the Trinity*. Under color of modifying some of the views announced in his first work, he now cast the concluding anathemas against all tyrants of the Church, as a parting shot, and off he went to France, reaching Paris toward the end of 1532.

If Switzerland and Germany "were too hot for him," Roman Catholic France would have proved still hotter; but during the time he lived in that country he never made himself known save as "Monsieur Michel Villeneuve," from the town of his nativity. He entered as a student of mathematics and physics at one of the colleges of Paris, and lived very quietly. At a later period he took his degree of M.A. in the University of Paris.

But the study of mathematics had soon to be abandoned for present means of subsistence. After a short stay at Avignon and Orleans, Villeneuve betook himself to Lyons, then a great centre of learning. There he seems to have found ready employment as reader and corrector of the press, first, and afterward as editor in the celebrated printing-establishment of Trechsel Brothers. Among the works he edited for them, the *Geography of Ptolemy*, enriched by extensive comments from him, can by no means be overlooked, connected as it is with the charges imputed to its editor, later on, in his trial at Geneva.

The reading-room of the printers of Lyons, and the acquaintance Servetus formed there with the great physician and naturalist, Dr. Champier, brought the former back from the empyrean of metaphysics to the earth, and put him in the way of becoming the geographer, astrologian, Biblical critic, physiologist, and physician with whom we are made familiar in his subsequent life and writings. With the money he had saved in the two years spent with Trechsel, he went back to Paris (1536), and gave

himself to the study of medicine. He became at once associated with scientists as distinguished as Andreas Vesalius, the creator of modern anatomy, and Joannes Gulaterus; and in a singularly short time he obtained the degree of M.D. With the stimulus of necessity upon him, for he was poor, and the excitement of ambition, with which he was largely endowed, as he found it hard to earn a living by his profession, Servetus appeared before the world as lecturer on geography and astrology,—which then embraced the true doctrine of the heavenly bodies, as well as the false one of their influence on the life of man; and in this capacity he achieved an enormous success. Next he came forward in connection with his profession by writing a book on *Medicinal Syrups and their Use*, thus winning fame also as a physician. A fiery struggle was going on during the early part of the sixteenth century between the Averroists and the Galenists. Like his initiator into medical matters, Dr. Champier, Servetus was himself a Galenist; but in this character, too, he showed the independence of his nature, by having open eyes for any truth which the Arabian writers and their followers might present.

Servetus' fate on starting in life was opposition. Through superior endowment and culture, he found himself antagonistic to almost all around him; his convictions were deep, and the haughtiness and violence of his disposition made it impossible to suppress them. The physician, therefore, met the fate of the theologian. It seems that he had gone out of the way, in his lectures, to accuse his fellows of ignorance, at least of astronomy. The doctors of the faculty retaliated by denouncing him from their chairs as an impostor and a wind-bag. Servetus then wrote a pamphlet, in which he laid bare the sore places in the characters of his adversaries, even holding them up, in their ignorance, as the pests of society. His intentions being made known, the Senate of the University and the Parliament of Paris were petitioned to forbid the publication of the pamphlet; but Servetus outwitted them; before the day of citation came, the dreaded pamphlet was distributed to the public. The faculty of medicine had him summoned before the inquisitor of the king as an enemy of the Church, on the score of heresy, implied in the practice of judicial astrology. So thoroughly, however, did he satisfy the inquisitor that he was a good Christian, that he left the court with flying colors, absolved even of all suspicion of heresy. The doctors, however, in the end, won the day. The award of the Parliament ordered Michael Villanovanus to call in his pamphlet and deposit the copies in the court; to pay all honor to the faculty and its members; and he was expressly forbidden to appear in public or in any other way as a professor of astrology.

Villeneuve now moved to Charleu, near Lyons, where he resumed the practice of medicine. While at Charleu (1539), having attained his thirtieth year, according to the religious tenets he professed, he had himself baptized.

Pierre Faumier, one of his Paris admirers and friends, and now Archbishop of Vienne, hearing of his whereabouts, invited him to quit the narrow field of his practice for a wider one. Villeneuve accepted, and for the next twelve years he lived in Vienne, under the immediate patronage of the eminent prelate.

Besides practising medicine, he resumed his connection with the publishers of Lyons, and among other works edited the Latin Bible for Trechsel, with comments of his own. From his long studies in the Scriptures he had come to the conclusion that, while the usual prophetic bearing ascribed to the Old Testament was ever to be kept in view, the text had a primary, literal, and immediate reference to the age in which it was composed and to personages, events, and circumstances among which the writers lived; and according to this plan he carried out the work. Yet Spinoza, Astruc, and others, who lived a century later, are called the founders of the modern school of Biblical exegesis, and Servetus is not even named as a Biblical critic and expositor!

We have now arrived at a momentous event in the life of Servetus,—his theological correspondence with John Calvin. It seems to have been entered upon at the suggestion of John Frelon, one of the Lyons publishers.

Servetus has been accused of having provoked the Genevese Reformer by addressing him in a style calculated to wound, if not to insult him; and the character of the man gives likelihood to the charge. But, had Calvin's letters been preserved, we doubt whether the accusation would hold good; we know for a certainty that the great Reformer applied very freely the lowest epithets to his opponents,—"rascal, dog, ass, and swine being found of constant occurrence among them; had they been any stronger than scoundrel and blasphemer, they would have been hurled at Servetus." Calvin's own letter to Frelon, their go-between, throws a great light on the subject. Among other things, he writes: "I have been led to write to him more sharply than is my wont, being minded to take him down a little in his presumption; and, I assure you, there is no lesson he needs so much to learn as humility." At any rate, Villeneuve approached the Reformer, at first, as one seeking aid and information from another presumed most capable of giving both. Calvin replied in a concise, dogmatic way which, indeed, could not satisfy a mind as thoroughly made up as that of Servetus. Moreover, the Reformer soon grew weary of the correspondence, so that Frelon had to interpose in behalf of the Spaniard in order to make the former answer his letters. Nor is this all: thinking he might escape further molestation, Calvin referred Servetus to his book, *Institutions of the Christian Religion*, as though he had been a school-boy who had entered upon a discussion with the Reformer, with no knowledge of his doctrines. Villeneuve now

became his critic. The copy of the *Institutions* was sent back, copiously annotated in the margin. There was hardly a proposition in the text that was not taken to pieces by him and found untenable on the ground of Scriptures and patristic authority, and this he did with the freedom of expression in which Villeneuve indulged. Calvin, in writing to a friend, indignantly says, "There is hardly a page that is not defiled by his vomit." "The liberties taken with the *Institutions*," Dr. Willis says, "were looked on as a crowning personal insult by Calvin; and reading, as we do, the nature of the man, it is not difficult to conclude that it was this offence, superadded to the letters, which put such rancor into his soul as made him think of the life of his critic as no more than a fair forfeit for the offence done." As a matter of course, the correspondence was soon dropped by Calvin, but not so by Servetus, who seemingly could not bear his opponent's neglect; over thirty letters of his, embracing a period of more than two years, are still extant.

Servetus meanwhile had prepared another book, *Christianismi Restitutio* (The Restoration of Christianity), with which he intended to bring religion back to more winning simplicity and purity. Having made a MS. copy of it, he sent it to Calvin, requesting an opinion on its merits. It was on its reception that, writing to his friend Farel, Calvin made use of the following language: "Servetus wrote to me lately, and besides his letter sent me a great volume full of his ravings, telling me with audacious arrogance that I should there find things stupendous and unheard of until now. He offers to come hither if I approve; but I will not pledge my faith to him: for, did he come, if I have any authority here, I should never suffer him to go away alive." We see already by what feeling Calvin was animated: he hates the man who did not acknowledge his superiority, as he was accustomed to see others do, and who dared to criticise his opinions. Not only did he not even condescend to offer any strictures upon Servetus' work, but he never sent back the MS., although repeatedly asked for it.

Servetus, who had kept another copy for himself, determined to have the book printed anonymously. Arrangements were made with Balthasar Arnoullet, printer at Vienne, and, as secrecy was of capital importance, a small house away from the known printing establishment was taken; type, cases, and a press were there set up, and in a period of between three and four months an edition of one thousand copies was successfully worked off. The whole impression was then made up into bales of one hundred copies each, and confided to friends at Lyons, Frankfurt, etc., for safe keeping, until the moment of putting them in the market abroad had come.

The book on The Restoration of Christianity comprises a series of disquisitions on the speculative and practical principles of Christianity as apprehended by the author; thirty of the letters he had written to Calvin, and other writings of minor importance. It is in this book that Servetus shows himself the most far-sighted physiologist of his age, by anticipating the discovery of the circulation of the blood.

Through Frelon a copy of the book, "hot from the press," was especially addressed to "Monsieur Johann Calvin, minister of Geneva." We leave for the reader to imagine what additional anger must now have entered the Reformer's heart, when, besides the offensive and, as he regarded it, heretical matter of the book, he found the letters written to him made public, himself publicly schooled, his most cherished doctrines proclaimed derogatory to God, and some of them as barring the gates of heaven! What the reader, perhaps, could not imagine is, that the "high-minded" man who had emphatically denounced the "right of the sword" in dealing with heresy was now ready to become instrumental in having it applied to Servetus. He became the denunciator of Servetus to the Catholic authorities of Vienne; he betrayed friendship and trust by furnishing them with the documents (letters and leaves from the printed book, as well as the MS. copy which he had kept) that would bring about his conviction, and consequently his death. And this was not done openly. Calvin sent the wanted information through a convert to the Reformation, a young man by the name of William Trie. Did not the style of Trie's letters and the documents show plainly the part played by the Reformer in the treason, he might be easily absolved from the charge,—so cautiously had he worked to keep his treachery a mystery. Servetus was arrested and tried; he only avoided being burned alive by making good his escape from prison (April 17, 1553), in which he seems to have been aided by some devoted friend. All the books, however, that could be found were seized and burned, together with his effigy.

Escaped from the prison of Vienne, after rambling some weeks through Southern France, he fled to Geneva. His choice of this place can hardly be accounted for. Perhaps, though he knew that Calvin had been his denunciator, it never entered his mind that the Reformer would now take the knife in hand himself. In the early morning of some day after the middle of July, he entered Geneva and put up at a small hotel on the banks of the lake, where he seems to have lived very privately for nearly a month. On Sunday, August 13, he ventured imprudently to show himself at the evening service of a neighboring church. Being recognized, Calvin was informed of his presence, and without a moment's delay he again denounced him, and demanded his arrest. Servetus was at once thrown into the common jail of the town.

According to the laws of Geneva, grounds for an arrest on a criminal charge were to be delivered with-

*The *Christianismi Restitutio* of Servetus is one of the rarest books in the world. Of the thousand copies printed, two only are now known to survive: one among the treasures of the National Library of Paris, the other among those of the Imperial Library of Vienna.

in twenty-four hours thereafter. Calvin worked all night, and thirty-eight articles drawn from the *Christianismi Restitutio* were in due time presented in support of the charge. Another law prescribed that criminal charges should be made by some one who avowed himself aggrieved, and was contented to go to prison with the party he accused, the law of retaliation disposing of him in case his charges were not made good; and Calvin complied with this law, too, by means of a substitute. His cook, Nicolas La Fontaine, was the man who now came forth as "personally aggrieved by," and prosecutor of, Michael Servetus!

The main charges against the Spaniard were: his having troubled the churches of Germany, about twenty-four years previously, with his heresies and with an execrable heretical book, by which he had infected many; having continued to spread poison abroad with his *Comments to the Bible*, the *Geography of Ptolemy*, and lately with his *Restoration of Christianity*; having blasphemed against the Trinity, the Sonship of Christ, his consubstantiality with the Father, and proclaimed infant baptism a diabolical invention; having escaped from the prison of Vienna; and, finally, "of having in his printed books made use of scurrilous and blasphemous terms of reproach in speaking of Monsieur John Calvin and his doctrines."

Servetus' reply in his preliminary interrogatory was: that he was not conscious of having caused any trouble to the churches of Germany, and defied any one to prove it; that he was unaware that the book he owned to have had printed at Hagenau had produced any evil; that it was true he had commented on the above-mentioned books, but he had said nothing in them that was not the truth; and in the book lately printed he did not believe that he blasphemed, but if it were shown that he had said anything amiss, he was ready to amend it; that in the book he wrote on the Trinity he had followed the teaching of the doctors who lived immediately after Christ and the apostles; that previous to the Council of Nicaea no doctor of the Church had used the word Trinity; that his strong language against the Trinity, as apprehended by the modern doctors, was suggested by the belief that the unity of God was by them denied or annulled; that as regards infant baptism it was his belief that none should be baptized who had not attained the years of discretion; but he added, as ever, that if he were shown to be mistaken he was ready to submit to correction; that Calvin had no right to complain of the respondent's abusive language, as he had been himself publicly abused by Calvin; he had but retaliated, and shown him from his writings that he was mistaken in many things.

On August 16, the council was formally installed as a court of criminal judicature, and the trial commenced; the answers of the prisoner to the articles being generally in the terms of his previous examination. The court closed the meeting with making good a petition of Nicolas La Fontaine to be discharged from prison, Servetus himself having given sufficient *prima facie* evidence of his guilt. Bail was, however, required; and this was immediately forthcoming in the person of Monsieur Antoine Calvin, brother of the Reformer. The *chef de cuisine* was discharged, while Servetus was remanded to jail. About this time, in a letter to his bosom friend Farel, after relating the events of Servetus' arrest and of the proceedings against him, Calvin wrote, "I hope the sentence will be capital at least."

It would be most interesting to follow this unprecedented sham-trial in all its details, as Dr. Willis has done; but want of space limits us to mere outlines of it. The party of freethought, or Libertines, showing sympathy for the prisoner, the trial assumed the character of a struggle between the two factions in Geneva. It was necessary for Calvin to nip in the bud the new growth of rebellion against his authority; and, throwing aside disguise, he now came forward as prosecutor of Servetus. The Spaniard's opinions differed so obviously from all they had ever been led to believe that it was easy for Calvin to satisfy the majority of the judges of Servetus' culpability on theological grounds. It seems, however, that a feeling in favor of the prisoner prevailed in the court; the Swiss churches, which on a similar occasion had decided against Calvin, were appealed to for advice, and the proceedings were postponed. It is pitiful to see how Calvin had set his heart on the condemnation of Servetus. He interfered with the course of justice by threatening the weakest among the judges, by stirring the feelings of his party in the council; he denounced and vilified his opponent from the pulpit in no measured terms, exposing his opinions in their most glaring and repulsive aspects; he tampered with the ministers of the Swiss churches; he formulated new and more elaborate articles of accusation, and to these, besides his own, had the signatures of thirteen of his fellow-ministers appended,—in one word, he left no stone unturned to wreak his revenge. He wanted Servetus' death! The arguments and authorities piled against him by Calvin were so many, and the proceedings became so intricate, that Servetus was forced to request that he might be furnished with books, and have pen, ink, and paper supplied, in which to epitomize his defence. The jailer was directed to give him the books he wanted, and a single sheet of paper!

On this "famous" sheet, Servetus, after demonstrating that civil tribunals are incompetent to decide on questions bearing on religion only, and that heretics were either to be brought to reason by argument, or punished by banishment, and not by prison, concludes:—

"Secondly, my lords, I entreat you to consider that I have committed no offence within your territory; neither, indeed, have I been guilty of any elsewhere.

I have never been seditious, and am no disturber of the peace. During all the time I passed in Germany, I never spoke on such subjects" (his theological views), "save with Ecclampsadinus, Bucer, and Capito; neither in France did I ever enter on them with any one. I have always disavowed the opinions of the Anabaptists, seditious against the magistrate, and preaching community of goods. Wherefore, as I have been guilty of no sort of sedition, but have only brought up for discussion certain ancient doctrines of the Church, I think I ought not to be detained a prisoner, and made the subject of a criminal prosecution.

"In conclusion, my lords, inasmuch as I am a stranger, ignorant of the customs of this country, not knowing either how to speak or to comport myself in the circumstances under which I am placed, I humbly beseech you to assign me an advocate to speak for me in my defence."

If a shadow of justice had ruled the trial, this petition would have met with success; but the court took no notice of it. "Skilled in lying as he is," said the attorney-general, Calvin's tool, "there is no reason why he should now demand an advocate."

After the sitting of September 1, in compliance with a wish previously expressed by the court, Calvin, surrounded by a staff of ministers, proceeded to the jail to visit the prisoner. Calvin having then opened upon him with a bigoted lecture, the consequences are easily imagined: the interview ended as it could only end,—with increased irritation on both sides. From this time (and we cannot but excuse the man), Servetus became more intemperate and aggressive on Calvin; not only indisposed to yield one jot or tittle, but negligent also of opportunities to defend his conclusions. Perhaps he knew it was useless to argue, for, as a Spanish proverb says, "No man is so deaf as he who will not hear." Perhaps Perrin and Berthelier, the leaders of the Libertines, too, had fed his brain with false hopes and promises.

The trial was now interrupted through differences between Calvin and the city fathers about municipal affairs. On September 15, Servetus wrote to the council a letter, from which we quote the first paragraph:—

"MY MOST HONORED LORDS: I humbly entreat of you to put an end to these great delays, or to exonerate me of the criminal charge. You must see that Calvin is at his wit's end, and knows not what more to say, but for his pleasure would have me rot here in prison. The lice eat me up alive; my breeches are in rags, and I have no change,—no doublet, and but a single shirt in tatters. I have also demanded to have a counsel assigned me. This would have been granted me in my native country; and here I am a stranger, and ignorant of the laws and customs of the land. Yet you have given counsel to my accuser," refusing it to me."

On the 22d of September, perhaps instigated by Berthelier, Servetus took a bold step: he accused Calvin as his calumniator, and asked him to be declared subject to the law of retaliation; but the council took no more notice of this than they had of the previous petition. The appeal to the churches of Switzerland caused another pause in the proceedings, and Michael Servetus, October 10, forwarded the following letter to the council:—

"MOST NOBLE LORDS: It is now about three weeks since I petitioned for an audience, and still I have no reply. I entreat you for the love of Jesus Christ not to refuse me that you would grant to a Turk, when I ask for justice at your hands. As to what you may have commanded to be done for me in the way of cleanliness, I have to inform you that nothing has been done, and that I am in a more filthy plight than ever. In addition, I suffer terribly from the cold, and from colic, and my rupture, which causes me miseries of other kinds I should feel shame in writing about more particularly. It is very cruel that I am neither allowed to speak nor to have my most pressing wants supplied; for the love of God, sirs, in pity or in duty, give orders in my behalf!"

This appeal of the prisoner, as far as his needs were concerned, met with an immediate response; but the audience was never granted. The answers of the Swiss churches arrived at last, and as Calvin had been their inspirer, and they had been taken in concert, they unanimously condemned Servetus' theological views. On the 26th of October the council solemnly assembled and condemned Servetus to be burned alive with his books, the sentence to be carried into effect on the morrow! In a letter to Farel, alluding to the vain attempts made by Perrin, the first syndic, by delay and entreaty, to save the prisoner's life, Calvin speaks of the merciful man by the nickname under which he was wont to characterize his great Libertine opponent, and says:—

"Our comical Cæsar (Perrin), having feigned illness for three days, mounted the tribune at length, with a view to aid the 'wicked scoundrel' to escape punishment. Nor did he blush to demand that the cause might be remitted to the Council of the Two Hundred. But in vain; all was refused, the prisoner was condemned, and to-morrow he will suffer death."

The sentence was imparted to Servetus in the early morning of the following day,—his last. Encouraged by the Libertines, and knowing himself guilty of no intentional blasphemy, he had never thought it possible that he would be condemned to death. He was at first as if struck dumb by the intelligence. He did but groan and sigh, as though his heart would burst, and cry, in his native language, "Misericordia!" Having by degrees recovered self-possession, he requested to see Calvin. Accompanied by two councillors, Calvin entered the prison and asked what he wanted of him. Servetus had the heroic virtue to ask pardon of him,—the man who had brought him to his death! Hard to say: the intolerant despot of

*Germain Colladon was introduced as counsel for Nicolas La Fontaine, and continued all through the trial as Calvin's champion.

Geneva, devoid of all humanity, had not a word of mercy for his victim, when a word of his would have saved him!

An hour before noon of October 27, 1553, Servetus was taken from his jail to receive his sentence from my lords the councillors and justices of Geneva. The tribunal, in conformity with custom, assembled before the porch of the Hôtel-de-Ville, and received the prisoner, all standing. The proper officer then proceeded to recapitulate the heads of the process against him, "Michael Servetus, of Villanova, in the kingdom of Aragon, in Spain," in which he is charged:—

"First, with having, between twenty-three and twenty-four years ago, caused to be printed at Hagenau, in Germany, a book against the Holy Trinity, full of blasphemies, to the great scandal of the churches of Germany, the book having been condemned by all their doctors, and he, the writer, forced to fly that country. Item. With having, in spite of this, not only persisted in his errors and infected many with them, but with having lately had another book clandestinely printed at Vienne, in Dauphiny, filled with the like heresies and execrable blasphemies against the Holy Trinity, the Son of God, the baptism of infants, and other sacred doctrines, the foundation of the Christian religion. Item. With having in the said book called all who believe in a Trinity tritheists, and even atheists, and the Trinity itself a demon or monster having three heads. Item. With having blasphemed horribly, and said that Jesus Christ was not the Son of God from all eternity, but only became so from his incarnation; that he is not the son of David according to the flesh, but was created of the substance of God, having received three of his constituent elements from God, and one only from the Virgin Mary, whereby he wickedly proposed to abolish the true and entire humanity of Jesus Christ. Item. With declaring the baptism of infants to be sorcery and a diabolical invention. Item. With having uttered other blasphemies, with which the book in question is full, all alike against the majesty of God, the Son of God, and the Holy Ghost, to the ruin of many poor souls, betrayed and desolated by such detestable doctrines. Item. With having, full of malice, entitled the said book, though crammed with heresies against the holy evangelical doctrine, *Christianismi Restitutio*—'The Restoration of Christianity,'—the better to deceive and seduce poor, ignorant folks, poisoning them all the while they fancied they were sitting in the shadow of sound doctrine. Item. With attacking our faith by letters as well as by his book, and saying to one of the ministers of this city that our holy evangelical doctrine is a religion without faith, and, indeed, without God, we having a Cerberus with three heads for our God. Item. For having perfidiously broken and escaped from the prison of Vienne, where he had been confined because of the wicked and abominable opinions confessed in his book. Item. For continuing obstinate in his opinions, not only against the true Christian religion, but as an arrogant innovator and inventor of heresies against popery, which led to his being burned in effigy at Vienne, along with five bales of his books. Item. And in addition to all of which, being confined in the jail of this city, he has not ceased maliciously to persist in the aforesaid wicked and detestable errors, attempting to maintain them, with calumnious abuse of all true Christians, faithful followers of the immaculate Christian religion, calling them tritheists, atheists, and sorcerers, in spite of the remonstrances made to him in Germany, as said, and in contempt of the reprehensions and corrections he has received, and the imprisonment he has undergone as well here as elsewhere.

"Now we, the syndics and judges in criminal cases within this city, having reviewed the process carried on before us, at the instance of our lieutenant having charge of such cases, against thee, Michael Servetus, of Villanova, in the kingdom of Aragon, in Spain, whereby guided, and by the voluntary confessions made before us, many times repeated, as well as by thy books produced before us, we decree and determine that thou, Michael Servetus, hast, for a long time, promulgated false and heretical doctrine, and, rejecting all remonstrance and correction, hast maliciously, perversely, and obstinately, continued disseminating and divulging, even by the printing of books, blasphemies against God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; in a word, against the whole foundations of the Christian religion, thereby seeking to create schism and trouble in the Church of God, many souls, members of which, may have been ruined and lost,—horrible and dreadful thing, scandalous and contaminating in thee, thou, having no shame nor horror in setting thyself up in all against the Divine Majesty and the Holy Trinity, and having further taken pains to infect, and given thyself up obstinately to continue infecting, the world with thy heresies and stinking heretical poison,—case and crime of heresy grievous and detestable, deserving of severe corporal punishment.

"These and other just causes moving us, desiring to purge the Church of God of such infection, and to cut off from it so rotten a member, we, sitting as a judicial tribunal in the seat of our ancestors, with the entire assent of the General Council of the State and our fellow-citizens, calling on the name of God to deliver true judgment, having the Holy Scriptures before us, and saying, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we now pronounce our final sentence, and condemn thee, Michael Servetus, to be bound and taken to Champel, and there bound to a stake, to be burned alive, along with thy books, printed as well as written by thy hand, until thy body be reduced to ashes. So shall thy days end, and thou be made an example to others who would do as thou hast done. And we command you, our lieutenant, to see this our sentence carried forthwith into execution."

The staff, according to custom, was then broken

over the prisoner, and there was silence for a moment. The terrible sentence pronounced, the silence that followed was first broken by Servetus; not to sue for mercy, for he knew there was no appeal, but to entreat that the manner of carrying it out might be commuted for one less dreadful. "He feared," he said, "that, through excess of pain, he might prove faithless to himself, and belie the convictions of his life. If he had erred, it was in ignorance; he was so constituted, mentally and morally, as to desire the glory of God, and had always striven to abide by the teachings of the Scriptures." His appeal to the humanity of the judges, however, met with no response. He prayed God to forgive his enemies and persecutors, and then exclaimed: "O God, save my soul! O Jesus, Son of the Eternal God, have compassion upon me!" From the Hôtel-de-Ville he was taken to Champel. While on the way thither, Farel, the minister who accompanied him, tried to wring from him an avowal of his error, and the prayer, "Jesus, thou Eternal Son of God!" The unhappy Servetus, with a martyr's faith, only replied in broken invocation, "Jesus, thou Son of the Eternal God, have compassion upon me!"

"When he came in sight of the fatal pile, the wretched Servetus prostrated himself on the ground, and for a while was absorbed in prayer. Rising and advancing a few steps, he found himself in the hands of the executioner, by whom he was made to sit on a block, his feet just reaching the ground. His body was then bound to the stake behind him by several turns of an iron chain, while his neck was secured in like manner by the coils of a hempen rope. His two books—the one in manuscript sent to Calvin in confidence six or eight years before for his strictures, and a copy of the one lately printed at Vienne—were fastened to his waist, and his head was encircled in mockery with a chaplet of straw and green twigs bescrewed with brimstone. The deadly torch was then applied to the fagots and flashed in his face; and the brimstone catching, and the flames rising, wrung from the victim such a cry of anguish as struck terror into the surrounding crowd. After this he was bravely silent; but the wood being purposely green, a long half-hour elapsed before he ceased to show signs of life and suffering. Immediately before giving up the ghost, with a last expiring effort, he cried aloud, 'Jesus, thou Son of the Eternal God, have compassion upon me!' All was then hushed save the crackling of the green wood; and by-and-by there remained no more of what had been Michael Servetus but a charred and blackened trunk, and a handful of ashes."

Thus perished a noble man of whom his age was not worthy,—the victim of murderous religious bigotry. But the crime that had been committed shocked the humanity of Geneva, even in that dark period, and, before the year was out, Calvin was driven to self-defence, and displayed the remorseless traits of his character by libelling the man whom he had slain. It is said that, in this persecution unto death, he only manifested the spirit of his age, and must be judged by that standard. While this may be true, it is also happily true that in the lapse of centuries better standards have arisen, by which the character of Calvin will be given over to execration, while that of Servetus will be increasingly honored as that of an heroic Christian martyr.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY AND THE "PATHIES."

Attempts to set the public right as to the position of the Massachusetts Medical Society in their relations to the so-called irregular physicians are sufficiently discouraging, and by many indeed are considered as useless and beneath the dignity of an honorable profession; but if it be true that silence gives consent to erroneous charges, it is certainly proper occasionally to assert the truth as to our position. A large proportion of the community have neither the time nor the inclination, and many, indeed, it is quite proper to say, have not the ability, to examine for themselves; so that bold assertions, howsoever wide of the truth, if persistently reiterated and allowed to pass unchallenged, are finally accepted as correct.

To notice the constantly recurring misstatements of anonymous paragraphists in irresponsible journals would truly be a hopeless and unsavory task; but when a journal which is by general consent so influential and intelligent as the *Springfield Republican*, ordinarily so active and keen-sighted to all issues affecting the interests of the public, can so misapprehend the facts as to enunciate the following, under the title of "The Pathy of the Future," we may surely be pardoned if we embrace the opportunity for a word or two of comment:—

"We confidently look forward to a school of medicine in which all theories shall have their fair place, and the foundation of the doctor's education—the knowledge of the human frame and the cumulative teaching of experiment for ages—shall be the acknowledged reliance of the profession for their work, without any reference to Galen, Hahnemann, or any other theorist."

(1.) We confidently claim for the Massachusetts Medical Society that it does, not only for the future, but in the present (as it has in the past), require of its members that every theory shall have its fair place; namely, that everything new shall be carefully investigated and have a fair trial. Not only is there no disposition, but there is no power in the society to prevent this. To convince the unbelievers by enumerating the changes and additions to regular practice, even during the past half-century only, would require a volume, and we may add that two such volumes would be needed for the recapitulation of the host of novelties and crudities which after impartial trial have been rejected as worthless. *Hinc illic lachrymæ*.

(2.) We confidently claim for the society that it rigidly requires of its members that a "knowledge of the human frame and the cumulative teaching of experiment for ages shall be their acknowledged reliance"; in other words, that the required standard of education, necessarily embracing all of that, shall keep pace with the rapidly progressing scientific development of the age. And,

Lastly, that, while freely welcoming all thus qualified, every "pathy," past or future, shall be strictly excluded; that homœopath, allopath, "or any other theorist" shall not associate with us as such. Is not that plain enough for the comprehension of the most careless?

A good moral character, a high standard of education, ethical rules forbidding mystery and deceit, and only demanding that our associates shall be gentlemen in the highest sense of the word, each to the other and both to the public, ought surely to be reckoned a good enough platform. Such we unhesitatingly claim to be our platform. So often has this been asserted that ignorance of it would almost imply that our very liberality was in itself a source of offence. It is not pleasant to recognize the need of such constant repetition for the information of intelligent people; but the cry of persecution, exclusiveness, and illiberality is so perseveringly indulged in by those who either are unqualified to meet our requirements, or who find it for their interest to mislead, that, as before stated, we think it worth while from time to time to show our standard, for the guidance of those well-meaning but mistaken individuals who are so readily and carelessly misled by the disingenuous utterances to which we have alluded.

Examination must insure conviction to every reasonable mind that our claim to be the champions of the fullest latitude, both in theory and practice, not inconsistent with the demands of an educated and scientific profession, is incontrovertible.—*Medical and Surgical Journal*, June 27.

A STORY OF TWO PRIESTS.

The French papers are making some noise over a horrible event which has just occurred in a village of the Orleans diocese, and which throws a light on the extraordinary ignorance and fanaticism which still debase sections of the clergy, even in a country whose priests are, as a rule, more intelligent than those of other Catholic lands. In the village of Champoly, Loire, a peasant woman, some three weeks ago, was in travail. Her condition being very precarious, the parish priest, M. Cuisson, was sent for, and arrived with his curate, M. Tirard, to administer the last sacraments. While they were officiating the woman died, as the priests say; or, according to others, she merely fell into a syncope: anyhow, she lost consciousness before being delivered; and hereupon it occurred to M. Cuisson that a Cæsarean operation must be performed, in order that the unborn child might be baptized before it died, &c. There was no doctor at hand, so the village shoemaker was summoned, and requested to undertake the operation. He declined, rather because he disliked the business than because he saw the impropriety of mutilating a woman before her death had been certified by the proper authorities. Nothing daunted, the *curé* went out to fetch another villager, whose services were always given when pigs were to be killed; and this person undertook to do what was wanted. He proceeded to some surgery which can be better imagined than described, and the child, being brought to light, was hurriedly baptized, and died in a few minutes. The husband seems to have sanctioned these extraordinary proceedings. He thought that the priests knew what they were about. So did the pig-man. In the whole village there was not a person to suggest that a gross breach of the law was being committed; and when the affair reached the ears of the local justices they were disposed to hush it up. M. About's journal, the *XXIXme Siècle*, had, however, got wind of the occurrence; and when it had been published in Paris a show of investigation became necessary. But in the Orleans diocese Monsignor Dupanloup is almost omnipotent in his twofold capacity of bishop and senator, and procureurs are loth to vex him. He seems to have interfered very actively to point out that M. Cuisson and Tirard ought not to be prosecuted for an act of pious zeal; and so a judicial report has been issued exonerating the priests, on the ground that two doctors have certified that the woman must have been dead an hour when the operation was performed. As the *République Française* points out, the fact of the woman having been dead, even if the evidence on this point were conclusive (which is far from being the case), does not acquit the priests at all. They were not qualified to pronounce that life was extinct, and still less to order an operation which, if the woman had been in a catalepsy resembling death, must of course have killed her. The circumstance of the child having been alive when christened, certainly seems inconsistent with the theory that its mother had been dead an hour.

The conclusion to be drawn from this unpleasant story is one not favorable to the education which Romish priests receive in seminaries. M. Cuisson and Tirard may be very worthy men, but they appear to know no more of the world than children. They have never studied the laws; science is a sealed book to them; they are animated by a fanaticism which robs them of common-sense, and impels them to arrogate to themselves attributions which it would occur to no other man, except a priest, to usurp. They think nothing of deciding off-hand that a human being is dead; and the necessity of a most delicate operation having commended itself to their minds, they decided that the nearest cobbler is the man to perform it. Failing the cobbler, they try a butcher. So great is their assurance, so evident their good faith, that they electrify all around them, and

smite a whole village with foolishness. The husband looks on; the women of the place join in hunting up the butcher, and in overruling his scruples. There is a baby to be christened, lest it should not go to heaven! This is enough; and one may be sure that to this day M. Cuisson and Tirard, the women, and the butcher are persuaded that they have done a meritorious act. They have no feeling for civil laws which fetter a priest in the administration of a sacrament. If prosecuted, they will be martyrs. Will it even occur to Monsignor Dupanloup to rebuke the zeal of his two subordinates? Possibly not; for Ultramontanes are not wholly sorry when they witness a downright case of fanaticism, showing that among the clergy the race of zealots utterly untingered with the squeamishness of modern heresies is not yet extinct. It is nearly so; and that is what makes an exception the more welcome to those shrewd men who know that a Church never holds its own by lukewarmness. The *Univers* has not found a word to say against the two pious men of Champoly. M. Louis Veillot will probably furnish his pen for a retort upon the *République Française*, and he may be expected to characterize the remarks of that journal as impious. M. Gambetta's organ persistently wages the battle, which is that of all the young Republican party, against the system by which the clergy educates its recruits in seminaries, and also against the claims of the clergy to direct the educational system of the whole country. If Monsignor Dupanloup and his friends had their way, M. Cuisson and Tirard would hold the management of the communal school in Champoly. It would be their task to mould the young republican mind; and what lessons they would teach it in the way of respect for civil authority may be conceived. It is rather significant that Monsignor Dupanloup's seminary has the reputation of imparting a higher standard of instruction than those of any other diocese; and the two priests of Champoly, who are both comparatively young, were educated there. They must have learned Latin, ecclesiastical legendry, and so much of political history as the Jesuits choose to inculcate: nothing else. They saw no newspapers, books of science, nor other works that might have told them how the world has gone on rolling since the days of Ignatius of Loyola. So they came forth into the world with souls ecstatic and simple, and minds contracted within the narrowest compass. Their recent adventure is not calculated to make Republicans rescind the opinion that they are not the sort of tutors by whom a nation should be taught.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, May 7, 1878.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

ST. PETER—MAHOMET.

St. Peter.

Those who wield our ancient sceptres,
Triple crown and turban wearing,
Bishop's crozier, sword of conquest,
Once o'er all the nations bearing,—
See'st thou not they wane and dwindle
By the Golden Horn and River,
Whose famed waters deemed we fondly
'Neath their sway would roll forever?

Mahomet.

Yes, behold I rain's shadow
On our Vicars both descending,—
Superstition to their sceptres
Potency no more is lending.
Flourished they in reason's twilight;
Cross and Crescent awe no longer.
Than Faith's wild, Semitic phrensy
Truth and knowledge now are stronger.

St. Peter.

Still the rearward of the nations
Bend with wont'd awe before us;
Still the Tartar, Celt, and Arab
Blindly as of yore adore us;
But what boots their adoration,
When the high, imperial races
From our altars, creeds, and temple
Haughtly avert their faces?

Mahomet.

Reminiscence must console us;
Once our sway o'er souls was ample;
Sceptic Thought with all its cavils
We at will could crush and trample.
Then, recall the might we've wielded
In the centuries behind us,
When at length our rudest votaries
Shall no longer deign to mind us.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, &c.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 6.

R. D. Sawyer, 10 cents; W. H. Eastman, \$3; E. D. Larned, \$1.00; Philip Klinger, \$1.00; Alex. Foster, \$3.20; M. B. Adams, \$2; Edith E. Williams, \$3; D. H. Spofford, \$3.20; W. H. Allen, \$1; A. W. Harbaugh, \$20; R. F. Briggs, \$5.20; Dr. W. D. Coker, \$2.50; J. H. W. Toohy, \$1.70; G. E. Snelling, \$1.25; Geo. W. Mead, \$6; J. W. Pike, 25 cents; J. R. Morley, \$3.20; H. Pratt, \$3.20.

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 11, 1878.

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

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

M.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

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WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

THE NEW YORK *Herald* of May 25, reporting the "Funeral of a Positivist," classes us as one of those to whom that name applies, and adds: "Their numbers here are few, but in Boston they make quite a respectable figure." This is comical enough. Positivists, in the New York sense of the word, may be as thick in Boston as flies in a kitchen, but we do not happen to know of a single one.

BY A MISTAKE this paragraph, which ought to have been inserted in our last issue, was omitted in making up the forms for the press: "The thoughtful article on 'The Soul and the Hereafter' which we republish this week from the *Banner of Light* is a model of courteous and fair criticism. We are not convinced of the truth of Spiritualism, but we congratulate the Spiritualists that they have writers who can be just and kind without being untrue to their own convictions. To the unknown author of this article we return our thanks for the beautiful spirit in which our views have been considered."

A SUBSCRIBER in New Zealand has been so kind as to send us from time to time copies of local journals containing intelligence of interest respecting the progress of free thought in that distant part of the world. An old-fashioned revival has been recently carried on there by itinerant evangelists, after the fashion made familiar in this country by Moody and Sankey, Hammond, Whittle, and others. Mr. Charles Bright, however, a very independent and keen thinker, has given incisive lectures on the other side which are reported in the Dunedin papers. These show that the revivalists are not received without criticism of a healthy sort, and that Australasia has audiences in full sympathy with modern rationalism and science. The dense, dark foliage of superstition cannot keep out all the sunbeams of a better religion, even in the isles of the Pacific Ocean which are supposed to be the special garden of the missionaries.

QUOTING some time ago a floating paragraph that—"It is rumored among the Chinese that, in consequence of numerous national calamities of late, such as famine, floods, and pestilence, the youthful Emperor has been solicited to change his dynastic title, and thereby appease the wrath of the gods,"—the *Christian Statesman* unconsciously satirized itself by ridiculing the notion that "the legal or technical extinction of the dynasty by change of title will appease the wrath of an offended Deity and set the nation free from impending retribution," and by declaring: "Most Americans escape all concern of mind over the nation's responsibility for national sins by simply denying that any such responsibility exists. The Chinese device to bring relief to the public conscience is at least as wise as ours." The *Statesman's* plan of appeasing the imagined wrath of God, by getting his name into the Constitution, is veritably a "Chinese device" of the first water. It was cruelty to itself on the *Statesman's* part to make fun in this public way of its own superstition.

REV. MR. GORDON ON UNITARIANISM.

Rev. G. E. Gordon, the Unitarian minister of Milwaukee, is an able and liberal preacher, and has done excellent service in behalf of State Secularization. It surprises us, however, to see that he publicly claims Charles C. Burleigh as a "Unitarian."

We believe that Mr. Burleigh did not accept that name, and we are very sure that Unitarians in general indignantly disowned him thirteen years ago because of his radicalism. In April, 1865, a delegate convention was called at New York to "organize the Liberal Church of America." To that broad invitation the Free Congregational Society of Florence responded by sending delegates, of whom Mr. Burleigh was one. In the brief debate on the preamble, soon cut off by the "previous question," Mr. Burleigh shocked beyond forgiveness the highly conservative and respectable majority by declaring that the New Testament phrase, "The Lord Jesus Christ," meant no more than would be to-day expressed by the phrase, "Mr. Jesus Christ." His right to be a delegate at all was immediately and hotly denied by excited Christians; and though he was not turned out of the convention, he was subsequently disowned and treated as an interloper and an outsider by nearly every clerical member of it. At the next year's convention at Syracuse, he was again sent as a delegate by the same society; he made a splendid speech, full of the fire and lofty spirit of an old Hebrew prophet, in behalf of the reform-preamble there presented for the purpose of pledging Unitarianism to the principle of perfect spiritual freedom; and we believe he was the only delegate who spoke in support of that preamble, except the mover of it and Rev. E. C. Towne. When this movement for liberty was defeated by a two-thirds majority, we believe that Mr. Burleigh was one of the few delegates who considered themselves as no longer members of the Conference, and who afterwards stood steadfastly for that perfect spiritual freedom which Unitarianism then denied. It is our strong belief that Mr. Burleigh never afterwards considered himself a Unitarian. If we are correct in this belief, it is not right to claim him as one; if we are incorrect, we shall immediately yield the point on the presentation of evidence. Will not those who are best acquainted with the facts send to THE INDEX information on this point for the sake of putting the truth beyond dispute?

It is true that Mr. Gordon claims this great and noble reformer as a Unitarian only on the ground of "that combination of culture, freedom from traditional creeds, natural virtue, and superior philanthropy which is Unitarianism." This is Mr. Gordon's definition of Unitarianism. He says:—

"We call these high combined principles Unitarianism because they have abundantly proved to belong exclusively to Unitarians. I am not egotistical; I was not born Unitarian; but I challenge my statement to be controverted or even contradicted. Other creeds produce men of marked honesty and integrity. Other beliefs generate great enthusiasm for human welfare. Materialism and Atheism produce freedom of intellectual culture. But nothing but Unitarianism has been able to combine perfect intellectual freedom with perfect Christian philanthropy and perfect righteousness of life."

Now we have no quarrel whatever with the Unitarians, with whom we were once glad to be denominationally associated, with whom we are still glad to cherish most brotherly personal relations, and with whom we have no difference at all except one of impersonal principles. To their great credit it should be said (what cannot be said of some outside liberals) that they have manifested no personal hostility to us on account of our opinions. We shall not, we think, be suspected of any lurking ill-will, either to Mr. Gordon or to the denomination with which he is united, if we now feel called upon by his emphatic challenge both to "controvert" and to "contradict" the statements above quoted. We left the genial Unitarian fellowship for no personal grievance whatever, for we had none then and have none now; we left it with poignant regret, simply and solely because we could not enjoy perfect spiritual freedom without repudiating the position which the denomination had publicly taken. The freedom we required was larger than this public denominational position sanctioned or permitted; and the high obligation of harmonizing our own public position with our private convictions forbade us to wear the badge of a name which, notwithstanding all individual protests, belies these convictions to the world. We considered and still consider it impossible, without a breach of personal sincerity, to accept employment and compensation as a Unitarian minister without

taking in good faith, unstained by mental reservations, the same religious position which the Unitarian denomination as such have publicly taken. We could not take this position in good faith, and that alone was the reason why we left the denomination. There was no quarrel, no ill-will, no grievance, but there was a separation for conscience' sake; the Unitarians could not honestly take our stand, and we could not honestly take theirs. That was all. And we want it well understood that the reasons we now proceed to state for accepting Mr. Gordon's "challenge" to "contradict" his statements are accompanied with nothing but the kindest feelings towards him and his denomination.

In the first place, then, we must respectfully deny Mr. Gordon's moral right to define Unitarianism at all. The denomination has authoritatively defined the meaning of its own name by the position it has collectively taken. No individual has a moral right to profess publicly to be a Unitarian in any different meaning of that word,—at least unless he explicitly informs his audience that he rejects the meaning which the denomination itself affixes to it. The same principle applies equally to all other sects. Unitarians are the first to apply it when eccentric Orthodox preachers put forward arbitrary private interpretations of Orthodoxy—the first to deny the right of such preachers to set up a definition of Orthodoxy other than the old standards and creeds recognized by their respective denominations. How can they object to be bound by their own rule? Arbitrary private interpretations are just as inadmissible in the case of Unitarianism as in the case of any other sect; why not? Each sect as such has the sole moral right to fix the meaning of the sect-name; why not? Mr. Gordon is bound to accept the meaning of the Unitarian name which has been fixed by the Unitarian denomination; why not? We should like a clear and direct answer to these questions.

In the next place, Mr. Gordon's definition is incorrect as a matter of fact. When he affirms that Unitarianism includes "freedom from traditional creeds," he not only disregards the collective utterances, but also the practical history, of his own denomination. The greatest of all the "traditional creeds" of Christendom—that fundamental creed out of which all the others have grown—is that "Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ of God"; that is, the God-appointed Messiah, the Lord and Saviour and King of the world. This most ancient and original creed of the Church, which is the only one recorded in the New Testament to have been approved by Jesus himself, is firmly imbedded in the very name of his religion, "Christian," and is the central distinction of Christianity from all other religions. Now this creed is imbedded also in the name and constitution of the "National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches," the chief representative body of Mr. Gordon's denomination; it is imbedded just as firmly in the vast majority of its constituent local churches and associations of all sorts. It is the one "traditional creed" which was never questioned even by Channing himself, whose protest against "human creeds" never extended to that original creed of the gospel which he thought "Divine," and has never been extended to it by any of his successors who remained in full fellowship with the denomination. This "traditional creed" is still affirmed by the whole sect, and cannot be denied publicly in the pulpit except on penalty of leaving the sect. If Mr. Gordon doubts this, let him try the experiment of distinctly repudiating the Christian name and distinctly denying that Jesus is the Christ; experience will convince him that he is not "free" to discard this "traditional creed," unless he is also prepared to be forced out of the Unitarian ministry. He may forbear to affirm it positively in so many words, but he is publicly understood to affirm it by his very position as a Unitarian Christian minister. We believe him sincere in holding this position; and therefore his "freedom from traditional creeds" cannot include freedom from this chief creed of all.

Lastly, to assert that "culture, freedom from traditional creeds, natural virtue, and superior philanthropy," when combined, have been "abundantly proved to belong exclusively to Unitarians" is to make a claim which we have never seen surpassed for sectarian complacency and narrowness. To class all men and women as Unitarians in whom these qualities are combined is to force the Unitarian name on many who would repel it; it is enough to instance John Stuart Mill and Lucretia Mott, the one a vigorous opponent of Unitarianism, and the other a radical Quaker. Multitudes of others could be easily mentioned. We are inclined to think that Mr. Gordon

has made an inadvertent statement here which he will not seriously abide by.

In our turn we "challenge" Mr. Gordon, in the most good-humored spirit, to meet frankly and fully the points we have made in response to his own "challenge." If he has evidence in his possession to show that Mr. Burleigh himself accepted the Unitarian name after the Syracuse Conference of 1866, we hope he will produce it; it may exist, but we are not aware of it. But, be this as it may, we trust that Mr. Gordon will, if he can, prove his own moral right to define Unitarianism rather than to accept the definition of it which the denomination have made by their collective words and history, and also prove that his own arbitrary definition is in accordance with the truth of facts. We have only responded to his "challenge" in raising these points, and take it for granted that he is prepared to defend the paradoxical position he has thereby taken.

A VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

The past eight months, with me, have been months of travel and hard work, yet work for which I have a genuine love, because devoted to the advancement of a cause to which I am strongly attached and in which I feel deeply interested. Since November 1, I have given one hundred and seventy-five lectures, and have been engaged in three public oral debates, each lasting a week, on the issues between the New Science and the Old Theology. I have been north as far as Duluth, Minn., south as far as Independence, Kansas, and west as far as Lincoln, Neb., lecturing in Ontario, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri. In the time mentioned I have spoken in seventy different places. The audiences have usually been large, filling the best halls, the press, with but rare exceptions, friendly, giving fair, frequently full, reports of the lectures; in almost every place visited, an intelligent and lively interest has been manifested in the subjects discussed; and wherever I have been, I have witnessed unmistakable indications of the decay of the old faith and the diffusion of liberal principles.

Yet nowhere do I find the old faith extinct, and in but few places, comparatively, is liberalism yet in the ascendant. Religions do not grow in a day, neither do they die in a day. The multitude still believe more or less in the old dogmas. Unaccustomed to reasoning, disinclined to investigate, they are beyond the reach of argument and inaccessible to the immediate influence of scientific culture. And many of the educated still cling with tenacity to the orthodoxy of their youth. What is commonly called education is no guarantee against credulity or the acceptance of notions for which there is no evidence and no reason. There is another large class that conform outwardly to the prevailing system as a matter of policy,—to avoid social ostracism, to retain the good-will and patronage of the Orthodox, to secure positions, to avoid disputes for which they have no taste. Orthodoxy offers a premium on this timidity, this love of ease and popularity, this time-serving and hypocrisy. It rewards with patronage, with office, with smiles, and social favors the man who conceals his heterodoxy, while it punishes by the withdrawal of patronage, by the withholding of office, by frowns, and fulminations the man who courageously avows and maintains liberal sentiments. On the other hand true liberalism prescribes no one on account of religious convictions. No politician is in danger of losing a nomination, no merchant is liable to lose customers, no man fears he will sacrifice his social standing, by declining to identify himself with free-thought. As a class, the Orthodox clergy are narrow, prejudiced, and intolerant. They do all they can to cast reproach on science, to prevent doubt and investigation, and to perpetuate their authority over the masses. They are not in advance of the people in their theological teachings; now, as in former ages, here, as in other lands, they are behind the people, whose release from the thraldom of superstition is delayed rather than hastened by their influence. Some of the least rigid of the Orthodox clergy have recently ventured to question whether God will torture a portion of the race forever; but for doing this, when thousands in the churches have quite outgrown belief in the dogma of eternal punishment, when the progress of scepticism and freethought and the advancing spirit of humanity have caused it to be rejected by the leaders of thought, and to be seriously doubted and almost disbelieved by intelligent Christians generally, the clergymen referred to, such as Canon Farrar, Beecher, and Thomas (of Chicago), have been severely criticised and fiercely denounced by thousands of their clerical brethren.

As danger to their faith increases, the clergy naturally redouble their effort to defend it. Every observer must know that sincere belief in the Christian theology and zeal to defend it are compatible with but very little honor or honesty. And further, a man may be conscientious—desirous of doing right,—and yet if religion be the predominant sentiment, the regnant element, the controlling influence of his being, to defend and advance that religion he may not scruple to employ means most unfair and unjust. These facts should not be disregarded in viewing the course of the Orthodox clergy and their adherents. Wilful or ignorant misrepresentation of scientific men, distortions of scientific theories, malicious denunciations of liberal papers before they have been read, and of liberal lecturers before they have been heard, exhortations to the people not to read the papers and not to attend the lectures, getting control of public libraries and putting in theological books and excluding all liberal authors, harangues to the people to enforce old laws against Sabbath-breaking, diverting temperance movements from the object for which they were inaugurated, and making them the means of working up an interest in religion and of adding members to the churches, opposition to every effort made to exclude prayer and Bible-reading from our public schools, and working, often in an underhanded manner, for political influence and legislative action in favor of Christianity,—these are some of the methods and means now employed by the Orthodox clergy, and with a zeal and desperation proportionate to the danger they see from the steady advances of liberalism among the people.

Thus we see confidence in the Christian theology growing less and less every day, and liberal views spreading in every direction, permeating our literature, modifying the religious beliefs of the people, influencing the general legislation of the country, and making itself felt on public sentiment directly and indirectly in a thousand ways, and, at the same time, great activity in the churches, scheming and wire-pulling in the interests of religion, and unusual energy and determination, on the part of religious leaders and their more zealous adherents, to resist, by fair means or foul, the innovations and changes that naturally result from the progress of liberal thought.

The lectures of Joseph Cook, boasting of victories for Christianity that never occurred, and proclaiming defeats of liberalism that no historian ever did or ever will record, and declaring that a reaction against liberalism is already visible in both the Old World and the New, have been very widely published and extensively read in the country, and have given temporary courage and hope to not a few, who have been led to think that in Boston and other large cities of the East, as well as in Europe, scepticism is disappearing and that it is increasing only on the prairies of the West where it will also disappear before the advancement of enlightenment and culture. The efforts of Moody and the class of preachers to which he belongs have added to the churches an element which, although very inferior intellectually and without influence socially, enables the leaders to point to an increase of membership; and this, when the churches are in debt and liberalism seems to be increasing all around, is somewhat encouraging.

But of late, since Cook has been shown to be a wordy, bombastic, unreliable representative, since his recklessness of statement and his shallowness have been exposed in leading magazines and in representative organs of the Orthodox sects, and in the leading secular papers, as well as in the journals devoted to liberalism, confidence in him has been weakened, and he is appealed to now less frequently than he was a year ago. The more intelligent Christians show a disposition to drop him as an unreliable leader in religious thought and return to the older and more solid, even though less brilliant, authorities on which they relied before they were dazzled by Cook's rhetoric or misled by his misstatement. It is quite as true that the addition made to the churches by the efforts of men of the type of Moody and Sankey "pan out" very unsatisfactorily at the end of a year or two; and this is being seen more clearly and by a larger number of Christians every year. They fail to get the class they want the most, and they fail even to keep a large proportion of those they do get. Hence constant scheming and all sorts of attractions to draw in persons of brains and culture.

But the growth of liberalism is a steady growth. Its conquests are of an intellectual character. It is strengthened by research and discovery in almost every field of thought. It has its basis in reason and justice, and is advanced by those methods only which stimulate thought and diffuse knowledge.

Hence it is but little subject to those fluctuations which characterize movements the success of which depends largely upon appeals to the emotions of men.

While I see everywhere I go indications of the growing strength and the increasing influence of liberalism, both in and outside of the churches, I discover very little disposition on the part of liberals to unite in organizations. If liberalism in this country were to be judged, as to its strength and influence, by the number of associations formed to advance it, there would be very little reason for satisfaction. But no intelligent person will so judge it. It is broad, catholic, cosmopolitan, and at the same time progressive. Hence its aversion to propositions, formulated into a creed, to be presented for acceptance as a condition of union and a basis of action. Liberals, differing widely in their views, and attaching no criminality to any honest conviction, will never in this country unite in an organization which shall exclude from membership any class of honest, earnest thinkers on the subject of religion. But an organization broad enough to include all who choose to join it, whatever be their views on the subject of religion, can never pledge itself to, nor work for, any particular school or phase of religious or unreligious thought. It can only encourage the study of all schools and systems of philosophy and religion, and work in favor of the widest liberty and the broadest charity. But such an object will never enlist the interest of any except those who are liberal in fact as well as in name. The Christian, the Spiritualist, the Materialist, who attaches so much importance to his particular religion or philosophy, and thinks the welfare of the world so dependent upon its immediate acceptance, that he feels it to be his duty to devote all his time and energy to its promulgation, can never feel much interest in an association that regards his religion or philosophy as only one of many, all to be studied with equal interest. A religion to elicit the interest and to excite the enthusiasm of the masses must be narrow, must be positive and dogmatic concerning matters about which nothing is known, must have authoritative standards of an objective character, a rigid discipline, and an imposing ceremonial. And such a religion must necessarily be intolerant. In proportion as religions lose these features the maintenance of organization becomes difficult. Universalism, Unitarianism, and Spiritualism may be referred to in illustration of the truth of this statement. In the future, liberals of all classes may organize throughout the country on the broad basis indicated above, which I understand to be the basis of the Free Religious Association, an association which, for the very reasons I have mentioned, fails to receive encouragement or appreciation from a large number of liberals. But there must first be some years of growth.

The Liberal League offers a plan of organization which is broad and comprehensive in its character, and clear and specific in its purpose. It excludes no class of liberals. It excludes not even the Orthodox Christian. It requires only that he who joins it shall labor for equal religious liberty for all and the secularization of our government. It must be confessed that in regard to this movement liberals generally have shown themselves singularly apathetic. For this a variety of reasons can be named. The majority, accustomed to the evils which this League aims to remove, do not realize their magnitude or their injustice. A wrong inflicted on some individual excites indignation; but the wrong inflicted on millions by the exemption of churches from taxation or keeping the Bible in our public schools, because it prevails all over the country and has from the settlement of the country, is regarded as a matter of small importance even by the mass of liberals. A Liberal League formed in any community must at first be weak in numbers and influence; and men of means and position, men whose countenance and assistance are necessary to give it a start and make it a success, although ready to attend and support lectures and sign petitions, as a rule, decline to give time or attention to a League. Some who are in sympathy with the object of the League are afraid if they join it that they will be regarded as "infidels," and suffer in their business. Others think the best way to secure the reforms aimed at is by general education independently of organization. A large class are more interested in propagating their particular religious views than in working for such a general and comprehensive principle as impartial religious liberty for all. In some places where Leagues have been organized, meetings cannot be sustained because the societies have nothing to offer in the way of entertainment. There are various other rea-

sons that so few Leagues have been formed; but they all show the movement for State Secularization is one that is in advance of the people; one indeed that the majority of liberals, owing to their education and surroundings, are not yet in a condition fully to appreciate. The subject must be agitated. It must be presented in all its bearings through the papers, in tracts and pamphlets and from the platform. The cause of State Secularization, stronger now than ever before, and growing stronger every day, has not yet acquired sufficient prominence in the public mind to attract to it many men of political influence. Those who work for it now do so from principle, not for popularity. Its history will doubtless be essentially the same as that of all other just movements which have been first opposed, then treated with indifference, and finally approved by the people, and counted among the triumphs of civilization.

The Liberal League will probably never meet the desire for an organization in which the discussion and comparison of the various systems of religion and philosophy shall be the main object, and for which there will still be the same need as now, when the noble work of State Secularization shall have been accomplished. But no other organization of liberals is as greatly needed at this time, or, in my opinion, as deserving of support, as the Liberal League.

B. F. U.

D. M. BENNETT'S CONFESSION.

In THE INDEX of January 17, referring to the well-known petition against the law of 1873, we said:—

The advice we gave about that petition was wise and good, as time will show; and we reiterate it with increased emphasis, when such an advertisement as this, published in the New York Tribune of January 8, is thrust upon public notice:—

The public are respectfully informed that the use of our name in connection with a circular petition issued by one D. M. Bennett is wholly unauthorized.

It is a matter for regret that our laws provide no suitable penalty for offences of this kind.

MCKESSON & ROBBINS,

Wholesale Druggists, 91 Fulton Street, New York City.

The same paper states that McKesson & Robbins have brought suit against Mr. Bennett for "having refused to strike their names from his circular." We submit that, no matter what its objects, a petition pressed in such ways as these—putting on it the names of some parties against their protest, and slandering others because they decline to sign it—is just such a petition as should be left severely alone. It is rather late in the nineteenth century to imagine that such tactics as these can succeed with intelligent or high-spirited liberals. The cause of liberalism is the cause of purity, of truthfulness, of justice, of common kindness, of a noble morality in the very best sense of that word; and it can only be served by methods as high and noble as its objects.

Mr. Bennett sent a letter to us on this subject for publication, and we inserted it (as soon as was possible) in THE INDEX of January 31, and said simply:—

Mr. Bennett explains his use of the names of McKesson & Robbins on his circular. We drop that subject, not wishing to comment on his explanations.

This omission of comments was prompted by kindness to Mr. Bennett, for his explanations were altogether inadequate and lame, carefully evaded the essential point of McKesson & Robbins' advertisement, and made statements which did not command our own credence. We left his letter to produce such effect as it might, without expressing our own unfavorable opinion of it. Our original publication of the advertisement was made for the perfectly legitimate purpose of warning the public that at least one firm-name appended to the circular had been used without the authority of the firm itself, and that a petition so pushed should be judged by its merits, without giving any weight to the names used to support it under such suspicious circumstances. It was not we who brought the charge of misusing the names of McKesson & Robbins; these gentlemen themselves made the charge, and it was a simple act of justice to them to let their disclaimer be known. There was no malice whatever in our publication of that advertisement; the petition was a public matter; we had a perfect right to discuss it in the light of all the facts bearing upon it; and one of the most important facts was that one of the firm-signatures affixed to the circular was declared unauthorized by the parties concerned.

Mr. Bennett, however, has chosen to make the petition a personal matter, and to treat our opposition to the petition as personal hostility to himself. In the *Truth Seeker* of July 6, he says of us:—

He printed in one of his editorials a false statement in an advertisement from one of the city papers, penned by an enemy who was bulldozed and urged on by Anthony Comstock. By doing this, Mr. Abbot tried to show that we had committed forgery, and gave this as an additional reason why the petition should not be signed. This conduct has been pronounced by many sensible liberals with whom we

have conversed and who have written us as being uncalled-for, ungenerous, unfriendly, unbrotherly, illiberal, mean, and contemptible, and we had no grounds upon which to deny the charge.

We propose to give Mr. Bennett "some grounds upon which to deny the charge," or rather to show that he has all along had grounds which he did not choose to use. He pretends to say that the statement in the advertisement, to the effect that the use of McKesson & Robbins' names was unauthorized, was a "false statement"; and he therefore pretends that we have done him injustice by publishing it. Now all this is infamous. We propose to show the public that Mr. Bennett last December confessed in writing to the aggrieved firm that his use of their names was, as the advertisement declares, "unauthorized"; and that his present air of injured innocence is proved by his own written confession to be utterly insincere. We have done him no injustice whatever. He was guilty of the offence charged upon him by the advertisement; he confessed it in writing to the parties he had wronged; he has been guilty of denying to the public what he had confessed to these parties privately; and he has been guilty of equal falsehood in almost every word he has printed concerning us during the last six months. As for these latter falsehoods, we shall not take the trouble to refute them; but we now publish the following letter from Messrs McKesson & Robbins, together with a copy of Mr. Bennett's written confession which they enclosed, leaving the public to see for themselves what degree of credit Mr. Bennett's other false accusations are entitled to:—

NEW YORK, June 25, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq., Editor, etc., Boston, Mass.:

Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 24th of June is received, calling attention to the statement of D. M. Bennett, as published in THE INDEX under date of January 31st last. These statements are a series of wilful misrepresentations of facts, which are as follows:—

D. M. Bennett called at our office for the only time, so far as our knowledge extends, in the latter part of the year 1877, with a circular having our firm name and others attached, and he desired that we should permit him to circulate this and cooperate with him in securing a repeal of the so called Comstock laws, which request was declined. We told Mr. Bennett that we did not approve of all the provisions of these acts, but that in so far as the law related to the suppression of the circulation of immoral publications we did approve of it. He then suggested that we had better join him and have the present acts repealed, and afterwards obtain a more carefully drawn law in regard to the sale of drugs, etc., which was also declined. We then asked him by what authority he had affixed our firm name, as also the name of Messrs. Appleton & Co., publishers, to his circular; and he replied it was so placed because he had understood we were opposed to the present law, and that he was calling upon us and others to obtain consent for the use of our name in connection with his circular. We then said to him, "You have our wishes, and you had better see Messrs. Appleton & Co., and if they deem the law one that should be repealed, you may call on us again and we will give the matter a more careful consideration." This reference to Messrs. Appleton & Co., as publishers, was made because we did not want any argument with Bennett at the time, and because we considered Messrs. Appleton & Co. to be very competent authority in the matter of law in so far as it related to publications.

In conclusion it is only necessary to say that we have D. M. Bennett's written admission that the use of our name was unauthorized, and he has since agreed that his circular, with our name attached, should not be circulated.

When Bennett called, he was received and treated courteously, and has taken advantage of this treatment to do what he was expressly forbidden to do, and hence our present estimate of him is a very unfavorable one. We claim the privilege as citizens to approve or disapprove all measures of legislation, and to join, or to refuse to join, such parties as we may select for the promotion of desirable ends. We regard the attempt of D. M. Bennett to make us parties to the circulation of his petition, against our express request, as the work of a man quite destitute of principle, and, in all respects, despicable.

Very respectfully yours,
MCKESSON & ROBBINS, per Sec'y.

[COPY.]

LIBERAL AND SCIENTIFIC PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Science Hall, 141 Eighth St.
Office of "THE TRUTH SEEKER,"
A journal of free thought and reform.
D. M. BENNETT, Editor and Proprietor.

NEW YORK, Dec. 12, '77.

I hereby admit that the name of McKesson & Robbins, as it appears on a circular addressed to publishers, booksellers, editors, lovers of liberty, justice, etc., which emanated from 141 Eighth street, was unauthorized. I called upon Mr. Robbins, and he referred me to Mr. Appleton, stating that whatever Mr. Appleton would approve he would no doubt also approve.

D. M. BENNETT.

Compare this confession with the advertisement, and judge for yourselves whether the latter is a "false statement," or whether that name belongs exclusively to Mr. Bennett's denial. We have done him no injustice at all, himself being judge.

Communications.

ST. GEORGE MIVART ON UTILITARIAN VERACITY.

In an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, St. George Mivart says that he cannot understand why a utilitarian, or any unbeliever, should set any store upon scientific veracity. He thinks that if a utilitarian does really interest himself in the well-being of mankind (of the possibility of which Mr. Mivart is very sceptical), in consistency, he ought not to reveal such scientific truths as he may discover, but rather to propagate such a series of ingenious fictions as will be likely to prove most conducive to the ultimate advancement of humanity according to the principle of Voltaire's famous utterance, "*Si dieu n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.*" Surely this is a genuine instance of things being hidden from the wise and prudent and yet revealed to babes; for it hardly needs more than a babe's discernment to see that if the prosperity of mankind is to be built upon a solid basis that basis must, whatever else, be sound; yet this is absolutely the whole mystery which Mr. Mivart, with all his wit and learning, declares himself at a loss to comprehend. Mr. Mivart says that he can fancy a utilitarian exclaiming against the immorality of practising such deception from utilitarian motives; and he says that although he might smile at such a person's notion of consistency, yet would he willingly pay a tribute of respect to his virtuous impulse. But what Mr. Mivart can so easily fancy would certainly never happen. That which the utilitarian would exclaim against would be, not the immorality of practising deception on Mr. Mivart's hypothesis, but the inanity of Mr. Mivart's hypothesis. Mr. Mivart (after Novalis) suggests that possibly suicide might really be the wisest policy for mankind at large. Very well! let him prove it, and the utilitarian will not regard the argument as a *reductio ad absurdum*, but simply accept the consequence. Assuredly it is easier to suppose that suicide might be advisable for humanity than to believe that human welfare can be promoted by systematic and habitual fraud.

St. George Mivart's argument is a fair sample of a kind very usually employed by the *a priori* moralists. For example, Mr. Lecky's admirable history of *European Morals* contains many of them. The same inherent unsoundness underlies them all. The argument runs thus: The inductive morality involves such and such conclusions, which are monstrous on the face of them. What makes the conclusions monstrous? The disputant does not inquire or explain. To do so would be against his principles, because his morality is based upon nothing except intuition. Just as the theologian accepts his dogmas because they are impossible, so does the intuitionist act thus or thus because there is no reason for so doing. To show the utility of moral conduct is to destroy its very merit in his eyes. But if we think of it we may see that what makes these principles supposed to proceed from the inductive theory seem so monstrous is, that they are plainly subversive of human welfare; in other words, that the inductive theory does not involve them.

After all, a theory of morals sufficient for the exigencies of daily life is not so hopelessly elaborate. What makes the intuitionists blunder so in their application of utilitarian principles is not dulness, but prejudice. Any one of ordinary wit—any one with wit enough to conduct the simplest business—may shape his course right on natural principles, unless in some rare dilemmas in which the *a priori* theory will certainly not serve him any better. Which of two or more courses will be most advantageous to mankind may be occasionally doubtful, but increasing knowledge may relieve our embarrassment; and, in the meanwhile, our duty is plain; namely, to use the best of our judgment. But the *a priori* moralist is often in a quite hopeless dilemma in which further knowledge will be of no avail. Principles which to him are equally sacred clash (as they must very often clash), and he has only to choose between a variety of sins. He needs a spiritual monitor always by him to nudge his elbow and direct his steps; but those good people are hard to meet with nowadays. And, besides this, since virtue and felicity have no common measure, the *a priori* moralist must either deny all worth to the latter, or else he will be left without any criterion of conduct, unless he will say that it were better the world should perish than that one man should commit one little sin,—in which case God is very much to blame for having made it. For any fool may know that the concern could not be run for a week on those conditions. Doubtless before my ink is dry a hundred thousand sins will have been committed in the city of New York alone, and not very little ones at that. We all know quite well that sinning is the main occupation of a good many people; but that does not spoil our appetites.

It is no wonder that a Christian cannot credit genuine unselfishness. His religion forbids it. The New Testament forbids it. The Master enjoins his disciples not to be self forgetful, but to keep continually in view the heavenly recompense. Whenever he issues his commands, that condition is always implied when not expressed. Do the believers serve the Lord for naught? "*Que mon nom soit flétri, pourvu que la France soit libre.*" said Danton standing beside the guillotine to bid his friends his last adieu. With prouder reason than Antonio might this brave desperado have exclaimed: "Repent not ye that ye have lost a friend, as he repents not that he pays your debt." This is the mystery of love: this strong exhalation,—

Which cheers the spirit, ere its bark
Puts off into the unknown dark.

(Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.) There is nothing like this in the New Testament. Yes, once there is; but that

apparent exception only confirms the rule. St. Paul says that he would be were blotted from the book to save the Church, if that were possible. But it is not possible. Why not? Because such sublime devotion is unchristian. The gospel commands each individual first and foremost to secure himself. The devotion of the Christ, according to the myth, bears no comparison to the devotion of Prometheus. Every one recognizes the correctness of the judgment which pronounced the poor widow who cast her solitary mite into the treasury to be the most magnificent of gifts, because of her poverty she gave her all. By parity of reasoning the sacrifice of the Christ was but a meagre sacrifice; for what are a few years of travail out of an endless life? CHARLES ELLERBREW. NEW YORK CITY.

UNAPPRECIATED CONDESCENSION.

YANKTON, D.T., June 7, 1878.

DEAR SIR:—

A very good friend of yours, living in this place, sent me, a day or two ago, the number of THE INDEX containing your letter of comment on your "grounds of hope." I like the tone of the letter, in portions of it, better than anything of yours I have ever read. But I perceive that your grounds of hope do not rest on, and, therefore, be assured, they cannot bring true rest to others. And it is very unwise in you or in any man to say positively, "The man is not born," who comprehends the law of matter and spirit, from the earliest to the latest hours. There are men born who have seen many things clearly that you have only guessed at, and sometimes raved at. I do not mean crazy Spiritualists; and they work now as highest souls have always worked. But I ask your pardon: this is not my way exactly, and yet I am moved to write you. If you look deep enough into the enclosed, you will see more than you ever yet have seen, and talk more cautiously in the future.

Truly, W. H. THORNE.

[We never said, "positively" or otherwise, that "the man is not born" who comprehends the law of matter and spirit." What we did say is this: "Logic declares to me: 'Of two things, one—either adhere to physics and deny your consciousness now, or adhere to your consciousness and admit that physics can raise no faintest presumption against its continuance forever.' The man has not yet been born who, understanding that, can break its force." It is something worse than "unwise" to quote in this reckless manner. There is not the remotest resemblance between what we said and what the Rev. Mr. Thorne absurdly rebukes us for saying. We are not given to "raving" at all; but if anything would justify it, it would be the wild and perverse way in which writers so unscrupulously misquote each other. Probably it is the fault of our vision that we fail to see anything new or important in the subjoined "creed," or to be in any respect instructed by our volunteer Mentor.—ED.]

Card from Rev. Mr. Thorne.

YANKTON, D.T., June 1, 1878.

EDITORS PRESS AND DAKOTAIAN:—

A discussion having recently arisen in your paper, in which my name has been classed with men charged with infidelity and the holding of indefinite religious views, will you oblige me by publishing the following card, setting forth in brief the principles or creed on which all my teachings have been based for the last ten years, and in accordance with which they are likely to be uttered for the rest of my life?

This creed was first published in the Wilmington, Del., daily papers in the spring of 1872. It was again republished in the Philadelphia Public Ledger and Daily Times, and in the Camden Daily Post, last fall, in connection with a course of Sunday afternoon lectures on the "Science of Religion," which I gave in the lecture-room of the new Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia.

This creed, therefore, has met the eyes of about two hundred and fifty thousand readers, and in response to it I have received numerous letters from able men, commanding it as the only creed that can satisfy the reason and religious spirit of these times; but no man has ever yet charged it or its author with expressing infidelity or indefinite views.

I ask no man to subscribe to it. "Unity Church" in this place will be in no manner pledged to it; but I am pledged to it as an expression of God's eternal truth and justice and mercy and am prepared to defend it at all times and in all places, by word or deed, as infinitely superior to the faded and enslaving orthodoxy that many sincere men are still trying to uphold:—

RELIGIOUS RATIONALISM: CREED IN BRIEF.

1. The unity, eternity, and divinity of the universe; God in it and it in God, from eternity to eternity.
2. The natural evolution of every finite form and order of life, thought, worship, and being in the universe.
3. The mortality of each finite object and being, including worlds and men, eternal involution and eternal evolution being the divine order of Nature.
4. All forms of human evil and suffering are the natural, necessary outgrowths of ignorance or selfishness; and character, which is the incarnation of truth and justice in each human being, always has been, is now, and ever will be the sole salvation and hope of man.
5. The greatest "characters," in the above sense, always have been the greatest saviors, are now, and ever will be, and the saved are those most like them.

6. Religious worship, beginning with ancestral-worship, has grown to hero-worship, relic-worship, Nature-worship, polytheism, tritheism, dualism, deism, theism, pantheism, and cosmohelism, or religious rationalism; and, while all worship of superior by inferior beings is elevating, and all religions of the past and present as good as possible at the time, yet the universal religion must be based on universal natural-spiritual laws, and the purest and truest worship is the worship of the Universal Spirit alone.

7. While all varieties of truths are valuable and useful, the largest spiritual truths and worships are most helpful and inspiring to mankind.

W. H. THORNE.

THE ROBERLY LEAGUE.

ROBERLY, Mo., June 17, 1878.

DEAR INDEX:—

You have probably received ere this the report from our secretary, of the organization of a "Liberal League" in Moberly. We have had quite a "revival" here. Two months since, Mr. Underwood delivered four lectures which aroused a great deal of comment, both favorable and adverse.

Sunday, June 2, Mr. W. F. Jamieson, of Chicago, gave us two lectures on "The Demands of Liberalism" and "Common-sense vs. Orthodox Christianity."

These lectures were able, and it was during the stay of Mr. Jamieson that our League was organized, twenty signatures being obtained that day. Wishing to keep the ball in motion, we sent for J. R. Baker, of New Boston, Ill., who commenced a course of four lectures here last Friday night, giving the closing and very able lecture last night (Sunday) on the subject, "Is the Universe governed by Fixed Law or a God?" This lecture dealt hard blows at Moselyism, and shows up in a powerful manner the ridiculousness of trying to pray grasshoppers out of Kansas, Lady Franklin up from her death-bed, or a drunken boy into the paths of temperance and rectitude (even though the father of the boy be a noted divine, of exceptional character and piety.) Mr. Baker was formerly a Methodist, but of the free kind, and therefore gradually walked out "into the light," became a Universalist, and finally a liberal of the broadest kind. We bespeak for him consideration at the hands of liberals who wish a good speaker and a bold, honest man. Through the inquisitorial spirit of one man and weakness and ignorance on the part of a good many others, we were shut out of the hall which we had when Mr. Jamieson was here, and were compelled to hire the opera-house at a greatly increased rate. But the lectures were not suppressed as this religio-political wire-puller evidently hoped they would be. At the close of last night's lecture, we challenged the churches to put up their favorite, Wendling, against Underwood, the debate to take place as soon as Mr. Underwood has rested a little. But, alas! there is no prospect of their putting up any one. I hope to give you in a future letter some facts as samples of Christian truth and charity in our city of late; but no more at present. Very truly, S. C. MASON.

SOME CRITICISMS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

Your correspondent "Z" tries to demonstrate logically that if Mr. Heywood is in favor of, and should make use of, any contrivance by which, in his absence, any person could be prevented from putting before his (Heywood's) children obscene and filthy pictures and books, he must be in favor of any law which will prevent the circulation of such books and pictures; and if such a law is now upon the statute-books, he is opposed to its repeal. To me, such reasoning is absurd and the conclusion far-fetched. He might as well argue that because I do not want my children to use tobacco in any form, it being a substance which is injurious to all, I am in favor of a law which shall prevent the sending of samples through the mails, and that if I am willing that my children shall have free access to such filth, I am then consistently in favor of the repeal of such law, if one exists. "Z's" reasoning is simply contemptible.

Mr. Billingsley is also mistaken when he asserts that the advocacy of the repeal of the Comstock law will be likely to lead "all liberals" "into the support of lax morals or low sensuality of any kind." Because we do not believe that the Comstock law is the best way, or a proper way at all, to prevent the dissemination of obscene literature does not prove that we are likely to be led into any such thing. Because some of us believe that prohibitory liquor laws are unjust in themselves and ineffectual for the suppression of the traffic in these alcoholic poisons does not place us in danger of being "led into the support of lax morals" or of that traffic and its fruit, intemperance. Quite likely that it would subject us to the unfair criticism of those who favor such sumptuary laws, but that we should expect, and continue on our way, following the light of truth as we saw it, regardless of such animadversions. So in this matter of the Comstock laws, we cannot expect anything less than that the Orthodox world, which favors those laws, and possesses no powers of discrimination, will malign us, and attempt to make it appear that we are immoral and in favor of obscenity. But we do expect different treatment from liberals. We are perfectly willing to argue this question upon its merits, whether or not it is best to suppress the circulation of obscene literature by congressional enactment; but we do not consider it fair for liberals to insinuate that we are in favor of such literature, or that we are likely to lead liberals into the support of lax morals or sensuality. Mr. Billingsley does not attempt to answer the arguments of those who favor the repeal of the Comstock laws, and show that these laws, with their abuses removed, would be the best means by which to eliminate this pernicious literature,—in other words, to

argue the question upon its merits, but he; in common with yourself, Mr. Editor, and others, simply tells us that if we agitate for the repeal of said laws, the Orthodox world will be about us. THEY DO THAT ANY WAY, and shall we turn from what we consider to be the path of right and duty for that? No, gentlemen! It will take a weightier argument than the threat of Christian scorn and misrepresentation to make us abandon this work. It is the mission of liberalism to settle questions right by putting them upon the solid foundation of fact and principle; and only when laws are so founded have we stability and equilibrium. As liberals, it is our work to settle disputed questions upon their merits; not to say, "You must not do so and so for fear that your hereditary foes will say this and that about you." And as regards the merits of this question, if a national prohibitory law is the best means by which to suppress the traffic in obscene goods, is it not a fair inference to assert that it would also be the best means to suppress the liquor traffic and every other vice? And if not, why not? I cannot see how you come to the conclusion that there can be no "tampering with the mails" under the present law. Probably, though, you have a different definition for "tampering" from what I have. "The power vested in Congress to establish post-roads and post-offices" embraces the regulation of the entire postal system of the country. Under it, Congress may designate what shall be carried in the mails, and what shall be excluded. But upon what grounds shall matter be excluded? This is the test question. I maintain that such matter only can be excluded as would be likely to injure the mails, the means of transit, and those handling it,—for instance, liquids, explosives, poisons, and things of similar nature. If you can exclude on moral grounds, so can you on religious. The nation has just as much right to regulate, by restrictive legislation, the religious belief of its units as it has to regulate their morals. You will say that the children are the future citizens of the State, and that therefore it is her right and duty to see that they become good citizens. Certainly; but not by establishing a censorship of the mails. If the State has the right to attempt to make them good citizens in that way, so can she make them such citizens by regulating their religion in the same way.

E. C. WALKER.

WHO ARE THE LIBERALS?

Some traders in liberal literature and editors of so-called liberal papers, and some other assuming scribblers, have shown themselves to be the greatest enemies to the liberal cause. In every generation there are men like Jesus and like Judas, like Washington and like Arnold, like Emerson and like Cook, etc. It is a great enjoyment to find men who are really liberal, especially those who give us better insight into the vital principles of liberalism, and who are true to the cause which must promote the welfare of humanity. But it is a sad disappointment to find men who boast about their liberality, in the same way as some theological speculators ostentatiously parade their religion. They possess no real ability except to ridicule, misrepresent, and defame others who decline to obey their will or join their wrangling. If you differ from them and publish your opinion, they make long-winded replies in which they write very much about themselves and their great doings, but dodge the question. They pretend that they seek the truth; but if you tell them truth they do not like, they accuse you of not having outgrown reverence for old dogmas, etc., and will not scruple to use slander and falsehood instead of good reasonings.

Every brother who dissents from their notions is charged with mean motives and actions against them; yes, the very misrepresentations of their own manufacture they try to charge others with. They have a number of accomplices who assist them to misrepresent the good motives of others and deceive good people who read only one side. The press and public speakers do certainly a great deal of good; but if vain, jealous, unscrupulous persons and shrewd dissemblers wield an editorial pen, they can easily pervert the uneducated mind. Let us ascertain who are true liberals, cooperate with them, and assist them with heart and hand; but if we wish to maintain and propagate liberalism, let us shun all those pretenders whose most important effort is only to sell their illiberal productions and make money out of the liberal community. Quacks and mountebanks cannot thrive where intelligence and honesty prevail.

CARL H. HORSCH.

DOVER, N.H., June 25, 1878.

NO MORE CHURCHES NEEDED.

IN THE INDEX of June 6 a writer says: "As it is not the mission of the Liberal League to teach morality nor to cultivate the spiritual and aesthetic sentiments in human nature, I believe that a liberal church, based on rational and moral principles, would meet a very vital want of liberalism."

In reply I would say that, if the writer of the above wishes to join a church, there is a large assortment for him to select from, each of which is desirous of securing more members; and thus his want can be supplied without the labor and expense of forming a new church. To undertake to transform liberals into church-members would be a tedious and difficult job, as liberals are not likely to favor the formation of any more churches.

It costs the people of the United States about two hundred million dollars each year to support what churches we have now, and that is all that can possibly be afforded in that direction. Liberal Leagues are more likely to suit the tastes and accomplish the purposes of liberals than churches. CYRUS LEE.

June 23, A. R. 102.

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Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles? Wm. J. POTTER, Secretary F. R. A.

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

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ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 447.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- H. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech on the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCOIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

MR. JAMES PARTON has accepted an invitation to be present at the Watkins convention, and will read a paper on "The Coming Man's Religion."

MR. FRANK J. MEAD made an excellent address at St. Paul, at the recent session of the State Association of Spiritualists, on "Church and State."

THE FRENCH government dealt impartially with the "infidels" and the "clericals" at the late Voltaire celebration. It forbade the former to erect a statue to him publicly in the Place Château d'Eau, and it forbade the latter to make a public demonstration in honor of Joan of Arc. Montreal affairs are not so equitably managed.

THIS EXTRACT is from a report at the Sheffield Conference of the National Secular Society of Great Britain, June 9: "In the United States of America and in Canada there has been more Freethought lecturing during the past twelve months than has been known there for many years. The most persistent and hard-working lecturer in the North American continent has been Mr. B. F. Underwood; but during the last eight months a great amount of interest has been excited by the stirring and eloquent anti-theological addresses of Colonel R. G. Ingersoll. Some threats have been printed in New England and in Maryland, that the Blasphemy Laws would be enforced against Mr. Ingersoll, but no proceedings have yet been initiated."

AN ECLECTIC INSTITUTE, for the free discussion of all subjects relating to truth and human welfare, was organized at Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand, on May 14, with a membership of eighty-two. Mr. Charles Bright moved the first resolution, as follows: "That this meeting is of opinion that the time has arrived for the establishment of an institution in Dunedin having for its object the mental and moral advancement of those who are disinclined to take part in any sectarian association." The second resolution appointed a provisional committee of several gentlemen, and the third appointed Mr. Kelsey as secretary *pro tempore*. This movement is wholly in the direction of the Free Religious Association, and will command the sympathy of all its friends.

THE DEGREE of "liberality" possessed by the new Pope may be very fairly estimated by the following: "The Spanish clergy having shown great alarm at the progress of Protestant propagandism, and especially on account of the results of Bible colportage, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo and the Archbishop of Saragossa have applied to the Pope, and obtained from him a brief, which must be read from the pulpit in all the Spanish churches, and which forbids every Spaniard, under pain of excommunication, to give either food or shelter to any Protestant missionary. An excommunication still more severe is pronounced against any person who shall possess, whether for sale or his own private use, any Protestant books whatsoever. Beyond this, Leo XIII. has addressed an autograph letter to King Alphonso, begging him, in the name of the great Catholic country over which he reigns, to use every effort of the civil power to banish Protestant missionaries, and to confiscate their churches, schools, etc."

AT GLASGOW, a large public meeting recently adopted a resolution declaring that "the establishment of a popish hierarchy in Scotland may greatly conduce in many ways to the accomplishment of Rome's scheme of temporal subjugation; it will be the virtual institution of a separate nationality in Scotland, governed by a foreign authority, and actuated by separate interests; and as a measure of toleration it is quite uncalled for, inasmuch as Romanists at this hour enjoy in this country the fullest religious liberty." It is not a "separate nationality" in each country that Rome aims to establish, but rather one

universal power throughout the globe, both spiritual and temporal, to which each country shall stand in the relation of a mere local district. Successful in this attempt, it would control legislation everywhere by controlling the consciences of all citizens and all legislators. Patriotism would cease to exist; the Church would take the place of the State in all hearts, as alone supreme.

THIS EXTRACT from one of General Washington's order-books is very aptly quoted just now by the *Christian Union*: "5 Nov., 1775.—As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in the army so void of common-sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture, at a time when we are soliciting, and have readily obtained, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause,—the defence of the general liberty of America. At such a juncture, and in such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the worst insult, it is our duty to tender thanks to them, our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada."

THE ATTEMPT of the London School Board to have the Bible taught in the schools of that city, yet without the inculcation of religious dogmas, has ended so far in a fierce dissension. In 1871 the Board ordered that "the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacity of children." To this rule were added two provisos,—one forbidding attempts "to attach children to any particular denomination"; the other allowing the whole rule to be suspended in special cases on cause being shown. A committee has ascertained that generally "the Bible lesson is confined too exclusively to mere formal explanations of the history, or the geography, or the grammar of that portion of the book which was selected for the day." The teachers claimed that they have only obeyed the Board's directions. "You have forbidden us," they said, "to attach children to any particular denomination. Now, there is a particular denomination which does not believe in hell; if we tell a child that when the Bible says the wicked shall be cast into hell it is untrue, we attach that child to this particular denomination; if we tell him it is true, we attach him to some of the Orthodox denominations. We cannot even explain the first verse of Genesis without teaching dogma in an Orthodox or heretical manner; and so we say nothing, and the children must get their religious education elsewhere." The committee did not like this reasoning, and they issued a circular to the teachers, telling them not to be so particular, but to seize upon every opportunity of instilling into the minds of the children "those moral and religious principles on which the right conduct of their future lives must depend." The secularist members of the Board took the opportunity, when they heard of this circular, to denounce the committee for issuing it, and the fight between the Board and the committee has since been raging fiercely. The teachers adhere to their position that they cannot teach the Bible without teaching dogma, and they are unquestionably correct. This is the inevitable result of undertaking to make the Bible a "moral text-book." Until the scientific conception of morality has entirely replaced the present religious conception of it, no other result is to be expected. When it is once perceived that the laws of right and wrong are simply natural laws, the difficulty will vanish; for these natural laws can be as easily taught without theology as the laws of chemistry or political economy.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Church and State of the Future.

BY COURTLANDT PALMER,

PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD LIBERAL LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:— Appointed as I have only very lately been to the presidency of the New York Liberal League, I have hitherto been unable to give its immediate and practical objects the attention they deserve in all their details. Its general principles, of course, I heartily concur in, else I should not be occupying this position. The elaboration of such questions as the non-exemption of churches from taxation, the secularization of our public schools, etc., etc., requires much study and statistical investigation, and it is the hope of the League that during the coming winter these subjects may be fully explained through the mouths of able and eloquent speakers.

Meanwhile, I venture to lay before you, this evening, the following essay, the points of which I have somewhat loosely thrown together, and which I entitle "The Church and State of the Future." It is true that society needs the discussion of practical questions, and the doing of practical work, rather than the construction of Utopias; but, at the same time, an ideal towards which, perhaps, we may direct our course has its use; and I present the following views, which I adopt from the stand-point of my own philosophy, as a humble contribution towards the literature of this subject. The old adage remarks, "A place for everything and everything in its place." I amend it by saying, "A place for everybody and everybody in his place."

A story I heard told not long since affords a humorous illustration of this. I was present at a dinner given by certain members of the Goethe Club to its President, Dr. Ruppner, on the eve of his departure for Europe. The late honorable and honored Wm. Cullen Bryant presided. When the after-dinner time for speech-making came, he insisted on calling upon each person present to make some remarks. I rather trembled when he finally fixed his eye on me, but managed to get through by making a little speech illustrative of my inability as a speech-maker. I mention thus much simply to give point to what follows. On the conclusion of my effort a young gentleman next to me was called on. He rose and said:—

"Mr. Chairman, Mr. Palmer says he has never attempted a speech but once or twice in his life. I am worse off than he, for I never attempted one before, and I can only convey an adequate idea of my defects as an orator by relating an experience that befell me when at college. A singing-class of the students was being formed. The music-master was trying the various voices. To one he would say, 'You go up among the tenors'; to another, 'You stand with the baritones'; to a third, 'You take your place among the base singers.' When it came my turn, however, to display my vocal powers, he simply looked unutterable things, and said, 'Young man, go home!'"

It seems to me that this story illustrates, after a somewhat comical fashion, our position as members of the Liberal League. In the great World-Sängerfest we want the Church to chant its anthems, but not to intrude them on the national music of the State. If base and baritone, contralto and soprano, are to be inextricably mixed, nothing but discord can result; and if in the chorus of life we cannot make the powers spiritual and temporal sing each their respective parts, we had best at once chant a "Nunc dimittite," and "go home" in despair.

As a further illustration of my subject, I was led to recall a recent trip to Boston on one of the great Fall River steamboats. Did you ever think what completeness of order prevails throughout the gigantic mass? Everything and everybody were in their places. Even the waiters knew their places. Down deep in the hold were the firemen, like demons in Pandemonium, as the fires flashed upon their red shirts and blackened faces. The furnaces were glowing with the coal that supplied by its heat the moving power to the mighty hulk. The boilers were generating the steam that propelled the enormous engine, which, in the silence, smoothness, yet resistance force, it displays, reminds one of the science of the age, which alone is the grand impulse that carries us on to progress. Narrow-minded sectaries may scream forth in their nerve-grating, steam-whistle notes, suggesting danger and dismay; politicians may ring their mournful fog-bell as the mists settle down

about us, but, after all, it is the great engine of truth and law that is ever taking us nearer to the haven where we would be.

But I find myself wandering from my description. Leaving the inspection of the boilers, we turn to find the vast piles of freight stowed away on the decks. The kitchen and dining saloons prove to be models of convenience (except perhaps to the impecunious); the cabins are spacious and attractive, with their carpets, furniture, and fresco; the state-rooms suggestive of rest and pleasant dreams. The captain, his mates and subordinates, discharge their important functions, while, among the passengers, Jew or Christian, Orthodox or Heterodox, may freely hold and discuss if they please their own doctrines; and yet, strange to say, the majestic mass of wood and iron keeps cleaving the water like a thing of life, a wondrous example of power and of beauty.

The whole description seems to me strongly suggestive of that well-ordered condition wherein we would wish to see the Church and State, and all the operations of public and private life. The vessel is well governed, the people are free and contented; all things are in order, and each fulfils his duty.

When I was first proposing to myself the writing of this essay, it was my intention to make something of a historical investigation of the subject; and I wrote a note to a very dear friend of mine who is one of the most learned historical scholars I know, or ever expect to know, asking him to favor me with illustrations from his studies of the EVILS of a union of Church and State. I received from him the following letter, which is sufficiently remarkable to be read in full, though, in my own self-justification, I would preface my reading of it by saying that my note of inquiry to him was written in haste and only expressed one side of my own belief on this topic. His reply was as follows, which I give with his own consent:—

"MY DEAR MR. PALMER:—

"Your kind note has made me quite miserable. I wish you had asked me something else. EVILS of a union of Church and State! The truth is that never has a country become really and truly great unless Church and State were perfectly blended together. In fact, the power, health, and influence of a State depend upon the thorough union of Church and State, and the moment their union is dissolved the State decays. All the States of antiquity during their period of bloom and usefulness were theocracies,—Egypt, Assyria, Persia, the Greek States, and Rome itself.

"The weakening of the bonds between Church and State always forbodes the downfall of the State. You seem to consider it a sign of progress, this want of religion in our society. I consider it a sign of approaching dissolution. Our Christian society is entirely based upon the intimate connection between Church and State. The Church, or rather the soul of the Church, the *implicit belief*, has died before the social fabric has tumbled down; and now we see the deplorable sight of the Siamese twins repeated. You remember how one of the twins died before the other, and how the survivor had to drag along with a decaying corpse fastened to him. To sever it would be death, and not to sever it would be death. So he led for several days (nay, even weeks) a horrible existence, until kind death released him from his troubles.

"That is the deplorable position of society. One of the twins, the Church, is a rotting corpse, having died a natural death before his twin brother, the State. Of course the Church will drag its twin brother after it in the already yawning grave.

"EVILS of the union of Church and State!!

"When was England greater, when had it more weight in the councils of Europe, than during the great Cromwell's reign, when Church and State were more intimately united than ever? When was France greater and more influential than under Robert, St. Louis, and Louis XIV., epochs in which Church and State were one?

"Remember the greatness of the first chalfs!! Remember the greatness of the Ottomans under Solomon the Great!! Or Persia under the great Shah Abbas!! Or India under Aurangzebe!!

"I defy you or any one to give me an instance of a nation being great, powerful, influential, without the religious principle pervading every part of the social fabric.

"That this republic here is nothing but a mushroom growth, that notwithstanding a thousand blessings of Nature it is, after a short existence of one century, already decayed and rotten to the core (as much as other States after ten centuries), that is the result of want of a true religious principle. Hypocrisy is here abundant, but belief entirely wanting. How great would America be if the social fabric was purified by the healthful fervor of a true religious devotion!!"

Now, my friends, what shall we say in reply to this letter. Is it possible that we people of the Liberal League are all in the wrong? In advocating a total separation of Church and State, are we proposing that which is to topple down our republic? Is it wrong for us to demand that the general community should be exempted from paying taxes levied to support churches freed from such taxation? Is it absurd for us to require that Episcopalian chaplains should no longer be hired in our navy to lead the worship of Roman Catholic sailors? Is it improper for us to ask that all public appropriations for sectarian purposes shall cease? Is it out of the way for us to insist that the Christian Bible shall not be forced down the throats of Jewish children in our schools, or that Sunday shall not be imposed upon them as their Sabbath? Must that large and growing body we variously denominate radicals, freethinkers, liberals, infidels, atheists, and the like,—must they, I say, sub-

mit to having a Christian God introduced into the Constitution of their country, a God the worship of whom to them means idolatry? Is it possible that the early settlers on our American shores, when they fled the Old World and came here to seek civil and religious liberty,—is it possible that they were mistaken? Were they in error in demanding freedom to worship their own God according to the dictates of their own conscience? Ought they to have humbly bowed to king and pope and said, "Thy will, not ours, be done"? Was Luther an anarchist of the most gigantic sort, instead of the hero we picture him? Is the right of private judgment a mockery, a delusion, and a snare?

Ladies and gentlemen, what shall we say to all this? We are apparently involved in a paradox. We are met, on the one hand, by the letter of the learned historical doctor, which assures us that all great civilizations are always the accompaniments of great RELIGIONS, and that ONLY by the union of Church and State can the institutions of society be cemented and upheld. I, for one, freely confess that I cannot dispute this. The facts of history are too strong for me.

On the other hand, I just as plainly see that the great principle of liberty, which is the soul of our American system, is a treasure I cannot part with except by the abdication of my manhood. Rather than enslave my soul to priest or king I would see civilization itself perish!!

Is there no solution of this problem, no deliverance from this horrible dilemma? Is the inevitable result before us that we must either sacrifice civilization or else surrender our freedom?

Hard were it for the race if this were really one of the enigmas of our lives! But with all humility I may say that I think I see an answer, if not the answer, to this most vital question.

We all have our remedies for social ills, each man his cure-all for public diseases; and before suggesting my explanation of the trouble, I wish to state that it is only my explanation and that of the comparatively small school with whom I agree; and I feel in such a Society or League as this that no special doctrine should be forced upon any, but that all should have full and free opportunity to ventilate their sentiments. I therefore, by way of parenthesis, express the hope that at each and every election a new president will be chosen, representing each year as widely diverging views as possible, so that all may have every chance to disclose their methods of stating and solving the great problem before us. The school to which I have alluded, and in which I include myself, is that little body whose creed is Science, whose religion is the Religion of humanity. In science and humanity I see the only hope for the individual and the race. In this doctrine I at once perceive that we have the elements of a belief in reference to which both Church and State can be guided separately, yet untiedly, while at the same time the individual becomes more and more free.

A reference to history will help us. We know that there was in the Middle Ages a certain separation of the spiritual and temporal powers. The kings ruled on their thrones, while the Pope dispensed spiritual authority from Rome. But it was the kings that kissed the toe of the Pope, and not the Pope that kissed the toe of the kings. The Church, claiming its powers from on high, was paramount over princes and peoples. Thus a great unity existed. All things were ordered and complete. A philosophy which guided the lives of all was ready made and fully believed. In the daily walks of life, in the affairs of State, in sleeping or waking hours, the seals of the great Roman Church hung its protecting infallibility over all.

But Luther and the Reformation sprung at the throat of this great unity, with their dogma of the right of private judgment as their war-cry. The reformers said, "You may be a great, united Church, hoary with age and with the prestige of centuries behind you; but what you are doing is to crush us into spiritual slavery. We will not believe in your indulgences. They are naught but bits of parchment. We will not worship your idols. They are naught but blocks of wood. We, as men, have the same freedom to judge of these things as pope or priest."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, here was a great UNITY that Luther was aiming to destroy in the sacred name of freedom. What was this freedom that he thus claimed? Did he exact freedom from the laws of existence? Did he demand that he should be allowed to breathe without air, or to live without food? Did he claim exemption from the necessities of natural law? No! what he claimed was deliverance from false law, from an ecclesiasticism and a dogmatism that had no foundation in truth, nor in the needs of human nature. Protestantism meant a protest against false theological rule, against wrongfully assumed divine authority.

But suppose, my friends, that we continually keep applying this Protestant (pro-test-ant) principle in the affairs of the Church, what will be, nay, what must be, the result? I answer that the result can only be, in the end, total theological destruction. The Presbyterian protests against the Calvinist, the Episcopalian against the Presbyterian, the Unitarian against the Episcopalian, till the logical end can only be that all individual men and women will be protesting against each other; each one will be setting up his own little God, with his own little heaven and hell, and liberty untrammelled, individualism undiluted, and anarchy unexampled will prevail. This, friends, is the final picture of individual sovereignty from the theological point of view. If freedom means nothing but deliverance from Christian dogmatism, freedom simply means destruction. Both State and citizen may be emancipated from the Church, only to revel in an orgy of license and revolt.

But Luther bullded better than he knew. The

logical eventuation of his policy, as I said, could only be the final and total destruction of the theological fabric. This must in time undoubtedly happen. We to-day, in my opinion, are actually seeing the process. I am confident that among the intelligent of our race we are witnessing Christianity in its last stages of disintegration. But this is happily not all that is resulting as the outcome of Luther's revolution. To show how differently Protestantism may be regarded, I quote from Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, page 148:—

"Now I venture to assert that the exercise of private judgment, faithfully gone about, does, by no means, necessarily and in selfish independence, isolation; but rather ends necessarily in the opposite of that. It is not honest inquiry that makes anarchy; but it is error, insincerity, half-belief, and untruth that make it. A man protesting against error is on the way towards uniting himself with all men that believe in truth."

Again, on page 150, "Hero-worship never dies, nor can die. Loyalty and sovereignty are everlasting in the world; and there is this in them, that they are grounded not on garnitures and semblances, but on realities and sincerities. Not by shutting your eyes, your private judgment; no; but by opening them, and by having something to see! Luther's message was abolition and deposition of all false popes and potentates, but life and strength, though afar off, to new genuine ones. All this of liberty and equality, electoral suffrages, independence, and so forth, we will take therefore to be a temporary phenomenon, by no means a final one. Though likely to last a long time, with sad enough embroilments for us all, we must welcome it as the penalty of sins that are past, the pledge of inestimable benefits that are coming. In all ways it behooved men to quit *stimulacra* and return to fact; cost what it might, that did behoove to be done. With spurious popes, and believers having no private judgment—quacks pretending to command over dupes,—what can you do? Misery and mischief only. You cannot make an association out of insincere men. You cannot build an edifice except by plummet and level,—at right angles to one another! In this wild, revolutionary work, from Protestantism downwards, I see the blessed result preparing itself; not abolition of hero-worship, but rather what I would call a whole world of heroes. If hero mean sincere man, why may not every one of us be a hero? A world all sincere, a believing world,—the like has been, the like will again be, cannot help being. That were the right sort of worshippers for heroes; never could the truly better be so revered as where all were true and good."

These splendid words of the great prophet of sincerity place us in the way of learning what freedom really means. It means not only freedom from error, but freedom to follow the truth. What, then, is error and what is truth? Going far beyond Carlyle my answer would be: *Theology* is error, *science* is truth.

That science is truth we will all undoubtedly agree to; that theology is error I fear many of us will dissent from; but we who have totally discarded anthropomorphism, the supernatural, see that the affairs of this world, with their vast mixture of good and evil, cannot be referred to the ordering of an all-wise, all-good, and omnipotent God; and, looking at the question in a still larger light, we see that theology belongs to that shadowy domain into which the faculties of man cannot enter; or, in other words, that it resides and can reside only in the unknowable. This, then, is the error, the grand error of the ages, which the centuries have been vainly trying to solve, and which I, for one, claim the freedom to lay aside.

But as the heavens are fading away in the mists of the infinite, like a dissolving view, we find rising into clearer and clearer prominence *this earth* and the interests pertaining thereto. God, under Protestantism, is becoming a *stimulacrum*, a semblance, a thin imagination; but man, that is, humanity, as a great organic whole, is strongly emerging to claim the notice which is his rightful due. The soul, after sons of wandering through the infinite, has at length returned to find a hearty welcome in its own mundane home.

This whole question, my friends, is but an excellent illustration of the law of evolution as defined by our greatest living thinker, Herbert Spencer. He shows that evolution is not only a differentiation, but that it is also an integration, which leaves us with the calm conviction in regard to the subject we are discussing, that if the old creeds are being differentiated away, men also are becoming integrated into a new social régime, wherein all that is good of the old will be preserved, and much that is superior will become superadded. Ernst Haeckel, the great German biologist, affixes a good name to the new philosophy. He calls it the *monistic* as opposed to the old *dualistic* one. In this light, no longer are we who call ourselves emancipated troubled with the foreign existences of another and impossible sphere; but in the light of cosmic emotion we find ourselves to be parts of the one great monistic order that surrounds us, wherein the known and the knowable are our only world,—lapped everlastingly in the infinite, but never comprehending it.

Thus at last is a new unity given to our lives. Humanity with its varied interests becomes our be-all and our end-all here. As I have said in another place, our atonement (at-one-ment) is completed. We are at one with the great external order of inorganic Nature by resignation to her inevitable decrees, and we become at one with our fellow-men in service, love, and duty.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, we have arrived at that conception of unity wherein Church and State can really become united, not in administration, to be sure, but in sentiment. You all remember the old Roman fable of the belly and the members: how the Patrician lord instructed the revolting Plebs that

their separation from the body politic was like the amputation of a limb, by means of which all the parts suffer. And thus will it be in the Utopia of which we, believers in the human religion, dream. Adopting the old Roman's simile we may liken our whole ideal to the human figure, as representative of humanity. The spiritual power (and for this comparison I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Wakeman) may then be compared to the left arm, and the temporal power to the right. Both arms are indispensable parts of the one body, yet both act *independently*, and with the most perfect *freedom*. Under this new order of things the spiritual power will be that power which advises, educates, adorns, and consecrates. It will consist of the artist, the teacher, the doctor, the lawyer; yea, also, in the scientific sense, the priest; in the sense perhaps I might say that Mr. Frothingham or Dr. Adler is a priest.

This spiritual power while united in sentiment will remain separate in administration. And so with the temporal power, the power in the future that will watch over the material well-being of the race, the power that will provide, protect, and regulate exchanges. This, also, while governed by the same motive, will fulfil its separate office. Recurring to our simile of the steamboat, we might say that under this proposed régime, in the great ship of progress, not only will Church and State be divided off from each other, but there will be a place for everybody willing to work and do his duty, and everybody will be in his place; and all, under the inspiration of this new enthusiasm, will perform their functions, not so much for themselves as for the ship; and in this view, with this impulse, the grand old vessel of life will bound forward, armed with increased safety, and animated with renewed power. Thus in this vision of the future will prevail the greatest of unities between Church and State, yet the most complete of separations.

Ladies and gentlemen, this earthly heaven for which we long lies in the future, is in fact the human future. It can never be attained by any revival of the past. On the portals of progress evolution has written its motto, "Nulla vestigia retrorsum,"—"No steps backward." We never can reconstruct our race and restore it to another genuine, all-pervading BELIEF, by offering it the dead relics of the past. As long as this earth was regarded as a vale of tears, and the after-life the one thing needful, a real unity could be, and actually was, built on this idea. But as industry, science, and the thousand complex influences of modern life, came in, the affairs of time and sense became so paramount that the old ideal had to give way; and I, for one, see no hope of a grand reconstruction except in the realization of the human Utopia I have tried to intimate.

It may perhaps be asked with some pertinence why, if I advocate this great unity of Church and State, do I assume the presidency of the New York Liberal League, whose chief aim is the complete separation of Church and State. The reply is simple enough. The union that I advocate (though under the separate conditions I have mentioned) is that of a human State and a human Church; but I do favor with all the strength of my nature the separation of the theological Church from the human State. As far as the east is from the west would I have them separate. My cry to the Church, as it stands to-day, would be: "Hands off! Attend to your affairs in heaven while we manage ours on earth." The fact is inevitable that the present Church and State are contrary the one to the other, and in the chop sea of their opposing currents no peace can exist. One glorifies heaven, the other magnifies earth; the one has its end in the hereafter, the other in the here. And, my friends, in this view, the strictly Orthodox Church is perfectly logical in refusing to advocate our measures. From their stand-point they are entirely correct to wish their God figure-headed to our Constitution; for by reason or instinct they see and feel that the more the management of affairs temporal slips from their grasp, the more their power will wane, till, finally, nothing but a vain semblance of influence will be left them.

Perhaps I have spoken too plainly; perhaps policy would suggest to me that I should adopt a more conciliatory tone. If my sentiments seem revolutionary and destructive, I would quote the oft-used motto, "To destroy, you must replace"; and what I offer as a "replacement" is this State and Church of the future. I certainly advocate no violent warfare. Far, very far from it. "Peace hath her victories more renowned than war"; and if this human ideal is to triumph, I wish it to conquer in the strength of its own power and beauty only. I therefore hope and expect that Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Atheist, one and all, who are liberal enough to love truth better than their creed, will join our ranks. We can then compare views and suggest remedies, and, in the long run, I have an abiding faith that that which is best and fittest will survive. The great St. Paul once pictured the Christian career under the metaphor of the race-course. Following such a precedent, let me fancy that Church and State have been entirely divided in our land. I see all the sects ranged like racers under the flag of the National Liberal League, which floats above the race-course of the world. An open track and even start are given to them all. I see the colors of the Catholic, Protestant, Spiritualist, Atheist, Positivist, and of all the denominations, mingled in inextricable confusion, as "they press towards the mark for the prize of their high calling." I do not predict the finish of the race. I simply say the steed of the most thoroughbred blood and mettle, the one that has the most staying power, will be sure to win, and with that I am content.

I would say, in conclusion, that I trust that the candid expression which I have thus given of my private views will excite no prejudice against our work. If our age demands one thing more than an-

other, it is the utterance from each man of his best, most sincere and honest thought. This I have done; and I feel, moreover, that our American love of fair play, which is the essence of our association, assures to one and all a free platform. My thoughts have been led to the turn they have taken, prompted principally by the letter I have read from the learned historical doctor, and I offer them for what they are worth, thanking you for your attention and promising the same tolerance to others' views which I solicit for my own. There are certainly many points, upon some, or perhaps all, of which, we shall be able to unite, and the one aim of this League will be to seek agreements, not differences. In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity.

RENAN'S "CALIBAN."

PARIS, May 31.

Renan has composed a sequel to Shakspeare's "Tempest," under the title of "Caliban." He himself calls it a philosophical drama. He was inspired to write it at Ischia one fine morning, "when the vines were covered with dew, and when the sea was like a whitish silk." He had left Paris, its noise and its quarrels, and was able to enjoy the silent beauty of light and form. But his mind could not divest itself of the problems of the time. "Caliban" is, after all, but an idealized "Rabagas." It is a philosophical study of democracy.

Democracy has always appeared to me like a huge body without any nervous centre. You can prick it, and try satire and irony against it; it does not feel. It opposes to all your efforts its portentous ignorance. It works, it digests, it consumes, it produces, it has appetites, it has instincts; but where can you find the *nodus vitæ*, the point which, touched, suffers acutely? Where is the seat of conscience? Where is responsibility lodged? A despotism has a nervous centre in the person of the despot, in his pride, in his vanity, in his personal and traditional sentiments. It is possible to wound even a Louis XIV. or a Napoleon. Those who do it do so at the risk of their life's happiness, sometimes at the risk of their lives. Fénelon had to pay by a long exile at Cambrai for the timid advice which he dared to give Louis XIV. Chateaubriand was never pardoned for throwing up his diplomatic post after the assassination of the Duke d'Enghien. Despots do not like reproach. They see it sometimes even in the most trifling objects. A Russian of my acquaintance told me that he was for a week in mortal fear of disgrace and of exile because the Emperor Nicholas, just before the Crimean war, met him in the Nevskoi Prospekt dressed in an English pea-jacket. Still, it is a joy and a consolation to think that you can go and seize the powerful and wicked man on his throne at the height of his glory, and that you can tell him the truth and force him to hear it. From his island of Jersey, Victor Hugo hurled forth his "Châtiments" on Napoleon III., and did not Napoleon feel the shaft when he heard such verses as these:—

"Ah! tu finiras bien par orner, misérable!"

Despotism, wrapped up in all its magnificence, surrounded with its armies and battalions, affects to ignore the existence of the intellectual worm; but the pen is, in the long run, mightier than the sword. Then, your despot is not always a moral monster. He is often—too often—a very weak man, and in this very weakness there is a resource, if he can be approached by good, moral, high-minded advisers. The influence of man over man is nowhere so great as in countries governed by traditions, with monarchical and aristocratic institutions. It is almost painful to see in the immense collection of the letters of Richelieu how much care this great minister had to take in order to preserve the confidence of his young king, to give him truly royal ideas, and to separate him from low, debasing, selfish influences. He succeeded, however,—at least, to a great extent. The poor and sickly king, so proud and so shy, so brave in battle, so timid in his court, so afraid of his best friends, and so willing to abandon them, was, nevertheless, what I have called a nervous centre. His qualities as well as his defects afforded a definite ground for the exercise of the faculties of a master mind like Richelieu.

But how are you to direct democracy? You can only do it in an indirect manner, by education, by changing the current ideas of a generation. But so long as this educational work is imperfect you must feel quite helpless. It is with democracy as with parties; you can only lead parties by following them. The general comes behind. The general is the man who feels most keenly, and who can express with the greatest force the most popular notions and ideas.

Renan supposes that Prospero, triumphing by his magic art over all his enemies, is replaced on his throne at Milan; he goes back to Lombardy with Ariel and Caliban. In his philosophical drama Prospero represents the aristocratic spirit, the dilettante, fond of art, of science; he inhabits the Certosa of Pavia, where he continues his experiments, caring but little for his subjects. Ariel represents pure idealism, the Hellenic spirit of love, of beauty. Caliban represents the democratic spirit, or rather the democratic instinct; he embodies the longings, the brutality, the inexperience, the strength, of the masses. He is the same Caliban who says in the "Tempest" to Trinculo, speaking of Prospero:—

"As I told thee before, I am subject to a tyrant: A sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me Of this island."

He says no more to Trinculo:—

"I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries; I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough. A plague upon the tyrant that I serve! I'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee, Thou wondrous man."

Caliban has found out that he has the same rights even that Trinculo has; he complains of his bondage. "Prospero is an usurper; I was the first occupant." Ariel tells him in vain that he is happy at Pavia, that he has plenty of good wine. "Yes," says he, "but I am exploited. Vile valet, don't you see that to be exploited by another man is the most insupportable thing? Have you no honor? No mortal has a right to make a subaltern of another. In that case, revolt becomes the holiest of duties." Ariel explains in vain that Caliban owes everything to Prospero,—the faculty of articulate language, even his human form; Caliban answers that it was a folly to teach him to speak, since he can use the faculty of speaking against Prospero. He has been deceived long enough; the monsters with which his master frightened him were inventions, lies; he will serve no more.

In the second act we are in the gardens of the Palazzo of Milan; the court is assembled, and the courtiers exchange their views on all sorts of matters. Some want reforms, and some laugh at reform; they are all happy and amiable and highly-polished. Caliban is a witness of the feast behind a bush, and he asks himself why he was not invited. "Is it just that I should not be one of them? The rights of men are the same for all men." The feast begins in earnest when Prospero arrives with Ariel; he shows his guests the "gods of the future." Immense giants appear, all in polished steel. Their joints are formed and moved by powerful mechanical articulations; the oil flows in each joint; an incandescent tube is their soul. They seem to eat coal. In another part of the garden a table is spread round which the gods of flesh,—the Olympian gods. The gods of steel attack the gods of flesh, kill them, smash them. An immense confusion ends the scene.

Prospero is delighted, but his prefect of police tells him that he ought to remain for the night in Milan, that the city is in a state of fermentation. Prospero disdainfully returns to his laboratory in the Certosa. The revolution takes place after his departure. Caliban is proclaimed the head of the government, and carried in triumph to the palace. He immediately discovers and tells the people that "Order is necessary. Leave your arms, return to your houses; crown your victory by your moderation and by your respect for property. Vive Milan!" The revolution is ended. Caliban finds himself in Prospero's bed; he is kept awake by his own triumph. In the deep silence of the night he thus soliloquizes:—

"No, I would not have believed it could be so sweet to reign. I would not have believed that reigning makes men so mature. In the journey from the communal square to this palace I have changed more than during the rest of my life. Ten hours have passed since the people brought me here in their arms, and I don't know myself. I was unjust to Prospero; slavery had embittered me. Now, lying in his bed, I can judge him as colleagues judge each other. There was some good in Prospero, and in many things I feel disposed to imitate him. Is there anything more odious, for example, than this inopportune impatience of the people, this succession of impossible petitions with which they annoy me? What avidity for enjoyment! what subversive pretensions! . . . A government ought to resist. I will resist. After all, the established people and myself,—we have common interests. I am established as they are; this ought to last. Property is the ballast of society; I feel in sympathy with the proprietors.

"Then, after the useful comes the brilliant. The brilliant is necessary. I will repair my wrongs. I was jealous at the feast yesterday, because I was there uninvited. Well, feasts, the fine arts, palaces, courts, are the ornament of life. I will favor the artists. The men of letters are the distributors of glory; I will not neglect them. Who was the centre of this fine assembly of yesterday night? It was Imperia; I will court Imperia. . . Ah! if I were only beloved I would be good and happy. A new world opens. The good exists. I see it for the first time. Prospero always spoke of making the happiness of humanity. It was not his destiny to do it. If, perhaps, it were mine. . . ."

Here Caliban goes to sleep.

Prospero has left Milan after his great feast and returned to his dear Certosa. A friend comes the next day and brings him the first proclamation of Caliban. Caliban gives himself out as a moderate. The men of order in Milan, frightened at first, already group themselves round him, and call him the savior of society. Some of them call him the great citizen. Prospero comes out of his scientific dreams; he laughs heartily; he cannot even hate Caliban. He calls Ariel; the time has come for Ariel to show what he can do. They must get rid of this brute of a Caliban, so as to be free to pursue their noble researches. Ariel goes forth, and he soon comes back; he falls from heaven heavily, like a bird blown by a hurricane. "Oh, my master! our art is vanquished; it is powerless against the people." Where Caliban can do everything Ariel can do nothing. In the enchanted island of the "Tempest" Alonso was accessible to Ariel's charms. Now all is different; the revolution is realism. What is ideal, not substantial, has ceased to exist. "When the people says, 'This does not exist,' all is finished. I tremble for the day when this terrible method of reasoning shall touch God. He will be summoned, and if the Eternal stays proudly behind the clouds he will be struck off the catalogue of existences. As for kings and dukes, we know what will become of them. The people is positivist." While Prospero is discoursing with Ariel and a few friends on the triumph of Caliban, on the moderation of Caliban, on the best way of dealing with the people, enters Fra Agostino, of Ferrara, who reads an indictment of the Holy Inquisition, accusing the Duke Prospero of heresy, calling him to account for his impious experiments, his witchcraft, and finally ordering him to follow him into the prisons of

the Holy Office. The Milanese friends of the Duke become very angry, and one of them, *Gonzalo*, says to the Duke, "You see, Monseigneur, *Caliban* has one more quality: he is anti-clerical." *Prospero* laughs, and says: "Well! Vive *Caliban*!"

We come now to what may be called the moral of the piece. *Caliban* makes a visit, as Duke of Milan, to the Certosa; he is received by the friars. The organ prays for him, as he is sitting in the choir on the *sedes auctis*: "O eternal, Thou whom nothing can trouble, irritate, or console, pure and holy being, crystalline light which goes through the world without a stain, we praise Thee with our voice, and proclaim Thee just, perfect, and good. Those who believe, those who hope, those who love, are those alone who do not err." The legate of the Pope denounces the dissolute *Prospero*, "the mortal enemy of your highness," but *Caliban* feels now equally proud and generous. He refuses to deliver *Prospero* into the hands of the Inquisition, and says: "I am the heir of the rights of *Prospero*; I will defend him. *Prospero* is my protégé. Let him work at his ease with his philosophers, his artists, under my patronage. His labors will be the glory of my reign." He calls those who have the tradition of government, and names *Gonzalo* member of the Council of State. *Gonzalo* says: "Sir, I have counselled all my lifetime: I will die counselling; I thank your Highness."

The ceremony is finished. The prior of the friars is in his cell; he prays, and says:—

"The world, which I did well to leave, is an eternal illusion, a comedy composed of acts without an end. What happens proves what nobody would believe, that *Caliban* is susceptible of progress. Yes, all civilization is the work of aristocrats. Aristocracy has created the grammatical language (how many blows have been necessary to make grammar obligatory!), laws, morals, reason. . . . Well-combed, well-washed will become presentable. There will, perhaps, some day be medals to *Caliban*, protector of sciences, letters, and arts." *Prospero* can live, at least for a while, under this régime, and he may even take the direction of it with prudence. . . . As for the extreme delicacy of tender souls, moved by a personal sentiment of loyalty, it has not much place left in this order of things. Such souls have nothing to do but to disappear. "I have loved justice and hated iniquity," said a great pope. You can still love justice; but to hate iniquity. . . . It is easier said than done. Where is iniquity? The best minds search for it, and in the end are much embarrassed."

Ariel dies, and *Prospero* hears from his cell the last accents of his ideal friend:—

"*Præsumam quædam foedera. . . .* This human life is strong, but impure. I want chaste kisses. Every idealist will be my lover. I will be the virgin snow on the neck of the young girl, the fairness of her hair. I will bloom with the rose; I will be green with the myrtle, perfumed with the pink, pale with the olive-tree. Adieu, my master. Remember your little *Ariel*."—*New York Nation*.

THE SOCIALISTIC PROBLEM.

WHY IT EXISTS AND WHY IT WILL BE ARRESTED.

The existence of socialism in the United States is one of the most remarkable facts of the times. At first sight we should say that in this free and rich republic there is neither cause nor even possibility of its existence. The means of comfortable life are easier attained than in any country of the world; not absolutely cheaper, but, in proportion to labor, easier obtained. In the countries where clothing costs little and rice is abundant, the money cost of living is very little; but so is labor. We say, therefore, that, in proportion to other things, the means of comfortable living are easier attained in the United States than in any country. Why, then, should there be an attempt to reorganize society for the exclusive benefit of laborers? Or, if there be such need, why should it not have begun in the old countries long ago? Why should this country, which is best and happiest, be selected as the peculiar field for such operations?

What is the object? The *National Socialist* says: "The newspaper will advocate the reconstruction of society on the basis of an all-embracing justice, demanding conditions in obedience to the law of society evolution, the compulsion of progress. The necessity of the sought-for change has, through all the years of our century, been formulating this loud claim. Science, dislinking the past from the present, gave the initiative, and trades-unionism, as an *avant courier*, stimulated by the changed teachings, asserted the new order by more urgent demands for ameliorations to oppressed labor. New inventions in machinery contributed their share in forcing the proposed revolution, and now, under the pressure of a long season of business depression, the great common heart is fast harmonizing its life-beats to the pulsations of a nobler justice than the world has yet known."

We are here told that the object of the socialist is the "reconstruction of society," the principle an "all-embracing justice," and the mode the "law of society evolution." These are the most general and abstract terms, leaving the reader totally at a loss to know what is really meant. How reconstruct society? The family is the unit of all society, and from this has proceeded society as it is. Is it proposed to reconstruct the family? The law of "society evolution" is exactly the law by which the family has been evolved. Is it proposed to make some new law, real or imaginary? Is it proposed to adopt Mormonism with many wives, or Shakerism with no wife? But the socialist may say: "We do not intend that; we merely mean to reconstruct property; we merely mean to prevent the few from holding so much, and give the many a chance." But property is the result of industry in any country where industry is free and

inheritances are equal. Such is our country. A man can work at what he pleases, and save what he pleases, and invest in what he pleases. Is society to be so reconstructed that he cannot do this? Then society is no longer free. No despotism is greater than that which limits the labor, or the results of labor, or the modes of employing the fruits of labor, in any citizen. It is entirely safe to say, that any successful attempt to do that must first destroy the American government. What, then, is meant by the reconstruction of society? Who is to reconstruct society but society itself? The "reconstruction of society" is the most unmeaning phrase which can be employed, unless we first define who is to reconstruct it, and what its new reconstruction is to be. Suppose society reconstructs itself. Upon what principle? Upon "all-embracing justice." Who is to be the judge of justice? The majority, or minority? Who is to enforce justice? But supposing it can be done, where is justice more clearly announced than in the Christian doctrine? We do not ask whether society has lived up to its Christian profession, but simply whether anything can be conceived more just than that man should do unto others as he would have them do unto him. It is not conceivable by the human mind that a more exact principle of justice is possible. But the socialist may say: It is not carried out, and we want to put it in law. That the laws have favored capital, and especially incorporated capital, I think is plain. After the overthrow of the feudal system, the commercial system became dominant, and incorporations now occupy in the commercial world the place occupied by feudal barons in the landed system. That it will be overthrown or modified seems plain. But will any modification of laws of personal property solve the socialist problem? Will it benefit the laborer any more to be employed by individuals than by corporations? It is not obvious. At any rate, no abstract theories nor any denunciation of capital will avail the least until the propositions to reconstruct society are put in some definite practical form.

We come now to inquire what kind of people are they who have started and continue socialism. And is there a possibility of success? On these points the public mind is not as well informed as it should be. It is assumed that the socialists are an ignorant and depraved class of people; in one word, the lowest class, struggling against good order and restraints of government. This is a great mistake. Socialism is the result of intelligence unrestrained by religion. It is not intelligence of the highest order, but it is just such intelligence as modern education will give to men who read and understand the superficial books of the day, and especially the hundreds of books which are issued by theoretical economists, German philosophers, and infidel opposers of Christianity. In some of its leaders it is high intelligence on all the social or philosophical subjects of the day. Behind this intelligence lies the great mass of unthinking men, who are in want, and are irritated by the fact of great wealth in the hands of men who seem to have done no more for society than themselves. They forget that in this country the millionaires have, without exception, come from the very ranks to which they belong themselves. Astor and Vanderbilt are removed but one generation from common laborers. Shall we forbid the laborer from rising to the rank of Astor and Vanderbilt? Yet it is to this class, confined almost entirely to cities, that the philosophers of socialism appeal. It is to the human nature of want, and passion, and feeling they appeal, and the appeal is never wholly in vain; for human nature is always the same, from the days when David led out his needy band, to the days of the Chartists of England and the Commune of Paris. The last question is, Can they possibly succeed? No. I once talked with one of the leading Chartists of England. They had presented a petition to parliament signed with three millions of names. It seemed portentous of revolution; but the revolution did not come, and no power was used against them but that of the constables of London. I asked the Chartist about this, that, and the other class being for and against them. When we had got through I said to him: "You have but one-fifth of the people of England with you, and you can get no more." He said: "Yes." "What, then, is possible to you?" "Nothing but insurrection and revolution." "But," said I, "that is impossible, because the people are against you." So it is in this country; only more so. The socialists, nationalists, or whatever they may call themselves, are confined almost exclusively to the cities and large towns. What can they do against all the farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and bankers? The former make up two-thirds of all the able-bodied people of this country, and not a man among them has any interest in disturbing that order of society in which they live peaceably and prosperously. When you add to these the commercial and manufacturing men of business, you have nearly if not quite four-fifths of the whole people of this country. What can any socialist organization do against that? Absolutely nothing. Undoubtedly a few evil-disposed men can do much mischief, and expose the whole commercial class to loss and danger. The *National Socialist*, however, declares that no violence is intended, and that they will operate by the ballot. What can one fifth of the people do by the ballot? There is one thing they can do, and perhaps it would not be an unmixed evil. They can disturb and possibly disorganize the dominant political parties. This they can do, and probably will attempt. But the moment they introduce their peculiar doctrine, that moment others will be united against them. In one word, they may destroy political organizations for the time being, but cannot affect the legislation of the country, until one becomes greater than four. The vote of the last October elections shows precisely how this question divides society. The national party cast nine thousand

votes in Cincinnati. Of these half were cast in the wards where the Germans predominate, and the forty precincts of the country did not cast more than half as many as one ward. It is not, therefore, a "national" party, and never can be. That it is an imported element, foreign to this country, is very plain. It is just such a product as the philosophers of Germany and the infidels of England would produce,—wholly theoretical and wholly impracticable. In this country it can have no practical success, for if Americans are characterized by anything it is common-sense. And yet our commercial system might be greatly improved and the laborer greatly benefited by putting the moneyed corporations on the same level with the laborer, and leaving individual industry to free competition. The laborers have just right to complain of some of the workings of society. But the only way to remedy them is by the gradual enlightening and convincing society that some remedy is necessary and reasonable.

While it is impossible, either by violence or by ballot, that socialists should succeed, there is, nevertheless, a real danger that masses of men in cities and in mines may be induced, by special arguments of wrongs and sufferings, to commit violence and disturbances, which may cause loss, and interrupt the operations of business. At this moment there is a great organization in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, which may result any time in a dangerous outbreak. The same is reported in several large cities, and it is evident that even a small minority may do much harm.—*E. D. Mansfield in Cincinnati Gazette*.

AN ELEVATED purpose is a good and ennobling thing, but we cannot begin at the top of it. We must work up to it by the often difficult path of daily duty,—daily duties always carefully performed.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE RIVER'S LESSON.

Through a lovely little village, in a valley green and still,
With streets embowered in blossoms, guarded by one stately hill,
Runs a broad and sparkling river, fed by many a trickling rill.

Ah, that river! what a lesson it conveys to thoughtful minds,
As in its proud, strong beauty by verdurous banks it winds,
And brave and free and daring its eager way it finds

To the wide and boundless ocean, this river's destined goal!
Strong the lesson it is teaching to many a lonely soul,
Held in bondage by stern poverty, while hating such control.

For, however still and peaceful in outward mien and air,
There's no village, town, or hamlet that hides not hearts of care,—
Ambitious hearts, yet timid, that long to do and dare,

But think themselves all powerless to contend against their fate,
And deem it only possible on circumstance to wait;
So sit in silent sorrow until, alas, too late.

But the river, the brave river, sings to these a song of cheer,
Says, "O trembling hearts, be strong and calm to conquer slavish fear;

See how, through stony obstacles, my way I force and clear.
"For though the sea I long for is miles and miles away,
Though I have no guide to lead me if from my course I stray,
Yet fearless I my path pursue; no obstacle can stay.

"I plough my way with joyful song and cheerful, daring heart,
While, never pausing on my route, I take an active part,
Where'er I go, by lonely hut, or traffic's busy mart.

"So take, O silent, longing soul, thy courage by the hand;
Bid fear adieu; by force of will seize fortune's magic wand,—
So shall the river's lesson in place of fortune stand."

THORNDIKE, MASS.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 13.

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 18, 1878.

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

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

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

N. B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHEENEY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
CARY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZABETH WRIGHT, C. D. B.
MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

THE Hampshire County Journal, in this State, in defence of its course in exposing a defaulting church-member, said lately: "We honestly believe that the doctrine of 'the atonement,' as inculcated from most pulpits, has been received by many as a sort of license to crime. Not in the sense of the sale of an indulgence—for its grossness would shock all sense of right,—but as a resort, in case of detection, for immunity from its punishment, especially if it is accompanied by confession."

PROFESSOR H. M. KOTTINGER'S *Youth's Liberal Guide*, published at Milwaukee, is an attempt to furnish a text-book on ethics for the use of liberals in educating their children without superstition. It contains much that is excellent in the teaching of moral ideas, and is especially rich in illustrative stories, extracts, and poems. It devotes a great deal of attention to religion and its history, criticising it from the stand-point of dogmatic materialism. All this, we must confess, seems to us out of place in a manual of ethics, which, properly treated, have no more to do with the common notions of religion than has geography or arithmetic. It is a mistake to treat morality as having any real connection with religious ideas, positive or negative; it has its own independent basis in social relations, which are necessary, objective facts. In the hands of a judicious teacher, however, Professor Kottinger's book can be made very useful, and is certainly a praiseworthy attempt to meet a serious practical want.

FOR SOME TIME the New York Tribune has been wavering in the support it had previously given to Anthony Comstock's bad methods of getting evidence, and his arbitrary prosecutions. These we have always condemned. But it is a good sign of the times to see one of those journals which sedulously obey current opinions beginning to perceive that Comstock is abusing a power which ought never to have been so largely vested in the hands of any single person. The Tribune said in its issue of July 11: "The Tribune has again and again defended the general purposes of the work which has unwisely, perhaps, been committed to the discretion of Mr. Anthony Comstock. Of late it has been compelled more than once to express its doubts as to the wisdom with which Mr. Comstock conducted the work. In a card written a few days ago, he resented, with some heat and doubtful grammar, any question of the entire correctness of his methods, repeated his charges in the particular case in which the Grand Jury had thrown them out, and boasted of his purpose yet to make them good. We print elsewhere his letter, together with yesterday's record of judicial proceedings in the case. The one seems to dispose pretty effectually of the other; and we now repeat, with somewhat more emphasis, the warning to the members of this society, that they must either teach Mr. Comstock more discretion or lose a good deal of the cordial support they have hitherto received from the better portion of the public and the press of New York."

THE POPE'S VICTORY OVER THE QUEEN.

Montreal is annually threatened with bloody outbreaks in the month of July, in consequence of the hostility between two factions of the Queen's subjects, the Catholics and the Protestants. The anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, at which in 1690 William III. defeated James II. and thereby ascended the throne of Great Britain, occurs on the twelfth of that month, and commemorates the final triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism in the contest for political supremacy in the British Empire. Ever since that fateful day, the Protestant organization known as the Orangemen have in one way or another celebrated the day, partly on political but still more on religious grounds; and, not unnaturally, any public celebration of it is exceedingly offensive to all Catholics. Most of the daily papers speak as if it were merely an obsolete issue that so persistently threatens the public peace at this season; but it is the fatal rancor between antagonistic living creeds that stirs the blood of each faction, and prompts to insult on the one hand and to revenge on the other. Unfortunately, mankind are still in so barbarous a condition as not to have outgrown the childishness of hating each other on account of a difference of belief; and it is this latent ferocity of the savage, surviving in those who imagine themselves civilized, which is the root of all this bitterness and threatened bloodshed.

The old quarrel this year assumed larger proportions than ever at Montreal. Notwithstanding that the Orangemen abandoned their procession last year, a young Protestant named Hackett was murdered by a Catholic mob, and it was determined and announced that the procession would certainly take place this year, in order to establish beyond dispute the Orangemen's "right to march." A conflict of civil authority arose. Mayor Beaudry, himself a Catholic and under the control of the Catholic hierarchy, issued a proclamation forbidding the procession, on the ground that the Orangemen were an illegal association and endangered the public peace. Some of the local magistrates, however, appealed to the general government at Ottawa, and asked for troops to vindicate the right of procession and to protect the Orangemen from assault. A large number of troops was sent to the city in compliance with this request, and placed under the orders of the magistrates. But Catholic roughs flocked to Montreal from all quarters; five hundred of them were sworn in by the Mayor as special constables; and it is said that thirty thousand rioters were all ready to break up the procession at all hazards. When the day came, Mayor Beaudry arrested the members of the procession as fast as they issued from their hall; and, intimidated and overawed, the Orangemen abandoned their purpose, and ventured on no demonstration abroad. The Catholic mob, virtually headed by the Mayor and no doubt secretly governed by the Church authorities, achieved a signal triumph for the second time.

Is it imagined that this will prove to be a permanent settlement of the question? He who thinks so must know very little of human nature, and equally little of the necessities of just government. The "right to march" is the principle at stake; it will not be surrendered, however flushed with victory the mob may be. The Catholics themselves claim this right, and exercise it whenever they please, as on St. Patrick's day. The "right to march" is not an absolute one; it would be far better if all political or religious processions should be impartially prohibited in great cities, on account of their dangerous tendency, under circumstances of public excitement, to lead to a breach of the peace. But the prohibition should be strictly impartial, and as strictly enforced; it can only exasperate and foment disturbance to permit one party to march, while preventing another. The "right to march" is really nothing in this case but the equality of rights in religion; and justice would be done either by protecting each faction in its processions, or by compelling both alike to refrain from them. As matters now stand in Montreal, however, it would be gross injustice to pass a law of this sort just now; it is the government's manifest duty to permit the Orangemen to enjoy what the Catholics have already enjoyed, and to vindicate their present "right to march" before abolishing this artificial right altogether for the future, both with respect to the Protestants and the Catholics. No matter if it should require the entire military force of the Dominion, the Orange procession should be protected next year by a demonstration on the part of the government so formidable as to make the Catholic mob afraid to lift a finger by way of molestation,

aye, even though it should be necessary to line the whole path of the procession on each side with triple ranks of soldiers. Nothing short of this energetic and determined action will wipe out the disgrace of the fact that this year the priests have proved themselves stronger than the government. The civil authorities of Canada have received a staggering blow; they have been shown to be unable to cope with the tyranny of the Church.

This struggle has deeper roots than the shallow observers and scribblers of the press perceive. At bottom it is the question—Shall the Queen or the Pope be supreme in Canada? Shall the State or the Church be the actual dominant power of the land? This menacing and most dangerous attitude of the two in Montreal is a practical proof of the wisdom of those who, like Mr. Gladstone, discern the remote but certain consequences of the new Vaticanism of the Papacy. In every country the same question is slowly rising for solution; we must meet it here by-and-by. One is little disposed to laugh at it in Canada, in view of the late occurrences in Montreal; for there the Pope has achieved a signal and startling victory over the Queen. It remains to be seen whether the State, controlled by illogical Protestantism, is powerful enough to cope with the Roman Church, controlled by the terrible logic of Jesuitism. As Montreal proves, it is not to-day, and we do not believe that it ever will be. We believe that nothing but absolutely secular government will in the end prove itself strong enough to sustain free institutions permanently; and there is constantly growing danger in the delay to secularize it. We watch the struggle in Canada with intense and fraternal interest; for the battle there is the battle here, and victory there will be victory here. But to-day we witness there the total and ignominious defeat of the State by the Church, of the Queen by the Pope; and we cannot help wondering whether English love of liberty, equal rights, and fair play, roused at last, will be mighty enough to overthrow the proud and implacable tyranny of Rome. Of one thing we are sure: neither in Canada, in the United States, nor anywhere else, can the mongrel half-breed of Protestant Christianity prove a match for the full-blooded, inexorably logical, and Jesuitized Christianity of the Vatican. In politics as in religion, it will yet prove to be "ROME OR REASON."

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

When I was a boy no part of the Bible was more read, or talked, or preached about than the last book, curiously named an "Apocalypse" or "Revelation." Since the great disappointment of the Millerites, some forty years ago, in regard to the use of their white ascension-ropes, I have heard less of the book of Revelation and of the scriptural prophecies generally. But it is a wonderful book, and seemed to me when a child far superior to Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Many times I read it through at a single sitting, with the same sort of wonder and delight as I felt in reading the *Arabian Nights*, only as much greater as a thunder-storm is greater than a salvo of artillery. Further on in life, though as a prophecy it seemed to me incomprehensible and useless, I tried to persuade myself that as a poem or allegory it had a good moral.

To-day, after having laid it aside for about thirty years, I have carefully re-read it, prompted by a sermon I lately heard, which had a verse of this book for a text; and the conviction forced upon my mind as to the effect it has had upon the history of the world for the last twelve or fifteen centuries is such that I feel impelled to state it as widely and distinctly as I may.

A word about that sermon first, and the distinguished divine who preached it.

A year or two before the present century began, the first missionary society was formed in Connecticut, and its first missionary, with his young bride, was sent to the Indians at the mouth of the Maumee, in Ohio.

He was as harmless as a dove, but if he had been as wise as a serpent he would not have started on such an enterprise with the slender outfit and stipend of cash which the society allowed him. Whiskey in the hands of better-paid missionaries had preceded him, and he found the Indians much preferred that to the Gospel. He went further and fared worse till he brought up at Mackinaw, where, on account of the distance and stinginess of his employers, he was obliged to incur debt to keep from starving. None too soon he was recalled by the society to preach to the white people beginning to settle on the Western Reserve, or New Connecticut, as it was then called.

Here he conceived the idea of getting a virgin township settled wholly and exclusively by Christian people, so that the Church and the Town should be identical. To this end he made a most excellent selection of land, and, obtaining the consent of the proprietors, became their agent for the sale of homesteads, receiving instalments of pay and promising titles as soon as the payments were complete. As early as 1807, he built with his own hands, and moved into, the first log cabin in the township, with his wife and two or three children. In 1810, when it was my lot, at the age of six, to be carried to that same township, he had attracted fifteen or twenty families, very nearly all of them professing and very respectable Christians. They had already constituted themselves a church. I can remember only three men, and they were squatters, who were not in it. One of these was an honest Dutchman, one a genial but bibulous Irishman, and the other a Yankee who seemed to make a point of breaking the third and fourth commandments, simply to show his independence. But unfortunately the good missionary's family expenses and much travelling had caused him to use so much of the money paid him for land that titles from the proprietors were not forthcoming when the payments were complete, and this interfered with his usefulness and popularity as a pastor, and in fact led to his return to Connecticut with his family in 1812, in a condition of great affliction. His oldest son was my school-mate in a log school-house for two years, and just sixty-six years after that I heard that son, now a venerable D.D., preach in that same town, to which he had come on a visit with three of his sons, to find the site of the log cabin his father built.

The labors and preaching of that missionary founder of a purely Christian town seem to have been highly successful in perpetuating a race of persistent church-goers, of exemplary Orthodoxy, but his example of getting into debt beyond his ability to pay seems also, in spite of a most exuberant fertility of soil, to have had some effect; for here I found a great many people who were up to their eyes in green fields also up to their eyes in debt, because they must needs go into mining and manufacturing beyond their depth. Happily the church is not in debt for the meeting-house, which was built before the fashion of running in debt for sacred things. It is an old-fashioned structure outside, but has all modern conveniences inside, with a beautifully-flower-adorned dais for a pulpit, and a congregation dressed in the style of the day, while their theological opinions are just the same as they were fifty years ago, when I knew them going to meeting in homespun. Just as if they were pat to the people and the occasion, the preacher read from the book of Revelation those startling epistles to the seven churches of Asia.

I come now to the sermon of one of the greatest lights of Orthodoxy on the Atlantic coast. I must say, I thought it a little brave in my old friend to take his text from a part of the Bible so little used nowadays. What he made of it was that every Christian has an opportunity and is under a corresponding obligation to work for Christ, however little his strength may be, and that only they can work for Christ, that is, *do any good in the world*, who have not denied his name. In short, assuming Christianity to contain all that is good in the world, he preached that none but Christians can do any good. But I must do him the justice to say that he preached this in a very humdrum, professional tone of voice, as if it came from his cloth and not himself. He kindled up a little when he said every man should be true to his convictions, which seemed so much the right thing said in the right place that I felt like clapping him for it. His sermon done, he asked liberty of the congregation to be a little personal, and spoke of the labor of his father and its fruits, with a depth of feeling which touched the hearts of his hearers, and made his previous sermon seem like a lay figure. It seemed refreshing to find that preaching a purely artificial and conventional theology for half a century could not entirely spoil a man.

But how comes it to be possible that a book which if it is not prophecy is nothing, and nearly forty years after its last chance of being a prophecy has failed, can now be used without a word of apology as the sure word of God? Can it be that any educated clergyman, and especially one with two capital D's, is ignorant of the history of the interpretations of this book, and that Time has put his seal of falsehood on every one of them, till it is a sure symptom of insanity to venture another?

If it was a prophecy, time has proved it false, whether by a day we understand a day or a year.

The longest period to which its time could be stretched, from the latest date of beginning, has gone by, and no millennium, no Satan bound for a thousand years, no Lord coming in the clouds, and no saints rising to meet him. Nothing like it either, in any spiritual sense. There is no possible escape for believers in the truth of the entire Scriptures but in taking it not as a prophecy at all, but a mere poetical fiction with some allegorical sense. But if such it was, it was still a most unfortunate production, because from the first it was, and has been, almost down to the present day, understood, or rather misunderstood, as prophecy, and been used by quarrelling Christians against each other.

Look at the book calmly and read it in the light of the admitted fact that the first Christians, from the time of the crucifixion till long after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, expected Jesus Christ to come down from the clouds and set up his kingdom on earth. Consider how persecution had embittered them towards the Roman government. What was to hinder a sublime zealot from writing just such a book, prudently putting off what was momentarily expected for just three years and a half, filling up that time with visions calculated to excite the highest enthusiasm of the saints, and promising at the end of that short period the utter destruction of hated Rome, under the pseudonym of Babylon? That was to be the beginning of Christ's reign on earth for a thousand years in a golden New Jerusalem. After that Satan was to be loosed awhile, and go forth to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle, and on this occasion the world would be brought to an end by being burnt up. Considering the circumstances of the time in which he wrote, there seems no great improbability that the revelator meant literally what he said, a day for a day, and a year for a year. Of course, after three years and a half had gone away and Rome did not perish nor the New Jerusalem come down, the credulous Christians had either to extend the time or spiritualize the prophecy into an allegory. Oceans of ink have been expended in doing it, from century to century, but not much since the aforesaid disappointment of our good friends the Millerites.

As a prophecy it has turned out utterly false in every possible interpretation. As an allegory no book in the whole world's literature ever proved more disastrous to mankind. "Turbid and phantasmagorical" is what Matthew Arnold calls some of the prophecies, as those of Ezekiel and Daniel, which preceded the Christian era. But the Apocalypse is the very culmination of religious frenzy and fanaticism. It was the false glare, the *aberglaube*, of this very book which has upset the reason—or, as Matthew Arnold well calls it, the "sweet reasonableness"—of the Church, both Catholic and Protestant, down to the present time.

Christians were the followers of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world; all other men were the children of Satan, had the mark of the Beast on their foreheads, and what was to happen to every one of them is thus described in this marvellous book: "The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever; and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." With such horrible texts Catholic priests for ages stirred up the simple-minded people to murder heretics; and Protestant divines, taking the Beast for the Pope, sternly consigned every papist to hell. Dr. Thomas Scott, commenting on this passage, says, "Every one who is at all conversant with the writings of the reformers and their successors knows that they generally declared, without hesitation, that popery was a *damnable* religion. Mr. Hooker, in Queen Elizabeth's time, brought himself into suspicion, and was engaged in a controversy, because he asserted, with much caution and many distinctions, that *papists might be saved*; and whatever contempt may be cast on their bigotry, in this day of false candor, liberality, and disregard to the Scriptures, it is worthy of serious consideration, whether this passage does not warrant by far the greatest part of what these reformers advanced on that subject." My conviction is, that the literature of the world does not contain a book which has done more mischief to the human race, or has been more palpably convicted of falsehood, than that from which my reverend friend took his text. E. W.

Communications.

HEYWOOD'S SENTENCE.

DEAR INDEX:—

I see that Heywood is sentenced to fine and imprisonment. I am sorry for this on many accounts; but it is enough to say that I regard it as *unwise* from more than one point of view. The main question is, however, "Is it wrong?" I am glad to see that you will treat that subject.

Meantime will you give me room to offer a distinction? If the sentence be wrong, it must be either because it is too severe or because there should be no punishment at all. If it be said that the sentence is too severe, this may be granted; but it involves the admission that Heywood has done some wrong and may be punished justly to some degree. If it be said there should be no punishment, this must be either because the publication in question contains nothing corrupting, or because what is corrupting is merely incidental, and neither the intent nor presumably the effect of the pamphlet. The former point, that there is nothing indecent or corrupting in the essay, I do not discuss. This is a matter upon which persons will differ according to their bias of mind or the influence of circumstances. But if it be said there is no crime, because whatever is corrupting in the expression or mode of treatment is merely incidental and not the intent of the writer, it may be answered that intent to commit injury is not always necessary to the idea of crime. When injury is possible, a gross carelessness may be criminal. Absolute recklessness concerning collateral consequences may be highly reprehensible and justly punishable, when the main intent is innocent and the common effects harmless.

Suppose, for instance, that a dealer in toys for children should paint his articles with dangerous and virulent poisons, because they conferred very brilliant colors attractive to the childish eye. He would not intend to poison the little ones; nevertheless the act would be intolerable and criminal; and if the dealer persisted in it after being warned, no course would remain but to restrain him by force.

Regarding Heywood's pamphlet, with which I became acquainted because he made me a present of it, I am willing to confess that after I had read it, or sufficient of it, I threw it in the fire; not with the feeling that Heywood was a bad man or that he intended to corrupt young persons, but that he had treated a topic of extreme delicacy, and of the first moment to public morals, with a recklessness of expression and manner tending to confuse, or even obliterate, moral distinction in the minds of the young and unprotected; that, to continue the above illustration, he had yielded to the temptation of daubing his work with flaunting and stimulating, but poisonous and deadly colors, to make it "sell well" and "take" with the uneducated and the exposed. If this be true, the main intent is of little consequence; the incidental recklessness is criminal, and may be restrained justly by society. Heywood may claim that liberty entitles him to be the sole judge of the proper manner and expression, so long as he does not directly aim at debauchery. But this, I apprehend, as only another form of the attempt to shield the whole abuse under free speech,—the absurdity of which, I think, has been so well shown in your columns that no one could wish it better done. I do not hesitate to lay down the principle that society may claim rightfully not only that the writer or teacher shall be responsible for what he intends to teach, so that he shall not deliberately inculcate lewdness, but that he shall be responsible also for the collateral tendencies of his style and manner of teaching, so that it shall be incumbent on him to use the language, illustrations, etc., the least likely to work injuriously on the imaginations of the young, the untalented, and the passionate.

I have seen the point raised that, if Heywood's *intent* be unquestioned, his book is as much entitled to go its way as Shakspeare, in which the indecencies are much greater. I think the claim is nonsense. It may be more fit to discuss it when Heywood's work, or any other such production, displays the imposing and majestic moral power of that immortal poet. The cases are exactly reversed. In Shakspeare the incidental uncleanness (an admitted disfigurement, the imprint of a state of society now happily passed away) is buried under a colossal temple of morality and a beauty as sublime as that of mountains. In penny pamphlets of puny English and crude or feeble thought, the incidental uncleanness is apt to stand out as the only part sticking to the mind, and it swallows all the rest.

But, more than this, I would not be willing to see "Titus Andronicus" published in cheap form and urged upon boys through the malls at five cents a copy, or peddled about the country by female agents. I would like to see the man who should do this restrained and punished. I would say the same of many other writings whose *intent* was by no means to debauch, and which it would not be wise to destroy altogether. But more than this, also, whatever may be said of the claims of genius, I would hold any poet who should write "Othello" or "The Merry Wives" now, just as they stand written, to be dishonored thereby; and if, having so written, he should set agencies to work to get his writings in cheap forms into the hands of children, or of the ignorant and unthinking, I would restrain and punish him. I think it is time to say that poetry is never the better, but always the worse, for sensuality, or even a low and common sensuousness; that genius is never the more admirable, but is despicable, for dabbling in the dirty iridescence that floats on stagnation. I am glad that certain poets now in vogue do not belong to these shores; and I trust it is true that "there is little chance that the Lesbian school of poetry, which

makes it a boast that it does not write for mothers or children, will ever gain a solid footing on English ground."

This subject is a grave one. The attitude of many of the "Liberals," against which you have been obliged to protest, shows the danger of a crude and rash doctrine of liberty. If reasonable men will not admit that a true doctrine of liberty requires us to refrain from interfering with speaking, printing, and disseminating things the avowed object of which is corruption, it is surely a fair question how far a correct theory of freedom obliges us to put up with a recklessly broad and offensive expression, which may not be obtrusively and avowedly, but possibly the more insidiously, hostile to delicacy of feeling and purity of character.

J. VILA BLAKE.
QUINCY, Ill., June 29, 1878.

THE MONGOLIAN PROBLEM.

Bishop Ferrette's criticisms on my recent article on the Mongolian Problem are in substance just, but he has not quite correctly apprehended me. Perhaps I was not sufficiently explicit. Perhaps I took too much for granted a measure of acquaintance with the particular merits of this case larger than is general. Also, I viewed the situation from a less remote perspective than the bishop occupies, my aim being simply to point out the pressing and intolerable evils which attend upon Chinese immigration as it is now being conducted. If the principal facts stated in Mr. Sergeantson's great speech in the California Legislature two years ago be substantially correct (and I believe they are vouched for by unimpeachable witnesses), then all the Chinese at present in this country are in the position of slaves. They consist, for the most part, of men who have left their families in bond with the Chinese usurers. In modern China, as in ancient Rome, a lander who fails to meet his engagements punctually becomes the slave of his creditor, until he has worked out his redemption, and that is the business on which the Chinese are now engaged in the Pacific States. Is it not, then, a real wrong to import these poor people in order artificially to depress the labor market,—to depress it below starvation point for the American or European? No doubt cheap imported labor does increase a country's material wealth, but, according to existing social arrangements, it enriches the rich only and impoverishes the poor. The Chinaman will always be able to underbid the American-born citizen in some departments of the labor market, because he is unambitious and satisfied with a meaner way of living. But is he, because of this, the better man? Not so. In this country he only plays the part of a well-trained animal. He has hands, but not a head. And, unluckily for him, hands are at a discount, whereas the demand for heads grows brisker every year.

What Hume, with his accustomed perspicacity, surmised from *a priori* reasons, has since then been confirmed *a posteriori*; namely, that the legalization of infanticide (as has always been the usage of the Chinese) would exert the reverse influence from that which was intended, because it would facilitate marriages, and when the hour came only a small proportion of women would possess the hardihood to put in practice this barbarous economy. From hence it comes to pass, or at any rate it does come to pass, that the three and a half hundred millions who inhabit China always press closely on the starvation level, and even when the cup swims over and a few odd millions get starved out of the way the balance is rapidly restored to average height. So that if, as the bishop suggests, a steady influx of the free Chinese should set in to our shores, this land may be afflicted with a plague of yellow-skinned more horrible than the Egyptian locusts.

The time appears to be approaching when the problem of the fusion of races will take rank among the two leading problems for decision almost the world over. 'Tis so already here. For in the eyes of the discerning, the Chinaman is even now a worse scare than the negro ever was.

All experience is against the amalgamation of races of unlike types by intermarriage. To begin with, marriage is rendered difficult on account of pride and because it is unnecessary. Nearly all hybrids of this sort are the fruit of concubinage. But this is not all. The produce of such unions, whatever merits they may have, invariably lack robustness and tend quickly to sterility.

Wherever the lower races encroach upon the higher, one of two things befalls them: either slavery or extermination. This looks hard, but it seems to be inevitable. And, after all, is it not well? For is it not fit that men of the noblest type should spread until they cover all the lands they can inhabit? We present just now a spectacle unique in history. We are deliberately inviting the Chinese to our shores to eat us out of hearth and home. When the Germanic hordes descended upon Rome, that was according to the proverb of St. Paul, that the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. But the Chinese can not drive us before them. The only question is whether we are bound to die of our own accord in order to make room for them to live. I think that we are not, and for the following reason: Not the most human lives, but the most human worth, is the final end of all economy. And just as any one is bound to die to preserve a life more precious than his own, and count himself too much rewarded by the honor (because, as De Tocqueville says, incorrectly yet sublimely, "Life is neither a pain nor a pleasure, but a serious business, to be begun with courage and ended in self-sacrifice"), just so are the lower races bound to die to make room for their superiors. You say, perhaps, that the Chinese is a thrifty, ant-like people, able to dwell thickly on the ground. Well, maybe so; but stock the land with the very ants themselves, and the population will be still more numerous.

Some years ago a curious case chanced to come within my knowledge, which occurred in the great asylum for the insane at Colony Hatch, near London. One of the patients had shown such signs of returning reason that the authorities ventured to leave him a good deal unrestrained. For some days he behaved himself quite well, but one morning at breakfast he pointed to one of his comrades in misfortune and observed in a serious and reflective tone, "That man is too ugly to live." And, accordingly, later in the day, he made a violent attempt on the poor fellow's life. The bishop, to judge from his eloquent peroration, harbors the same prejudice (and I confess I partly share it); but if the ugly races are indeed bound to die, at least we need not invite them to our shores to kill them.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.
NEW YORK CITY.

WHO IS AT FAULT?

PROVIDENCE, July 8, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

You will notice by the report of the Providence Journal that in these "Plantations" dedicated to *soul liberty* a very heartfelt feeling found expression last evening in a meeting attended by one of the most thoughtful and respectable audiences that could have been gathered on any occasion. I have also been assured by some of the most eminent members of the Rhode Island bar that the rulings of Judge Clark in the case of Mr. Heywood were partial, arbitrary, and wholly unwarranted.

Now does the Liberal League mean business, or is it a harmless figure-head? If there ever was a fitting occasion to prove its usefulness, this issue has furnished it. The history of liberty is essentially embodied in the progress of defining liberty. If a judge can send a man to jail at hard labor for two years for attacking "time-honored institutions," who is safe?

A hundred years ago the doctrine of the Trinity was one of these "time-honored institutions," and public sentiment backed the judges who condemned the "immoral" pamphleteer to prison. While the evolutionists promise us so much for the infinite perfectibility of the race, is it possible that any one arrangement of fallible men is so far a finality that a man must suffer martyrdom for attacking it? These questions and issues have been forced upon thoughtful men, through the startling proceedings of the court which sentenced Mr. Heywood. No radical can afford to stand on the fence. The Liberal League, with every other power for good, is to be put on record in these matters. Shall it be found wanting?

HENRY APPLETON.

[It is not talk or empty resolutions that are wanted, but vigorous action. The National Liberal League was designed to act efficiently in defence of equal rights in religion and universal mental liberty; but it must remain weak until those who are interested in these principles prove by their own active support of it that they appreciate its value. Rhode Island has not a single local League; has Mr. Appleton ever tried to help form one? The National League can only become powerful by the multiplication of five local Leagues; and it strikes us as not very reasonable or fair for those who have not lifted a finger in its support to map out work for it in this assuming manner. Let the liberals form a great constituency of local Leagues and supply the Directors with ample funds; and then let them complain if the work is not done with vigor and zeal. But until they do this, let them blame themselves if they find themselves powerless to protect their own rights. For five years and a half we have labored incessantly to give them the means of protecting these rights by a powerful organization; and we do not see the propriety of being called upon in this way to "make brick without straw."—Ed.]

THE CLARKE INSTITUTION FOR DEAF MUTES, AT NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

The anniversary exhibition of this institution, together with the giving of diplomas to the graduating class, occurred yesterday. Illustrations were given of the progress of the pupils in articulation and in lip-reading, this system of instruction being the basis on which the institution is founded. In speaking, they could, generally, be quite well understood, and their voices were remarkably well-modulated, and relieved, in a good degree, from those unnatural and painful sounds which usually accompany the utterances of persons deprived of hearing. The rising and falling inflections of voice, and also the circumflex, were given with great accuracy, and, when rapidly performed, amounted almost to a musical trill. Their success in the gradual crescendo and diminuendo of the vowel sounds was quite perfect. The beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer were repeated in concert by one of the classes in an intelligible manner, and in as nearly measured accents as are usually heard from classes in full possession of hearing. A poem was read quite pleasingly by one of the young ladies. Patient and persevering effort on the part of the teachers could alone secure such satisfactory results. The facility of the scholars in lip-reading was equally remarkable. The graduating class was examined in one of their studies by questions heard by the audience, while of course inaudible to them, but were understood readily by them from the reading of the lips, and answered audibly as readily as would be done by a class in the full exercise of hearing, so that a stranger unaware of the conditions would hardly have suspected the

questions were addressed to ears entirely destitute of ideas of sound.

The compositions of the graduating class evinced very little thought, and in this respect were far inferior to those of scholars generally of the same age. They were mere compilations of objective subjects, of about the grade of children's first efforts at composition. It would seem that a ten years' course of study and instruction should produce more mental development than was apparent, if this class is a fair specimen.

A great amount of time must be consumed in the teaching of articulation and lip-reading. While acquisitions of this kind are of great value, in many respects, it might seem questionable whether the individual can be brought to as high a degree of development and culture, in a given time, by this method of teaching as by that of signs, and the teaching to use books without a knowledge of the sounds of language. It would be interesting to know the comparative results of the two methods in this respect.

The enthusiasm and ability with which Miss Harriet B. Rogers, the principal, and from the first the inspiring spirit, of this institution, has consecrated herself to this department of humane work is worthy of the highest estimation. Her skill in methods, and her grace in imparting nice shades of meaning to these unfortunates, shut out from one of the greatest enjoyments of sense, is admirable. It is seldom, in any of our higher institutions of learning, that we notice in the presiding teachers such quiet dignity and self-repose, and such evidences of high culture and refinement, apparent in manners and in the appointments and regulations, as we are impressed with by the general bearing of Miss Rogers and the assistant principal, Miss Caroline A. Yale.

And in this connection, by contrast, is suggested the prevalent fault of the most of women who, these late years, have come before the public as lecturers, speakers, and writers. Not yet accustomed to this publicity, the consciousness of its newness sitting ungracefully upon them, and, withal, a tincture of the idea of exceptional smartness prevailing their movements and sayings, a degree of flippancy and conceit often covers an amount of shallowness which, on the principle that

"A little learning is a dangerous thing,"

they mistake for comprehensive wisdom. It is greatly to be desired that woman, at this era of her elevation to higher and more public positions, in assuming such should be most scrupulously careful in seeking the highest culture and refinement, and in maintaining that true modesty and womanliness which should characterize her in all situations.

A. H.
NORTHAMPTON, July 10, 1878.

SERGEANT COX'S "TRIBUNAL OF SCIENCE."

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Some danger, it must be confessed, would attend upon the carrying out in practice of Sergeant Cox's suggestion, cited on page 270 of THE INDEX, of a Tribunal of Science to decide controversies by methods used in a law-court.

Truth is independent of prejudice; but prejudice, or the consent of many in what is regarded as settled, is the very basis on which judicial administration must rest. One may be right while the great multitude are wrong. Then it would be a solemn farce to accord to the erring multitude, or to a tribunal by them appointed, authority of decision in what they may not be competent to comprehend, and therefore not able to appreciate. It need not be said that Galileo would not be inclined to trust Pope and Cardinals with the office of deciding upon the reality of his astronomical discoveries, and the sufficiency of his proof thereon, or that Mr. Abbot would be as little inclined to trust his apophistic theses, which to him are axioms, to the decision of the Synod. Satisfied as to their correctness, he would maintain them against the whole world.

But inasmuch as truth may often be set in a clear light by free and fair discussion, in which different views, individually claimed to be correct, are contrasted, such a procedure, fairly conducted, might be useful as a means of throwing light on the merits of disputed questions, provided authority of decision was refused; for mankind may be educated into error as well as into truth. A knowledge of what is ascertained might thus be extended, and some erroneous prejudice removed. The tribunal being really a respectable one, the decision would carry authority so far only as to afford reasonable presumption that what was thus decided to be true was not wholly to be rejected except after careful examination. But it is to be borne in mind that while truth, when reached and clearly appearing, is to be cordially accepted, it is then to be jealously guarded and maintained against all personal authority whatsoever; and private judgment is the only final arbiter. Only the authority of truth and natural reason is supreme. Therefore, in the domain of truth, the admitted authority of any tribunal is to be looked upon as advisory rather than obligatory.

Since, in discussion, antagonists are disposed to act as much from impulse of party spirit, and love of cherished theory, as from love of truth for its own sake, which causes of incompetency may operate more or less with persons constituted judges and jurymen, every decision would be open to more or less suspicion, especially when it is considered that arguments most plausible are not always justly most convincing. This being understood, such procedure is not wholly to be condemned. The human intellect is not to be despaired of; reason, proceeding on ground of actual information, is the only legitimate guide of human life; and "truth," as Milton says, "is powerful next to the Almighty." Still, truth and goodness

are not welcomed by those who are strangers to them. Truth, as well as virtue, is to be loved and sought after for its own sake; therefore the applause of a multitude, or the superfluous parade which wealth makes possible, can bring no compensation to the wise or good man for generous devotion to that which brings its own reward, and rises in dignity in proportion as it is uncompromising. A troop of supposed philosophers, prating on the one hand about the illegitimacy of human reason, and on the other about what people did not comprehend, would be a piece of machinery which would smooth the pathway of error, and encourage prevailing arrogance and vain pretension. Real advancement, beginning with the light that shines in a dark place, is developed by slow degrees; and the march of truth must be slow and difficult in a wilderness of surrounding error. It would be a problem to test severely the skill of the most learned sergeant-at-law to find a more effectual method of clipping the wings of invention and discovery, and relegating to an uncertain, far-off future the results of unbending logic, salutary, if severe, than that of requiring of every man's individual reason subordination to any assumed standard of the universal reason of mankind. C. C.

NORTHUMBERLAND, Pa., June 22, 1878.

"FREE, PURE, AND RATIONAL."

AUGUSTA, Mich., June 23, 1878.

DEAR FRIEND ABBOT:—

Inclosed find post-office order for five dollars, my subscription for THE INDEX for 1878. I wish it were much more (though it is all my limited means will allow), as I am sure that I could not support a more noble and just cause than the cause of Free Religion. A religion that shall work any great good to mankind *must be free, pure, and rational*. With anything short of this, we can never hope to make a religion universal; and in universality only can be absolute and perfect good.

The lovers of liberty, the friends of progress, could not afford to lose THE INDEX; though the cause it has inaugurated will never be lost, the world needs it, and we must sacrifice something for it; I look to it as my brightest star of hope, that shall guide men to higher and purer aims and better deeds. It is worthy the attention and support of the purest, the noblest, the greatest, of men and women, as no one can possibly attain to greater heights of purity and righteousness than it aims at.

Mr. Abbot, I cannot think that you have overdrawn the picture, or have been in the least degree unjust, when speaking of the powers that endanger our liberty. When we take a careful survey of general affairs, even in this New World, we are not very favorably impressed in regard to man's purity and goodness. We are making rapid progress in general science; but in general goodness, little, if any, progress is apparent. The conditions of the masses of the people are not being bettered, but are growing hopelessly worse. To better the condition of the poor, the oppressed, the helpless, is the one all-important and most needful work; and whoever engages in that work can have no doubt about his or her calling. Respectfully and fraternally,

GEORGE W. MEAD.

THE WATKINS CONVENTION.

EXCURSION TICKETS.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Co. has agreed to issue excursion tickets at two cents a mile, to and from the Watkins Convention, over its road and branches; viz., "Pennsylvania Central," from Pittsburgh to Watkins through Harrisburg, and from Philadelphia to Watkins through Harrisburg; also at all stations on the "Northern Central Railroad," from Baltimore to Watkins, including Harrisburg, Northumberland, and Elmira, and north from Canandaigua, passing through Stanley and Penn Yan. Also at all stations on the "Pennsylvania & Erie Railroad," from Erie, Pa., to Watkins, passing through Corry, Warren, Emporium, Lock Haven, and Williamsport.

Friends coming from Washington can reach this road at Baltimore; from the west, at Erie, Corry, and Pittsburgh.

TAKE NOTICE. Any person desiring to get excursion tickets on either of these roads should send me his name, the number of tickets desired, post-office address, and six cents in postage stamps; and I will return certificates that will entitle the holder to the pass. Do not delay. H. L. GREEN, Sec'y. SALAMANCA, N. Y.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I know you will be pleased to give space to the following letter from Rev. W. E. Copeland, of Nebraska, and that hundreds will be pleased to take him by the hand at Watkins Glen:—

LINCOLN, Nebraska, June 27, 1878.

FRIEND GREEN:—

I have received your kind invitation to be present at the gathering of liberals to be held in Watkins Glen in August, and shall take great pleasure in accepting. It will be a noteworthy occasion, one which no liberal can afford to neglect. Never before has such a gathering of leading free thinkers been held in America, and if it fulfil your expectations, it cannot but make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all thinking people. It is to be hoped that many of our leading liberals in the West will attend, and that from East and West, North and South, the liberals of America can look into each others' faces, grasp each others' hands, and hear the voices of those whose names are as familiar as household words. I am rejoiced that we are to have the opportunity of mustering our battalions and showing the quality of our soldiers enlisted for the war in the contest against superstition and bigotry. I am rejoiced that those

of such diverse views can meet on a common platform and, laying aside differences, unite to promulgate a religion of humanity and lay the foundation for a national church peculiarly American, and yet which welcomes the emancipated of all nations.

Brothers in the West, from the valley of the Mississippi and the plains of Kansas and Nebraska, from the mountains of Colorado and Wyoming, let us make all effort to annihilate space and join in this grand rally in favor of freethought and free speech.

Yours fraternally, W. E. COPELAND.

To save answering many inquiries, may I say that the "Glen Park Hotel," a three-dollar house, has agreed to entertain those attending the convention for two dollars per day? Probably the other first-class houses will do the same. But good places may be had for one dollar and probably less.

H. L. G.

H. L. GREEN, Sec'y, etc.:

Dear Sir,—Your invitation to attend the Watkins meeting in August and to take part in the same is received. In reply I would say that I shall be there if possible, whether *Deus* is volens or not, and if I can do anything to add to the success of the meeting, you may command me. I am in fullest accord with the objects of your meeting, and think that the Liberal League is the most practical movement before the unchurched people of the country, and deserves the heartiest cooperation of every friend of liberty in the land. Respectfully yours, CHARLES ELLIS. BOSTON.

STATE RELIGION.

I copy from the *Record and Evangelist*, a Disciple paper of Oskaloosa, Iowa, the following extract and comments:—

"It has come to our knowledge that the United States government has sent to light-houses and men-of-war copies of the Book of Common Prayer and the Protestant Bible. Inside the covers of these books is pasted a slip of paper on which the words 'Public property' are printed. Now it is in order to ask, Has the government established a State religion, and, if so, by what authority?"—*Catholic Mirror*.

"We do not at all sympathize with the *Mirror's* hatred of the Bible, and think it in order for the government to supply it, if it can furnish chaplains; but we would like to know about the government supplies of the Episcopal Prayer Book. Is that our State religion?"

"If it can furnish chaplains; but can it furnish chaplains, in a legal or moral sense? Our Disciple friends seem to be in an agony lest the government should favor the Episcopalians more than other sectaries, and sarcastically inquire if that is our State religion. Now I would ask the *Record and Evangelist* if Christianity is our State religion, and, if so, whether the government has any more right to establish that as our national faith than it would have to so establish Episcopalianism. Is 'public property' in prayer-books any more blameworthy than 'public property' in Bibles? Please answer. Yours, for the Secular State, E. C. WALKER.

IRON vs. CLAY.

MR. EDITOR:—

Will you allow me a word to my critic, Mr. E. C. Walker? He says: "Your correspondent 'Z.' tries to demonstrate logically that, if Mr. Heywood is in favor of, and should make use of, any contrivance by which in his absence any person could be prevented from putting before his (Heywood's) children obscene and filthy pictures and books, he must be in favor of any law which will prevent the circulation of such books and pictures. . . . 'Z.'s reasoning is simply contemptible."

I did not say, "he must be in favor of any law," etc. I said he is in favor of a law. This correction puts back the iron link in the place of the clay one secretly inserted by Mr. Walker.

"I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word"—contemptible. Z.

INGERSOLL.

We hope the Methodist Protestant body will not ostracize the Rev. Alexander Clark, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, for his kindly words about the Philistine giant whom the religious papers have been throwing pebbles at so long, without getting his sword by the handle. It is really quite breezy to read such an article as the following.—*N. Y. Independent*.

"A few days ago we chanced to meet Robert G. Ingersoll, and enjoyed the interview. Don't be alarmed, timid reader! But it is a fact. Each wished the other well, to begin with, and better going further on. There is something about the man's big round face and hearty hand-shake and straight-out words that wins respect. He was quite ready to talk upon religious questions, although neither obtruded them upon the other. He was courteous, frank, and evidently willing to hear opinions expressed, however diverse from his own. He claims to be ready for truth from any side. He said, in substance, among other things: If there is a heaven, it must begin now. If there is a hell, it is already kindled. He said that many poor, unknown men and women, by their patience in hard toil, by overcoming bad propensities, by providing bread for those dependent upon them, and by the unnoticed struggles of life, were really achieving as grand victories as the leaders of armies. He said there was as much downright goodness in these lowly people as among the great teachers of theology.

"All of which we admitted, of course. Christianity teaches just those things when its teachers get their mouths rightly opened. Heaven does begin

here, and so does the other pl.—. When Mr. Ingersoll gets rid of his 'if,' he will see clearly how these very principles he admires are explained by the gospel he now rejects.

"We do like Ingersoll. Now, please don't frown, and slap down the paper, and threaten to discontinue, and stamp your foot so, and begin to lecture the editor for a blunderhead. We must do one of two things: either like Ingersoll or get him killed. It is impossible to be indifferent toward such a man; and it would be unscriptural to hate him. If he is to be hated to our credit, we must hire a hater, and get the hating done by proxy. Are there not a few professional haters hiring out now?"

"Ingersoll has already overcome some oppositions in himself,—which commends his courage. He has a steady nerve, a clear eye, a clean skin, and a manly strength. He is temperate, candid, industrious, and, so far as the devil will let him, he minds his own business. And that is about as much as some Methodists get done. He is not a brute, nor a demon, nor a monster. He is rather better-looking than the average preacher, and that is admitting a great deal, under the circumstances. He bears close inspection. He wears clean clothes. His home is one of the brightest in the land, and his family a happy group. He cannot be inherently and essentially irredeemable. He is not so bad a greenback as that. Where the outward shows something of purity there is hope of a man. True, he has gone to such an extreme in his assertions of human independence that his influence has been counted on the side of some very mean sins; for example, the circulation of pernicious literature. Such books and papers as would poison the purest home might, without the wholesome restraints of law, ruin his own. The best remedy for poisonous reptiles is to smash their heads. Some vices are so dreadful that they deserve no more protection than mad dogs. And Ingersoll made a mistake, surely, in advocating the right of everybody to send anything in the United States mails. It was not that he believed in such literature; perhaps he as thoroughly as any Christian despises it. But the point illustrates the danger of lawlessness. There must be a curb on human passions. If men themselves do not practise wholesome restraints, the law must practise upon them and for their own and others' good. The same philosophy which makes Ingersoll a lawyer ought to make him a Christian; for he admits the necessity of law and makes his living as an attorney. Therefore, he should raise no question of rights with the theologian, nor of authority with the Almighty.

"But we merely wished at the outset to say that we cannot help liking Ingersoll. There, now! Please don't smite us to the earth with that ponderous theological fist. Does not the Savior tell us to love—that is a stronger word than like—even our enemies? Ingersoll's errors we do not like, nor his way of promulgating them. His lectures and his books, however, do him injustice. He is not so rough of speech in private conversation. Some men are all honey in pulpit, and on platform, and all poetry in the press; but they are vinegar and mustard at home. They scowl at their wives, and storm like thunder at their children, and strike like banditti among the skulls of supposed heretics. Ingersoll is seen at his best in his own household. Is not that something to build on? We hope some day to accept his kind invitation to spend awhile with him at his home. We propose to eat with that Republican and sinner. Wonder whether he is ever invited to break bread in the homes of Christians? Many believers have talked about him; but few have talked with him. It is remarkable how sentences are modified when it comes to talking them to a man's face, instead of circulating them behind his back. It is somebody's duty to be kind and patient and loving and Christ-like to Robert G. Ingersoll. We do not presume to answer his hard questions. Nor shall we entertain any vain ambition to debate with him, never so quietly. But somebody who has the experience will, sometime or another, meet him, and face a man who is well worth saving. The churches cannot get rid of their responsibility to Ingersoll by calling him names, by avoiding him, or by ruling him out of the circle of their consideration. Nor can Ingersoll get rid of Christianity by calling it names, joking about its Bible, and saying smart things at the expense of its institutions. The Gospel unhorsed the proud Saul at mid-day on the public road. It has power for such victories still. It is not enough that ministers go about among easy-minded folks, who will assent to every proposition, without even thinking of the truths involved or the duties implied. It is not the end of the Christian's accountability to sing hymns already set to music; to repeat prayers by bell and book; to pronounce the routine phrases of Orthodoxy, and then to intone an echoing amen; to sigh, to groan, and go to sleep. There is a more rugged service than that. The Sauls of Tarsus who ride high horses; the puzzled Nicodemuses of the night-time; the little Zacheuses of wealth who climb trees to see the Christ; the rampant Ingersolls of our day, who have been hurt in spirit away back yonder in childhood or beyond; the Tyndalls who are endowed and cultured, and who cannot be silenced by the stamping of feet when Joseph Cook pronounces them superficial thinkers,—these are types of men to whom the gospel bears a message.

"Ingersoll is worth saving. He will probably laugh at our credulity; but he may. A man who can laugh can be saved. It is the man who neither smiles nor weeps that is the most helpless of all. He will possibly pity our crude opinions. He may. A man who can exercise pity can be made to understand what infinite compassion means, and why One who was sinless should die in illustration of that divine principle."

ENNUI is a malady for which the only remedy is work; pleasure is only a palliative.—*Vacation Days*.

Advertisements.

THE PATRONAGE

Of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns.

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Almost every number contains a discourse or leading article, which alone is worth the price of one year's subscription.

Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 448.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
 2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
 3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION, THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS M. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC is said to have been elected Superintendent of Public Schools in Milwaukee.

MR. GREEN requests us to state that Hon. George W. Julian has engaged rooms at the Glen Park Hotel during the Watkins Convention, for the purpose of attending its sessions.

IT IS VERY PLEASANT to read of such kind and gentle deeds as this, reported in the Albany Express of June 24: "Saturday morning, through the kindness of Mrs. E. P. Hulburt, of Kenwood, all the patients in the Albany Hospital were supplied with beautiful bouquets. A nice lot of cherries was also received from the same source."

A SHARPER or more brilliantly witty sarcasm was perhaps never uttered than that of Alexander von Humboldt on the clergymen of Prussia: "These black coats are the only persons of my acquaintance who resemble the cameleon in being able to keep one eye directed upwards to heaven, and the other downwards to the good things of this world."

THIS STATEMENT well illustrates how completely Philadelphia has betrayed the trust confided to her by the will of Stephen Girard: "A chapel for the use of the boys of Girard College has recently been built; it will seat two thousand persons. The new buildings erected will enable the college to receive three hundred and twenty more scholars. Although by the will of Mr. Girard ministers are wholly excluded from this institution, it is nevertheless Christian in its character. The President, Dr. W. H. Allen, is an accomplished and successful lay-preacher; Mr. Welsh, the Minister to England, has frequently occupied the desk. Although most of the graduates of the college have entered secular callings, some have entered the Christian ministry."

GENERAL FORNEY writes from Paris: "There is such a difference between a Sunday at the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876 and a Sunday at the Paris Exhibition in 1878, that a reference to it may not be out of place. The doors of the Centennial were closed on the Sabbath to the poor paying public, and gratuitously opened to the rich and favored few; but this pitiful inconsistency that would have broken down any ordinary fair was overlooked in the general pride and joy of the people over their magnificent celebration. Here the gates are open to all; and though the English and Americans do not show their wares, and some of the other foreign sections are closed, the French, Italians, and Spaniards are in their glory; the water rushes from below the gallery of the Trocadéro into the basin, and the French bands fill the air with the music of France."

IF JUDGE CLARK had thoughtfully pondered these noble words of William Lloyd Garrison, he would probably have given a different charge to the jury in the Heywood case, and refrained from striking a blow at freedom of the press which will only react disastrously on the interests he doubtless intended to protect: "A forcible suppression of error is no aid to the cause of truth; and, to allow only such sentiments to be spoken or circulated as we think are correct is to combine bigotry and cowardice in equal proportion. If I leave my children any example, it shall be a fearless, impartial, conscientious investigation of every subject to which their attention may be called, and a hearty adoption of those principles which to them may seem just and true, whether standing alone or proscribed as schismatics." Is not the institution of marriage strong enough to stand the public discussion of it, even by fanatical "free lovers"?

THIS IS A BIT of testimony to the spread of liberal views which comes from the New York Evangelist, which will not be suspected of any bias in their favor: "Said an intelligent young business man of New York to us, within a few days: 'I know a great many

young men in business here in New York and Brooklyn; but I do not know a single one among all my associates that believes in the Christian religion, or that ever goes to church, except it be for the purpose of pleasing some ladies of his family or acquaintance.' Here is the great difficulty in reaching our non-church-going people. It is not that they are hungry and are driven away from the feast by the manners of the preachers, or the burdens of the churches, or the social style of the worshippers, or the coldness or hardness or narrowness of Christians. It is that they do not believe Christianity to be true. This is notoriously the fact with our German and French population. It is true of our young men of American birth in our cities to an extent which would surprise the good and staid church-going people, and even the women who associate with them, or the ministers of the churches which they think it would be a waste of time to attend."

FROM THE London Secular Review of July 6 we clip this kindly and encouraging paragraph: "The latest numbers to hand of our American fellow-workers, THE INDEX and the Investigator, are full of interest and vigor. A most able article in the former deals with the alleged willingness of Colonel Ingersoll to repeal the law of 1878 against obscene literature. It is shown that the Colonel by no means desires this repeal. He himself writes: 'No one wishes the repeal of any law for the suppression of obscene literature. For my part, I wish all such laws rigidly enforced.' (The italics are not ours.) THE INDEX adds the following sensible comment upon the Colonel's declaration: 'We repeat that it is a libel on Colonel Ingersoll's good name to say that he is intentionally in favor of the total repeal of the law against obscene literature, which he yet hopes so to modify as to make it impossible to use it for the persecution of freethinkers. And to this we heartily say "Amen," rejoicing that Robert G. Ingersoll knows how to defend to the uttermost "liberty for man, woman, and child," yet without in the least allying himself with the vendors of obscenity, the vampires of the press.' We cordially greet our Transatlantic brethren, and wish them success in the noble work in which they are engaged." It is evident that the English Secularists will not permit themselves to get into a false position on this very important subject.

THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD of Toronto, on motion of Prof. Maclaren, lately adopted a series of resolutions of which these are a portion: "Third, That, as it appears from the memorandum of the Minister of Education that there is no hindrance to be apprehended from the school law, but that the Bible may be introduced into the public schools, and be used as a text-book, therefore this Synod recommends and enjoins as a Christian duty on all the office-bearers within its bounds, and on all Christian parents, earnestly and constantly to use their influence as individuals, citizens, school trustees, and teachers towards such use of the Bible by the pupils of our public schools, beseeching and urging them to do this, as the highest interests of future generations for time and eternity depend on their thorough acquaintance with God's revealed will. Fourth, That ministers and office bearers, etc., be enjoined to give all due publicity to the existing state of the law, in order that advantage may be taken of it without delay to secure the general introduction of the Scriptures into the public schools." It is also stated that "The authorities of Windsor [Canada] have received instructions to rigidly enforce the Sunday law, and to prosecute everybody who is caught hunting or fishing on the Lord's day." Such symptoms of an increasing disposition to use the laws as a means of enforcing Orthodoxy on the people ought to receive more attention than is accorded to them. Canada and the United States alike need to be better instructed in the principles of secular government.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Voltaire.

BY REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK.

It will be one hundred years, come May 30, since Voltaire died in Paris, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He had come from Ferney, near Geneva, where he had been living for about a score of years, preferring exile to imprisonment or any fetter on his lips. "Ovid in Pontus, pulling for his Rome," could not have longed for the eternal city, with its noisy games, with more avidity than Voltaire, himself Paris incarnate, longed for the city of the Seine. But he had less valor than discretion always, and so it was no easy matter for his niece, the foolish Madame Denis, to persuade him that his new tragedy demanded his immediate supervision. Nevertheless, she finally prevailed. Fancy him, a tall man, his form much bent with age, with the least possible flesh between his skin and bones, with hollow, toothless cheeks, protrusive nose and chin, and eyes incomparably bright and piercing and expressive. The Court and the ecclesiastics did not much relish being bearded thus; but all the rest of Paris went into raptures of delight over the old man. Benjamin Franklin came to see him and beseech his blessing for his grandson. "God and liberty," said Voltaire. "My child, remember these two words." At the Academy of Sciences, nothing would satisfy but that Voltaire and Franklin should hug and kiss each other. The days were one continuous ovation. The theatre had never heard such thunders of applause before. His bust was crowned with laurel, and he himself, no serious weight, borne on men's shoulders to his carriage, and followed by an immense throng to his hotel. "Do you wish to stifle me with roses?" said he, as he passed out of their sight forever. For these excitements were too much for his enfeebled health. Morbidly sensitive about the disposal of his body after death, in order to insure it decent burial he called a priest and made some dubious confession. But a neighboring curé, thinking this too general, tried to force from him a confession of the deity of Christ. The dying man had already stretched his conscience to its farthest limit; and so he answered, "Let me never hear that man's name again; let me die in peace"; and a friend wrote at his dictation, "I die adoring God, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, and detesting superstition." Such was the death-bed repentance of Voltaire. Upon his death, the ecclesiastical authorities hastened to prevent his decent burial, but his nephew, the Abbé Mignot, had taken time by the forelock, and the bigots were too late. In 1791 the dust was taken up and transported, amid salvos of artillery and thunderous shoutings, to the Pantheon in Paris. The fevered ashes of Rousseau were not far off, and close beside him was laid the wretch Marat, the stroke of whose assassin he would have applauded. Who was this man Voltaire, and what was his character, and what had he done, that on the one hand he was so ardently admired, and on the other hand so hated that his very corpse was reckoned a pollution? Many of you, no doubt, are well acquainted with the general outline of his career. In 1694 appeared Bayle's famous Historical and Critical Dictionary. Voltaire, the man who was to popularize the method of this learned chaos, was born in the same year, February 20; but for a time his life was so precarious that he was not baptized until the following November. His baptismal name was Francois Marie Arouet. The name Voltaire, which seems to us to express the very essence of his character,—such is the power of long association!—was assumed by him when he was twenty-eight years old, for what reason, good or bad, no one has yet been able to discover. His father was a notary, somewhat distinguished, who, destining his son for the law, sent him to the Jesuit College, Louisie Grand, in Paris. Later in life Voltaire raised an immoderate laugh at the expense of his Alma Mater, but, though all natural sciences were entirely neglected, in the classics his teachers were Father Foree and the Abbé d' Olivet, two of the most gifted scholars of the time. Here he remained from ten to seventeen, and already, upon leaving, had an enviable reputation, especially for his poetic taste and skill. Immediately on leaving college, his godfather, the Abbé Chateaufeuf, introduced him into the most gay and frivolous and dissolute society of the time,—a society of princes and ecclesiastics, in which the ecclesiastics were the more immoral, an abbé being almost universally a skeptic and a voluptuary. Certainly two or three abbés of Voltaire's acquaint-

ance were of this sort, one of them, the Abbé Chaulieu, being the most erotic poet of the time. It was a gay life that Voltaire lived in this society. The wonder is that any particle of real earnestness survived. But though Voltaire never at any time attained to any Puritan severity of manners, ere he was twenty-two he had settled down into a life of earnest literary purpose, and from henceforth work was his dominant passion. The death of Louis XIV. in 1715 was the signal for an outbreak of ribald joy, so cordially detested was he for the gloomy, hypocritical pietism and murderous zeal of his last thirty years. Amid the jests there came a deeper strain, a poem with the title, "Things I have Seen." The writer was not twenty, so he said, and he "had seen the Bastille and a thousand other prisons crowded with faithful subjects. He had seen the people groaning in the most cruel bondage. He had seen a demon (Madame de Maintenon) govern in a woman's form, and sacrifice her God, her religion, and her soul to seduce the mind of a too credulous king. He had seen the mitre bought and sold. He had seen the hypocrite honored and the Jesuit adored." Voltaire, suspected of writing this—and it was worthy of his genius and his heart, a genuine moral lyric,—was thrown into the Bastille and kept there nearly a year. A gayer prisoner was never pent in any prison, nor a less idle. Though denied pen and paper, he completed his first tragedy, memorizing as he composed, and planned his famous epic, the *Henriade*, which his contemporaries thought a greater epic than the *Æneid*, but of which Voltaire's wisest critic says: "Of poems whose names are known out of literary catalogues, it is perhaps the least worth reading in any language by any one but a professional student of letters." Getting out of the Bastille, he was presented to the Regent, the Duke d'Orleans, most profligate of men. A thunder-storm was raging at the time. "Things couldn't go on worse if there was a Regency up there," said Voltaire, looking at the sky. The Duke forgave the slander for the wit, and Voltaire thanked him for his board, but begged him never to trouble himself again about his lodgings.

Between affairs of literature and love, the years slipped by till 1725 or '26, when, having been insulted by a young duke, and having made a characteristic retort, he was caned a few days after by hired ruffians. Smarting with pain, but more with indignation, he challenged their cowardly employer to single combat. Averse to this, this gentleman procured a letter *de cachet*, and Voltaire found himself again in the Bastille. Released after six months, but ordered to leave Paris, despairing of redress, he betook himself to England. No line of conduct could have been more fortunate. By his residence in a country so much freer than his own, by contact with superior men, by contemplation of a society where ecclesiastical restraints were not appreciably felt, all that was best in his own tendencies was wonderfully encouraged, and he returned to France in 1728 the devoted apostle of English ideas and of English liberty; of the science of Newton and the philosophy of Locke; of inoculation for small-pox, then but recently introduced in England, and of much beside that was most liberal, free, and progressive. In the religious life of England, nothing impressed him so much as Quakerism, then little more than half a century old. Of his *Letters concerning the English Nation*, he devotes four out of twenty-four to them. Nothing could be more significant of his position on religious matters. Here was a sect that naturally invited him to some amusement, but it is surprising in how little he indulges. He has hardly anything for it but admiration. Its freedom from ceremonial observances, its moral earnestness, its condemnation of war as the most hateful of all anti-Christian practices,—all of these things excited in him a genuine sympathy, and we may be sure that if Christianity had presented itself to Voltaire only in this guise, he would never have considered it "the infamous," never have had any desire to "crush" it, and we should only know of him as the most brilliant literary exponent of the eighteenth century. The treatment which Voltaire's *English Letters* received is our best proof how just his admiration was of English liberty; for this book which he could publish in England with impunity, in France was seized and burned by order of the Parliament of Paris, and its publisher was thrown into the Bastille; whereupon Voltaire, having so much more to say that he had no disposition to make a martyr of himself in middle-life, exiled himself from Paris and made his home at Cirey, in Champagne, the country residence of Madame du Chatelet. Henceforth his visits to Paris were short and secret. The danger of arrest and imprisonment was constantly before his eyes. Even at Cirey he could not always feel himself safe, and many a lumbering journey over abominable roads was dictated by that prudence which was a remarkable characteristic of one so ardent and impulsive as Voltaire was for the most part. But beside this prudence, a perpetual restlessness often hurried him hither and thither, so that he hardly had a home till he was more than sixty years of age. The days at Cirey were not those of nectar-sipping gods; rather were they full of toil. Whatever the relation of Voltaire to the Madame du Chatelet, questionable enough, though it has found eloquent apologists,—it is not to be doubted that the principal bond between them was intellectual. Madame du Chatelet was one of the most gifted women of her time. She and Voltaire saw little of each other. He was busy with his studies and experiments; she with her translation of Newton's *Principia*, and other similar occupations. For fifteen years (till 1749) Voltaire and his distinguished friend encouraged each other in the pursuit of knowledge. In all France there were not two busier people, nor two more eager and less partisan in their search for scientific truth. During these years, Voltaire wrote

several of his most impressive tragedies; several comedies and satires; his *Seven Discourses on Man*; a great many philosophical papers; that which he never should have written, *La Pucelle*, a burlesque poetical biography of Joan of Arc, a match for the impurities of Byron's "Don Juan"; and the most significant of all his historical works, the *Essay on the Morals and Spirit of Nations*. This had been preceded by his *Charles XII.* and *Age of Louis XIV.* The three coincide with an important progress in his ideas of what history should be: the first was a piece of merely personal aggrandizement; the second was the history of an age in which persons and personal interests were of secondary value and the general movement of society was of principal importance. In this *Essay on the Morals and Spirit of Nations*, this relative significance of the particular and general is more strongly marked, and we have a wonderful foreshadowing of the best modern historical method: may we not even say, a wonderful example of this method?

As early as 1735, Frederick the Great, of Prussia, had entered into correspondence with Voltaire, for whom his admiration was immense. Coming to the throne a few years later, he invited Voltaire to make his home in Berlin. This, Voltaire's devotion to Madame du Chatelet and his contentment with the life at Cirey forbade; but visit followed visit, and in 1750 (Madame du Chatelet having died the year before) Voltaire, despairing of any decent royal recognition in his own country, betook himself with Louis' curt permission to the court of Frederick. The friendship of the Pompadour, which he had for a time enjoyed, had been transferred to Crebillon, whose tragedies were brought out with every possible advantage. Voltaire revenged himself by taking three of Crebillon's principal subjects and writing tragedies upon them so obviously superior to Crebillon's that court and poet were both made to appear contemptible. But Voltaire's residence at Frederick's court proved the least satisfactory and most humiliating episode of his whole career. It ended in a most inglorious squabble, in which the principal actors were Frederick and Voltaire and Maupertuis, a natural philosopher whom Frederick had enticed from France. This Maupertuis had much learning, but more vanity. Having by an adventurous voyage verified Newton's demonstration that the earth is an oblate spheroid, he had his portrait painted with his hand gently flattening the North pole of a painted globe. He had treated a friend of Voltaire's shamefully, and soon after made a remarkable fool of himself in certain philosophic letters. Here was Voltaire's opportunity. To punish Maupertuis for his ill-treatment of his friend, he made Europe shake with inextinguishable laughter, by such a satire as Voltaire alone could write. Frederick was mightily offended, for Maupertuis was his philosopher. He had Voltaire's satire publicly burned. After this a separation was inevitable. Each shot a Parthian arrow; Voltaire's another squib; Frederick's an order of arrest and search for certain decorations and a volume of his own poems of which he had much reason to be ashamed. But all of this commotion sobered down at length into an amicable correspondence. It was impossible that these two men should not profoundly admire each other, and suspect each other as profoundly. And there was ample ground for both the admiration and suspicion.

This squabble was in 1753, and the next twenty-five years (from sixty to eighty-five) were the valuable and important of Voltaire's life. During all these years he did not once go to Paris, till a few months before his death; they were spent in Switzerland,—the last nineteen in Ferney. He owned another residence in Berne, and still another just across the French border; "for," he said, "philosophers ought to have two or three holes under ground against the hounds who chase them." These were the years which steadily resounded with Voltaire's attack upon "the Infamous." "Crush the Infamous"; this was his watchword in these years; and by "the Infamous" he meant not the Christianity of Jesus or of William Penn, but the Christianity of Roman Catholicism in the eighteenth century; a Christianity without intelligence, without earnestness, without morality, whose priests encouraged every form of ignorance and superstition, whose higher ecclesiastics were often gamblers and voluptuaries, and which, whether Jesuit or Jansenist was uppermost, stood first and always for darkness against light, arming itself with all the natural weapons of intolerance and persecution. New tragedies and comedies abounded in these later years, but their most characteristic work was moral and polemical. The Lisbon earthquake, which gave the first impulse to young Goethe's thinking in Frankfurt, at the tender age of six, was felt in Voltaire's library as nowhere else in Europe; hence, *Candide*, the *Optimist*, that tremendous satire on the shallow optimism of Pope and Bolingbroke, and a little later the poem on the Lisbon earthquake, perhaps the deepest cry that Voltaire ever uttered. Rousseau was horrified that one, himself so rich and happy, should lay bare the miseries of his brother-men with such relentless truth. As if it were not the glory of Voltaire that he did not erect his own good fortune into a scheme of universal happiness; that his own wealth and happiness did not blind him to the poverty and misery of his fellow-men. These later years produced also a great many little tales, the vehicles, almost without exception, of an earnest moral purpose. But most notably of all, in quantity and in directness of moral purpose, they produced the numerous contributions of Voltaire to the *Encyclopædia* of Diderot and D'Alembert, and the whole of his own many-volumed *Philosophical Dictionary*, in which he gave his fancy and his conscience freer play than in the *Encyclopædia*. This *Encyclopædia*, which in its day was considered a stupendous monument of infidelity, and which made "the Encyclopedists" from

henceforth a name for bigotry to conjure with, would for the most part seem very old-fashioned and conservative to a modern reader. The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is, upon the whole, much more advanced in its conclusions. It departs much more widely from the type of Orthodoxy current midway of the eighteenth century, but as yet its most radical article has been unable to convict Prof. Smith of heresy before his Presbyterian judges.

The tastes of Voltaire were always princely, and his abundant fortune, which he had himself amassed by shrewd investments, independently of his literary income, to which he was indifferent, enabled him to live at Ferney the life of a Grand Seigneur. He had his private theatre, and his private church with the inscription "Deo erexit Voltaire" (Voltaire erected this to God), smacking of patronage, perhaps, a little more than of theistic devotion. Here his hospitality was unbounded; often he housed and entertained a score of guests. A rude hamlet of four or five dilapidated houses he converted by his enterprise into a model village of one hundred pretty dwellings, whose inhabitants regarded him as their visible Providence. The arch enemy of Jesuits, upon the abolition of their order in 1762, he made one of them the almoner of his far-reaching bounties. "This is Father Adam," said Voltaire, introducing him, "but he is not the first man." The niece of Corneille found shelter and education under his generous roof. And there were splendid fêtes, and there was ample industry and sparkling gaiety, and a correspondence marvellous in its extent and brilliancy; and so the end drew on, the Paris visit, the unexampled triumph, and the dying prayer: "O God, whom all things proclaim! O God, who knowest me, hear my last words! If I have deceived myself, it has been through searching for thy laws. My heart may have wandered, but it was full of thee. I wait the approach of eternity without anxiety. I cannot believe that thou, who hast showered so many blessings on me here, wilt torment me forever when my days on earth are ended." The last letter that he ever wrote was to young Lally, whose father had been unjustly put to death. For years Voltaire had been laboring to have the sentence reversed, and the stain upon a good man's memory blotted out. The news came to him upon his dying bed that success had at length crowned his efforts. With his own trembling hand he wrote: "I die content. I see that the king loves justice." The ruling passion of his life was strong in death.

The most admired and the worst-hated man in Europe was no more. What did he signify? To what extent was he truly admirable, and to what extent did he deserve the hatred which men heaped upon his living head and still heap upon his memory? Aside from all moral and religious considerations, his place in literature is among the great immortals. What Homer is to Greece, Goethe to Germany, Shakspeare to England, Cervantes to Spain, that Voltaire is to France,—her greatest literary name. Among Frenchmen he has superiors in some directions; his humor is not comparable with Montaigne's, his comedy with Molière's, his eloquence with Bossuet's; but in his total manifestation, he is easily first of all his countrymen. The proverb says: "That man is terrible who does one thing." But Voltaire did many things with almost equal excellence. He has been called the French Virgil; but he was just as much the French Horace and the French Cicero and the French Lucretius and the French Tacitus, and we are still left without any Roman representative of his twenty-six tragedies, in his lifetime the most successful of his literary work. One cannot but admire this wonderful versatility and the enormous industry by which it was attended. Be sure that no unworthy passion could have seriously engrossed a man who was the most indefatigable worker of his generation. His passion was for knowledge, justice, "peace on earth." There are eighty volumes of his works, and the edition is still incomplete. He wrote twenty-six tragedies, poems innumerable, much valuable history, a great variety of tales, and a mass of philosophical and critical essays and discussions that range through every imaginable subject which was of vital interest to eighteenth-century men. "After all, my dear friend," he writes to Cideville, "it is right to give every possible form to our soul; it is a flame that God has entrusted to us, and we are bound to feed it with all that we find most precious; so long as it does not go in pell-mell, there is plenty of room for everything."

And now in regard to the quality of all this versatile performance. The quality of none of it was the highest possible. The genius of Voltaire was particular and not universal; he is not now, he never will be, the poet of all civilized lands, like Homer and Shakspeare, upon both of whom he set a moderate value. Himself supremely elegant, a classic poet, these seemed to him barbarous. After three hundred years, Shakspeare is more to his countrymen than Voltaire to his (as a poet) after one hundred. We have revolted from classicism; the revolt began in Voltaire's own time. Jean Jacques Rousseau was the leader of it. And so to us the tragedies of Voltaire seem over-bred and stilted and declamatory. To his contemporaries they did not appear so; they could not hear them or read them without violent emotion. We find Marmontel, in his delightful memoirs, reading "Tancrede" with streaming eyes. In comedy, to which humor is necessary, Voltaire was not successful, for humor was not in his line. Wit, satire, and sarcasm,—he had these abundantly, but not humor, the Cinderella sister of these flashing dames. Voltaire was the wittiest of Frenchmen, and in being so was—may I not dare to say it?—the wittiest man that ever held a pen. This spirit was given to him without measure; it is not an occasional sparkle, but a perpetual flash and

gleam. And almost without exception it is the ally of justice and humanity. It is the weapon of his hatred of intolerance and superstition. I dare believe that it is never wilfully the weapon of licentiousness. Even in *La Pucelle*, the means only are licentious; the motive is not so. It spoiled Joan of Arc for Voltaire that she was a fanatic and that superstition made for itself a fortress of her name; hence the most witty and immortal poem that he ever wrote.

Upon the side of history, the labors of Voltaire—though an immense advance on anything which had appeared since the sad-hearted Tacitus lamented that the vices of the Roman people had rendered it impossible for the gods to be gracious to them—were the immediate forerunners of other labors so much more important, especially those of Robertson and Gibbon, that Voltaire is apt to get less credit upon this score than he deserves. His *Charles* and *Louis* are still among the most entertaining of histories. His *Manners and Spirit of Nations* was one of the first examples of a method which has since become the method of historical presentation, finding its last and ablest representative in Green's new *History of the English People*, a history not of battles and intrigues, but of political, industrial, intellectual, and moral evolution. In this work of Voltaire's there are many judgments which have since been reversed. It is not a book for us to read for careful information; but for the time when it appeared, its information was the carefulest that could be had, and of its general conclusions many have stood remarkably well the brunt of subsequent investigations.

The novels and romances of Voltaire would be excluded from the realm of art by M. Taine's standard: "A work of art must be devoid of any moral purpose." Not one of these is so. *Candide* and *Zadig* and the rest are the weapons of a moral warfare against those enormities which to Voltaire were different aspects of the more general "infamous," of which ecclesiastical Christianity was but a single manifestation. Whatever shortened life, or made it miserable; poverty and war; intolerance and persecution; civil corruption; court intrigue; quack philosophy; the laziness of priests; the ignorance of the people, and their neglect by those who should have been their teachers,—such were the evils by which Voltaire found himself confronted, turn whichever way he would; and, coarse or fine, his novels and romances were so many blows square in the face of these enormities. Nowhere in these stories does he ever satirize religion or morality. The one moral of them all is that truth, unselfishness, genuine religion, freedom of thought and speech, brotherly love, are the good angels of humanity; that its bad angels are hypocrisy and cant and falsehood and selfishness and bigotry and superstition.—*Pamphlet Mission*, June 15.

[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

COUNT CAVOUR'S PREDICTION OF A NEW RELIGION.

In the concluding chapter of the *Memoirs of Count Cavour* (the great Italian statesman, who died in 1861), which was published simultaneously in Rome and Geneva, last month, the biographer, Col. de la Motte Baudin, describes his last interview with the Count just before his death, and mentions a prophecy which acquires a singular interest from the fact that Cavour's social and political predictions, which appeared quite as strange and far more premature at first, have since been fulfilled to the very letter.

The far-sighted Italian foretold the downfall of Bonapartism at a time when the "Second-of-December man" stood in the zenith of the political heavens; anticipated the now general opinion, that the temporal power of the papacy is untenable, by full twenty years; and knew that slavery had reached the eleventh hour of its existence a good while before Alexander I. was seized with that fit of generosity, and while Dixie was still the fertile Mother of Presidents.

Cavour's last sickness was an aggravation of the hectic decline which had wasted his strength for some years; and while there was yet a shadow of hope he consulted native and foreign physicians, and waded through the dismal swamp of pathological literature with relentless energy. But when he knew that he was booked for the long journey, he proved that with the scepticism of his stoic ancestors he had inherited a share of their fortitude, and astonished his friends by his intrepid humor and his calm reflections upon the future of a world that was about to dismiss him from its portals, and, as he fully believed, without a return ticket.

"If you knew how your country will miss you," Baudin told him, "you could hardly be so resigned to your fate. Tell me, is Hamlet's alternative really a matter of indifference to you?"

"*La riviere est passé*," said Cavour. "Italy has passed the dangerous ford, and I dare say will be able to muddle along on *terra firma* without me. But as for myself, speaking from a spectator's rather than from an actor's stand-point, I do not deny that I regret my exit from the play-house. I have witnessed some pretty lively performances in my time; but I shall miss the grand sensation piece. Before the curtain of this century drops we shall have a new religion."

"At the rate our English-speaking fellow-creatures are manufacturing that article, we shall have a pretty good stock on hand by that time," suggested Baudin.

"No, no!" said the old infidel. "I do not mean a new hypocrisy. I mean a new religion."

"Don't you think that the Protestants are in earnest?"

"Yes, in their protest against Catholicism. So much, indeed, that they have protested it out of the better portion of the world. But what they have substituted for it is purely negative, born of schism and

prolific of new schism,—scepticism the very soul and essence of it."

"But will not that scepticism prevent the growth of what you call a new religion?"

"Indeed not. Rotten trees make excellent manure for new trees, you know. Our old creed has become a heap of vegetable mould, the very soil for a new creed to germinate in. On naked rationalism no such plant can grow; but the world is as far from being rational as from being —"

"Being what?"

"Trinitarian, if I must speak it out. Of course I mean the living portion of the world, not the big petrified trees in Asia."

"But among our own variety of trees there are some pretty good-sized ones."

"Yes, in circumference; but that is no criterion of their staying power. The hollow oak can often boast of an imposing girth. Of course the collapse of the old shell will not come off without a crash, both audible and sensible to the ends of the world. It will be catastrophic, spectacular, and exciting; worth while seeing, in short. And that is what makes me loth to leave. It's hard to leave on the very eve of a phenomenon that occurs only once in two thousand years or so."

"And so you think a few years more would have been sufficient to—"

"To witness it? Yes, sir. The old shell is very hollow."

"But infidels have battered it in vain ever so long."

"For good reasons. An old creed can never be superseded by infidelity, which means indifference on the whole; but by a new creed."

"It can; but will it? And who knows when?"

"During the next thirty or forty years. The decay of an old faith always coincides with the advent of a new one."

"What makes you think so?"

"The history of religions."

The conversation then shifted to comparative mythology and certain topics in regard to which M. d'Alembert said that "prudence obliges one to be short-sighted unless one happens to be the king of Prussia." But the above quotations may be sufficient, perhaps more than sufficient, to let us fear that Cavour knew what he was talking about. The Church of his country denounced him as a Voltairian and rancorous infidel; but the type of his infidelity was generally different from that of the French scoffers. It was not born of spite and scurrilous irreverence, but of a sublime deism and of ideals which found no room under the roof of an Italian church. Love of truth, of course, implies that abhorrence of untruth which Johnson called an honest hate; but Cavour never permitted that hate to become personal. He knew how to fight error without insulting his erring fellowmen, and never advanced a heterodox opinion if he could not back it with reasons which showed that he was speaking within the truth, and which enabled others to infer what he might forbear to say.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

CONFERENCE OF LIBERAL THINKERS.

Yesterday a General Conference of Liberal Thinkers was opened at South Place Chapel, Finsbury. From the circular issued, it appeared that the object of the conference was to give an opportunity for the exchange of thought to those persons who, though working in connection with particular organizations, yet "acknowledged no authority above truth, and are interested in the tendency to that universal religion which would break all partition walls raised by dogma and superstition between race and race, man and man." Dr. Wylde occupied the chair, and among those present were Mr. C. Voysey, Mr. W. Higginson, Newport, U.S.A.; Sir G. W. Devys, Mr. E. G. Devys, Mr. H. M. Judge, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Mr. G. W. Foote, Mr. Conway, Professor Levy, Professor Garrison, Chicago; Mr. R. Drummond, Edinburgh, etc.

The Chairman congratulated the Committee of South Place Chapel who had inaugurated the movement put on foot that day, and he believed that their efforts would result in much good. In dealing with the questions which they were met to consider, he felt that the great want among liberal thinkers at the present time was unity and visible combination. Their state of disintegration had lasted long enough, and it was time that their very loose order should be consolidated; at least it was desirable that the various bodies of freethinkers and individual freethinkers should combine so as to be able to take action when their interests were affected. If religion was to attain a permanent development it must be by taking hold of and retaining the younger generation. Freethinkers should increase their numbers and strengthen their organization. If that were not done they would be overtaken by a reaction in the next generation. Everything seemed to point that way. The upper classes of society and the ministers of religion that were antagonistic to each other were ready to combine for the purpose, if not of actually crushing, at least of rendering the position of liberal thinkers, their common foes, as inconvenient as possible. Emissaries and wire-pullers had been working actively, both in the religious and political world, for the accomplishment of that object. There was nothing he would venture to caution the younger men more against than being put off by that makeshift rationalism with which Orthodoxy was sometimes tainted, and with which it was hoped to take the wind out of the sails of the freethinkers. The speaker proceeded to assert that many of the ideas on religion circulated had been great obstacles to human improvement, and the painful source of superstition, ignorance, and misery. Hence the necessity of combination among themselves and the first development

of their principles. As long as priests remained in the world they would not cease to subject men to a false standard of religion and an unwarrantable species of authority which mystified men's interests, stopping the progress of every enlightened man to aid us as far as he could by information to counteract those evil influences. Among the influences with which they had to contend was the invidious action of the clergy in the school boards. The same influence, too, was at work in the middle-class schools; and as long as those false religions lasted, so long would they have an insupportable barrier to the progress of science and free government.

Mr. Charles Voysey then read a paper dealing with freethought ideas. He affirmed that theology, if it existed at all, in the future must be more enlightened and freed from irrational dogmas. In his opinion there should be a disestablishment of creeds and articles, and a repeal of the Act of Uniformity, so as to leave all Christian clergymen free to speak their honest mind. Intellectual correction was a great religious need,—the getting rid of what was unreasonable, and the getting hold of what was reasonable, by giving freedom to ministers.

The discussion was continued by Miss Downing and Captain Price, after which

The Rev. J. C. Street (Belfast) made some remarks, and concluded by proposing that an association should be formed having for its object the encouragement of freedom of discussion and the protection of those whose opinions were attempted to be crushed by the Orthodox party.

Mr. G. J. Holyoake said he was for giving the freest play to individuality of conscience. The moral aims of most people were nearly the same; and what they wanted was to recognize each others' differences without attempting to reconcile them. Atheists were such from necessity rather than from desire. The only bond of union at present required among them was the one he had just suggested; and let them see how much common work they might do for the protection of each other, the advancement of thought, and the right of conscience, on which all true progress depended.

Mr. Mark Judge said he took it they were not there to discuss abstruse problems, but to meet the needs of the times as far as liberal thinkers were concerned. They ought not to attempt to define what true religion was, but rather to get those of every religion among them. He understood the object of the conference was to found a Free Religious Association such as had been established in America. The chairman's address, he thought, was too sectarian; for it would not include among them those who believed in the Bible or pinned their faith to Orthodox theology. The Free Religious Association of America was not so narrow as that, nor did he think they should be so themselves.

Mrs. Ernestina Rose was in favor of free discussion, which was as necessary as the air we breathe.

Colonel T. W. Higginson, U.S., related his experiences of the inception progress of the Free Religious Association in America. He recommended a platform of few "planks," and to confine themselves to a limited area of operations.

Mr. Leslie Stephen said personally he did not feel the smallest desire to see an association such as had been suggested established. As a freethinker, he had never experienced the slightest inconvenience in expressing his opinion.

Mr. Moncure D. Conway moved the appointment of a committee to draw up a plan of action to be submitted to the Conference. He thought it was better to have elicited the views of the Conference first, instead of laying before it a cut-and-dried scheme which they never had the opportunity of discussing.

The following were elected members of the Committee: Mr. Stuart-Glennie, Colonel Higginson, Mr. Daru, Mr. G. J. Holyoake, Rev. J. C. Stuart, Mr. Russell (Limerick), Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Wylde, and Miss E. Downing.

The remainder of the evening was occupied by an address from Professor Garrison (Chicago).

The Conference adjourned until this morning.—*London Daily Chronicle*, June 14.

VICTOR HUGO ON VOLTAIRE.

BY COL. T. W. HIGGINSON,
IN THE "WOMAN'S JOURNAL."

PARIS, HOTEL DE L'ATHENE, }
RUE SCRIBE, June 10, 1878. }

I find myself again in this most beautiful of cities, more beautiful constantly, through the erection of new buildings and the opening of new and more magnificent avenues. It is the policy of the present government to spend money freely and to guard against the suspicion of being austere and puritan; and the result shows itself in the renovation of churches and the improvement of all public works. Since my visit of six years ago, the traces of the war have vanished, except the ruins of the Tuilleries and Hotel de Ville, already growing picturesque with time, and perhaps never to be rebuilt. But from the doors of this hotel one can almost look into the new Avenue de l'Opera, which is claimed as the finest street in the world, extending from the new and vast Grand Opera House to the Louvre, and lighted at night by electric lights alone, more brilliant than the brightest gas.

From brilliant luminaries to oratory—Oh, call it not gas!—is a natural transition. I came to Paris a little earlier than I had intended, not so much to honor the memory of Voltaire—though in many ways I honor it, not in all—as to avail myself of an unusual opportunity of hearing French eloquence. I had always wished to know whether this wonderfully adaptive language lent itself to oratory as it does to prose writing and to conversation; and when I heard Victor Hugo and Emile Deschanel, I found that its

resources were greater than I had dreamed. Its delicacy, its precision, the fine edge of its satire, the exquisite ease with which one who wields it can decapitate an opponent before he knows it, like the sword of Saladin,—all this I observed with delight. But I found also that it had in it a power of gradual swell and reach, for which I was not so well prepared. I never heard a finer ocean-swell of a sentence than when Victor Hugo described all the arts of peace, all the joys of home, all the pursuits and interests of life, and then showed how sovereigns made all this to culminate in that frightful international exposition called a battle-field! To say that it was brilliant and electric is nothing; it was a swell like an ocean wave, bursting at last in spray and dying away in sound. It is idle to call Victor Hugo a mere rhetorician; it is impossible to appreciate his style without hearing it from his own lips. And it implies a French audience, too, full of enthusiasm, of literary perception, and of demonstration; men around me followed the progress of a sentence with smothered "Ah-h-h" of breathless delight, and the applause at the intervals with hands and with shouts, never with feet, were such as might well carry an orator beyond himself.

Long before the hour of meeting, all tickets were sold, and placards announced the fact; a dense crowd surrounded the theatre and it was hard to reach the door. When I told the *sergent de ville* (or policeman) at the door that I was an American and must have a place, he left his post to another and guided me to where a very few more seats were yet sold by speculators, and I got one for a less price than some who came later. Never did I see an audience of finer aspect. There is among cultivated Frenchmen, I maintain, an air superior to that of Anglo-Saxons of the same grade,—equal intellect with far higher polish. The platform was filled with such men, and the audience had a prevailing well-dressed look which surprised me. This, indeed, was the picked audience; the vast popular demonstration of six thousand persons was going on at the American circus at the same time. When I asked my French neighbor whether Victor Hugo was on the platform, he looked at me with surprise. "When Victor Hugo enters," he said, "you will hear a sound from the audience like that of an ocean." And such, indeed, was the shout of applause when that commanding, gray head appeared amidst the crowd on the platform. He was escorted forward and took his seat between M. Spuller and M. Deschanel, both men of noble appearance. There was no music. M. Spuller spoke first, without notes, and resting one hand on the table, but putting into the other hand an amount of gesture impossible to any Anglo-Saxon. Then M. Deschanel spoke, sitting, that he might read better from numerous quotations and illustrations,—partly relating to Voltaire, partly to Victor Hugo, who really seemed to have an almost equal place in the commemoration. I would not have believed it possible that even the best orator in the *Chambre des Deputés*, such as he is reported to be, could have produced such an effect while sitting. I was particularly struck, moreover, with the skill with which he handled Voltaire's greatest reproach, his poem on Jeanne d'Arc. Utterly surrendering the greater part of it as partaking the spirit of that age, "*Hocincleuz et coupable*," he yet claimed that Voltaire had fully recognized her as the savior of France; and then turned with wonderful force upon the clerical party for trying to make capital out of her memory. "If you come to that," he said, in effect, "who was it who burned her?" ("*qui est-ce qui l'a brûlé?*") and the wave of his hand with which, in this brief phrase, he dismissed all his opponents, was as triumphant a stroke of brevity as I ever heard; and the audience responded peal on peal.

When Victor Hugo rose to speak, the scene was to the eye far more impressive. Twelve candles were lighted that he might see his manuscript—these candles lighted up the strong face of the old poet, with its white hair and short white beard,—and behind his face rose a laurelled pedestal, on which smiled the bust of Voltaire. It was the only bust of him ever seen by me in which the smile was not cynical and a little repulsive. In this bust it was simply kindly and equable, and Victor Hugo's praises of the smile seemed therefore less daring. The speaker's manuscript consisted of sheets twice the size of the largest foolscap I ever saw, and the handwriting was in proportion, so that the speech was read without glasses. The effect of it was—to try a sentence in his own vein—serene, defiant, conciliatory, revolutionary, winning, terrific. You could not call his manner overdone, because it was so in keeping with the matter and so natural to the man. Never had he more felicitous antitheses, more dramatic climaxes; and even when he raised his hand above his head, each finger quivering, as with separate currents of excitement, and even when he struck his head with his hand as if to tear his hair, it still seemed merely as if the key-note of the whole were pitched a little like ours, and as if all else were correct. And certainly if the test of oratory is to make the most of an occasion and an audience, that effect was reached by Victor Hugo.

I left the hall by a side-passage and found myself emerging just behind Victor Hugo. He could scarcely get into his carriage for the crowd of admirers that pressed around it. The windows and balconies of the square were full of people. There is no question of the enthusiasm inspired here by the centenary of Voltaire; nor did any counter-enthusiasm make itself publicly visible. I was sorry not to know until late of the banquet held in the evening, and at which farther speeches were made. But perhaps I ought not to make this assertion too strongly, for I observe by both the Paris-American weekly newspapers that I was there. These discrepancies between newspaper biography and autobiography are not confined, it seems, to the Western Continent.

Victor Hugo is to preside, it seems, at a literary convention, to which I am a delegate, called by the French, "*Société des Gens de Lettres*." There is also some talk of an international convention in regard to the civil and other rights of women, at which he is to be invited to preside. The projector of this is, I believe, M. Leon Richer, editor-in-chief of the weekly journal, *L'Avenir des Femmes*. I am to return to London on the 11th of June, and to remain some three weeks in England, after which I shall be in Paris for some weeks again; so that if this convention is held, I may be able to attend it.

JOSEPH COOK.

HE MEETS A TARTAR IN A HARRISBURG MERCHANT, AND IS VANQUISHED IN ONE ROUND.

So much has been written and published in the newspapers about the arrogance and supercilious conduct of the Rev. Joseph Cook, the great Boston divine, that we were led to believe he was being persecuted by members of the press who aim their keen shafts of ridicule at any prominent man, and point out his frailties without directing attention to his better qualities; but the following we have heard from several reliable gentlemen in this city; and while it seems to show Mr. Cook in rather an unenviable light, we wish it understood that it does not detract from his brilliancy as a student and orator.

On Thursday afternoon, Mr. Cook stepped into the store of a Market Street merchant and announced in a very pompous manner that he would like to buy some letter paper.

"What kind of paper do you wish, sir?" said the merchant.

"Let me see it, and then I'll tell you," said Mr. Cook, savagely.

Said the merchant: "How can I show you what you want, unless I know what it is?"

"Well," said the reverend, "I want commercial note paper. Now produce it."

The merchant didn't at all fancy the style of his customer, but, being obliging, he placed some very fine paper on the case, which Mr. Cook picked up, examined very closely and then said:—

"Is all this paper good?"

"Yes, sir."

"How should I know but what you are cheating me? Suppose you open the package and allow me to look at it."

The package was tied around very neatly with ribbon, and secured with fancy paper bands which it was necessary to break in order to open it. The dealer informed Mr. Cook that the paper was alike, that he could not open the package unless he destroyed the bindings, and then warmly resented the idea that he intended to cheat him.

"Well," said Mr. Cook, "I guess you are losing your temper. You must be a Pennsylvania Molly Maguire."

"No, sir," said the dealer, "I am no more of a Molly Maguire than you are a gentleman. In fact, I think you are a d-d rascal. I don't know you, sir; but any man who accuses another of a desire to cheat him is not honest,—is not honest to himself."

A sharp cross-fire of words ensued, when suddenly the merchant said, a happy thought striking him:—

"You must be Cook,—Joe Cook, the lecturer."

"Yes," said the minister, "that is my name, and I lecture in this city this evening."

"I thought so," said the merchant; "I've heard of you before. How is your friend Ingersoll?"

"Oh," said Cook, "Bob Ingersoll is a bad man. He swears."

"Perhaps he does," said the merchant, "but he is a gentleman."

This ended the conversation, and the scene was ended by Mr. Cook making a liberal purchase, shaking hands with the merchant, and inviting him to hear the lecture.—*Harrisburg (Pa.) Daily Telegraph, June 15.*

NEW FLYING-MACHINES.

The Hartford (Conn.) papers give long accounts of the trial trips there of the Riecht flying-machine. This apparatus consists of a horizontal cylinder twenty-five feet long and thirteen feet in diameter, filled with hydrogen gas. Under the bottom of the cylinder runs a hollow brass rod, to which the car is attached. A horizontal fan is used to raise or lower the machine, and a vertical one to propel it. Both these are worked by the operator. In one of these experiments, the machine not only rose in the air, but moved backward and forward, up and down, at the option of the aeronaut, and the evolutions were accomplished without waste of gas in descending, or any use of ballast whatever. The aeronaut worked the central propeller of the machine, and rose over every obstacle to the height of one hundred feet. The breeze was blowing to the eastward, and the exhibitor allowed his machine to be carried with it for an eighth of a mile, and amused himself by showing his ability to ascend or descend at will. Then the propeller was set in motion and the machine shifted its course, twisting and turning in small circles. Still its general drift was to the eastward with the wind, but at a given signal the propelling wheel was started at full speed, and with accelerated rapidity the air-ship sailed along back, at an altitude of one hundred feet, until it hovered over the exhibition grounds, whence it started; then the central propeller was set in motion, and under its influence the machine sank slowly and easily to the earth. Another invention, which is occupying the scientific world of Paris, is the Guglielmini steam balloon. If the experiments answer the inventor's hopes this balloon will be one of the wonders of this age of wonders. The invention is based on eight points: 1. Ascension power. 2. Translative horizontal and diagonal power. 3. Safety against accidents. 4. Di-

rection from one point to another given point. 5. The material employed in the construction of aerial steamboats. 6. Perfectly aerial architecture. 7. The disposition of the ascensive power. 8. The manœuvres on board and the degree of temperature of the aërostat. The gas employed is hydrogen, disposed in twelve globes instead of one. Once in the air, the boat, which is oblong like a ship, is moved on by two steam engines placed underneath the keel. Thus it cuts the air as other boats cut the sea. With an engine of fifteen-horse power thirty metres are made in a second. The acting manœuvres consist in passing the excess of hydrogen in the globes into others reserved expressly for the guidance of the boat, and then repassing them into their first globes, according to the descent or ascent which may be required. No trial trip of the new invention has yet been made.—*Tribune, June 22.*

THE THIRTEEN LEOS.—Now that the familiar name of Pius IX. has already passed into history, and has been replaced by the to us unaccustomed sounding title of Leo XIII., one's curiosity is naturally aroused to know, if possible, who the several Leos, predecessors of the new Leo, were, and when they lived. The following facts are found in the Oxford Chronological Tables: Leo the Great, A.D. 440; Leo II., 682-3; usurps the right of investiture; Leo III., 795-816; in 800 the Pope finally departs from the Eastern Empire and becomes supreme Bishop of the Western; Leo IV., 847-855; Leo V., 903-905; Leo VI., 923; Leo VII., 936; Leo VIII., 963; Leo IX., 1048-1054; Leo X. (de Medicis), 1518-1522; a munificent patron of literature and art. Leo XI. (de Medicis), 1605; one month; Leo XII., 1823-9; Leo XIII., 1878. Four of the Leos came in the tenth century and reigned only a short time. It was Leo III. that crowned Charlemagne emperor in 800; and while Leo X. was in power, the German Reformation broke out under Luther, in 1517. These, then, are the two great epoch Leos. Leo IV., in 1053, marches against the Normans, is defeated and taken prisoner, and confers Apulia and Calabria on the Normans as a fief of the Holy See. After Leo XI. there is a great gap; and for more than two hundred years history does not furnish another Leo. The longest reign is that of Leo III., twenty-one years.—*Advertiser.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

IPHIGENIA.

SUGGESTED BY A PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATION OF GOETHE'S IPHIGENIA AT AULIS.

Iphigenia, the daughter of King Agamemnon, was sacrificed at Aulis, before the Grecian fleet bound for Troy could sail. But the priest found not the maiden, but a mountain stag, stretched bleeding before the altar by the blow of his knife. Diana snatched the human victim away. She was carried through the air to a temple of her rescuer on the coast of the Black Sea, among the Scythians or Tartars. Shipwrecked Greek sailors were here sacrificed to Diana by the barbarians, and Iphigenia was made a priestess; but she only clipped the locks of the victims, and was not present at the sacrifice. She finally escaped from Scythia to Athens, where she was worshipped as a goddess after her death. A man was sacrificed at her shrine during the rites. So that Iphigenia was associated with human sacrifices as victim, priestess, and goddess.

I.

Old superstition's lurid shadows cloud,
Famed Grecian maid, thy stately loveliness.
Priestess of altars, where in his distress
The wave-worn mariner, shipwrecked, poured his blood,
Thy seeming sacrifice the winds unchained
At Aulis, while soul-stricken bowed thy sire;
But not thy pure and virgin arteries stained
With life-tide sweet the dark priest's altar dire.
For lo! beneath his curst knife bleeding lay
A beauteous mountain hart in place of thee;
For Dian not in mercy snatched thy form away
Through blue air to a hideous ministry.
Dira Belligio! in his deathless verse
Thee well might the indignant Roman curse.

II.

O priests of current creeds, your altars too,
Like those of Aulis and of Tauris, claimed
Their human victims. Sacrificial dagger drew
Not blood; but faggot-fires of torment flamed
In a not distant past. Your god was then
A homicide like Tauric Artemis,
Who drained the shrunk veins of poor shipwrecked men.
Three centuries back did grim Toledo hiss
With torture-fires; Geneva, Smithfield glowed;
Still later Rome. No longer brooks that scorching mode
Of pious argument the world we know.
Calchas* and Dominic and Calvin now
Could corrugate with pain no victim's brow.
Their knives and fires are things of long-ago.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 20.

Mrs. M. J. Regan, \$2.00; Dr. N. H. Webster, \$4.40; Mrs. C. Dumas, \$2; Wiley Britton, \$3; Mrs. C. D. Childs, \$3.20; Ed. Howland, \$5; F. H. Maogill, \$5.20; M. E. Linton, \$3.20; H. W. Johnson, \$3.20; J. L. Stoddard, \$3; Mrs. Clara Noyman, \$4; L. and M. Kahn, \$3; J. H. Mason, \$3.20; John M. Thomas, 25 cents; Dr. Aug. Hubne, \$3.20; Miss A. Seeger, \$1.60; Wm. Kotch, \$3.20.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

* Calchas, the priest who sacrificed Iphigenia.

The Index.

BOSTON, JULY 25, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLDOO OFFICE, No. 35 MONROE STREET; J. T. FERRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERRY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
GADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B.
MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

DR. AUERBACH, in his oration at the late Schutzfest, said: "The true German hides no treason in his heart. He couples liberty and order. He aims at the preservation of the family. He stands for justice and truth, for liberty and morality." This is exactly what is wanted—an equal love for "liberty and morality." May such "true Germans" as Dr. Auerbach describes become numerous and influential in the United States!

MR. B. R. TUCKER communicates to us the following particulars of the meeting at Faneuil Hall elsewhere referred to: "An indignation meeting is to be held in Faneuil Hall, Thursday evening, August 1, to protest against the injury done to the freedom of the press by the imprisonment of E. H. Heywood. Hon. Elizur Wright will preside, and many able speakers will be present. The galleries will be reserved for ladies, and for gentlemen accompanying them. For further particulars, see Boston daily papers of next week."

THE Independent has concluded to adopt the Jesuit maxim that the end justifies the means, if we understand the morality of this editorial utterance: "A rat is a mischievous, predacious animal. We detest him. The way we treat him is this: we prepare a wire cage, attach to the door a spring, put some cheese inside the cage, entice in the vermin to eat the bait, have him loosen the spring, which shuts the door and holds him prisoner. We then take the cage with the rat out of doors, and let him out, where a terrier instantly catches and despatches him. Thus we kill rats. But it is a deception and a lie. Yes, we know it; but the rat is a depredator and has no rights. We are willing to deceive him. By all the language that he can understand we dolle to him. We tell him the cheese is good. We assure him he can safely eat it. We show him that the door is wide open, and that he can escape at any instant. We see him cautiously approach, and smell of the wire. We tell him there is no danger, that wire will not hurt him, and that there is nobody around; and we entreat him to take a bite. He believes our lie; he trusts us; and he is caught. Then we glory over him. We call him a thief. We hand him over to the executioner, 'Gyp,' and are glad to see him die, the victim of misplaced confidence. Do we feel any compunctions that we have lied to the villainous brute? None whatever. He must be exterminated, and lying is none too bad for him. We will deceive him, entrap him, exterminate him, when and how we can. Rats—one of them was called Madame Restall. The rat-catcher's name was Anthony Comstock. The more traps he sets for vile men and vile women the better we shall like it. But he lies to them, says he has a friend, etc., and offers money, and buys their wares, and deceives them? We are glad of it. Help him to get good traps, and good bait, and let us see if he cannot make the vermin scarce."

THE FANEUIL HALL MEETING.

The Board of Aldermen of the city of Boston, on the evening of July 9, granted the following petition:—

We, the undersigned, citizens and legal voters of the city of Boston, hereby respectfully request your honorable body to grant us the use of Faneuil Hall on Thursday evening, Aug. 1, for the purpose of holding therein a public meeting to consider the injury done to the freedom of the press by the recent sentence and imprisonment of Ezra H. Heywood.

Henry N. Stone, Charles H. Codman, John Wetherbee, H. B. Storer, H. M. Bearce, Fred H. Henshaw, Lyman S. Hapgood, C. A. B. Shepard, E. M. Chamberlin, Fred W. Barry, F. S. Cabot, D. J. King, D. S. Watson, Eben Carpenter, Joseph M. Hart, Newhall Davis, C. W. McLellan, Isaac B. Rich, C. J. Rich, Samuel W. Douglass, Charles M. Nye, Wm. Johnson, Horace Seaver, Wm. Hill, N. H. Dillingham, Arthur Burnham, Archibald Thompson, Gilman Joslin, J. W. Gillespie, Wm. Lee, A. W. K. Newton, Francis Milliken, Chas. McLean, Geo. L. Hovey, J. W. Phinney, Wm. E. Cash, A. Folsom, John P. Whittier, Henry Damon, Geo. D. Buzzell, J. L. Newman, Albert Crowell, Amos A. Stevens, John Q. A. Clifton, Chas. W. Slack, Spencer Thomas, John Hardy, W. W. Eastham, Franklin Stevens, Thos. Adams, Howell Matson, J. Edwards Andrews, and B. Franklin Clark.

The next day, two of the city papers (we did not see all of them) commented on this action in a way to give altogether a false impression of the real object of the meeting proposed. The Herald said:—

Faneuil Hall is to rock again for freedom—this time of the press,—the Aldermen having voted its use, on Aug. 1, to citizens who believe that editor E. H. Heywood, of *The Word*, ought not to have been imprisoned for publishing obscenity.

The Advertiser said:—

The complaint is made on the part of some of our extreme radicals that free speech is denied them; and yet the complainants are to have the free use of Faneuil Hall for a public meeting in sympathy with a convict now serving out his sentence in Dedham jail for circulating obscene books. The only obstacle in the way of those who insist upon dragging offensive subjects into public debate is the unwillingness of decent-minded people to listen to them. But they have abundant liberty to talk. Until they resort to open defiance of the laws they are personally safe enough. The granting of Faneuil Hall to them for such a purpose is an act of extreme liberality, for which they ought to be profoundly grateful. As to the case of Heywood, it was very fortunate for him that the evidence on which he was convicted was of such a nature that it could not be spread before the public. Nobody would have protested against such a publication more vehemently than some of the fathers of families who signed the petition for the use of Faneuil Hall for a meeting of sympathy. It is a libel on Freedom of the Press to attempt to make so good a cause cover the odious and disgusting books for which this lenient sentence was given.

Now both of these notices agree in representing that this meeting is called in order to uphold Mr. Heywood in publishing obscenity. No credence is given to the expressed purpose of the petitioners; namely, "to consider the injury done to the freedom of the press by the recent sentence and imprisonment of Ezra H. Heywood." The object of the meeting is to make a needed protest in behalf of the freedom of the press; but, as is shown by the above extracts and as will undoubtedly be shown by the comments of the press on the meeting itself, this object is not understood by the press, and we see no reason to expect that it will be any better understood by the public. Why?

The reason seems to us very clear. Mr. Heywood was convicted and imprisoned for "circulating obscene literature through the mails"; and this meeting, according to the petition, is called "to consider the injury done to the freedom of the press" by his conviction and imprisonment. These are the two great prominent facts before the press and the public, the only facts as yet clearly presented to them. Is it any wonder that both the press and the public draw at once the only inference of which these facts alone are logically susceptible—that the "injury done to the freedom of the press" consists in interfering with the circulation of "obscene literature," and that the meeting is called for the express purpose of declaring by a public demonstration, that freedom of the press ought to cover the right to circulate obscene literature? We do not see how any other inference could possibly be drawn from the only facts prominently before the public. Yet this inference is an utterly false one. The signers of the petition are no more in favor of "obscene literature" than the general public are; they are really concerned to defend the freedom of the press alone, in a case where this freedom has been indeed infringed upon. But the effect of the meeting must be greatly lessened by this fatal popular misunderstanding of its object.

How, then, could this misunderstanding have been avoided? Only in one way. If the object of the meeting had been avowedly twofold,—to uphold the

right of society to legislate against really obscene literature, but to protest against the extension of such legislation to a case beyond its proper scope, as a real injury done to the freedom of the press,—then this fatal misunderstanding could not have arisen. There is a double and equal necessity now of *emphatically approving* proper laws against obscene literature and of *emphatically disapproving* their perversion to interference with free thought. If only the latter half of this work is done, the efforts made will lose nine-tenths of their effect. It is substantially the same question as that raised by the Bennett petition, but in a new form; namely, the question, "What attitude shall the liberals of the United States take with reference to the law of 1873?"

Our own convictions on this whole subject are well-known to readers of THE INDEX, though they have been wilfully and unscrupulously misrepresented elsewhere; and our own strong protest in the Heywood case has already been published in these columns. We cannot make, or join in making, any protest in this case which is unaccompanied by a strong and emphatic approval of proper laws against really obscene literature. We believe that the whole truth must be told in this matter, or all protests will be practically unavailing; we believe that the public can never be made to appreciate the liberal protest in behalf of "freedom of the press," unless the liberals show plainly that they appreciate the public's side of the right to suppress really obscene literature. With great sympathy for the avowed object of the Faneuil Hall meeting, and with equal regret that it is not made to cover the whole ground essential to what we are constrained to believe to be the only right, tenable, or practically effective position on this question, we hope that the meeting will succeed in convincing the public that great wrong has been done by imprisoning Mr. Heywood, but fear it will not.

We append here an article which was offered to and refused by the editor of the Boston Advertiser, commenting on a sentence of the extract above quoted from its columns. Whether the Advertiser's course, in not permitting so important a subject to be temperately discussed in its columns, sustains its own assumption that "freedom of the press" is not concerned in this matter, we leave to our readers to decide. The article, of course, contains repetitions of what has been already said here; but it will show that the Advertiser, at least, is unwilling to let its own public understand this matter in its true light.

Freedom of the Press.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY ADVERTISER:

Sir,—In an editorial paragraph of this morning's issue, you thus allude to the sentence recently passed on E. H. Heywood: "It is a libel on Freedom of the Press to attempt to make so good a cause cover the odious and disgusting books for which this lenient sentence was given."

Will you permit one who considers the pamphlet (not "books"), to which you allude, justly characterized by the epithets you employ, to say a few words on this very distasteful subject? There are a great many "odious and disgusting" books in the world which are not suppressed by law; and it would be very unreasonable to expect that they ever will be, so long as men place any value on freedom of the press. I am one of many who believe that the "odious and disgusting" character of this particular pamphlet is not such as ought to subject its author to fine and imprisonment; and I beg leave to state some grounds for this conviction which may possibly cause intelligent and fair-minded citizens to pause and reflect.

There are three classes of publications to be considered with reference to the law under which E. H. Heywood was convicted:—

I. Utterly vile books, pamphlets, circulars, etc., which make no pretence of discussing or advocating a theory, address themselves solely to low passions instead of to conscience and reason, and are published for the sake of profit to publishers or advertisers.

II. Publications which are addressed exclusively to reason and conscience, and which, although advocating moral ideas or theories condemned by the enlightened portion of the community, do so in a scrupulously decent, delicate, and proper manner.

III. Publications which, like the preceding class, advocate crude moral or social theories, and yet, unlike them, offend decency and good taste by occasional objectionable passages.

The first of these classes ought to be suppressed vigorously, though by methods whose morality cannot be justly questioned; and I do not doubt that it was this class alone at which the statute of 1873 was

really aimed. The second class are as clearly beyond the just scope of this law as the first class are within it. It is with reference to the third class alone that reasonable doubt arises; yet I believe that an enlightened regard for freedom of thought and of the press, no less than a sagacious foresight of the disastrous consequences that must follow the cry of "persecution" and "censorship of the press," will give to liberty the benefit of the doubt, and forbear to inflict a legal penalty in cases where the indignant reprobation of public opinion will prove a far more efficient remedy. Nothing could possibly do so much towards the abrogation of all laws against obscene literature as a widespread suspicion that they are designed or used to suppress freedom of thought. I speak solely as a friend to such laws, provided their operation can be restricted to the first class of publications above mentioned. Under cover of a pretence of suppressing "obscenity," it will be neither right nor safe to attempt to suppress social or moral theories, however wild or mischievous they may be. Such an attempt will be sure to defeat itself in the end in a free country. The rights of free thought and free discussion will certainly be vindicated at last; and it is deplorably unwise to excite against all laws for the protection of our children from obscene literature that formidably strong love of liberty which is so deeply rooted in every American heart.

Now the pamphlet for circulating which Mr. Heywood was convicted and imprisoned belongs to the third of the three classes of publications described. It is simply a plea for the "free love" theory, expressed in the main with chaste language, but occasionally descending to indecencies of suggestion which are utterly abhorrent to every cultivated reader. The "free love" theory itself is so pitifully feeble in an intellectual point of view, and so revolting to every high moral sentiment and conviction, that it is an inexcusable blunder to permit it to boast of a single "martyr." It is a sad mistake for the United States government to dignify this "odious and disgusting" nonsense which calls itself "free love" by anything that can be considered persecution. Nothing sells like a proscribed book, and the government has taken the surest possible means of reviving and spreading a noxious delusion which had already begun to die of its own inherent folly.

But there are still graver features of this case. Mr. Heywood's pamphlet, wild, false, and immoral as its teachings are, was so manifestly a plea for a social theory that it could only be brought under the head of obscene literature by ruling that, according to the statute of 1873, every book is to be adjudged obscene which contains a single obscene passage! The language of Judge Clark, in his charge to the jury, was as follows:—

"A book is obscene that is offensive to decency. A book to be obscene need not be obscene throughout the whole: whole or in part comes within the meaning of the law," etc.

I certainly speak within due bounds when I say that this is a monstrous doctrine, and one that cannot possibly stand. Whoever sends through the mail a copy of any book that contains a single obscene passage (that is, a passage that is "offensive to decency") is, according to Judge Clark, guilty of violating the criminal law of the United States, and liable to punishment. Are there not passages which are "offensive to decency" in Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Moore, Burns, and a vast proportion of the classics of the literature of all languages? Nay, take that case which is certain to touch the public most deeply: are there no passages "offensive to decency" in the Bible? If there are, then whoever should send a Bible through the mails will be liable to fine and imprisonment! I protest against classing the Bible with that obscene literature which it is a crime to mail; I protest against any decision of the courts which must either require this application of the law, or else apply it with glaring inequality, injustice, and favoritism. It was only by construing the law of 1873 in a sense so sweeping and indiscriminating that it strikes down the Bible itself as an "obscene book," that E. H. Heywood was convicted: is there no offence against the freedom of the press in that? Is it unreasonable to demand that the law of 1873 shall be so construed and administered, or else so radically modified, as not to strike a blow at the great masterpieces of all literatures, and at the great fundamental rights of free thought and a free press? Be assured, sir, there are many in this community who are deeply disquieted by this unjust conviction of Mr. Heywood, and who yet abhor "obscene literature" and "free love" as strongly and sincerely as yourself. With the meeting in Faneuil Hall which

was the occasion of your paragraph, I have had no connection; but so far as it expresses a protest against the encroachment on the freedom of the press committed by the United States Court in the conviction of Mr. Heywood, I do not see how any reflective citizen can withhold from it his sympathy.

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

CAMBRIDGE, July 17.

IS IT TRUE?

The issue of the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman* on July 4 contained the following editorial article, which deserves to be very thoughtfully read by all who are capable of taking broad and comprehensive views of great questions:—

THE INDEX quoted recently some remarks from the *Statesman* in reference to the opposing forces at work in our national life, and the opposing precedents which they have established, and claims that "the United States Constitution, which is the political Bible of Free Religion, shows that the national government was founded on the principle which underlies our 'set of precedents,' not that of the *Christian Statesman*." The National Liberal League, which aims to settle this "great unsettled issue" on the principle of political secularism or infidelity, "ought to be supported," says THE INDEX, "with enthusiasm, with generosity, with combined individual energies, and with the powerful cooperation of hundreds and thousands of Local Auxiliary Leagues, as the great educator of the American people in the most important principle of their national life,—the *Total Separation of Church and State*."

The "enthusiasm, generosity, and powerful cooperation of hundreds and thousands of local auxiliary leagues," for which THE INDEX pleads, we do not believe it will ever see. Unbelief has never shown itself able, except for brief periods of spasmodic fanatical devotion, to make men generous or to hold them together in societies. Selfishness and hatred hinder all its work and dissolve all its organizations. Socialism is already divided into three recognized bodies in the United States. The quarrel of certain liberals with THE INDEX because it would not echo their denunciations of Anthony Comstock is bitter and unceasing. On the other hand, Christianity unites men as no other social force has ever been able to do. It begets a spirit of generosity and self-sacrifice which is no less peculiar and remarkable. The Christian churches of this country, divided on minor points of doctrine and practice, feel and confess their oneness. They have often proved themselves capable of combined and harmonious action. Christians, by virtue of their faith and its influence upon them, have a capacity for organization and for self-sacrifice in which we believe the enemies of our national Christianity to be almost wholly wanting. When once the National Liberal League has succeeded in bringing the "great unsettled issue," and its proposed settlement of the issue, more distinctly to the consciousness of the American people, it will be astonished at the emphasis and unanimity with which the Christian majority of the nation will render its decision. And that decision, once given, will never be reversed. All experience and all discussion will only serve to reveal the strength of the arguments upon which it will be based.

To secure and hasten this decision is the work of the National Reform Association. With THE INDEX, whose clearness of perception in these questions is only equalled by its candor and consistency in advocating its own solution of them, we are laboring to set the "unsettled issue" before the people. No man knows how soon some practical issue will involve the settlement of the whole question. Meanwhile our testimony must be maintained and lifted higher into the view of our fellow-citizens. The seed must be scattered every year with a more liberal hand. These halcyon days of peaceful discussion, before angry tumult and struggle arise over some issue of national significance, should be diligently improved. There is no cheaper or more effective method of work than the dissemination of tracts and other literature, and it should be wisely and laboriously prosecuted.

Is it really true that the liberals, as a great class in the community, are incapable of forgetting themselves sufficiently to enter into combined action in behalf of their common principles—incapable of that generous self-devotion and public-spirited cooperation in a great cause which are the loftiest traits of humanity? Or are they still unaware that they really have a common cause,—that the highest welfare of their country and their race depends on its ultimate triumph,—and that this ultimate triumph cannot possibly be won without the organized union of their individual energies?

We do not know how to answer these questions. What we do know is that the Christian party display that "capacity for organization and for self-sacrifice" which the *Christian Statesman* claims for them, and which gives to them the easily maintained control of all public affairs. The Christians govern the liberals; and the latter either do not know the fact or are indifferent to it. The National Liberal League aims to emancipate the liberals from this political and social subjection; yet they take comparatively slight interest in the matter, and wear the yoke of their masters without manifesting any "noble discontent" with their own serfdom. Such a phenomenon per-

plexes and confounds us. We do not know how to explain it. Is the explanation of the *Christian Statesman* the true one?

THE POPE AND VOLTAIRE.

In reply to an address by Count Alessandro Cavadelli, at the head of a deputation from a number of Catholic societies, Pope Leo XIII. made the following speech at the Vatican on "Ascension Thursday":

Our heart experiences a lively satisfaction at seeing present so large a number of our sons, who, united to us not only by the bonds of common charity, but also by those of pious associations, manifest their solicitude for the honor of God, the interests of the Church, and the good of souls.

It is, then, agreeable to us to receive your sentiments of faithful devotion and unalterable attachment to our person, above all on this day, consecrated by the ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven. But, alas! this day, so beautiful when the Church, surrounded by all her children, can celebrate in holy festivities the triumph of her Divine Spouse,—this day is profaned by the public honors which are rendered amid a Catholic nation to Voltaire, the most bitter enemy of Jesus Christ and of his Church.

It is useless to deny, my dear children, that to celebrate the memory of such men as Voltaire, insulters of the faith and its Divine Author, men without morality or honor, reveals the depth of the baseness of our age, rushing rapidly to its ruin. The country of his birth is at this moment the scene of these honors; but for the honor of this nation be it said that from every part of its territory a powerful voice of disapprobation and indignation is raised; under the influence of her bishops and of the Catholic press acts of reparation are with a noble emulation made everywhere.

Meanwhile, this work of reparation does not belong solely to the Catholics of France, but to all; because in the honors rendered to Voltaire, the faith, the conscience, and the piety of all Christians are insulted. These doctrines and teachings are not the melancholy heritage of France alone; they are scattered everywhere, and everywhere produce the most grievous fruits of infidelity. It is incumbent, therefore, on all Catholics to protest by their acts and by their words against such impudence. And this is principally incumbent on you, Romans. Your Rome is the centre of the Divine religion of Christ, against which Voltaire, this leader, this precursor of modern infidelity, waged such a bitter war. Your Rome is the see of the Vicar of him against whom is impiously launched the most horrible blasphemies.

It is, then, right, my very dear children, that when your religion is insulted you are excited to courageously repel the outrage; and you have repelled it in seconding the movements of your hearts; you have repelled it this moment in our presence, and you will always repel it by a frank and open confession of your faith, in the midst of an unbelieving world; by the constant exercise of the good works to which you are laudably devoted. With our authority as Pontiff, with our love as a father, we invite you to persevere, and we encourage you by all possible means to increase the glory of God, the salvation of your brethren, even in presence of grave difficulties which serve to excite the enemy. You render a signal service even to civil society, which has no greater peril to fear than that of banishing Jesus Christ and his Divine commandments.

Our assistance and our advice shall not be wanting to you, dear children; and as a pledge of our good will and of our affection, we give our Apostolic Benediction to you, and to all the members of your societies. May this benediction fortify your faith; may it sustain you in the practice of Christian works, and may it render your institutions prosperous. *Benedictio Dei, etc.*

THE DIFFERENCE.

The editor of the *Truth Seeker* winces under the exposure of his mendacity which we were at last compelled to make a fortnight ago, in consequence of his reiterated complaints that we had done him injustice by publishing the McKesson & Robbins advertisement. As we then showed, he gave to those gentlemen in December last a private written confession of the precise offence which they charged upon him in their advertisement; yet he has had the effrontery since that time to declare again and again to the public that this advertisement was a "false statement"! He now tries to escape the disgrace of proven and confessed falsehood by pleading cowardice, as follows:—

"We allowed him [Mr. Robbins] to 'bulldoze' us, so to speak, and we wrote by his dictation such an article as would show to his Christian friends that his name had been placed upon our infidel circular without his authority. Perhaps it was one of the weakest things we ever did, but so it was. He stood over us in an imperative manner, and we penned by Mr. Robbins' dictation, in part at least, the note which Mr. Abbot terms 'Bennett's Confession,'" etc.

The truth of that confession he does not venture to deny, though he tries to explain it away at great length, and without success. The fact remains that Mr. Bennett either did, or did not, use the names of McKesson & Robbins without authority; if he did, his denial is false—if he did not, his confession is false.

Now we should not have again referred to this

disgusting subject, if Mr. Bennett had not gone out of his way to repeat a malignant falsehood about us, by way of revenge for our telling the inexorable truth about himself,—a falsehood, moreover, which had already been annihilated in his own columns. Some months ago he published in the *Truth Seeker* a statement that we had “forged the signature” of Mr. O. B. Frothingham to a circular issued in 1874. The only foundation for this statement was an affidavit of Mr. Frothingham in 1875. The language of this affidavit, drawn up by an attorney in legal style, certainly gave some color to the charge; but it was never intended by Mr. Frothingham to make the remotest insinuation that we had used his name improperly. As a matter of fact, there was not the slightest shadow of truth in the accusation; we had received at the time, and have now in our possession, Mr. Frothingham's cordial and explicit written consent to put his name to that circular. But we wrote at once to him, and received in reply a letter containing these words:—

“The idea of your forging my name to the document in question is unspeakably absurd. It was given you freely, and was never either by word or implication disavowed. . . . Use this note in any way you please.”

In accordance with this permission, we sent a copy of the note to Mr. Bennett for publication in the *Truth Seeker*. This was the only time we ever asked such a favor, and we expected it to be granted without hesitation, because we had just published unhesitatingly in THE INDEX Mr. Bennett's own explanation about the McKesson & Robbins advertisement, refraining out of kindness from pointing out its unsatisfactory character. But Mr. Bennett would not print it! Mr. Frothingham himself then sent to him another similar letter, and again Mr. Bennett would not print it! His motive was evident enough: he had got hold of a useful calumny, and meant to make the most of it. But Mr. Frothingham, knowing the villainous injustice done by it and not choosing to be used as its instrument, sent a third letter in full vindication of our course respecting his name. Mr. Bennett did not dare to make a third refusal, but printed the letter in the *Truth Seeker* of April 20. This letter closed as follows:—

“Nothing in my affidavit was designed to cast reproach or blame on Mr. Abbot, who did simply what he was authorized to do—namely, affix my name to an appeal in behalf of THE INDEX. The language of the affidavit referred to does, I perceive on close examination, admit of a construction injurious to Mr. Abbot; but it was never intended, or suspected by me before. I repudiate it wholly, and declare, interpreted as it ought to be, the affidavit contains no reflection on him whatever. Yours truly,
“O. B. FROTHINGHAM.”

Now if the party himself whose name is used in any such case is satisfied, nobody else has any right to complain; it is a little too absurd for third parties to invent grievances, and thrust them upon those who emphatically repudiate them. The difference between Mr. Bennett's case and ours is simply this: Messrs. McKesson & Robbins declare that Mr. Bennett used their names without authority—Mr. Frothingham declares that we used his name with authority. If Mr. Bennett thinks that his readers are too stupid not to perceive this world-wide difference, he must entertain a remarkable opinion of their intelligence.

When Mr. Frothingham had thus, in the *Truth Seeker* itself, utterly extinguished the silly and groundless accusation that we had misused his name, it could never have been revived for any honest purpose. But Mr. Bennett stands now in sore need of some disgraceful charge against us, to make his readers forget the avalanche of disgrace which he has so rashly drawn upon his own head; and, having no other that is even plausible, he turns resurrectionist and digs up the corpse of this one. After quoting the affidavit above mentioned, he says:—

“Let the reader decide whether Mr. Abbot has a stone to throw at us for using names without authority. If he is not, at least, ‘as deep in the mud as we are in the mire,’ we do not understand the force of language. . . . It is thought that Mr. Abbot might as well attend to his own circular and not fret himself about ours. Mr. Frothingham, in a note which appeared in the *Truth Seeker*, April 20 last, endeavored to relieve Mr. Abbot to some extent from the odium resting upon him, but he did not deny the sworn statement above given.”

No, but Mr. Frothingham did deny, in the most explicit terms (which Bennett studiously forbears to quote with the affidavit itself), the construction which Bennett puts on that sworn statement. Mr. Frothingham testifies that he authorized us to use his name exactly as we did use it; and we still possess, more-

over, his explicit consent written at the time. Who is this D. M. Bennett, forsooth, that he should know better than Mr. Frothingham himself what Mr. Frothingham has or has not authorized? Or that he should undertake to instruct Mr. Frothingham as to the meaning he intended to express by his own affidavit? We do not choose to print this affidavit in part; if we print it at all, it will be in full, and Mr. Bennett knows very well that we forbear to do this out of mercy alone.

We did not at all blame Mr. Bennett in the first instance for thinking that the affidavit reflected upon us to some extent; it was self-evidently worded by a lawyer, not by Mr. Frothingham, and its legal phraseology can easily be interpreted to mean what Mr. Frothingham himself testifies he did not mean at all in signing it. But after Mr. Frothingham had explicitly declared what his real meaning was, so far as it concerns us, and that he was and is entirely satisfied with our use of his name on the circular in question, there was not a shadow of excuse left for persisting in the charge that we had used his name without authority. His letter in the *Truth Seeker* absolutely refuted that charge. To quote his affidavit now without also quoting his letter which interprets it, and to do this for the purpose of making him appear to blame us when he explicitly approves what we did, is a piece of deliberate scoundrelism of the most transparent kind; and it will open the eyes of all honest readers of the *Truth Seeker* to the real character of the man who has so long deceived them respecting THE INDEX. It ought to open the eyes even of T. C. Leland, who has been duped into becoming Bennett's accomplice in this dirty work of defamation unless he does dirty work from a natural love of it, and who either deserves pity for his credulity or contempt for his willingness to be the cat-paw and tool of calculating knavery. Sooner or later all who do not wish to be similarly duped will discover the unblushing falsehood of Bennett's course, and learn to estimate at its true value the character of a journal whose chief arguments are wilful misstatements and calumnies.

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

NO. XXVIII.

The sciences of comparative mythology and comparative religion have, quite of late, undergone a remarkable development. Ordinary mythology has been discovered to be, in great part, “a disease of language,” in that portion of it which related to the simple aspects and processes of Nature; and it may now be added that the mysticism of the Hermetic philosophy, of which the Kabbala so largely partakes, is the corresponding disease of language affecting, not physical aspects and processes, but the earliest metaphysical speculations of the human mind. “Myths,” says Stuart-Glennie, “may now be considered as conclusively proved to originate, not in the conscious allegory of philosophic thought, but in the causation-notions of primitive ignorance and the poetry of popular language” (in *The Morningland*, p. 258). What is here asserted is only true of one class of myths, those of ordinary mythology. There was another distinct and more subtle current of similar development which was based expressly on “the conscious allegory of philosophic thought.” This cropped out primitively in the Hermetic and Kabbalistic doctrine, mysteries, and literature, and was finally crystallized in the doctrine of the Trinity and the allied doctrines of the Christian theology. The explanation of these statements will result from what follows; and we shall see how mythology and naturalism were derived mainly from Nature, were, in other words, Nature-myths; while Hermetics and Christian theology were derived, on the contrary, from the primitive SCIENCE of mankind.

To recur now to the origin of the distinct idea of God as Creator and Father. There are three dominant ideas which are closely allied with all our experiences, and which, indeed, constitute THE EPITOME OF ALL EXPERIENCE, or OF THE ON-GOING OF THINGS in time. These are: BEGINNING, MIDDLE, and END. So named they are cosmical discriminations of the tempic or ordinal class. But, concurrently, the same discriminations crop out in various special spheres. Mathematically, they recur, and appear as: FIRST, SECOND, and THIRD; tempically, as PAST, PRESENT, and FUTURE; philosophically, as CAUSE, MEANS, and END, or EFFECT; socially, as PARENT, CHILD, and GRANDCHILD; practically and semi-theologically, as CREATOR, MAINTAINER, and DESTROYER, modified in a more theological sense into CREATOR, CREATION, and CREATURE; or, again, both theologically and philosophically, as: GOD, the WORLD or UNIVERSE, and MAN. All these several series of thought are so analogically identified that, in the earliest use of language, they were virtually confounded with each other. Indeed, this had to be so; for before language had developed abstract terms (or distinct series in each sphere) the concrete terms, as father, son, etc., had to be employed in the abstract sense also (or

the single series for the still greater variety of meanings). Later, when language differentiated and developed, the primitive series of terms, charged with many meanings, fell into partial disuse, and became *mystical*. This was the origin of the Hermetic mysticism above alluded to. The desire to conceal the secret wisdom, to which the mysticism is usually attributed, was a subsequent affectation and pedantry. The mysticism itself had this otherwise everyway sufficient philosophical and scientific ground.

The most distinct identification of this primitive ordinal trio of ideas with theology, which now remains to us, is found in the Brahminical trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, who are literally, the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer; and in the three idols of the Chinese joss-house, which distinctly symbolize the past, the present, and the future. It is the same succession of ideas, as partially shown in what precedes, and as will be more fully shown in what follows, which was subsequently lifted and modified into the far more spiritually constituted Christian Trinity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. But notwithstanding the difference, the fundamental identity is such as to constitute the valid basis for another instance of the impending grand reconciliation,—that, namely, between Brahminism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Madame Blavatski is of the opinion that this particular Brahminical trinity was “an after-thought, or of later origin than the other more subtle, metaphysical, and occult trinities of the Brahminical system,”—which will be subsequently noticed. It is, at all events, the simplest or most palpable one, and therefore popularly, or in the ordinary historical point of view, the earliest, howmuchsoever a higher metaphysic may have preceded it.

Generalizing this family of ideas, or making them universal, the beginner, or author of things, was also the Father of universal being, and thence God the Father; and also First, and Cause, and hence First Cause. The maintainer or preserver of things, or else that which is maintained and preserved—for an ambiguity begins here to declare itself—is the second in the series of three. From the prior view, we have, here, the Son of God, and the mediator (means, middle term, or go-between); and, provisionally we may say, the grandchild or grandson, as the third of the series. From the other or mundane point of view, we have: 1. God; 2. The Universe or World, or Man (the human world); and 3. The Son of Man, for any darling or beloved member of the human world, and so especially for the messianic idea. Hence the designations the Son of God and the Son of Man concurred as the appropriate titles of Christ.

Continuing, in a simplistic way, the generative idea, from God, through a son, and then through successive generations, infinitely, but essentially of the same family and kind, we have the origin and type of the Neo-Platonic system of theology and doctrine of emanations; by which God diffused himself into the external universe, and by which all beings whatsoever are sparks or emanations from God. This doctrine reproduces itself in modern Rationalism and Pantheism, and is intermediate between Brahmanism and Christianity, and is consequently swept into the same grand circuit of reconciliation.

But this immense sweep of mental evolution was destined to reach a higher refinement in that wonderful series of doctrines, the Christian theology. The method of this transformation is curious and instructive. Instead of pursuing onward the generative idea indefinitely, or indeed very distinctly, even to the third stage, that of a grandson, the current of speculation was arrested and became transcendental. The method of it was this: Instead of the series, father, son, and grandson, we have, as a natural epitomizing of this series with all subsequent progeny, the following abridgement: 1. Father, or, now, God the Father; 2. Son, or God the Son; and 3. The total out-sending, spirit, or projection along that line of descent; as if we should say, Father, Son, etc. It was, then, this “etc.” (et cetera) which finally became The Holy Spirit; much as when Max Müller finds the question-word “How?” transmuted, in Hindoo mythology, into a god. “Total” is the same as “whole y” which converts into “holy”; and spirit (out-giving), spirit (what stands out), spray, sprite, and spirit are the same word, etymologically modified. The wind and breath are the allied ideas, as currents, and “ghost” is similarly allied with “gust.” It is of no importance that these words are modern and English. They are also ancient and Aryan. Apart from this, the ideas involved have the same relations in all languages, and the specialized meanings having once become attached to the words, in any one nation, the words with those meanings were readily rendered into all other languages. Doubtless, also, in passing through some one of these translations, a case occurred where for “son” a word was used which meant also the young of an animal, perhaps especially of the sheep (?), whence the “Lamb” of God came also to be used as synonymous with the “Son” of God.

The series of terms here given is masculine. There must have been at one time a corresponding female series: “Mother, daughter, etc.” Hence it happened that there are in Gnostic and Kabbalistic literature two Holy Ghosts,—one male, Ennoia, and one female, Sophia.

It is the profound and acute perception of Stuart-Glennie, that the long and severe conflict between Neo-Platonism and early Christianity turned solely upon the peculiar constitution of the Christian Trinity and its all-important logical inferences. He has also, with astonishing acumen, seized upon the very essence of the difference between the two systems; a difference upon the historical origin of which, this investigation will, however, throw an additional illumination. Without necessarily participating in the animus of the writer, the following quotation is too important to be omitted in this connection. Having

stated the Neo-Platonic theory of the trinity, this author proceeds as follows (p. 266):—

"Compare now the Christian theory of the Trinity. The three persons are not here, as in the Neo-Platonic trinity, united by the same, but by a different relation. The Father begets the Son, but the Son does not beget the Holy Spirit. This person is the fruit of the union of the Father and the Son, and proceeds from both the one and the other. Nor are these distinctions so puerile as they may to some appear. If the three hypostases of the trinity are conceived as emanating, the second from the first, and the third from the second, each has an immediate relation only with that which precedes, and the first and the third are in a manner strangers to one another. But if the third person is conceived as the very relation of the first and the second, the Father and the Son, all three are profoundly united together, and form, to use the expression of Bossuet, *une sainte et divine société*. And hence results another important consequence. The world must be thus conceived as profoundly separated from God. The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost form, as it were, a circle. They suffice for themselves. And if the world depends on God, it is by a bond altogether different from that which unites the divine persons to each other. The world has neither proceeded from, nor has it been engendered, but created by God. Not a necessary, and therefore a divine emanation, as in the Neo-Platonic system, the world is thus but, as it were, an accident. Its duration is but a point in eternity. And it needs but that the hand be withdrawn which has formed it out of nothing, and sustained it on the abyss, and all this fair world returns to the nothing whence, for the glory of its Creator, it was commanded forth.

"Now consider these two theories. Equally unverifiable they may indeed be, and equally dreams. But not on that account will the true student of man's history turn away from the consideration of them. For he knows that nothing has hitherto exerted a greater influence on the destinies of mankind than mere fictions, dreams, fictions: most of them, no doubt, uttered in good faith, but none, therefore, the less false. It is, indeed, the tragic pathos of this fact that chiefly gives to the history of humanity its profound and inexhaustible interest, as of a sublime drama. And the scientific student further knows that, in different modes of dreaming, there may be discovered tendencies of thought and general intellectual conceptions which it is of the utmost consequence, for a true understanding of the history of man, duly to distinguish and rightly to appreciate. Puerile, therefore, as these theories of the trinity, both Christian and Neo-Platonic, may be, not trifling is the interest, nor trivial the task, of their examination.

"Seriously, then, comparing the Christian and Neo-Platonic theories of God, is it not evident that they are distinguished by nothing less important than fundamentally different conceptions of causation? In the Greek theory of Neo-Platonism, God, as the cause of things, is conceived of as in the world; hence all the orders of being are knit together in a series of necessary relations; and, even in the relation of things to the first cause of all, there is nothing arbitrary, but throughout the whole system of the universe there is one pervading law.

"In the Judaic theory of the Christians, God, as the cause of things, is conceived of as outside and independent of the world; and, hence, there is no necessary connection between the various orders of being; no necessary, and therefore predictable, relation between the different classes of phenomena themselves, but only a purely arbitrary relation to a cause outside of them, an independent Creator. But the Neo-Platonic conception of the relation of things is thus seen to be fundamentally the conception of science; and its theory of an emanating trinity, though but a dream, a prophetic dream—a dream of law, and a prophecy of the theories of transformation, evolution, and development. On the other hand, the Christian's conception of the relation of things is thus seen to be fundamentally the negation of all science; yet its theory of a creating trinity, though but a dream, is also a prophetic dream—a dream of MIRACLE, and a prophecy of the most disastrous superstition, intolerant bigotry, and intolerable cruelty."

Returning to the historical and lingual development of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, observe how it is that this close family type of the idea was differentiated from the open-communion type of Neo-Platonism. It is obvious, on reflection, that the "etc." which developed into the Holy Ghost represented equally the Father-and-the-Son; or neither more than the other. It was not a definite descendant of the Son, as a grandson would have been. It was a *spirit* or *efflux* from both; and so came as directly from the Father as from the Son. From this seemingly slight incident, the immense difference of doctrine in question seemingly arose. But it is in the seeming merely that this circumstance is trivial. Any difference whatever at this fountain-head of discriminations—such even as it may require the closest metaphysical acumen to perceive—is like the pebble which, departing two mountain rills at their common source, sends two mighty rivers to their opposite oceans. We shall have still more striking illustrations of this fact in treating of occultism and spiritualism, in this same connection; and when we are fully acquainted with the subject, we shall be no longer free, with the author quoted, and with the proclivities of the positivistic order of mind, to regard these logico-fundamental discriminations as mere dreams or fancies. Nor is it to be inferred, from the account we are giving of the historical and lingual genesis of doctrines, that the things represented, the doctrines themselves, are much less important than they have been instinctively conceived of as being. All that positivism can rightly insist on, in the premises, is, that the element of mystery be eliminated; and to this Christianity is also absolutely committed.

WAITING FOR THE CARS.

Conservative.—Now, am I wrong in saying that your organs and associations, at best, barely keep their heads above water?

Radical.—No, not in the least; you might put it stronger still.

C.—And your attempts at organization have always failed?

R.—You mean failed to sustain themselves in the given forms?

C.—Of course.

R.—In that sense they have always failed.

C.—Why not in every sense?

R.—Oh, the spirit endures, and keeps making new forms.

C.—For new failures.

R.—That does not trouble me. Our work is not organization, but disintegration. Our two best workers, Socrates and Emerson, never tried to organize anything. All they attempted to do was to agitate,—to wake people up, and get them to move forward. That they succeeded in.

C.—Socrates left but few followers who agreed with him. Will Emerson leave many?

R.—What of that?

C.—Don't you know that the real work of shaping people's thoughts has been done by men like Paul, and Luther, and Wesley? I mean by men who have held fast to one idea, and forced men to follow it; is not that so?

R.—Don't you know that to me all three men, great and good as they were, were merely reactionaries and obstructives, who checked human progress for a time? Man always gets free again, though.

C.—But what good will this freedom do? You said a moment ago that you did not want to organize, but merely to disintegrate.

R.—Precisely.

C.—But don't you mean to set up new forms of belief and worship, in place of the old ones?

R.—No, indeed!

C.—You are deliberately trying to pull down all creeds and rites, and put nothing in their place?

R.—Yes; that is, no other creeds and rites. We are backwoodsmen, clearing the old forest, without any idea of putting out another forest. We want new ground for new crops.

C.—But, more definitely, do you intend to establish any new ideas of the future life and the relations of God to man,—in other words, a new religion?

R.—I, for one, do not.

C.—Then it does seem to me, if I may speak plainly—

R.—By all means.

C.—That you are doing a great deal of mischief, for which you are not going to make any atonement. You are going to take away our most precious ideas, and give nothing in their place.

R.—All idea of the relations of God to man, we shall not take away. Still, we shall take most of your ideas away, and I am not sorry for it. I don't, of course, insist on the fact that error is more dangerous than ignorance; for you claim that your views are true. I only maintain that, whether your views are true or false, the world will be none the worse off for our destruction of them.

C.—What do you mean?

R.—Why, in the first place, the material comfort of the world depends mainly on the progress of science; I mean, not merely in new discoveries, but in the diffusion of scientific ways of thinking and acting,—for instance, expecting that similar causes will produce similar results, and adapting one's means to one's ends accordingly.

C.—Oh, I admit all that.

R.—And you must also admit that the Bible, and the whole mass of religious teachings based upon it, are diffusing a tone of thought which is not scientific.

C.—You don't call it anti-scientific, I hope.

R.—Oh, no; but anti-scientific it certainly is; and it is also plainly unscientific; for it was essentially framed in the infancy of science, and by men who cared nothing about what little science they knew of. Paul told his converts to avoid the oppositions of science, and beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy.

C.—I have heard all this before. What does it all amount to, in comparison with what religion does for the feelings?

R.—I was coming to that.

C.—Yes. That is your weak point. People want to have their feelings excited. Your freethought does not do that, and never will.

R.—I hope not. The more readily any one is excited, the more easily he is tempted. For one of the hysterical and excitable people who become great saints, there are ten who become great sinners.

C.—You don't think that vicious feelings predominate over virtuous ones? If you do, you are more Orthodox than I am.

R.—I consider the feelings virtuous or vicious according as they are directed properly or not. Feeling which has no control from the reason is never virtuous. Virtue means conformity to moral laws.

C.—What do you think of feelings that conform instinctively?

R.—A case of unstable equilibrium. It is like a child, whom you can predict nothing about except that he will keep changing. Manly virtue is calm, thoughtful, and steady. You know how many excesses and falls there are during revivals.

C.—You can't make people virtuous without stirring up their feelings.

R.—Yes, to a steady glow, but not to a fitful blaze. Besides, religious feeling is apt to be stirred up so much that it burns out without warming the conduct perceptibly.

C.—Is not that the whistle?

R.—Yes. I was going to say something about the advantage of devoting ourselves to this life, if only as the best possible preparation for any other; but I will only insist on what I said before. In establishing scientific ways of thought and action in place of unscientific ones, in giving reason control over the feelings, so that excitability can be kept in check, and, finally, in teaching us to devote ourselves to this life wholly, and make the most of it, we destruction-agitators, as you call us, are doing so much to make people's conduct right, that it matters little whether we are making their opinions on questions which nobody professes to understand more or less correct. If I must go wrong in theology in order to go right in practice, I am perfectly satisfied to remain in my errors. I care more for practical than for speculative truth; but I won't admit that I am farther than you from either.

C.—Well, we will travel the same way at present, at all events. Here's our train. F. M. H. CONCORD, Mass.

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You will allow me to communicate in this way my appreciation and admiration of your noble and efficient efforts for the maintenance and propagation of liberty. Although we are not personally acquainted, and I may differ from you regarding the belief in deity, you compel me, by your excellent work for liberalism, to acknowledge sincerely that you act in accordance with that highest law for which I do not know a more appropriate name than divine law. In a life of fifty-six years, I have had my share of acquaintances with cultured and good men; but with regard to my dearest sentiment, true liberalism, so far as my capability permits me to comprehend it, I must say that I never have found persons who carried out liberal principles so consistently and conscientiously as you, William J. Potter, Elizur Wright, and others. With the hope that all "those who are liberal in fact" will cooperate, and bring humanity to a more rational and to a truer brotherly and sisterly condition, Yours sincerely, CARL H. HORSCH. DOVER, N.H., July 14, 1878.

THE FIVE POINTS.

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First. That the order of Nature embraces all our feelings and thoughts, so that it is only by obeying natural laws that we can improve ourselves.

Second. That this earthly life is the ideal to which should turn all our desires.

Third. That knowledge is our only guide, and that faith is useful only to make suggestions which reason must verify or discard.

Fourth. That all excitement, especially religious excitement, is extremely dangerous.

Fifth. That we should devote ourselves to carrying our race upwards in the same line which it has followed in rising out of the caudal period.

These are our "five points." F. M. H.

IT SO FALLS OUT that what we have we prize not to the worth while we enjoy it; but being lacked and lost, why, then we rack the vaine.—*Shakespeare*.

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2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

THE STORY of an "infidel's" suicide on the platform at Capron, Ill., after a public lecture, turns out, as we suspected it would, to be a mere hoax. As a general rule, "infidels" are not fools.

PROFESSOR ADLER lectured recently at Stockton, California, before the Liberal League of that place, on "The Advance of Liberalism in the United States." His lecture is highly spoken of in the local press.

IT IS credibly recorded (who could doubt the assurances of the chaplain?) that Thomas Ford, the first prisoner who has died at the new State Prison in Concord, Massachusetts, "though a prisoner, gave his soul to his only friend, Jesus Christ." There need be no further anxiety about the poor fellow's welfare.

OUR GOOD FRIEND of the *Christian Register* says: "THE INDEX says, 'It is necessary to choose between Unitarianism and perfect freedom.' Well, we are ready for that election; we choose perfect freedom, and, in the exercise of that freedom, we choose also Unitarianism." So says the Roman Catholic: "I choose perfect freedom, and, in the exercise of that freedom, I choose also Catholicity." The question is whether the freedom remains after the exercise of that choice. Can one have his cake and eat it too?

WE ARE indebted to Mr. Charles K. Whipple for this amusing item: "I never knew whether to consider as a joke or a fact the story of the child who, being asked whether he had been baptized, said—'Yes, but it didn't take!' I can now easily believe it to be the latter, having actually heard a little boy seriously ask the following question: 'Mother, what does being baptized keep you from taking?' The amusement caused to those present by the question prevented the child from pressing for a direct answer."

THE *Congregationalist* joins the company of bewailers over the decadence of Orthodoxy: "The Connecticut River Valley, where Edwards lived and labored, with saintly men of kindred spirit, is losing its spirituality, and the service of a home missionary is greatly needed to work outside the pulpit and to reach non-church-goers. An old clergyman in one of these villages, who knows whereof he affirms, tells us that not over one-half of the American families in his town are in the habit of attending church. Has the raising of tobacco had anything to do with this demoralization?" What a guess! The trouble is that Orthodoxy is *not true*, and the people are finding that out.

SAYS THE *Christian Statesman*: "There are some indications that the Sabbath question is destined to come to the front as one of the leading aspects of the great question of religion and the State. The action of the Southern Presbyterian Assembly, the work which will be steadily maintained in this city and State, the efforts of the International Sabbath Association to reduce to the lowest point the amount of railway and postal service, the action of other Sabbath-protecting societies like the Sabbath Committee of New York, will almost certainly maintain and extend the interest which has been awakened. Probably, before long, we shall be ready for a national convention or conference, and perhaps for a national organization to secure uniform action on this subject in all the States. The old controversy over the Sabbath-malls is almost certain to be revived, and when it is the Christian people of the land will not submit to an insulting and erroneous decision as quietly as they did fifty years ago."

AN ULTRAMONTANE satirist gives in a handbill, at Berlin, the following as "An Old Catholic's Confession of Faith": "I believe in the German Emperor, the mighty creator of the united German Empire, and in the great Chancellor, a native-born Prussian, our Lord, who leads us by his mind which he inherited from father and mother; in the year 1866 he suffered

much, was reviled by his friends of to-day, of whom many at that time would rather have seen him dead and buried; was sought to be degraded from his place of dignity, but after four years rose again, and is ascended even to the highest seat of the kingdom and made to be a prince; he sitteth at the right hand of the emperor, from whence he decreeth penalties and judgeth both the Black and the Red [i.e., both Jesuits and Communists]. I believe in the great spirit of German science, in an Old Catholic State Church, the communion of Freemasons, the increase of taxes, the dearness of flesh [i.e., of meat], and an everlasting soldier-life. Amen."

REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, editor of *Sunday Afternoon*, is frightened at the restless spread of free thought: "The men who are fit to be masters in Israel know that the real issues of this day are far more profound and vital than those over which most of the noise is made. It would be a pity if, while we were discussing a question of fellowship, the multitudes about us should come to the conclusion that there is no God; or if, while we were zealously stopping the cracks by which heresy creeps in, the Lord himself, in the persons of his poor, should be quietly shut out of his Church. We do not urge that the questions which now absorb the sectaries be disregarded; we ask that they have the attention that rightly belongs to them and no more. We do not plead for the omission of any truth; we only ask that the word of truth be rightly divided, and that the emphasis of our censure be put where it belongs. We know what reply will be made to all this. 'Obsta principibus!' our friends will cry. But we beg to suggest once more that it is too late to resist the beginnings. The battle is on us, and the simple question is where the onset is heaviest, and where the line is weakest. That is where the good soldier wants to be. And when he is there he will be careful not to fire into the men that are fighting on his side. The old proverb about the nose of the camel in the door of the tent is likely also to be quoted for our discomfiture; but it may be well to consider whether it is worth while to spend all our strength in holding the tent door against the camel's nose, when all the rest of the menagerie are tearing down the tent itself and threatening to devour the household."

THE *Christian Union*, in answer to the question, "What are our reasons for believing in the inspiration of the Bible?" makes the following reply: "Impossible to answer in a paragraph, except in hints. 1. *Its unity*. A library of sixty-six different books, written by over forty different writers, centuries apart, in different eras, languages, civilizations, without coöperation or a knowledge of each others' work; yet all teaching the same substantial views of God and the same law of life, and pointing to the same method of salvation from sin; viz., through repentance and acceptance of the divine forgiving and helpful love. 2. *Its spirituality*. Its views of God are not only immeasurably higher and broader than those of the ages in which its various books were written, but even higher and broader than those which now prevail in countries which have been under the instruction of the Bible for centuries, so that it is still leading us up higher and higher. 3. *Fulfillment of prophecy*. 4. *Miracles*, attesting the authority of the writer or speaker. 5. *Its inspiring power*. Its actual effect in giving divine strength to the tempted, comfort to the afflicted, light to the perplexed, and divine elevation not only to individuals, but to entire communities. There is no better evidence of the inspiration of the Bible than is afforded by its effect on the Sandwich Islands, for example. What other collection of so-called sacred writings has ever produced any even analogous effect?" These, then, being the "reasons for believing in the inspiration of the Bible," we are compelled to—disbelieve in it!

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Voltaire.

BY REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

There still remain for our consideration those writings in which he dealt with philosophical and moral and religious subjects with absolute directness, save as he ever and anon assures us that for himself he believes everything and explains nothing. His sarcastic expressions of intellectual humility, of his inability to comprehend the adorable mysteries which nevertheless he plausibly accepts, deceived nobody; they were not intended to. These essays and discussions, of which his Philosophical Dictionary contains the most important, touch upon every subject that was vital to the interests of the eighteenth century, especially upon every subject that nearly or remotely concerned the Christian religion; its literature, the Bible; its organization, the Church. Of all that Voltaire wrote upon these subjects, it would be very strange if much were not already out of date; but as I read him here, my wonder is to find how much of him has been endorsed by subsequent investigation; not in mere matters of detail, but in the general outlines of his thought. There is here many a rough draft of what has since been made complete. But in his anxiety to worst his adversaries, he sometimes matched their theories with others almost equally absurd. The discovery of the ark atop of Ararat would not have been regarded by Voltaire's contemporaries as a more convincing evidence of the flood than the sea-shells discovered on the Alps. Geology was then too infantile to help him out; so he insisted that these shells had all been dropped by pious pilgrims crossing the mountains on their way to Rome. The vice of all his biblical criticism was that he treated the Bible as a contemporary writing. Relatively to his antagonists, he had a perfect right to do this. An infallible Bible ought at least to stand the tests of the most modern science and morality. But absolutely considered, his method was entirely wrong. A believer in progress, as he was, scouting the doctrine of Rousseau, that modern civilization was inferior to the primitive condition of mankind, somehow it never occurred to him to treat the Bible as one step in the great onward march of history. But practically his failure to do this was a great advantage; so fine a theory would have been altogether wasted on the coarse-brained fanatics to whom he found himself opposed, and the ill-cultured public to which he appealed. His method was exactly suited to the purpose which he had in hand; he treated the Bible as a flat surface; he allowed nothing for perspective; nothing for difference of time and place. Every scientific statement in the Bible he judged as if it had just been written; every action of prophet and apostle as if it had been done in Paris or Geneva only the day before. Every inconsistency, every impurity, every absurdity, he hailed before the bar of a remorseless common-sense, and then triumphantly demanded, "Is this your infallible Bible? And therefore it must be allowed that he failed almost utterly to appreciate the real significance of the Bible; he could not, if for no other reason than because it was not classical. It was too much like Homer, whom he detested; too much like Gothic architecture, which he despised. In one respect, his hatred of the priests entrapped him into acquiescence with Rousseau's theory of the degeneracy of mankind. Hatred as this theory was to him in general, he accepted so much of it as asserted that a pure monotheism was the original religion of mankind, and that this had been degraded by the priests into the various forms of polytheistic worship. But, in declaring Roman Catholic Christianity to be a miserable perversion of primitive Christianity, he was clearly right. No theory of evolution is worth considering which does not admit that the stream of progress often bends upon itself, flowing back into the darkness on its way to the perennial light. But we should make a great mistake to judge Voltaire by the exactness of his theories and their correspondence with the established doctrines of the present time. He had an insatiable curiosity; a more passionate desire for knowledge has never animated any human being; but he was no learned Dryas-dust. He might have been ten times as learned as he was and we should scarcely have heard of him, if to his knowledge had not been superadded such a gift of style as no other man has ever had for just the task to which he found himself invited. It was a style which brought Bayle down from the clouds

and made him walk the earth. It was a style of miraculous clearness, of immense vivacity, of such wit and sarcasm as no other man, of any time, has been so compact. "Half a dozen light, apparently careless words, and behold a whole generation's folly so completely turned inside out that the dullest must see its drollery, and the gravest must laugh at it." Voltaire was not a democrat and had not democratic ways; but his style was democracy incarnate. Those who could read at all could understand.

What was the nature and what was the motive of the attack which Voltaire made upon the organized religion of his time? The common understanding is that he was an out-and-out opponent of religion; that he was an atheist in his creed; that the name of God, as well as that of Christ, stood for nothing sacred and precious in his thought. But such an understanding is consistent only with absolute ignorance of the man and what he taught. He wrote to D'Alembert: "I want you to crush the Infamous; that is the great point; it must be reduced to the position it occupies in England; 'tis the greatest service that can be rendered to the human race. You will perceive that I speak only of superstition; as for religion, I love and respect it as you do." Nor did he ever write a word that disagreed with this explicit statement. His writings everywhere imply the existence and the ruling providence of God. Not only so, but explicit statements to the same effect occur by hundreds and thousands. Whole essays and romances are devoted to the proofs of theism. "Atheism and fanaticism," he said, "are two monsters which rend society and devour it." But of these two monsters, he considered atheism the less terrible. With Plutarch and with Bacon, he was thoroughly convinced that total absence of belief was better than belief in such a God as that of Jesuit or Jansenist theology. He would rather men should say there was no such person as Voltaire than say that he had brought a swarm of children into life only that he might give over the most of them to be tortured endlessly. And so he felt sure that God would rather have men deny his existence altogether than attribute to him such a character as that ascribed to him by Augustine and Calvin. But I shall do best to let him speak for himself,—recite the creed which he has written, and let you judge of it for yourselves: "I believe in one God alone, and I love him; I believe in one alone, because there can be but one soul of the great All, a single vivifying Being, a sole Creator. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, because he is the common father of Nature and of all men, who are equally his children. I believe that, God being our common father, we are bound to regard all men as our brothers. I believe that the persecutor is abominable. I believe that theological disputes are at once the most ridiculous farce and the most dreadful scourge of the earth." It must, however, be confessed that, while Voltaire was ever ready to affirm the existence of a Deity, and while the dogmatic atheism of Diderot was altogether repulsive to him, he was a good deal of what we now call an *Agnostic*. He had no inclination to "talk about God as if he were a man on the next street." That He is, that the order of the universe is ample testimony of his power and wisdom, that he rewards the good and punishes the wicked by no arbitrary decree, but by the simple process of cause and effect,—this was the sum of all that he aspired to know. He never imagined that he could explain everything; he found himself often in the dark. But he had great faith in the increasing knowledge of mankind, and not a little in another life where some dark things would be made clear, and some inequalities be smoothed away.

But if Voltaire was not an atheist, men say, he was certainly an infidel. If by an infidel they mean a person who did not believe the theological statements generally current and authoritative in his time, Voltaire's infidelity does not admit of any doubt whatever. He did not believe in the accepted creed of Romanists or Protestants; he did not believe the Bible or the Church to be infallible or inspired; he did not believe in the Trinity or the atonement, or in total depravity or endless hell; he did not believe in election or reprobation; he did not believe that Jesus was the Infinite God, nor that he was miraculously born, nor that he rose from the dead, nor that he wrought one single miracle; he did not believe in one of all the seven sacraments of the Roman Church. He treated the mass especially with infinite contempt. And what is more, he identified all of these doctrines and these sacraments with Christianity. When he spoke of Christianity, he always had these things in his mind; when he called it "the Infamous," it was because he identified it with these things, and also with the intolerance and persecution of those who were the constituted defenders of these doctrines and these sacraments. But if Christianity had presented itself to him as it presents itself to us in such men as Principal Tulloch and Dean Stanley, you may be very sure he would not have thought of calling it "the Infamous"; he would not have arrayed himself against it. Remember how respectfully he treated Quakerism, notwithstanding the fanatical elements which were involved in it. No other man ever hated fanaticism so much; but he hated war still worse, and ecclesiasticism still worse; and when he found a sect that condemned war and had no priests, he had nothing for it but respect and sympathy. But why did he not labor to reform Christianity instead of trying to destroy it? Because the Roman Catholic Christianity of France seemed to him long past all hope of reformation; he thought it rotten to the core; it was "the Infamous"; to crush it was the only means of saving men from its immeasurable curse.

Let it be noted here that Voltaire did not identify the Christianity of his own time with the Christianity of Jesus. He did not hold Jesus responsible for the abominations of the Jesuits and Jansenists.

And for Jesus, as he estimated his character and work, he had no contempt, but only admiration. I must confess that what he says of Jesus is in exact accord with my own thought. In his own words it is "that Jesus preached a pure morality; that he announced the kingdom of heaven as the reward of the just; that he had disciples attached to his person and his virtues; that those very virtues drew upon him the persecutions of the priests; that through calumny he was put to a shameful death; that Christianity was more likely to succeed by his death than if he had not been persecuted. Seventy individuals, convinced of the innocence of their leader, the purity of his manners, the barbarity of his judges, must influence many a feeling heart." That was abominable heresy in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth it is pretty good Orthodoxy. Elsewhere we have another and more critical statement of his belief concerning Jesus: "He was born under the Mosaic Law; he fulfilled all its precepts; he kept all its feasts; he did not reveal the mystery of his incarnation; he never told the Jews he was born of a virgin; he never spoke of the seven sacraments; he instituted no ecclesiastical hierarchy during his life. He concealed from his contemporaries that he was the Son of God, begotten from all eternity, consubstantial with the Father, and that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father through the Son. He did not say that his person was composed of two natures and two wills. In the eyes of men he was no more than a just man, pleasing to God, persecuted by the envious, and condemned to death by prejudiced magistrates." Of miracles ascribed to Jesus, of theories of his divinity and so on, Voltaire was as disrespectful as only he could be of superstition and absurdity; but of Jesus, as the teacher of a pure morality and holy trust, he was more reverent than any priest or bishop of his time.

And still we dally in the outer courts of this man's character and aim. For he had very little speculative interest in Christianity. If Christianity, as he encountered it, had been the friend of poverty, the instructor of the people, the advocate of civil justice, the enemy of cruel wars; if it had withheld its hand from persecution and been tolerant of various opinions within its ample fold, Voltaire would not have attacked its creeds and sacraments with half-nay, with a hundredth part—of the tremendous energy he actually brought to bear upon them. Voltaire believed in knowledge as the one great source of human happiness; and he believed in "peace on earth, good-will among men," as did no other man in Europe in his day. But he saw that the Christian Church was the great refuge of ignorance; he saw that the priests, instead of educating the people, did all they could to make their ignorance more dense; he saw that the ecclesiastics opposed themselves to every new discovery; that they barricaded every avenue along which science threatened to approach. If this were all, Voltaire might still have gone his way, comparatively indifferent. But this was not all; this was the smallest part. Voltaire had a nervous horror of all cruelty, a burning hatred of injustice. But cruelty and injustice were the most characteristic manifestations of the Christian spirit in his time. A few examples here will serve my purpose better than any generalization. In 1762, the son of John Calas, of Toulouse, committed suicide; morbid and unhappy, he had prepared his mind for such an act by reading all the literature of suicide that he could find; but it occurred to some one that his father had hung him to prevent his turning Catholic. The act how natural! And what an easy way of compassing the death of an able-bodied man! There was not a particle of evidence; Calas had been remarkably tolerant; another son, who had turned Catholic, he had still treated handsomely; he had had a Catholic servant in his house for many years; the young man's body bore no signs of violence; his linen was not rumpled. But because some superstitious knave chose to imagine that he had been murdered, his father was put to the torture and finally put to death; his wife and children were also put to the torture. The news came to Voltaire; the wife and children also came to him; he gave them shelter; he did more; he made all Europe ring with his recital of the infernal crime which had been committed in the name of justice and religion. And he did this so effectually that in due time, though Calas could not be brought to life again, his sentence was reversed, and his wife and children had their property, of which they had been robbed, restored to them. "Who is that whom such a crowd is following?" asked some one of a poor woman in Paris during Voltaire's triumph there in 1778. The answer was, "He is the savior of Calas." Now do you wonder that he was admired by some and, for the same things, hated by others? Another instance: Sirven, a citizen of Castres, near Toulouse, had been deprived of his daughter, a poor, simple creature, by the ecclesiastical authorities, who shut her up in a convent. With bleeding flesh, and mind still more enfeebled by the treatment she had received for her soul's good, she made her escape, and her body was soon after found at the bottom of a well. Accused of murdering her, Sirven made his escape and joined the family of Calas in Voltaire's sanctuary of the unfortunate, his poor wife perishing among the snows of the Cevennes upon the way. Nevertheless, both Sirven and his wife were condemned to be hung, with their two remaining daughters standing on the scaffold. For eight years Voltaire endeavored to reverse this sentence, and at last succeeded, but only after he had operated on a thousand lines of influence. He gave himself no rest, he spared himself no labor or expense, till he had compelled the courts to render tardy justice to his poor clients who could only pay him with their love. One instance more: At Abbeville, in the north of France, a crucifix was found to have been mutilated. Two lads, La Barre

and D'Etallonde, only sixteen years old, were accused of having committed the offence. If they had done so, worse crimes could be imagined; but there was no evidence against them; still it was considered evidence that they had once been heard to speak disrespectfully of the Virgin Mary, and that they secretly admired the Philosophical Dictionary of Voltaire. D'Etallonde escaped; La Barre was sentenced to have his tongue torn out, his right hand cut off, and afterwards to be burned alive. The first and second things were done; the Parliament of Paris commuted the third to decapitation. Voltaire had only twelve years more to live, but his one great endeavor through these years was to have the sentence of La Barre reversed; but it was all in vain; he died without that satisfaction.

It was such things as these that made the Christian Church of France appear the Infamous in Voltaire's eyes. Do you wonder that they did? Was infamy too harsh a word for such intolerance and persecution? It was no *prince of perfidy*, as Carlyle calls Voltaire, it was the most earnest man in Europe and the most humane, who wrote to D'Alembert after the legal murder of La Barre: "This is no longer a time for jesting; witty things do not go well with massacres. . . . Here, Calas broken on the wheel; there, Sirven condemned to be hung; further off, a gag thrust into the mouth of a lieutenant-general; a fortnight after that, five youths condemned to the flames for extravagances that deserved nothing worse than St. Lazarre! Is this the country of philosophy and pleasure? It is the country rather of the St. Bartholomew massacre. The Inquisition would not have ventured to do what these Jansenist judges have done." Voltaire's humanity was not confined to the limits of his own country. He labored as assiduously to prevent the judicial murder of Admiral Byng in England as that of Lally in France; he left no stone unturned. Byng had been accused of not getting near enough to the French fleet; Voltaire procured for his commander a complete exoneration; but again his efforts were in vain. Aside from all ecclesiastical considerations, Voltaire was in his day the most distinguished advocate of civil justice, and raised up a host of writers, who, following up his attack, at length succeeded in imposing upon judicial procedures a few just restraints and regulations, so that caprice and passion might not determine everything, and the distinction between different kinds of evidence might not be wholly disregarded. "Voltaire," says Lecky, and his testimony is all the more valuable because Voltaire's ways are not his ways, "Voltaire was at all times the unflinching opponent of persecution. No matter how powerful was the persecutor or how insignificant the victim, the same scathing eloquence was launched against the crime, and the indignation of Europe was soon concentrated upon the oppressor. The fearful storm of sarcasm and invective that avenged the murder of Calas, the magnificent dream in the Philosophical Dictionary, reviewing the history of persecution from the slaughtered Canaanites to the latest victims who had perished at the stake, the indelible stigma branded upon the persecutors of every age and creed, all attested the intense and passionate earnestness with which Voltaire addressed himself to his task. On other subjects, a jest or a caprice would often turn him aside. When attacking intolerance, he employed, indeed, every weapon, but he employed them all with the concentrated energy of a profound conviction. His success was equal to his zeal; the spirit of intolerance sank blasted beneath his genius; wherever his influence passed, the arm of the Inquisition was palsied, the chain of the captive riven, the prison door flung open. Beneath his withering irony, persecution appeared not only criminal, but loathsome, and since his time it has ever shrunk from observation, and masked its features under other names. He died leaving a reputation that is indeed far from spotless, but *having done more to destroy the greatest of human curses than any other of the sons of men.*" Now you can understand why he was so admired and loved in his last days, and why the ecclesiastical authorities would fain have robbed his lifeless body of a few feet of consecrated earth.

This is the one thing to remember in determining the merits and demerits of Voltaire's attack upon the organized Christianity of his time; it was the organized Christianity of ignorance and superstition, of cruel Jesuits and more cruel Jansenists, of the torture-wheel, the brand, the stake, the gallows, of trials without justice, and murder without pity. And hence it was to him the infamous; hence he would "crush the Infamous." And all his writings on religious subjects took form and color from this dominating passion of his life. All the belongings of a church which was the apologist of war, the armory of persecution, the nurse of superstition, were hateful to him and abominable. It was as the *Bible of the Church* that the Bible invited on itself all the resources of his matchless rallery and scorn. Could he convict it of absurdity, of immorality, of inconsistency, he was doing something to help crush the Infamous. It was as the *history of this Church* that Christian history seemed to him only a mingled stream of blood and tears. The quarrels of councils, the forgeries of priests, the rapacity of bishops, the licentiousness of popes,—it was from no mere love of dirt, from no contempt of human nature, that he burrowed in this mass of sewage; no, but because he would crush the Infamous, the Church of his own time, the murderer of Calas and La Barre, by making it contemptible in every possible way. Hence, doubtless, much exaggeration; hence, constant failure to perceive that, in the march of history, it must needs be that offences come; that on its way to the perfect, humanity passes through many stages and generates its own oppressors. But hence, also, a great deal of simple truth, which we, on the one

hundredth anniversary of his death, can utter without fear of wheel or stake, thanks in good part to his unwearied endeavors to break the iron-clad arm of persecution, and establish on the earth a toleration broad as the range of human difference of speech and thought.

The man of whom so much in simple justice must be said was strangely mixed of worse and better traits. He was not a complete man; he was not by any means a saint; we miss in him the note of holiness; there are stains upon his character which no apologist can quite obliterate. But even here we must not be too hard upon him. I do not like his hankering for royal recognition; I do not like his asking Louis XV., that Western Turk, "Is Trajan satisfied?" when he had heaped on him some fulsome flattery. But did not Sir Walter Scott beg of George IV., at Edinburgh, the glass in which he had drunk his royal toddy? Granted that Voltaire's brilliant pages are often disfigured with licentiousness, and that his life apparently was of a piece with them; but then remember that times change and the manners with them. He wrote nothing which fine ladies could not hear without a blush. Condemn his morals, but remember that they were the morals of the average ecclesiastics of the time; the morals, too, of our own Franklin, of our own Hamilton; there is good reason to believe of our own Washington: no better because theirs, but no worse in Voltaire than in the Abbé Chateaufort or Alexander Hamilton; nay, not so bad; for one of these was pledged to chastity, the other to fidelity. Voltaire was certainly no hypocrite. There was a certain lack of dignity about him always. He went off into fearful rages; fancy the author of the *Henriade* boxing a bookseller's ears, and his Italian secretary, anxious to mend matters, interposing, "Sir, sir, you have had your ears boxed by the greatest man in Europe." I must confess I hardly like him less for these explosions. He had a child's impulsiveness; his resentments soon burned themselves out. "We must forgive our enemies," said Heine, "but not till they are hung." Voltaire could seldom wait so long as that; if now and then he showed himself capable of deep resentment, at other times he showed himself capable of forgiving the most cruel and intolerable wrongs. It may have been because he felt so sure of his position, but envy, by which he was every day assailed, found scanty harbor in his breast. Young men fighting their first battles were always sure of his encouragement; criticism and money both, if both were needed. It speaks great things for him that those who knew him best were passionately fond of him. Because he was not a beggar like Rousseau, he has been called avaricious; he valued money because he valued independence; but Father Adam, his Jesuit almoner, and Sirven, and Calas, and the niece of Cornelle never suspected him of being avaricious. Nevertheless, let every fault be noted down; granted that they were many. These petty quarrels with the publishers who pirated his books, often with his connivance! What say you? Shall we laugh or cry about them? I hardly know. But this I know: take him for all in all, Voltaire was undeniably the most inspired and most inspiring prophet of a new and better day for human kind that Europe furnished in the eighteenth century. France need not fear to match her greatest literary chief with England or with Germany. Though nothing in his purely literary work has the perennial freshness of Shakespeare's plays and Goethe's lyrics, there was a man behind the artist such as we seek in vain behind the mask of Shakespeare,—such as the magnificent Goethe had nowhere concealed about his person. It was a man who loved all knowledge, hated all superstition; who, rich and safe, did not forget the poor and miserable whose lives were in continual jeopardy; who, though a Frenchman of the Frenchmen, was indifferent to national glory purchased by poor men's lives; who felt in his own shrinking flesh the torture of the humblest victim of intolerance; who made his own the cause of every man unjustly punished; who, when he could not rescue from the infamous the victim around whom it had already coiled, still gave himself no rest till he had vindicated the poor victim's memory. Acknowledge every fault and every limitation, and still, because he honored human nature in its humblest incarnations, and did great battle against everything which kept men down in ignorance, and held them back from higher possibilities of truth and good, and robbed their lives of safety, peace, and joy, shall we not keep his memory green and honor him as one among the many saviors of the world?—*Pamphlet Mission, June 15.*

FREETHOUGHT IN SYMPATHY WITH NO KIND OF INDECENCY.

MR. EDITOR:—

During the past week I have seen, in two Christian papers, freethought and what is commonly called "free love" spoken of as though they were one and the same, one of the journals even representing that infidelity naturally defends obscenity because obscenity is its legitimate offspring. Such representations are an outrage on truth.

There is no connection, none whatever, between freethought and "free love." There is nothing in liberalism that gives the least encouragement to any kind of obscenity. If there are liberals who are at the same time believers in what is commonly called "free love," so there are Christians who entertain "free love" theories and are addicted to "free love" practices. There may be individuals engaged in the sale of obscene literature who profess liberal views, as there are such who believe in the Church and its dogmas. I know of no such freethinkers. Whether there be or not, let this be understood, that liberalism has no word of encouragement for, and no sympathy with, any literature that aims to inflame the mind and to debauch our youth.

There is a kind of literature concerning the character and the tendency of which all decent persons are agreed, whether they be Christian or infidel. The circulation of this vile trash is, as it should be, prohibited by law. But, unfortunately, under this law persons innocent of circulating or publishing obscene literature have been tried, convicted, and imprisoned. Very naturally, therefore, men imbued with a sense of justice, Christians as well as infidels, have protested in earnest language against these infringements on personal liberty, and have asked for such modification of this law as is necessary to prevent a repetition of these outrages in future. It is true some have petitioned, most unwisely, I believe, for the repeal of the law of Congress against obscene literature; not because they are in favor of obscenity, but because, indignant at the wrongs which have been inflicted on individuals by malicious prosecutions instigated by Comstock, they have inferred that any law under which such injustices can be perpetrated by the sanction of government must be inherently evil and should be abrogated, believing there is some other way by which to suppress obscenity, and at the same time avoid subjecting innocent persons to the suffering and disgrace of imprisonment; many believing that the present law should be repealed, and another, with all its objectionable features omitted, substituted in its place; and this is simply equivalent to asking for a modification of the existing law.

This hastily written statement is intended less for regular readers of the *Investigator* than for other persons who have written me on this subject, and whom I have not the time to address individually.

Respectfully,
B. F. UNDERWOOD.
BOSTON, June 26, 1878.
—*Boston Investigator.*

VICTOR HUGO'S LAUDATION OF VOLTAIRE.

Following are a few extracts from the eloquent speech made by Victor Hugo at the Voltaire centenary celebration in Paris:—

"A hundred years ago a man died. He died immortal, and he departed loaded with years, loaded with works, loaded with the most illustrious and the most terrible responsibilities,—the responsibility of the human conscience warned and put in the right track. He departed cursed and blessed,—cursed by the past, blessed by the future. Those, gentlemen, are the two superb forms of glory. He was more than a man,—he was an age. He had exercised a function and fulfilled a mission. The eighty years that he lived occupy the interval which separates the monarchy at its apogee from the Revolution at its dawn. His cradle might have seen the last days of the great throne, and his bier the first glimmerings of the great abyss." . . .

M. Victor Hugo then described, in a most dramatic and eloquent fashion, the double trial and torture of Calas and La Barre, and exclaimed: "O Voltaire, thou didst utter a cry of horror, and it will be thy eternal glory! Then didst thou begin the terrible trial of the past; thou didst plead against tyrants and monsters the cause of the human race, and thou didst gain it. Great man, be forever blest! Voltaire has conquered. Voltaire has waged the brilliant war,—the war of one against all, the war of thought against matter, of reason against prejudice, of the just against the unjust, the war for the oppressed against the oppressor, the war of goodness and of sweetness. He had the tenderness of a woman and the wrath of a hero. He was a mighty spirit and an immense heart. He vanquished the old codes and the old dogmas,—the feudal lord, the Gothic judge, and the Roman priest. He elevated the populace to the dignity of the people. He taught, pacified, and civilized. He was indefatigable and immovable.

"He conquered violence by a smile and despotism by sarcasm, infallibility by irony, obstinacy by perseverance, and ignorance by truth. I have pronounced the word 'smile.' I dwell upon it. The 'smile' is Voltaire. Whatever may be his just wrath, it passes; and Voltaire irritated is always succeeded by Voltaire calm. Then in that profound eye the smile appears. That smile is wisdom. The new society, the desire of equality and concession, and that beginning of fraternity which is called tolerance, reciprocal good-will, the recognition of reason as the supreme law, the wiping out of prejudices, the serenity of souls, the spirit of indulgence and of pardon, harmony and peace,—that is what has come from that grand smile. The day, doubtless, is near when there will be an identity of wisdom and of clemency. The day when the amnesty shall be proclaimed, I affirm it, above there in the stars Voltaire will smile." (Triple rounds of applause, and cries of "Vive l'Amnietie!")

The orator went on to describe his age, and, after an eloquent eulogy of Montesquieu, Buffon, Beaumarchais, Rousseau, and Diderot, he said:—

"These mighty writers have disappeared, but they have left us their soul,—the Revolution. It has only been given to three nations to resume epochs in the name of men,—to Greece, to Italy, and to France. We talk of the age of Pericles, of Augustus, of Leo X., of Louis Quatorze, and of Voltaire. This privilege is the highest mark of civilization. Except Voltaire, they are the names of chiefs of States. Voltaire is a chief of ideas. He begins a new cycle. One feels that henceforward the high governing power of the human race will be thought. Civilization was obeying force; she will now obey the ideal. The people will have no other sovereignty than the law, and the individual than conscience. For each of these in the two aspects of progress comes out clearly,—they are to exercise one's right, that it is to be a man, and to accomplish one's duty, that it is to be a citizen. Such is the signification of the words 'the age of Voltaire.' Such is the meaning of that

supreme event, the French Revolution. The nineteenth century glorifies the eighteenth.

"The time is come; right has found its formula,—the human federation. To-day violence is called to account, and is beginning to be judged; war is put in accusation; civilization, on the complaint of the human race, is drawing up the mighty criminal dossier of conquerors and captains; people are beginning to understand that the aggravation of an offence cannot be a diminution of it, and that if to kill is a crime, to kill on a large scale cannot be an extenuating circumstance; that if to steal is a crime, invasion cannot be glorious, and that in the eyes of God Eternal the face of the murderer is not changed because he wears the crown of an emperor instead of the cap of a convict. Ah! let us proclaim absolute truths; let us dishonor war. No sanguinary glory exists no longer; it cannot be, O ye mothers who surround me, that war shall continue to rob you of your children! It cannot be that humanity works, that civilization progresses, that arts and industry are perfected, to end in that terrible international exhibition called a battle-field. The true battle-field is here. It is that rendezvous of the masterpieces of human toil which Paris now offers to the world. The true victory is the victory of Paris."

FREETHOUGHT AND SECULARISM.

It was about the year 1850 that efforts were commenced to turn freethinking attention to a new form of freethought, bearing the name of secularism. At this time, as before that time, freethinking was a bold but indeterminate thing. It claimed to think what it pleased upon what it chose, and to express its opinions. Practically, it spoke in all manners of ways upon all kinds of topics. It stood upon the right to differ in conduct and dissent in opinion. The government had ceased to inflict legal penalties upon the exercise of freethought. It seemed to me at that point that freethinkers ought to advance to the occupation of more positive ground. Having conquered the right to inquire, it was necessary to show what had been found. Having conquered the right to speak, it was necessary to make it clear what might and should be said.

Freethinkers had been badly used by the clergy, who generally held them up before their neighbors as so many reprobates, who dissented less or more from Christianity, out of mere wilfulness, obstinacy, and badness of heart. There were gentlemen among the clergy who recognized the reality of honest doubt; but, as a rule, the rejecter of Christianity was treated as one who ought to believe, who might believe, who could believe, if he would, but he would not.

The first thing to be done to give position and character to freethought was to enable it to become independent of Christianity, and to select those principles which should insure independency. To do this, it was the policy of secular freethinkers to keep clear of Christianity, to take nothing from it, to owe nothing to it, to ignore it. Asking nothing and receiving nothing from Christianity, its professors had no longer right to question us, or meddle with us, or defame us. Students of science, of politics, of socialism, holding no relations with Christianity, were no longer in danger of it, and could no longer be assailed by it. We, therefore, took the secular as our province, leaving the theological to the clergy.

Freethought, upholding individuality, had, and desired to have, among its adherents, diversity of views,—diversity being the sign of originality. Truth is one; the paths to it are many. It is because freethought allows each person to take his own way that more truth is reached by its means than by any other.

The term secularism is the name of a *New Form of Freethought*; not a new name for old, desultory freethinking, but the name of a new organization of self-helping ideas,—religious in the sense of binding men to duty by the new bond of secular principles.

Any one mingling among the working class soon finds many without definite opinions. Some have been wrecked among creeds, and are destitute of convictions. Some are even worse off, and never had any. Some are worse off still,—they have no minds at all, and don't want any convictions. Among them, however, are many thoughtful persons, who are in search of a creed of conduct. There are people lying in wait for such inquirers, and it is well that there are. It is a good sign, when any one who has found out a road of life for himself is possessed of a generous solicitude to call the attention of other persons to it.

The Christian, to his credit, is sure to come up. He is a troublesome person to know; hard to shake off, if you admit him too close; apt to be resentful,—to dislike you and damage you, if you do not coincide with him. Still, his motives are good. He is a good deal concealed, fancies that God has employed him to assail you, and generally so acts as to make God's message, which he has to deliver, a very disagreeable thing. He finds the workmen without art or force; but he offers him neither Greek grace nor Pagan energy, but a big old book, containing the lives and opinions of a race which he believes to be accursed, and he himself despises. His book of guidance is full of contradictions which nobody can reconcile, and has never been translated to anybody's satisfaction. Unless you are a master in obsolete languages, you must take its contents upon the word of others, and risk going to heaven second-hand. You are called upon to believe what you cannot understand; to impute to God what you cannot explain; and hold opinions of his judgments for which you would deserve perdition, if you die in them. You are not allowed to choose what is noble and true in that book; you must take it all, or be denounced by the hateful name of "Infidel," until the poor, thinking workman says: "Gentlemen, you are too much for me. I am much obliged to you. I respect your motives, I esteem

your solicitude; but your road would distract me. There are Jews at the head of it; the devil at the bottom of it. Warring translators occupy one side of the road, and angry, belligerent, defamatory priests the other; and I had better choose my own bedlam at once than go down there, and be carried at last to one I know not of." A workman could not get the needed cultivation from ignorant apostles, given to strong prejudice and great license of speech, who knew nothing of human reason, nor wanted to know anything, and who hated the world and the things of this world, who had no self-help in them, and depended on miracles to live. It is of no use considering the case of other sects, who make up the dangerous varieties of believers, who modify Christianity by Rationalism. The Orthodox paint them all with the infidel brush, laying the thickest and most opprobrious paint on the most sensible. The workman, who is already the scape-goat of society, does well not to take upon himself the uncomfortable functions of the scape-goat of Christianity. He, therefore, keeps clear of it in self-respect and in self-protection, because his need and object are self-help.—*G. J. Holyoake, in London Secular Review, July 6.*

WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO.

Zion's Herald—a Methodist paper published in Boston—assails the *Republican's* recently expressed views on "The Possible Church," in an article which is not only extremely bad-tempered, but untruthful. It says:—

"The great vice of this whole evangelical system, in the estimation of our very broad and philosophical religious teacher, is, that the Church of to-day fatally falls of meeting 'the definite, noble, and imperative opportunity' which lies before it. It fails to teach men the highest truths,—those relating to character and conduct." Think of that! Meditate upon the cool and calm presumption," etc.

The *Republican* did not say and did not imply what is here imputed to it. It said in substance that the Church as a whole concerns itself too much with the prospect of heaven and too little with the duties of earth, and that it does not sufficiently emphasize the truths of character and conduct. So far from imputing any "total failure" to the Church, we said, "This is a high ideal, but not an impossible one. We could name churches, not only in Boston and New York and London, but here in Springfield, that are working toward it." The entire article, so far from being an assault upon the Church, was in effect an appeal to the Church to rise to the height of its possibilities. We suggest to *Zion's Herald* that it correct its misstatements quoted above, and also take note that until it can practise the plain duty of truth-speaking, it is not entitled to any hearing upon questions of religion.

We address ourselves to a different class of readers when we repeat what we said before, that the churches now organized and existing have in themselves great possibilities for the highest service to the community. That they are already upon the whole, doing a large and substantial service is the very reason why they should press on to higher things. The great requisite is that they should more clearly recognize their true function, which is to educate and exercise men in the practice of truth, honesty, benevolence, trust in God, and love to man. It is commonly assumed that there exists a great controversy between the Church and a large section of intelligent society. But so far as we know, there is no controversy among decent people as to the immeasurable value and desirableness of self-control and justice and personal purity and sweet temper and devotion to all moral excellence. Any man, or institution, that makes a supreme business of cultivating these has the approval and sympathy of all honest men, even of such as lack the resolution to tread so high a path themselves. Why, then, is the Church, as a body, on terms of mutual hostility or indifference with so large a part of the thoughtful and influential class throughout Christendom? It is because the Church so largely avows itself as standing, not for simple rightness of life, for the highest moral excellence, but for a system of ideas, a theory of the universe. The Church (the liberal hardly less than the conservative section) has made an idol of theology. It is battling now for and against a hundred issues.—Bushnellism, Restorationism, Darwinism, and what not. Its true battle is against the wrong in men's lives,—their meanness, their absorption in material good, their neglect of the duties of citizenship, the selfishness of the rich, and the envy of the poor.

It will be said, and truly, that the Church ought to set man in his true relations to the universe, and that this requires a right conception of the nature of the universe and the relations of God and man. But the mistake lies in the assumption that the mass of men—or in truth any man, learned or unlearned—reaches moral truth mainly through an intellectual process. It is by fidelity to the duties that lie right before them that men come into fuller knowledge of their own souls and of God. "The life was the light of men." Jews won men by what he was. It was his love that set fire to their love. It was the sense of his moral purity—not his philosophy, for he set forth no philosophy—that stirred in them a divine hunger and thirst for a like purity. It is by living, and not by talking or theorizing—except as talk and theory have the inspiration of life behind them,—that men are to be drawn into higher manhood.

If any preacher wants to combat practical atheism, his most promising way is not to demonstrate, in Paley fashion, the existence and nature of God. It is to teach and train men in these qualities which stand to us for the will of God, and also as the revelation of God,—in integrity and benevolence and all forms of noble living. Men need to be taught these things in a practical way. How shall a passionate man bridle his temper? How shall a man immersed

in business keep himself scrupulously honorable, and sensitive to the noble and ideal relations of life? How shall a woman keep herself from being enslaved by household drudgery? What are the real duties that such ideas as "patriotism" and "benevolence" require of a merchant, a carpenter, or a seamstress in Springfield? This is the kind of questions on which people immensely need answers,—not vague exhortations, but practical, discriminating guidance. The preacher's main business should be to give such guidance. We repeat, there are churches in Springfield and its vicinity whose pastors and people are working into this sound and fruitful kind of Christianity. Just so far as the Christian Church accepts as its work the education and discipline of men toward the highest moral ideals it will vindicate its claim to respect and confidence.—*Springfield Republican.*

VIRTUE is not to be pursued as one of the means to fame, but fame to be accepted as the only recompense which mortals can bestow on virtue.—*Johnson.*

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Books.

- A HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878. (From W. E. Clarke, Boston.)
- THE BIBLE FOR LEARNERS. By Dr. H. Oort, Dr. I. Hooykaas, and Dr. A. Kneen. Vols. 1 and 2. Authorized Translation. Boston: Roberts Bros.
- THE BIBLE FOR LEARNERS. A MANUAL. Translated from the Dutch of J. Knappert. By Richard A. Armstrong. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1878.
- A MODERN SYMPOSIUM. Subjects: The Soul and Future Life, and The Influence upon Morality of a Decline in Religious Belief. Detroit: Rose-Belford Publishing Co. 1878.
- ASPIRATIONS OF THE WORLD. A Chain of Opals. By L. Maria Child. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1878.
- ORBS AND DEEP. A Series of Discourses. By Felix Adler, Ph.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877.
- HISTORY OF OPINIONS ON THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF RETRIBUTION. By Edward Beecher, D.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.
- STUDIES OF THE CREATIVE WEEK. By George D. Boardman. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.
- THE YOUTH'S LIBERAL GUIDE for their Moral Culture and Religious Enlightenment. By Prof. H. M. Kottlinger. Milwaukee: Taylor Bros. 1878.
- STATE REGULATION OF VICES. Regulation Efforts in America. The Geneva Congress. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1878.
- WHY A CATHOLIC IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By William Giles Dix. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1878.
- VOLTAIRE. By Colonel Hamley. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.
- GATHERED LEAVES. By Alfred Huidskoper. Cambridge: 1878.
- THE PARADOX, and Other Poems. By J. Albert Wilson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877.
- THE LIFE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE CONSORT. By Theodore Martin. Vol. 2. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.
- THE AMERICAN ALMANAC FOR 1878. Edited by A. E. Spofford, Librarian of Congress. New York and Washington: American News Co. 1878.
- VIEWS OF OUR HEAVELY HOME. By Andrew Jackson Davis. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1878.
- THE LAWS OF BEING. By Almira Kild. Boston: Colby & Rich. 1878.
- MEMORY GEMS. By Charles Northland. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
- PRIMER of Piano-Forte Playing. By F. Taylor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.
- SOBRIER PRIMER: POLITICAL BOOZINESS. By W. Stanley Jayson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.
- LITERATURE PRIMERS.—GREEK LITERATURE, by E. C. Jobb, and ENGLISH GRAMMAR EXERCISES, by Morris & Bowen. New York: D. Appleton. 1878.

Novels—Paper (Appletons').

- BONNY KATE. By Christian Reid.
- ROMANCES OF THE EAST. By the Comte de Gobineau.
- RENNE AND FRANE. By Gustave Haller.
- THE GODSON OF A MARQUIS. By André Theuriet.
- ARADON. By Henry Grville.
- THE FIGHTERS OF ABER. By Katharine S. Macquoid.
- A STRUGGLE. By Henry Phillips.
- MISERICORDIA. By Ethel Lynn Linton.
- JET. By Mrs. Annie Edwards.
- GORDON BALDWIN. By Rudolph Lindau.

Periodicals.

- LA RELIGION LAIQUE. Paris.
- SUNDAY REVIEW. London.
- FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW. Toronto.
- POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY. New York.
- JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY. St. Louis.
- WESTERN. St. Louis.
- CANADIAN MONTHLY AND NATIONAL REVIEW. Toronto.
- UNITARIAN REVIEW. Boston.
- CATHOLIC WORLD. New York.
- SANITARIAN. New York.
- COMPLETE PRAECORER. New York.

Miscellaneous Pamphlets.

- ANNUAL REPORTS of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College. 1878-7. Cambridge: Press of John Wilson & Son. 1878.
- ANNUAL REPORT of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1878-9.
- TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Trustees of the Astor Library, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1877.
- TENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
- TRANSACTIONS of the Massachusetts Press Association. 1878.
- FIFTY-THIRD Anniversary of the American Unitarian Association.
- AMERICAN COMMUNITARIAN. By W. A. Stead. 1878.
- A TOMBSTONE as a Monument of Religious Liberty. W. Rothgeb vs. E. Masack et al. Argument of Stelle & Kittredge in Supreme Court of Ohio.
- EQUITABLE TAXATION; or, The Debtor's Lien. By Manley Howe, of Boston.
- CHURCH OF THE HOLY COMMISSIONS. By Edwin Wright.
- THE TRACINGS OF FREE RELIGION. By L. E. Washburn.
- SERMONS by Rev. John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, N.Y.—The Angel Song—Future Punishment.—The Sacred Scriptures.—The Morals of Belief.
- SERMONS by the Rev. Charles Voysey and others, at Langham Hall, London, Eng.—The Healing Power of Joy.—The Gospel of Hope.—The Lord's Controversy with His People.—Some Scientific Aids to Faith in God.—The Last Link of the Fetter.—Atheism.—Consolations of True Religion.—Rome or Reason.—The Rulers and the Pharisees.—The Doctrine of the Atonement Immortal.—The Omnipotence of God.—Is the Historical Christ a True Revelation of God?—Rise and Spread of Christianity.—Judaism and Theism.—Jewish Obligations and Prospects.—Why Attend Public Worship?—Willing and Unwilling Unbelief.—Ascension of Jesus.
- CHARACTERS—Edward Hammond Clarke. By Rev. C. A. Bartol, D.D.
- REVIEW of Bishop Eyan's Lectures on "What Catholics Do Not Believe." By S. R. Bonneschein.
- LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION. By S. E. Brittan, M.D.
- OUTLINE of Christian Belief as generally held by Unitarians. THE GREAT CRISIS. By E. H. Heywood.
- BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY FACE TO FACE. By J. M. Peebles.
- A TALK ABOUT SWEDENBORG. By Rev. Frank Sewall.
- CORRESPONDENCE of Herdell and Cooper.
- CONVERSATIONS on the Ceremony by E. D. Linton and G. V. Drey.
- REVOLUTION. By W. N. Klossum.
- CHRIST THE CORNERSTONE OF SPIRITUALISM. By J. M. Peebles.
- "CHRISTIAN UNION" EXTRAS.—The Army of the Republic.—How to Spend the Summer.—The Future State.
- THE DEVIL'S PEDIGREE. By J. E. Crooker.
- IS THE UNIVERSE GOVERNED BY A DEVIL? By J. F. Smith.
- TRANSMIGRATION. By Georgiana E. Kirby.
- HANDBOOK of BY CULTURE. By E. Wilkin.
- VICK'S FLORAL GUIDE for 1878.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

Count it not rudeness, lady, I beseech,
That one a stranger to the world and thee
Should speak to you across the moaning sea;
Great wrongs give license to a stranger's speech.
Such wrongs are thine, and thy maternal plaint—
Has hither come and crept into our hearts;
Our indignation with the hot tear starts;
Our hope for sovereign freedom falters faint.
Robbed of thy child! the desolate, swooning cry
That smote high heaven in the stolid face,
When tyranny compelled that last embrace,
Will haunt the world till pity's self shall die.
O England! I had steadfastly believed
That Justice held for thee an even scale;
How little did I think a mother's wail
Would come to teach me I was so deceived.
Here in our land that holds but feeble claim
To aught pertaining to the realm of thought,
Some few the meaning of the times have caught,
And honor ANNIE BESANT'S injured name.
The soul that strives with tenderest endeavor
To push dead weights from off the human heart
Hath chosen for herself the better part,
And will not be forgotten, never, never!
May thy poor Mabel live, and learn to think;
The day may dawn when she will comprehend
The infamy that forced her truest friend
This cup of utter bitterness to drink.
Quail not, brave woman! Still to conscience true,
Speak out thy honest message to the world;
'Tis thus the flag of Progress is unfurled
And old beliefs precedence yield to new.

GEORGE MARTIN.

MONTREAL, Canada.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SIR GEORGE JESSEL.

False and perfidious knight! To you,
Betrayed of a woman's cause,
No meek apology is due
From one who holds that dubious laws,
Subservient to a righteous end,
To mercy's side should kindly bend.
Had you, sir, sat in Fortia's place—
Silked in your robe of Hebrew pride,—
Old Shylock would have gained his case,
And poor Antonio must have died.
Or, had you filled the wise man's seat
When the two mothers claimed the child,
The false and true, you would have smiled
Your favor on the brazen cheat;
Or, pausing not a part to feign,
Had cut the living child in twain.
Glance backward, callous judge, and trace
The ancient samplers of your race;
What pleasure you must feel to find
So many of a kindred mind!—
Elisha, who with holy zeal
Called the she-bears from out the wood
To breakfast on such dainty food,—
Forty-two children,—what a meal!
Sweet Jaël, hospitable dame,
Who Sisera bade to her tent
When weary from the war he came;
And whilst he slept, so gently bent
Above the soldier's peaceful couch;
And that she might forever vouch
How true his rest, she did not fall
In driving home a rusty nail;
Straight through his temple sped the brand,
Obedient to the hostess' hand!
Ahab and Jezebel,—their deeds
Must yield a special charm to one
Who, when an anguished mother pleads
To keep her child, whose bosom bleeds,
Discovers Nature's holiest tie,
Thinking the will of heaven is done,
And heeds not tears nor wounded cry.
Enough! the list were long to name.
Enough that time's avenging brand
Has smitten many a hoary shame
Once credited to God's right hand;
Enough for me to know and feel
That Superstition's iron heel
Is doomed; no sacred font nor river
Can save it from the fatal darts
That Science from her ample quiver
Draws in defence of human hearts.

GEORGE MARTIN.

MONTREAL, Canada.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 27.

J. C. Kearns, \$1.60; A. A. Knight, \$3.40; R. P. Johnson, \$2; Mrs. Edw. Austin, \$3.20; Carl Post, \$3.30; Wm. Corning, \$3.20; Mrs. Jacobs, \$3.20; Joseph Hoskin, \$3.20; Cash, \$1; C. A. Greenleaf, \$1; Dr. Bachael Speakman, \$1; H. Quimby, \$1.60; T. Dugan, 70 cents; Dr. G. E. Frothingham, \$6.40; Dr. Wm. Mc Lary, \$1; C. Butcher, \$3.20; Jacob G. Deshler, 50 cents; James Laughlands, \$5; Beth N. Allen, \$5.20; J. D. Zimmerman, \$3.20; James Westwater, \$3.20; E. S. Barker, \$3.20; George Allen, \$3.20; G. A. Lane, \$3.20; Louis Liebman, \$3.20; L. F. Robinson, \$1.25; N. Faine, \$4.45; J. A. J. Wilcox, \$3.20; A. Williams, \$6.85; H. T. Appleby, \$4.85; Peter Newcomer, \$1.55; J. R. Hawley, \$1.70; Courtland Palmer, \$3; Mrs. C. A. Tucker, \$3; Mrs. Anna E. Wood, \$3.20; J. H. Chase, 10 cents; Col. R. B. Stone, \$5; D. A. Robertson, \$3.20; Mrs. E. C. Stanton, \$5; C. Lauer, \$2

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 1, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 231 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLSON OFFICE, No. 35 MONROE STREET; J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1878: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
 OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CROWLEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIEUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SURVEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KESEY, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Until September 1, the editorial charge of THE INDEX will be wholly in the hands of Mr. A. W. Stevens, who has kindly consented to relieve me of all literary responsibility for it during the present month. F. E. ABBOT.

BOSTON, Aug. 1.

THE CONVENTION of free-thinkers at Watkins, N.Y., will commence at 10 A.M., August 22, and continue four days. Mr. Green informs us that Hon. E. P. Hurlbut of Albany, who for fifty years has been an outspoken, able, and distinguished liberal, is expected to be present; and that Hon. Ellsbur Wright, whose trenchant and vigorous articles have given such lustre to these pages, is to read a paper on "Creed and Religion as a Cultivator of Political Hypocrisy."

THE FINE "Centennial Address of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists and Liberalists," published in the report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, commanded admiration at the time by its forcible exposition of the ideas of the Liberal League movement. Those who read it will be interested to know that Mr. S. B. McCracken, the Secretary, announces the semi-annual meeting of this association at Grand Rapids, beginning August 29 and closing September 1. Excellent speakers are expected, and it is hoped to make this the largest liberal gathering ever held in Michigan.

DURING THE MONTH of August Mr. A. W. Stevens will be sole editor of THE INDEX, in order to enable us to get a little needed rest. Mr. Stevens made so many warm friends, while associated with us editorially from 1872 to 1875, that this announcement will give as much pleasure to them as it does to us. He will, of course, follow only his own conscience and judgment in his conduct of the paper for these four weeks, without being hampered by any embarrassing traditions or directions; freedom is the indispensable condition of good editorship, and it is his right to enjoy it to the full. With kindest wishes for him and our readers, we say goodbye for a brief respite.

IT IS BECOMING a matter of course, after hearing of a defalcation case, to inquire whether the defaulter was not a church-member. Says the Boston Advertiser of July 16: "Five years in the State Prison is much too short a sentence, South Hadley people are beginning to think, for their convicted town treasurer, Ira B. Wright. His property, which he has turned over to the selectmen as trustees for his creditors, will amount to about \$7000. His obligations are: \$29,000 to the town; other debts for which claims have been presented, \$18,000; and still other known obligations of \$1000. Wright puts his losses in business at \$5100, and his style of living was not sufficient to account for the nearly \$40,000 which is missing. A curious reminiscence of the man is that he has been scrupulous in his attendance at prayer-meetings, and has for years been one of the constant patrons of the Springfield Public Library. None of his habits can account for the consumption of so much money, and people in South Hadley still believe that he has it safely laid away somewhere."

F. E. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

A SPLENDID ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE CAUSE OF WOMAN.

The letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, in this issue of THE INDEX, must delight every one who takes an intelligent interest in the emancipation and elevation of woman. The Thirtieth Anniversary of the movement in behalf of the equal rights of women, held at Rochester, New York, on the eighteenth and nineteenth of July, marks an era in this movement to which it would be impossible to attach too great importance. Woman has taken a new and splendid position.

In the minds of unnumbered liberals on both sides of the Atlantic, of whom Rear-Admiral Maxse, one of the most high-minded, acute, and independent thinkers of England, may be taken as a fitting representative (see his pamphlet entitled *Woman Suffrage—the Counterfeit and the True: Reasons for Opposing Both*), the belief that "women are likely to vote under the influence of the clergy" has operated more powerfully than any other to produce indifference, if not active opposition, to woman's enfranchisement. That the average woman is far more easily influenced by the clergy than the average man (and it is the average human being upon whom universal suffrage confers the balance of political power) can not be seriously and candidly controverted; and every free and philosophic mind has learned that the influence of the clergy is invariably cast, in all great contests involving liberty and human rights, on the side of despotism.

There is a melancholy monotony in the teachings of history on this point. The Church, judged by its record no less than by the obvious tendency of its ideas, is the great foe of secular and scientific progress; the logic of Christianity is at swordpoints with the logic of freedom, and as is its logic, so also has been and will be its history. Hence every thoroughgoing and consistent democrat, in the true sense of that word, is compelled to take anti-Christian ground. Europe is rapidly learning this lesson; America must learn it too. The clerical spirit and influence, the clerical policy and party, the clerical ambition, legislation, and institutions—these are the most stubborn opponents with which free institutions have to contend. "Scratch a Russian, and you find a Tartar"—scratch a priest, and you find a king. Civilization is simply a slow triumph over the Church.

Especially is this true of the woman movement, which in its essence is an assertion of woman's individuality and individual rights. The Church decrees for woman nothing but obedience, self-suppression, extinction of that individual self-possession and self-development at which the woman movement aims. If women are so blinded by their sentiments, emotions, affections, aspirations, religious sensibilities, as not to comprehend all this,—if they cannot understand that, so long as they submit their own souls to the Church and its religion, they can neither win the freedom of recognized individuality for themselves nor preserve it for others,—they should not wonder if free-thinking men hesitate to entrust the keeping of the world's dearly-bought liberties to those who are all ready, with the best of motives, to betray them again to the oppressor. Such men know that woman must free her own soul from superstition, or she cannot maintain her political freedom, even after she has achieved it; they know that she stands a better chance for becoming and remaining free, if she is compelled to encounter

such obstacles in winning political freedom as shall perforce open her eyes to the real nature of the power that has so long enslaved her; they know that the deep, underlying ideas of the woman movement are only a part of those which underlie the movement for strictly secular government; they know that, if success for the former movement shall "come to stay," it must come by the same means which shall bring success to the latter movement—namely, by the destruction of the ecclesiastical spirit and power. All this is simply knowledge of facts that cannot be changed. Every genuine free-thinker must sympathize profoundly with the woman movement; but he is not to be blamed for perceiving clearly that the woman movement can achieve only a superficial and precarious success until woman herself has outgrown Christianity, and that it may prove a success ending in failure, if it succeeds too easily or too soon.

For these reasons, we hail with the greatest satisfaction every indication that the women of America are indeed outgrowing Christianity, and proving that they fully comprehend the politico-religious philosophy which alone can defend and perpetuate the freedom they seek. In this respect the late Rochester convention marks an enormous progress in the right direction. Never before, so far as we are aware, did a Woman Suffrage Convention take such advanced ground on the religious question, or plant themselves upon truths so profound, comprehensive, and impregnable. We speak with reference to the last three resolutions adopted, which were as follows:

9. Resolved, That as the duty of every individual is self-development, the lessons of self-sacrifice and obedience taught woman by the Christian Church have been fatal not only to her own highest interests, but through her have also dwarfed and degraded the race.

10. Resolved, That the fundamental principle of the Protestant Reformation, the right of individual conscience and judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, heretofore conceded to and exercised by men alone, should now be claimed by woman, and that in her most vital interests she should no longer trust authority, but be guided by her own reason.

11. Resolved, That it is through the perversion of the religious element in woman, cultivating the emotions at the expense of her reason, playing upon her hopes and fears of the future, holding this life with all its high duties forever in abeyance to that which is to come, that she, and the children she has trained, have been so completely subjugated by priestcraft and superstition.

These resolutions we have read with astonishment, admiration, and delight. We should not have believed it possible that the convention could be induced to adopt them. They will make forever memorable, in the history of the organized woman movement, this Thirtieth Anniversary of its birth. They put the National Woman Suffrage Association in an inconceivably higher and nobler position than that occupied by any similar society. They go to the very root of the matter. They are a bold, dignified, and magnificent utterance. We congratulate the Convention on a record so splendid in the eyes of all true liberals. We congratulate Mrs. Stanton, President of the Convention, and Mrs. Gage, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, on this great and victorious blow struck in the cause they have so much at heart and have served so faithfully and so long. From this day forth the whole woman movement must obey the inspiration of a higher courage and a grander spirit than have been known to its past. Opposition must be encountered, tenfold more bitter than was ever yet experienced. But truth is on the side of these brave women; the ringing words they have spoken at Rochester will thrill many a doubting heart and be echoed far down the long avenue of the years.

A NEW EPOCH FOR WOMAN.

TENAFLY, N.J., July 22, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Allow me to call the attention of your readers to the resolutions passed at the Third Decade Meeting of the National Woman Suffrage Association held at Rochester, July 19, which have been already sent to your journal.

I think our liberal friends will find those touching the religious element of woman's nature sufficiently broad to assure them that these women, armed with ballots, will not prove the dangerous element so many fear on the side of priestcraft and superstition. The contemptuous treatment of woman by the popular churches, the resolutions of synods and general assemblies as to the Divine Will in favor of woman's complete subjugation, the trials and tribulations of eminent clergymen who have recognized her equality, have at last emancipated a rapidly increasing class of women from all fear and respect for such authorities.

We have really been persecuted into the higher position to which reason failed to lift us. Once more has bigotry done the world good service, by launching another class on the sea of reason.

We had a large and enthusiastic convention, the last session in Corinthian Hall continuing until eleven o'clock at night, although the heat was almost unendurable.

One of the marked features of this convention was the very respectful and complimentary tone of the entire press of the city of Rochester.

Enclosed find five dollars for THE INDEX, which I find full of valuable instruction every week, and, with its reports from the various Liberal Leagues forming all over the country, full of hope for the preservation of the secular character of our government.

Yours with great respect,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

LIBERAL SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

A committee of the Free Religious Association of Providence have printed the appended statement of the objects for which they intend to establish a liberal Sunday School in connection with the Association; and it is so excellent that, by permission, we submit it to our readers. We are pleased to see every sign of a growing appreciation of the necessity of attending faithfully to the education of children in the direction aimed at; and we hope that other liberal societies may be encouraged to undertake the same work so well laid out in this plan.

Believing that the fundamental duties of a religious organization are development of a pure and noble character in all its members, and the youth connected with it, and their culture in earnest thinking upon the problems of human conduct and condition, the Free Religious Association of Providence, proposes to establish a Sunday School for the objects, and on the basis, hereinafter named:—

1. Ethical education, or training in knowledge of, and obedience to, that inviolable moral law which man has discovered rules his life, and makes itself known through the unvarying effects of good and evil, which follow right and wrong actions and motives; this ethical education to be based on the principles of constant subordination of the lower to the higher nature in the individual, of equality of rights for all human kind, of the obligation of the stronger to protect and help the weaker in all relations of life.

2. Study of the elements of religion, based on the principle of scientific investigation of the facts of human consciousness and experience in their relation to man's spiritual nature.

3. Study of religious history, based on the principles of a common source for all religions, of a subjection of all sacred writings to equally critical and discriminating examination, of a reverent acceptance of such of the teachings of all religious masters and systems as an enlightened reason and conscience find to be universal in quality and application, and a free rejection of such statements and dogmas as are proved merely local in character.

4. Study of the elements of natural sciences, of physical and mental hygiene, and of any other department of knowledge which shall lead to a true conception of the laws which surround man and determine the conditions of his progress.

OUR GERMAN friends will be interested in this story, quoted from a letter of the late Francis Lieber by a Cleveland correspondent of the Chicago Tribune:—

A New Anecdote of Washington.

An incident of more than usual interest occurred to-day, just after the class in constitutional law was dismissed, at the university. I had been lecturing upon the advantages of the bi-cameral system, had dismissed the class, and was about to leave the room when a young man, who I knew had taken instructions under Laboulaye, in Paris, approached me, and said that what I had urged in regard to the bi-cameral system reminded him of a story which he had heard Laboulaye relate. I was interested, of course, and, as the class gathered around, he proceeded with the following:—

Laboulaye said, in one of his lectures, that Jefferson, who had become so completely imbued with French ideas as even to admire the uni-cameral system of legislation, one day visited Washington at Mt. Vernon; and, in the course of the conversation that ensued, the comparative excellence of the two systems came up for consideration. After considerable had been said on both sides, finally, at the tea-table, Washington, turning sharply to Jefferson, said:—

"You, sir, have just demonstrated the superior excellence of the bi-cameral system by your own hand."

"I! How is that?" said Jefferson, not a little surprised.

"You have poured your tea from your cup out into the saucer to cool. We want the bi-cameral system to cool things. A measure originates in one house, and in heat is passed. The other house will serve as a wonderful cooler; and, by the time it is debated and modified by various amendments there, it is much more likely to become an equitable law. No, we can't get along without the saucer in our system."

Jefferson, of course, saw that a point had been made against his argument; but whether he was frank enough to say so, the story-teller did not relate.

Communications.

OBSCENE LITERATURE.

MR. EDITOR:—

Let me second the sense of THE INDEX on this painful theme, and back J. Vila Blake, but that there needs no endorsement of his note of hand. The sentence on E. H. Heywood, an honest if mistaken man, is severe to excess. But nothing he has said is more wrong than the method of his conviction by a lie, as one link without which there had been perhaps no proof. What a melancholy and amazing spectacle, that of Christian men and ministers, with a swallow so large for Mr. Comstock's deceitful ways as to greet with loud derision a liberal clergyman's objections to his decoy-duck style! Nor does the court or prosecuting attorney seem to have entertained, of such a witness's honor or credibility, the slightest doubt. We bait the trap to catch a criminal with a crime! When religion and law come to such a pass in a civilized land, let us thank God for all heathen examples of magnanimity and truth!

But the circulation of indecent books and pamphlets, though by a man insane on their subject, is a capital sin and justly made indictable by law. All freedom must have legal restraint. In vain we try to distinguish between action and speech. A word may be more than any deed for evil or good.

C. A. BARTOL.

THE WOMAN'S CONVENTION.

GENEVA, N. Y., July 21, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

On the thirtieth anniversary of the Women's Rights Association of the United States, the leading women of the movement met in convention at Rochester, N. Y., on the 18th and 19th of July, 1878. It is not my intention to report the proceedings of this distinguished body of intelligent and cultured women, who have done more than any other class of workers in the country in effecting a change in public opinion, not only on the great question of the right of women to suffrage in a republic, but also in many collateral branches of reform which naturally spring out of this movement, and cannot be separated from the interests of the sex.

That the suffragist women have effected a great and permanent advance in the right direction, no enlightened observer will attempt to deny. That they themselves are fully aware of this was apparent in the assured gravity marking the aspect of this most interesting meeting. There were but few appeals, little or no declamation, no mawkish sentimentalism, no inflation, no talking for effect. These women were fully conscious that they were the vanguard of a solemn movement, and, though not inclined to exultation, all they said, all they resolved, and all they suggested had the undertone reverberation of the prelude notes of a grand uprising anthem.

Some reminiscence was natural and effective; but the brevity of these reminiscences indicated the stress and earnestness of onward endeavor. For dignity, parliamentary propriety, force of statement, and clearness of logic, this convention may challenge the admiration of any class of persons accustomed to the action of any body of men anywhere or on any occasion. Differences of opinion existed which gave rise to fervid discussion, but a marked tolerance and courtesy pervaded even these.

Courage was not wanting, as you will see by the list of enclosed resolutions. Some on the committee for forming resolutions demurred at the wisdom of the bolt aimed at Church and priest, but gave in to the will of the majority. Free discussion, full and honest examination of every aspect of our civilization bearing upon the interests of women, being the law of this convalescence of earnest, patriotic, cultured women, it is just and right that they should challenge a thorough investigation into whatever impedes the progress of woman, and through her the progress of the race. If it be the Church, if it be any aspect of religious thought, these women do well to thrust it into the foreground, and compel the thinkers of the age to controvert their position,—if they can, wisely and logically eject them therefrom. The day for contempt and abuse has gone by.

You will find among the women prominent on this occasion names familiar in THE INDEX. I will single but one name from the list of those present, leaving to others to forward you a catalogue of officials and speakers. Lucretia Mott, gracing with an angelic face her eighty-five years, gave her parting words of encouragement, advice, and admonition, amid the profound silence of the Convention, and left, all reverently rising in silent farewell.

ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

MALLOCK'S "NEW REPUBLIC."

This series of conversations on social progress, by fictitious characters representing Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, Huxley, Tyndall, Professor Clifford, and other advanced thinkers, is full of bright passages like the following:—

"A frog with half a brain having destroyed more theology than all the doctors of the Church with their whole brains can ever build up again," etc.

"Do you think it a good thing that our very religion should be nothing but a dilettante memory?"

"The whole teachings of that school have always seemed to me nothing more than a few fragments of science imperfectly understood, obscured by a few fragments of Christianity imperfectly remembered."

What is more to our purpose, however, is that this book makes two charges against the champions of freethought which those who read THE INDEX cannot afford to overlook. One is that the freethinkers

are laboring to destroy the authority of morality and make pleasure the only guide. See pages 217, 218, 227, 636, etc. This charge every reader of THE INDEX and Investigator knows to be simply a falsehood.

And knowing this, we might presume the same of the second charge; namely, that to freethinkers life is commonly a mockery, and that there is no real happiness for those who have given up the old faith. See pages 211, 249-259, 147, etc.

This charge is pressed upon us from so many quarters, however, that it must be noticed at some length. And first of all I must admit that it has a grain of truth. All changes in opinion are apt to cause some pain at first, especially when they bring danger to our friendships or our livelihood, or disturb seriously our habits. But to suppose that this pain is likely to last and increase is an unwarrantable inference. Suppose I buy a garden full of poppies and hollyhocks, and weed them all out. The garden will look empty and bare, and my neighbors, especially the former owner of the land, may think I do not mean to have any flowers there. But the very fact that the ground is clear means simply that I am going to make some other use of it, and grow plants more to my taste. There is nothing to prevent my having a better garden than before if I choose. So my weeding out some of the common roots and sources of happiness does not prevent my putting others in their places if I choose to, and every one does choose to be as happy as possible, and, indeed, seeks to be so.

Moreover, the happiness of the most devout Christian comes largely from his health, his family, his friendships, his business activity, his amusements, his literary and artistic culture, etc. All these sources of happiness the freethinker is just as likely to possess; and if he gives up some of the other sources of happiness peculiar to the Christian he is able to acquire some peculiar joys of his own from the knowledge that he is free himself, and is helping to make others so. Besides, our happiness depends not so much on our possessions as on our wisdom and contentment. It is not he who has much, but he who is content with what he has, who is happiest. No amount of superstition or scepticism can prevent a man from being patient and satisfied with his lot, thankful for what he has, and indifferent to what is beyond his reach, and thus being happy. So far as there is any difference in the effect of doctrinal views, I should suppose that to think this life a vale of tears, and a mere stage of probation for a better one which we should be ever longing for, would not make us so contented as would the belief that this life is the best we can have, and the final scene of our success, honor, usefulness, and happiness, if we choose to make it so.

But let us turn from theories to facts. I must say for myself that as my views ripen they grow sweeter and dearer. And this has been the case with my friends. The only exception is that there are some who enjoy every step forward in freethought from the very first. A few years ago all my neighbors whose dwellings closely surrounded my own were what is usually called Atheists. They and their friends of similar belief in the town were as happy a set of people as I ever knew anywhere. None of them was gloomy or morbid. All were cheerful, good-natured, kind-hearted, and industrious. The women and children were as happy as the men. And of the people of various shades of dissent from Orthodoxy with whom I have associated I may say the same; namely, that they were certainly none the less happy for their peculiar views, but probably more so.

F. M. HOLLAND.

A PHILOSOPHER IN THE SICK-ROOM.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I do not know whether you are aware of the fact, but I am a confirmed invalid, having been confined to my bed and chair by a painful and incurable malady during the past ten years. I do not, however, look upon my misfortune from the ascetic side,—as a providential visitation to punish me for my sins, or to work my soul's eternal salvation; but rather as the natural effect of certain wise and immutable laws without which neither you nor I could have existed.

In my religious views I am a thorough rationalist, and find much consolation for my manifold afflictions in the contemplation of events past, present, and to come, from the elevated plane of reason. Denied the pleasures of the out-door world, confined within narrow physical boundaries, I yet find much to enjoy,—probably my full share of the delights of this beautiful world.

Through the operation of the beneficent law of compensation, of which our noble Emerson so censoriously discourses, I find that what I have lost on the one hand has been made up to me on the other; and that, on the whole, I am, probably, as happy as the average of mortals. For physical losses I have made mental gains; for the society of men I have substituted the companionship of books, and have not been a loser by the change. My general reading has been in the line of my general thought,—on the plane of rationalism. The current scientific and freethought literature with which I have come in contact has been a copious fountain of joy to my soul. In this connection, I should not be doing justice to my feelings, were I to withhold an expression of my warm regard for the dear INDEX. It is the light by which I boldly navigate the broad ocean of freethought, without fear of being cast upon dangerous shoals or sunken rocks. The only difficulty I experience is in keeping my own thought up to its lofty altitude; in striving to do so I always find myself strengthened and refreshed.

Would you know how one who holds heretical religious views, and whose life is nearing its western horizon, feels in view of death? By reason of my invalid condition, I have been living in the presence of

that benignant angel, in thought at least, if not in fact, for many years; and while I do not count his special favors, neither do I shrink from his embrace. I indulge in no fanciful dreams of ecstatic joys beyond the grave, nor do I harbor any gloomy forebodings. If with this life all ends,—so be it; for then, at least, that precious boon to a foot-sore, pain-worn traveller—rest—will have been granted. If, on the other hand, life in another sphere and under happier conditions shall be vouchsafed,—better still. Whatever my destiny, I await it in patience, in calmness, in perfect trust. I do not fear that my beliefs or non-beliefs will affect my future in the smallest degree. No other light than reason glimmers on my horizon; that light I must follow, let it conduct me whithersoever it may. If I pursue that path which, to my poor vision, seems plain and straight, I shall not be blamed if it leads not to the stars. Finite thought cannot analyze infinite laws. If another existence be vouchsafed to mortals after death, even the wisest and best of the sons of men must awake, at least, to a future which they had not foreseen. I know not what may befall me; but I feel absolutely assured that the power that holds an impenetrable veil between mortal aspirations and immortal possibilities, not permitting so much as one poor ghost, of all the countless dead, to "blot out," what lies beyond, will not supplement this brief existence with one less blest beyond the grave, and which is to be eternal. Since, then, we know absolutely nothing of what lies outside the little orbit in which our finite nature forever revolves, let us not waste our energies in fruitless speculations concerning another world; but let us rather content ourselves with brave endeavors to mitigate the evils of this.

Very truly yours,
DANIEL CONY.

WOBURN, July 9, 1878.
P.S.—I have taken the liberty to address you a note, the whole or any part of which you are at liberty to publish if you choose. I felt as though I would like you to know that rationalism is not the religion of despair, as it is derisively said to be. I cannot speak for others; but for myself I can truly say that I have found it very comforting under the most trying circumstances.

Feeling that there is a bond of sympathy between us in our religious views, I shall offer no apology for, nor make any explanation of, what I have written.

D. C.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

I.

Reading at the Cooper Union Reading-Room, in some review, an article of Emerson, I met the sentence: "All human productions are anthropomorphic." I read it a second time, reflected, then took my memorandum-book and put it down. My impression was that I had found a lump of pure gold. Musing over it further, I thought: "Well, what is it, after all? That is a simple tautology; one might as well say that all human productions are human productions." But all truth is wonderfully simple; and how little of it have we really in conscious ownership! To get all the good out of this sentence, however, I would enlarge it and say: All productions of a single human individual are analogous and proportional to the perceptions and faculties of that single human individual. That is also sure and irrefutable, just as much so as that two times two make four. But what a true standard we have got in that for giving right weight and measure! What a sharp-edged sword to fight with bigotry and self-conceit, with narrowness of mind and superstition! What a shield also to protect us from arrogance and false pretension in ourselves and in others! What an aid to grow in charity and tolerance towards those who do not share our creed or our opinions! One human individual, though that little eye can span a wide orbit when well developed, still is but a fragment, as for the power of perceiving truth. Once in a century a hundred or a thousand fragments are gathered into one, and a Shakespeare appears, a Goethe, but even their minds are but fragmentary, though wonderfully made, anthropomorphic, reflex of but some currents in that ocean of spirit-emanation from on high. Let us learn, then, by the words of noble teachers, that there is no contradiction in the realm of truth,—that it is sheer absurdity and nonsense to talk of antagonism between science, philosophy, and religion.

What is science? The knowledge of concrete things and their life.

What is philosophy? The knowledge of abstract things and their life, of the relation between causes and effects, of laws governing matter and of their workings and applications.

What is religion? The knowledge of divine things or substance and their life, their workings and applications, perception of the relation between the creature and the Creator, with all its consequences. God works by laws on matter; that makes the universe.

No link can be spared in that line backwards or forwards.

All principles of truth are of spiritual nature, of divine origin; therefore they can reach us only by deduction. All facts and phenomena are material; therefore we can understand them only by induction.

Where the middle link falls, God in his goodness sends faith to bridge over the chasm; humanity in slowly progressive labor erects gradually the more solid structure of knowledge, the airy provisory bridge disappears, and we march on solid ground safely to heaven. There is all the mystery on the palm of the hand. What is called the contest between science and religion is, in fact, either a clownish wrestling between its humbug substitutes, quack science and quack theology, ignorant pretension and sectarian dogma, or it is legitimate contest between true science and quack religion, or true religion and quack science. The issue cannot be doubtful. May we,

then, all learn to fight ignorance, sin, and superstition, and all unlearn to fight our brother and fellow-man!

II.

Let me sit at thy feet, thou man with the clear perception of senses and discerning judgment, who with untiring industry hast gathered the facts of concrete life, with sharp sagacity hast analyzed and untangled the complex combinations of Nature, who hast dug that channel of perception and observation so wide and deep and long that thy keen mind has gained large wealth of knowledge; and let me gather a handful of thy treasures for my little storehouse.

Let me listen to thee, thou greater teacher, well trained by long discipline into mastership of a true philosophy, so that intuition may safely help where imperfect human tools are inadequate. Thou understandest to put together those facts and phenomena into one unbroken chain of causes and effects. But thou knowest so far and no farther. Knowledge does not yet span the chasm from finite to infinite; 'tis only the poet's imagination or the seer's inspiration that can accomplish this. Our toiling feet may well carry us to the top of the mountain, but if then in hazardous leap we would try to catch hold of the sky, we should only fall and bruise ourselves. There is provision, says the proverb, that trees do not grow up to the sky.

I love to hear thee, noble scholar and valiant soldier for truth and light, warring against darkness in the human soul, slaying bigotry and superstition, examining, under the guidance of history, the progress and development of the human mind, searching so intensely the mysterious working of soul-life in humanity as even to make a religion out of it; but do not forget that all light on earth is but reflected light; the emanating source is far beyond our grasp. The flower, tulip, lily, rose, might say it was her doing that clothes her with beauty and loveliness, and might think a little pride would well be justified in such finished artist-work. But we know better. 'Tis not thou, O child, it is the Sun, who does it all in thee; it is the Sun who dyes thy leaves green, thy chalice purple, white, or azure blue, works fragrance out of dust and morning dew, and all for what? To teach man where to look: first downwards and enjoy the happiness that beauty gives, then upwards to recognize with songs of praise the source of love and wisdom.

I draw courage and strength from the currents of life that roll from thy lips, thou eloquent preacher. Thy nature is dual, I see. One side of it touches the earth and knows its inhabitants and understands their doings with sharp discernment and loving interest; the other, with the poet's glowing imagination, soars upwards to eternal regions and draws inspiration from the source of truth. A teacher, friend, adviser, God owns thee as his worthy son, among the noblest of a noble nation; shortcomings though there are, He will mildly judge, but not before man's tribunal. Were ever moles and bats sent out to follow an eagle's track? How many among those that cavil at thee have done good to one fellow-man for every hundred thou hast helped and lifted up? For a thousand hearts that bless thy name, will there be one remembering thee?

And ye, bright shining stars on spirit's firmament, philosophers and prophets who gather in objectiveness, in self-forgetting receptivity, the purest rays of spirit-light, in olden, middle, modern time,—Spinoza, thou, nearest of all to central truth, the god-intoxicated man, though coming ages will better understand thee than the present one,—I strain my feeble mind to catch some radiance from your distant heights to teach me to look to the central light.

And, last and best, I want to love, yea, worship you, redeemers, saviors of mankind, whatever name you bear,—Moses, Buddha, Brahma, but before all Jesus, nearest and therefore clearest to our eye and heart, the gentle, sweet, loving teacher of Nazareth. Let me touch thy garment's seam, to gain belief and faith in thee. In prayer and deepest meditation thou hast found the way to God's eternal throne, then purged thyself from all the coarseness of the flesh-inheritance, then received and been baptized with the Christ-spirit, the fullest emanation of the Divine, the loftiest soul-impulse, to help and raise thy fallen brother-man from blindness, deafness, senselessness, ignorance, and sin, to follow thee, to learn by thee that light and life and love eternally await him who obeys. The creature learns to trace his way up to the Creator's feet.

JULIUS ASHMAN.

NEW YORK, June, 1878.

THE MEANING OF IT.

EDITOR INDEX:—

What does the conviction of E. H. Haywood mean? He is sent to jail and fined for circulating a pamphlet containing his matured thoughts concerning one of the most important questions affecting the happiness and well-being of mankind,—indeed which lies at the foundation of the very existence of man and of society. He comes to conclusions differing from those professed by the majority of our people, and taught by the Christian Church as a part of their religion.

For doing this, not for the manner of it, he is pronounced guilty of obscenity by judges who will live to be ashamed of themselves, and that is not wishing them very long life either; and the sentence is endorsed by the Boston Daily Advertiser, usually considered a respectable paper, not entirely without conscience. Many other papers will doubtless do the same, and stab the freedom of the press in the very house of its friends.

Why? Because they have been taught by their Christian teachers that God is a Man, a KING OF GLORY, LORD OF HOSTS (without a Queen), and hence, as the supreme good is man, the supreme evil is woman.

Through woman came sin and all our woes into the

world. Any way of looking at woman and sex relations except that which subordinates woman to man and makes sex union with her a mere convenience and an unavoidable necessary evil, not to be spoken of in polite or pious society except with bated breath, is obscene.

This view of woman and sex belongs with the religious ideas evolved in the infantile or femineoid condition of the human mind, when the God idea was projected by the exaltation of the opposite or masculoid aspect of mind, and by the abasement or sacrifice of self.

Now that the reason, or the mature and masculoid condition of the human mind, begins to assert itself, we see the conception of God as the divine humanity symbolized by woman, and we have beginnings of the effort to do justice to woman in society.

We discover at the same time that religion does not consist in the exaltation of the opposite aspect from our own, or in the sacrifice of self, or self-denial in the old sense, but in the full development of the highest self in integral harmony, and in the full appreciation of the coequal value of the other side or sex.

Yet after we shall have attained this harmonious recognition and reconciliation of the opposite aspects of being, there will doubtless remain an ineradicable tendency in man to worship woman, and in woman to worship man, if not in public, at least individually.

Whatever Comstock or his friends and backers may have meant in the beginning, before the atrocious law of 1873 was smuggled through without discussion at the end of a session when many members of Congress were "thoroughly wounded in every respect," it is certain now that the present onslaught is mainly directed against free discussion of the sex problem, with the intention of maintaining the Christian taboo, and asserting by implication that sex and all that pertains to it is in itself obscene, and can only be redeemed and sanctified by the Church for the purpose of adding to the membership of Sunday-schools.

In fact, it is a very short time since the damnation of infants was openly preached, and the Catholic Church still requires the earliest possible baptism of infants, in some cases even before they are born, if there is any danger of time falling afterwards.

This is perfectly consistent. If Comstock had wished to prevent vice, to attack those publishers of books which represent sex and its relations to be as low and vile as he and his like believe them to be, he would have defined obscenity so plainly as to include them and them only. But his object is the exact opposite of this; the law is meant and interpreted to be against those who represent sex as sacred, and the relations of sex as holy and beautiful in themselves, and as vile only when perverted from their natural and normal manifestations.

There are no tons of really obscene matter sent through the mails, and if there were any large part of it the best place to suppress it would be where it is manufactured. Expert detectives would easily discover the presses which printed tons of matter, and, for that matter, if there are such places they know them already.

The danger to our children from such matter is as nothing compared with that from other sources, especially from that abominable teaching of the Comstock school, that sex is vile and must be kept secret and concealed, like anything of which we are the most ashamed, when, in point of fact, sex is the central fact of the universe, and that which in ourselves, as the crowning glory of creation, we should be most proud of.

Let us not be deceived by Comstock's pious fraud. He only uses the talk about obscenity to conceal his real object, which, as I have already said, is the degradation of woman; for she in all this controversy stands behind and represents sex. The present is woman's hour. No question, political, religious, or social, but turns on her. Tell me any man's position as to woman, and I know where to find him on all vital questions.

It is only necessary to examine the law itself to see its Orthodox, Christian, and anti-woman character. Unless woman and sex as the obscene facts of the universe are aimed at, would the Congress of the United States assume the extraordinary power of making the prevention of conception a crime? It is idle to multiply proofs of the animus and object of this monstrous perversion of law. Every lover of freedom must see it as soon as his attention is called to it. Let every man who values freedom remember its price, and cease not his work until the odious law is repealed, and in such a way that no future Comstock shall dare attempt a similar outrage.

F. S. C.

A NEW WAY TO REFUTE THOMAS PAINE.

LANESVILLE, Essex Co., Mass., July 17, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I send you a sketch of what occurred in this little village last Sunday in the Orthodox church.

The pastor, during a sermon on the merits of the Bible above all other books, held a copy of the *Age of Reason* in one hand and the Bible in the other, and, contrasting the Bible with the *Age of Reason*, reading passages from each, he got so excited that he dashed the *Age of Reason* to the floor with great contempt.

His course of late has led some of the younger of his congregation to read a book that he has denounced so violently (for this is not the first time he has used it contemptuously). The book that was used so violently, to show contempt of its author and those that dissent from him, was borrowed of an infidel about two years ago, who has been waiting patiently for its return!

You can use this as you wish. I write it to show that there is considerable venom yet left in small places not far from Boston.

Yours for the cause of progress,

X.

JESUS AND CHRISTIANITY.

EDITOR INDEX:—

In your article concerning "Rev. Mr. Gordon on Unitarianism," published July 11, you make the following statements:—

"The greatest of all the 'traditional creeds' of Christendom—that fundamental creed out of which all the others have grown—is that 'Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ of God'; that is, the God-appointed Messiah, the Lord and Savior and King of the world. This most ancient and original creed of the Church, which is the only one recorded in the New Testament to have been approved by Jesus himself, is firmly imbedded in the very name of his religion, 'Christian,' and is the central distinction of Christianity from all other religions."

Now, "without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness." But a little good-natured controversy sometimes resolves the "mystery." I have no design of controversy, however. But it occurred to me that you might be able to refer your readers to some Scripture passage or other authority for the evidence that the "creed" you name was "approved by Jesus himself," and that Christianity is "his religion." If you can find any passage "recorded in the New Testament" to support either the statement that Christianity is the religion of Jesus or that he approved the creed that makes him "the Lord and Savior and King of the world," I will try very hard to send you twenty new subscribers, if you will point it out. Fraternaly,
I. J. STINE.

July 17, 1878.

[From beginning to end, the New Testament writings are strung on this creed like beads on a string. We raise no issue of their authenticity or credibility; simply taking them as they are, we say that they lose all coherency if that creed is forgotten or neglected. It is utterly superfluous to point out single passages where narratives, parables, exhortations, epistles, etc., all agree. But, to oblige our correspondent, we refer to Matt. xvi: 13-20, where Jesus blesses Peter for declaring that he is "the Christ," and founds his "church" on this declaration, which is the universally recognized and distinctive "Christian Confession." So also the conversation with Pilate in the fourth gospel, xviii: 33-37, where Jesus confesses that he is "a king." But it is idle to point out single passages to prove the one doctrine which is everywhere affirmed and nowhere denied in the authoritative book of Christianity.—Ed.]

A FRIENDLY LETTER.

SPRINGFIELD, Vt., July 24, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—I have but lately become a reader of THE INDEX; and, as it comes to me, I understand more and more every week how much I have lost in times past for the lack of just such matter as THE INDEX furnishes. It has long seemed to me that, when men could come to realize the fact that they were accountable to all humanity and not to a "demon of the air" for their sins, a higher plane of morality would be reached, and mankind be infinitely benefited.

I send THE INDEX as soon as read on a missionary tour among my friends, with the request to "pass it along," hoping thus to find some one who shall be as much edified by its perusal as I am. I wish all its readers would do as much, and thus hasten the time when Truth and Science shall occupy the place of Ignorance and Superstition.

Respectfully,
FRED. JOHNSON.

THE WATKINS CONVENTION.

HON. FREDERICK DOUGLASS ACCEPTS AN INVITATION TO SPEAK.

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 23, 1878.

My Dear Sir,—I cheerfully give my heart and hand to every earnest effort to know the truth and free the human mind from the thralldom of bigotry and superstition of every kind and degree; and hence, if not prevented by the claims of duty elsewhere, I shall be with those who assemble in Watkins on the 22d of August.

We cannot, I think, do a better work in our day and generation than to hold the standard of perfect freedom of thought against all the fetters of priestcraft and the gloomy traditions of men. Law, irreversible and eternal, we should seek to know and obey, as the highest and best of which man is capable.

Yours truly,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
H. L. GREEN, Esq.

SCHOOL-BOOKS.

"W. J. P." says in a recent number of THE INDEX:—

"Especially let liberals be on the lookout for all school-books written and published under the auspices of the American Tract Society."

Let me add also—to look out for religious school-books from other sources. A very large proportion of school-books now in use are well seasoned with Orthodox stories and exhortations.

This question of school-books deserves the earnest attention of the liberal public. We not only need to have religious services discontinued in the public schools, but we also need to have the school-books such as shall give correct and useful information, free from religious teachings.

July 21, A. R. 103.

LABOR TROUBLES.

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA—"KEARNEYISM" EXPLAINED BY JUDGE ORD, OF SAN FRANCISCO—WHAT THE WORKINGMEN OBJECT TO AND WHAT THEY DEMAND.

Judge Ord, of San Francisco, who arrived in this city a few days ago, is staying at the New York Hotel. A reporter of the Tribune called upon him yesterday to ascertain the real state of affairs that has been caused by the utterances and actions of Dennis Kearney and his followers. Judge Ord is a man apparently about fifty-five years of age. He gave his views in a quiet and nonpartisan manner.

"I have watched the progress of the Kearney movement," he said, "from its inception. It was brought about through the usual conflict between capital and labor, but principally through the employment of Chinese labor to the exclusion of all other. The emigration of the Chinese at first was very slight, and their coming was not objected to, and, in fact, scarcely noticed. It was not until the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads, which extended competitive advantages to Chinese emigrants, and created such a tremendous influx for several years to the Pacific coast, that the present disturbances began to exist. White men and women, who were only receiving a moderate compensation for their labor, were discharged, and Chinamen, who proved themselves to be willing and apt scholars, were substituted in their places. Not only did they make able miners, laborers, and mechanics, but cooks, servants, and chambermaids; and to-day many of our best houses contain Chinese servants of every grade. The enterprising laborer who had saved a small pittance easily stood this change for a short time; but while he was standing still the speculators, manufacturers, and others with capital were quickly gaining wealth through the introduction of cheap labor. The result has been that in a few years the workingmen have become beggars and capitalists have become rich, and to-day San Francisco contains over one hundred millionaires. As a natural consequence, this great wealth has created monopoly,—monopoly in every branch of speculation. This has assumed such gigantic proportions that any kind of legislation, either local or State, is constantly being tampered with, and even our courts are in danger of being controlled by these monopolists.

"This, with the general depression in business and real estate," continued Judge Ord, "has placed property-owners in a very bad odor. As an instance, I recall the case of a Mr. Hopper, an extensive stock-owner of the Pacific Company, who contemplated building a very fine mansion just outside of our city. The drawings were completed and ground broken; its cost was estimated at one million dollars. Mr. Hopper employed Chinese laborers, and the work was advancing rapidly; but while this was going on, the white laborers grumbled considerably, and one night a large gang of these men proceeded to the unfinished building and destroyed it. This was the signal for a general outbreak, since which time confusion and disorder have been rampant under the leadership of the drayman Kearney. Mr. Hopper was forced to leave the city, and settled in the southern part of the State, where he died in a few months, his nerves having become fatally affected. No will was found after his death, and an estimate of his wealth can be formed from the fact that his wife was compelled to furnish a personal bond of ten millions of dollars as administratrix of the estate."

"How are the finances of the banks affected by this movement?"

"At present the Kearney movement is in its infancy, and they do not take much stock in it. Their enormous wealth gives them unlimited control of the governing powers, and it is hardly necessary to say that legislation is in their favor and against the working classes."

"What hold has Kearney upon the working classes?"

"All parties must have a leader; and Kearney, who was an ordinary drayman and very demonstrative in his ideas, became a favorite among the rabble and was looked upon as their leader. Seeing this, he conceived that his only opponents were the great capitalists, whom he despises in their alleged inability to resist him. He was encouraged in his course by men who had more brains than himself, some of whom were amusing themselves at the expense of the public, and some who, from mercenary motives, were anxious for the movement to go on. He very soon became, not only popular, but powerful, among that class of laborers who, for a long time, felt sore at the capitalists. The discontented set throughout the interior, hearing of him, imagined that a great power reposed in him, and simultaneously 'Kearneyism' found adherents in every portion of the State."

"Has its strength been lessened since it began its existence?"

"Quite to the contrary; it is at white heat now, and it is evident that concessions must be made by both communists and capitalists. In the city it has gained more strength than in the interior, and there is no doubt but that at the next election it will show a bolder front."

"Are the legitimate working classes in favor of the movement, or is it acting independently of them?"

"The respectable working element is against any acts of communism, but is willing to affiliate with any organization opposing the monopolists and capitalists. It is willing mainly to destroy the power of the railroad, steamship, and banking corporations; in this way the Kearney men will achieve their object; but, as I said, concessions must be made on both sides."

"What is Kearney's object in coming East?"

"As far as I can judge, he is coming here as the champion of his party, to tell the working classes what he has achieved in California, and confidently

anticipates being supported by a large majority of the National party here. There is no doubt that he will receive a great ovation wherever he goes, as I notice there is here a class of communists ready to approve just such a movement."

"What remedy do you consider best to stop this movement?"

"Well, they want that new laws, both State and municipal, shall be enacted, compelling the Chinamen to adhere to established laws of this country. At present the Chinamen don't know and don't care to know what the laws are. They want the Chinese traffic stopped, and object to Chinamen coming to this country who have no other object in view but to gain money, and then return home without having spent anything here. Another demand they make is that the law allowing dead Chinamen to be returned to their home shall be rescinded; for if the Chinamen knew they were to be buried in this country, they would not come here for love or money. If the Chinamen were compelled to adhere to the local laws, much of this trouble could be averted."—*N. Y. Tribune, July 23.*

SAN FRANCISCO COMMUNISTS.

Several weeks ago attention was called to indications of what appeared to be an organized movement in San Francisco to burn the Chinese quarter of the city, and probably massacre the Chinese; and it will be remembered that the federal government at Washington was called on to protect the intended victims from the threatened attack. The outbreak did not occur, and the movement seemed to be abandoned. But society in San Francisco has been uneasy ever since; and now there are threats of a more serious enterprise. It is said that the communists there are organized in force, and are threatening to begin their work at no distant day. The *Alta* openly asserts that a formidable conspiracy exists whose purpose is revolution, the seizure of property, and, if necessary, the destruction of the city. It says:

"The leader of the conspirators exercises the same control over his small band of followers as did the driver over his band of slaves in the olden time. He harangues his mob gatherings in one continued storm of vulgar blasphemy, billingsgate, and brutal threats against law, order, life, and property. Prominent citizens who are pioneers in this State, and by their energy, skill, and labor have built for themselves homes, reared families, and developed the resources of the State, are openly proclaimed to be thieves, plunderers, and capitalists, and by name are pointed out as objects of attack and outrage by the unthinking mob. The right of inflicting the death penalty on the citizen is openly asserted, without the intervention of a trial or an opportunity for defence, or for exercising the right of thinking, speaking, or voting for himself, according to the dictates of his own conscience.

"Men in all parts of the city are being enrolled in clubs and military companies with open threats to burn the city, murder the citizens, and revolutionize the State. The laws and treaties of the United States, which guarantee protection to all residents, native or foreign, are denounced, and threats to set them at defiance publicly asserted. Men of capital are held up to scorn and animadversion, whose property is justly subject to seizure and division by the communists without law or any restraint."—*St. Louis Republican, April 18.*

RUSSIANS AND TURKS COMPARED.—The Rev. Dr. Schaffler, who for twenty-five years was a missionary to Constantinople, addressed the Foreign Missionary Meeting at the Seventh Presbyterian Church, last evening, giving the result of his experience in Russia and Turkey. He said that, during his eighty years of life he had lived in Russia twenty years, and in Turkey forty years, and had become thoroughly acquainted with the customs of both people. Since the days of Peter the Great, the Czar of Russia had been the supreme power over all religious sects in his country; and, while the doors of the Russian Church were open to all who chose to enter, the doors of the Protestant Church were well guarded. Between 1840 and 1850, religious liberty in Turkey began to dawn, and the custom of decapitating Christians was abrogated. Now there were fully one hundred Christian churches and congregations in Turkey which supported themselves. What people said about religious persecution in Turkey was not true; and, as to interfering with Christian churches, the Mohammedan law and the Koran specifically forbade it. The Turks not only tolerated Christians, but they protected them. As the laws now existed, Dr. Schaffler continued, every inch of ground which became Russian was lost to missionary work. Every minister of the gospel was obliged to get permission from St. Petersburg before he could enter the country. He could not perform any ecclesiastical service unless he obtained special permission from the authorities at St. Petersburg. He felt obliged to deprecate Russian rule, while he admitted that both the Russian and Turkish governments were corrupt. The natural vices of the Russians were three—lying, stealing, and drunkenness. The Russians were naturally a religious people, but were ignorant and misguided. They longed for the Bible, and when they could get it would apply themselves to it. The Turks as a people were sober; to lie was considered shame, and to steal was a sin in the sight of God. But they were passionate and cruel, and were excusable in this because of their incapacity to distinguish right from wrong. He felt there was a hope for Turkey; the Koran was given up by them in a great measure, and they needed the prayers of Christians to insure advancement.

PREJUDICE squints when it looks, and lies when it talks.—*Duchess d' Abrantes.*

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large. And later still 'I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest.'"

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Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wilson and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooks Herford, and John Weiss,—together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion:

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual:

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

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Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1872 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles?

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1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

VICTOR HUGO calls God "the millionaire of stars." We once more wear our blushing honors in the August presence of THE INDEX!

THE LARGEST Medical Library in the world, it is said, is in the Surgeon-General's office at Washington, D. C.

THERE are some persons whom we enjoy more while we are getting acquainted with them than we ever do afterwards.

NO MAN appreciates the occasional luxury or value of an oath but he who is too much of a gentleman to be an habitual swearer.

THERE is a grain of the serenest and purest philosophy in the saying of the greatest living French writer, that sunshine helps us to be patient.

MR. BEECHER thinks that "starvation is a means of grace," does he? Well, why doesn't he try it in his own case? There would seem to be some need.

GRUEL (so well known in the sick room) is like some people,—decidedly respectable; and yet you don't care to associate with them on the score of taste.

THREE HUNDRED drunkards, it is said, were "reformed" by Mr. Moody in his temperance campaign in Boston. If only one-half of these "stick," Mr. Moody will have earned so far the gratitude of a whole community.

THE LEADING ESSAY which we publish this week, from the pen of Lydia Maria Child, is somewhat long for these columns; and yet it is so excellent in matter and manner, that we feel sure it will take the reader through to the end, not only without weariness but with positive pleasure.

THE FRIENDS of Mr. Moody claim that the number of converts made by him, in his Tabernacle services in this city, was "not far from five thousand." If they were "converted" to an obsolete and decaying theology, how sad! If they were converted to a true morality and a true religion, how fortunate!

THERE is a class of people who seem to think that a man can't be a real reformer unless he accomplish three things: suffer himself to lapse into a decayed and generally seedy appearance; make himself thoroughly obnoxious to everybody of good taste; be immensely more anxious to take care of humanity's business than to mind his own.

THE INDIGNATION MEETING at Faneuil Hall, on the evening of August 1, to protest against the outrage on free speech in the two years' imprisonment of E. H. Heywood for circulating his pamphlet entitled *Cupid's Yokes*, is reported to us as having been large and very successful. Next week we may print Mr. Wright's opening speech at the meeting.

TRYING to "come down" to the style and tone of certain people, with the benevolent intention to make them feel comfortable in your presence, is like good-naturedly trying to conform to the conditions of "camping out," and taking your food and drink without a napkin: one always feels the immediate need of ablation in better society and better manners.

WE HAVE sometimes observed that long devotion to any particular "reform," or "cause," has a narrowing and hardening effect upon the mind. The fact is that a biased specialist as to any thing never can reason soundly or broadly even about his own matter; for in committing himself solely to that, he loses sight of its true relations to everything else.

DR. MINER, in his Fourth of July speech to some "temperance" people at Lake Pleasant, said that Boston "is a hundred thousand times worse than Sodom,"—and this because Prohibition isn't popular here. He denounced Gov. Andrew for his anti-prohibition principles, and said of the men who advocate

and vote for a license law, "damnation should be the reward of them." It is astonishing how mad some men get when they can't make others believe as they do! But what business has a Universalist to talk of "damning" any body?

THE MOST hopeful sign in our politics, to-day, would be the thorough breaking up, or shaking up, of both the old parties; not necessarily the abandonment of any good and vital principles in either, but the utter destruction for a time of the party drill and discipline, the complete unbraiding of the party whip. This can be done only by the "independent voter" persevering in his independence, and persuading as many others into the same attitude as possible. No truly honest and intelligent man can afford, in these times, to let himself be called either a "Republican" or a "Democrat."

POUCHET, a French writer, says that the battle of Cressy, when the French were defeated by Edward III. of England, Aug. 26, 1346, was "perhaps the first battle in which cannon were used." How long it takes the world to approach, and depart from, a given point of progress! The most destructive weapons of warfare are the invention of what is called Christian civilization. But the humane teachings of the "Prince of Peace," so far as this world is concerned (he, too, "damned" the "unbelievers" in a future world), will never be entirely vindicated until cannon in this world and hell in the next are utterly abolished.

ONE WHO would be a philosopher in any real sense or degree finds himself looking everywhere for the truth, and discovering it everywhere. He finds it more and more difficult to "take sides" with any body or any thing, well knowing that to do so is to shut himself into partialism and out of sphericity. A philosopher, it may frankly be confessed, is poor material for either a partisan or a "reformer," for he cannot help seeing that partial justice is injustice, partial truth falsity. At the same time, one endeavoring to carry the philosophic mind shares in the human liability to error; and no one knows this better than himself: but none can be so anxious as he to be set right.

GEN. BUTLER's proposition is, "that we should issue four hundred millions of non-interest bearing notes of the United States to settle the unemployed laboring men upon the public lands." That might be a good thing to do if it could be done; but doesn't the General know that many of those unemployed men, when once "settled," wouldn't stay settled three months? We know an establishment near Boston, which during all the hard times has given employment to over a hundred persons, where men are constantly forfeiting their right to be employed by shiftless, idle, and vicious habits. Barring accidents and failures in business enterprises, a thoroughly competent and faithful workman, when once employed, is almost sure to be kept employed; and this because his employer can't afford to let him go.

THE POET Bryant is no sooner gone from sight than a quarrel arises as to who shall have the credit and the profit of writing his biography. Gen. James Grant Wilson proposes to do it for the firm that originally published Mr. Bryant's *Library of Poetry and Song*; but the *Evening Post* pronounces Gen. Wilson's purpose to do so "impertinent," because the Bryant family haven't asked him, and besides have literary talent enough of their own to do it. Another journal suggests that the *Post* wishes to make something for itself out of the biographical venture; hence its nervous jealousy of Gen. Wilson and his firm. Why all this pother about the matter? Let who will write and publish a biography of Mr. Bryant; his admirers and the public will then judge which is best, and have the benefit of several to choose from.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Christianity and other Religions.*

BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

... Sentiments unite men, opinions separate them. The fundamental rules of Morality are the same with good men of all ages and countries; the idea of Immortality has been present with them all; and all have manifested similar aspirations toward an infinitely wise and good Being, by whom they were created and sustained. From these three starting-points many paths diverge, leading into endless mazes of theology. . . . There has been some unfairness in our manner of representing the Sacred Books of nations outside of Christianity. The poorest specimens of their Holy Writings have been frequently brought into comparison with the best of ours. We have been prone to quote their enormous miracles, their wearisome repetitions, their devout rhapsodies (without meaning to us), and their seemingly idolatrous rituals, as specimens of the kind of spiritual food which satisfies the best minds among them. But when we wish to introduce our own Sacred Book to those who are unacquainted with it, we do not transcribe for them the description of Lot's drunkenness, or David's conduct toward Uriah, or the story of Jonah and the whale, or the voluptuous Song of Solomon, or the genealogical tree of ancient Hebrew families, or the mysterious allegories of the Book of Revelations. On the contrary, we instinctively present to them sublime passages from Isaiah, or the Psalms; the Sermon on the Mount, the Prodigal Son, the benediction on Little Children, and the Angels' Song of "peace on earth, and good will toward men." In fact, these are the portions which Christians generally prefer for their own reading. Other portions, usually kept in the background, are read with edification by many pious people, because they find in them a spiritual meaning. But we ought to bear in mind that the same thing is true with regard to the Sacred Books of other peoples. Enlightened Hindus and Mohammedans find much in the Vedas and the Koran which we cannot see there, and which the ignorant among the receivers of their own faith do not begin to imagine. What we call the mythology of the ancient Greeks and Romans was a venerable reality to those who were educated in the belief of it. Their wise men believed that the sun, moon, stars, and all other objects of Nature were, each and every one, endowed with a soul, or immortal Spirit, by means of which it lived. Thus they supposed there was a mighty Spirit of Ocean, whom they called Neptune, who ruled over storms, and tides, and mariners. They did not worship a marble image of Apollo: their faith saw an angel in the sun; a Radiant Spirit, who guided all the motions of that resplendent orb, and also kindled the fire of genius in the souls of men. All these Spirits, existing within the various forms of creation, they supposed to be subordinate deities, to whom the Supreme God had intrusted the care of various departments of the universe: ministering angels, as they would be called in modern times. Sculptors embodied their own ideas of these Spirits in marble forms of immortal beauty; and poets told manifold stories of them, most of which probably had at the time an allegorical significance, now lost to us. The ignorant populace worshipped the marble images, and believed the fables in a literal sense. But it was not so with thoughtful and cultured men. They fixed their thoughts mainly upon One Supreme Being, the Cause of All Things. They rejected many of the popular fables as blasphemous; and so far as they retained reverence for any of these traditions, they did it by infusing into them a spiritual significance from their own progressive minds. In various degrees, more or less unconsciously, Christians do the same with regard to their Bible. This proneness of human souls to transfuse their own increasing vitality into old forms and traditions is a beautiful provision to guard freedom without destroying reverence. In this way do all the Written Oracles of the world become like the flaming cherubim, that "turned every way to guard the tree of life." It is necessary for us to bear in mind that the same saving process is in continual operation with regard to sacred emblems. The meaning of symbols deemed holy in religions foreign to our own is so hidden from us, that it is impossible for us to understand fully the deep significance they have for minds that have been trained, from generation to generation, to regard them with reverence. History informs us that the renowned wisdom of ancient Egypt induced such men as Abraham, Pythagoras, and

* Introduction to Mrs. Child's Aspirations of the World.

Plato to travel thither, to listen to the teachings of the priests concerning God and the soul; and it is mentioned in praise of Moses that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Therefore, when we find images of Beetles abounding in ancient Egyptian temples, we naturally exclaim, How could it be possible that such a wise people worshipped beetles! But suppose that, four or five thousand years hence, our Christian churches and cathedrals should be in ruins, and that future antiquarians should find on the altars images of a Lamb, with a Cross, or a Book, in its paws; and suppose that some fragment of literature should inform them that great numbers of the ancient people, who once worshipped in those ruined edifices, were in the habit of wearing next the heart a small image of a Lamb, which they called *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God), which they regarded as an amulet to protect them from sickness, robbery, murder, and the temptations of Evil Spirits,—would not those antiquaries, in their ignorance of the meaning we attach to that symbol, naturally infer that Christians worshipped lambs? Very likely we make a great mistake in supposing that the ancient Egyptians worshipped beetles. Among the Buddhists, the White Lotos, which opens when the sun rises and closes when it sets, is adopted as a symbol of the Great Central Sun of the Universe; and in their temples the constellations are represented revolving round a Lotos-blossom. How different must be the feelings of a devout Buddhist, who reverently bows his head wherever he sees the sacred symbol, from those of a Christian botanist, who merely admires the beauty of the flower, and is curious to ascertain the number of its petals and stamens! In Buddhist countries, men may everywhere be seen prostrating themselves in prayer, and exclaiming "O Gem of the Lotos! O Gem of the Lotos!" To us it seems to have no meaning. But they regard Buddha, as a large majority of Christians regard Jesus; namely, as a portion of the Deity, who entered into a human body, and dwelt among men, in order to teach them the way of salvation, and by his own sufferings to expiate their sins. Therefore, when they say, "O Gem of the Lotos!" it is not unlikely they may mean, O Highest Manifestation of the Deity! or something of similar import. It would require a long explanation to make them understand what we mean by our prayer, "O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world!" and after we had done our best to enable them to comprehend it, their ideas of it would probably be as vague as ours are concerning the Lotos. We all understand the significance of the Cross in our churches; but it is impossible for the most pious Protestant to conceive of the feelings it inspires in an ignorant Catholic peasant, who regards it as a wonder-working charm to drive away Evil Spirits.

For ages, different sections of the world remained strangers to each other. We are now becoming better acquainted; but, however candid we may endeavor to be, we still translate each other's religious ideas very imperfectly. Half a century ago, the name of Buddha sounded as mythical to the nations of the West as any of the genii of the *Arabian Nights*. Now we have learned that he was a real personage, and that there is much in his efforts and his history to remind us of Jesus, whom he preceded six hundred years. His original intention appears to have been merely to reform and amend the religion of his native Hindustan, which in the course of centuries had become overgrown with many corruptions. Like all pious Hindus, his highest aim was again to become one with God, from whose soul it was believed all human souls had originally emanated. To accomplish this mystic re-union with the Divine Being, devotees abjured all worldly pleasures, and tried to subjugate all animal instincts, by fasting, and inflicting tortures upon their bodies. They retired to the solitude of mountains and forests, where they spent their time in meditation and prayer. Buddha resorted to all these means of becoming one with God; and he added to them instruction of the common people, and benevolence toward all. In Hindustan, the entire separation of the different castes of society was very strictly enjoined and maintained. The inferior castes were not allowed to enter the temples, or to partake of food with any of the superior castes. Even if their shadows touched a holy man; he deemed it necessary to go through a process of religious purification. And none of the castes, high or low, permitted women any share in spiritual instruction. But Buddha declared that his doctrines were for all mankind. The inferior castes shared his food and worship, and he taught that the way to the highest spiritual attainments ought to be as open to women as to men. These innovations of course gave great offence to the exclusive devotees of his nation. They accused him of violating their Sacred Laws, and of degrading their religion by companionship with low people. But he excited the enthusiasm of his followers, who shared the odium he had incurred, and were finally driven from their native land by persecution. His memory was venerated, and ultimately adored. He is now believed to have been an incarnation of the Deity, by a virgin mother; to have become one with God during his pilgrimage on earth; and to have ascended into heaven without dying.

The Jews were not divided into castes among themselves. But they considered their entire nation a holy caste, to whom it was unlawful to eat, drink, or worship with foreigners. If they did so, they rendered themselves unclean before the Lord, and were required to go through a process of purification before they were allowed to worship him. Thus the brethren of Joseph had a table by themselves, "because it was not lawful for them to eat with Egyptians; and Jesus was reproached for eating with publicans and sinners. The publicans were tax-gatherers, usually Romans, and very unpopular

among the Jews, because they collected the tribute-money paid to their Roman conquerors. All foreigners were called sinners; not because they were criminal or vicious, in our sense of those terms, but because in their worship and their food they sinned against the laws of Moses. That Jesus should talk with these people, and go into their houses to cure their diseases, while he sternly rebuked the hypocrisy of many Jews, who prided themselves on their piety, were of course proceedings that excited great hostility among the ruling powers. We all know how he was rejected by the chief priests and elders of his people, and how his followers, being unable to persuade many Jews to believe on him, went forth to other lands to labor as his apostles.

While they were preaching Jesus throughout the territories of Greece and Rome, it is said that eighty thousand missionaries were abroad carrying the doctrines of Buddha into various Asiatic countries. The disciples of Jesus had the great advantage of carrying his teachings into countries where Grecian Philosophy and Roman Law had already awakened a spirit of freedom and inquiry, and consequently of progress; while the followers of Buddha had the great disadvantage of carrying his teachings into Asiatic countries, where minds were kept stagnant by unquestioned despotism, and the human will was rendered inert by belief in fatalism. The effects of these diverse influences are very visible in the character of countries dominated by the two religions. But the spirit of progress does not manifest itself in Christianity, where it has habitually breathed the Asiatic atmosphere; as in the case of the Arminian and Nestorian churches. Every religion is inevitably affected by circumstances which hinder or hasten growth; for religion, though a very important element, is but one of many influences that go to form the character of individuals or nations. A plant cannot grow and blossom by sunlight alone; it needs the agency of air, earth, water, and a variety of chemical combinations. The case is analogous with human development; it is going on all the time, by aid of multifarious influences, most of them unnoticed, and some greatly overrated.

Whatever disadvantages Buddhism has had to encounter, candor compels the admission that it has been more true to its own professions than Christianity has been. It has extended very widely, and has more followers than any other religion in the world; but its progress has been uniformly peaceful. It has never offered the alternative of baptism or slaughter to conquered nations, as Christianity has done; it has never persecuted its Hindu spiritual parents, as Christianity has persecuted its spiritual parents the Jews; and it has never tried to compel a uniform profession of faith by the establishment of an Inquisition, to torture and burn non-conformists, as Christianity has done.

Unwillingness to acknowledge whatever is good in religions foreign to our own has always been a very common trait of human nature; but it seems to me neither generous nor just. Sir William Jones, an English scholar, went to Hindustan in 1783, and applied himself diligently to the study of oriental literature, then almost unknown in the nations of the West. He published some translations from the Sanscrit, which he described as a very rich and copious language, obviously more ancient than any other language known in the world. The English clergy, and other European scholars, were greatly disturbed by this announcement. They had always believed Hebrew to be the most ancient of all languages, and the mother of all religious ideas; and the possibility that any had preceded it seemed to remove the platform from under their feet. Dugald Stewart published a pamphlet in which he denied the existence of any such language as Sanscrit, and stigmatized all that had been quoted from it as forgeries of the Brahmins. Many scholars are now well versed in Sanscrit, and considerable portions of the Hindu Sacred Books have been translated from it and rendered accessible to the public. This, and kindred developments, are teaching us that mankind are more nearly akin than they have been supposed to be.

With regard to three primeval ideas there is observable similarity among all ages and nations. They have all conceived of One Supreme Being, who created and sustained all things; they all believed that man had within his body a soul, which shared the immortality of the Eternal Source of Being, whence it was derived; and a Natural Law of Justice, the basis of all other laws, early dawned upon all human minds. Ideas of how or where the Divine Being existed were vague; and so they remain unto the present day. All the people on earth, from the beginning of time, have been "feeling after God, if haply they might find him;" and still we are obliged to ask, as Job did many centuries ago, "Canst thou by searching find out God?"

The earliest and most prevalent idea seems to have been Pantheism, which means God in All Things. More explicitly defined, it means that God is the Soul of the Universe, and the universe is his form; that the smallest creature and the minutest particle of matter exist by having within them a living principle, which is a portion of the Universal Soul; that every object we see was originally an idea in the Divine Mind, and could not otherwise have come into existence; as no machine could be made without first being an idea in some human mind. This doctrine still prevails in the Hindu and Buddhist religions; and gleams of it occasionally appear in the literature of all nations. It is conspicuous in the writings of the sect called Sufis; Spinoza, the learned and devout Jew, could conceive of the existence of God in no other way; and Pope, the English poet, expresses it in the lines,—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul."

Hebrews conceived of God as a Great King, a Mighty Ruler, who rewarded those who obeyed his commandments and brought offerings to his temple, but who took vengeance on those who disobeyed his laws; especially on those who made offerings to other gods.

Grecian and Roman philosophers deemed it irreverent to suppose that the Supreme Being could be angry; and they were offended by the descriptions of the poets, which represented deities as revelling in all human passions.

Hebrews called God a Father, but they thought of him only as the "Father of Israel;" the "Father of all who feared him." Christianity, which included both Jews and Gentiles among its converts, removed that limitation, but established a new boundary, by representing God as "the Father of all who believed in his son Jesus Christ." This idea has gradually expanded; and now there may be found many, in all religions, who think of God as the Father of the Whole Human Race, and caring for them all.

But there has never been any religion strictly and entirely monotheistic. The human soul, in its helplessness, and its longing for support and guidance, has always been striving to connect itself with the far-off Infinite by means of intermediate links in the chain of being. The ancient sages of Hindustan conceived of One Central Source of Life; but between the Universal Soul and their own souls they imagined successive gradations of Spirits, employed as agents; and they believed that a Deity had more than once come down to earth and dwelt among men, to show them the way of salvation. Hence they worship Krishna, their most beloved incarnation of Deity, and pray to him for help; while the Supreme One is merely an abstract idea, a subject of thought, in the minds of their wisest men. The same is true of the Buddhists, who believe Buddha to have been an incarnation of Deity, and to him they offer prayers and praise.

In the religion of Zoroaster, hosts of Spirits, good and evil, influence the actions of men, and contend for the mastery of the world.

The ancient Hebrews worshipped but One God; yet they supposed him to be the God of their nation only; and that other deities, of a lower order, took care of other nations. It was an almost universal custom among the ancients to bow and kiss the hand to sun, moon, and stars, in token of reverence for the powerful Spirits of those luminaries. But Moses forbade that practice to the Hebrews; giving as a reason that the Supreme God had chosen *them* especially, "to be unto him a people of inheritance;" and had assigned to the inferior Spirits of planets and stars the care of "all other nations under the whole heaven." Therefore, they habitually styled Jehovah "God of gods, and Lord of lords." They also recognized various degrees of angels, who are often mentioned in their Sacred Records as messengers from God to "his chosen people."

The philosophic minds of Greece and Rome attained to elevated ideas concerning a Supreme Being; but they supposed that Spirits of the Stars, and of other departments of Nature, were employed as his agents in the affairs of men.

Many of the early Christians believed in Spirits of the Stars, and other intermediate Spirits. Origen, one of the Christian Fathers, says: "We know that angels have the government of fruits and seasons, and that the production of animals is committed to them. We speak well of them, and think them happy that they are intrusted by God to manage the conveniences of human life. But we do not give them that honor which is due to Deity alone. For neither does God allow it, nor do they desire it. They equally love and care for us, whether we do or do not sacrifice to them." It was quite a common belief with the early bishops of the Christian church, that Jupiter and other deities of Greece and Rome were real existences, and very powerful; but that they were Evil Spirits, bent upon hindering the progress of Christianity. They maintained, however, that Christians could, and did, cast them out of persons and places, by making the sign of the cross, and commanding them to depart, in the name of Jesus.

At the present day, Roman Catholics, who constitute a large majority of the Christian world, address fewer prayers to the Supreme Being than to Jesus, whom they believe to have been an incarnation of Deity; and more prayers are addressed to his mother than to the son. They also invoke the aid and intercession of a multitude of Departed Spirits, called Saints. Nations, cities, trades, and individuals are supposed to be under the especial protection of some Patron Saint; as St. George of England, St. Denis of France, St. Patrick of Ireland, St. James of Spain, St. Genevieve of Paris, St. Victor of Milan, St. Januarius of Naples, St. Cecilia of musicians, St. Catherine of students, St. Maurice of soldiers, St. Martha of housekeepers, &c. In all Catholic countries, the populace may be seen kneeling and praying before images of Mary and the numerous Saints.

Protestant Christians generally believe in Guardian Angels, but they offer them no prayers. A great majority of them believe that Jesus was an incarnation of the Deity; his name has peculiar power to excite their devotional feelings, and the use of it is deemed necessary to render their prayers acceptable to God.

This desire to bring the Infinite and incomprehensible One nearer to us, by means of some mediatorial being more akin to ourselves, was strongly expressed by Henry Ward Beecher, when he said: "All that there is of God to me is bound up in the name of Jesus Christ. A dim and shadowy effluence rises from Christ, and that I am taught to call the Father. A yet more tenuous and invisible film of thought arises, and that I am taught to call the Holy Spirit. Neither are to me aught tangible, restful, accessible. But Jesus Christ stands my manifest God. All that I know is of him, and in him."

The Jewish and Mohammedan religions are more nearly monotheistic than any other forms of faith; for though they believe in the subordinate agency of Gabriel, Azrael, and various other angels, they never invoke any intermediate being when they pray to God; and the idea of Deity incarnated in human flesh is shocking to their reverential feelings.

Belief in the Immortality of the Soul appears almost universally in the earliest records of human thought. Sorrow for the death of dear friends, and inexpressible longing for reunion with them, would naturally give birth to this hope; and probably it was strengthened from time to time by the phenomena of dreams, visions, and clairvoyant-trances, which have occurred more or less frequently in all ages of the world, and of which science has not as yet given any satisfactory explanation. The early prevalence of the belief is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the ancient nations, almost without exception, offered oblations and prayers to the Spirits of departed ancestors. Hindus, Chinese, Greeks, and Romans, on the anniversary of the day of decease, or when they were about to undertake any difficult or dangerous enterprise, were accustomed to place offerings on the tombs, and pray to the Spirits of their ancestors for protection and success. The very ancient Greek poet Hesiod, 900 years B. C., describing the Age of Innocence, says: "Men became divinities after they died; they were the protectors of the living, and guardians of the moral laws." Virgil describes Æneas as offering oblations and prayers at the tomb of his ancestors. Xenophon, in his history of Cyrus the Great, represents him as saying, when about to die, 529 B. C.: "If the Spirits of the dead have not power and virtue, how is it that honors continue to be paid to them?" Romans habitually invoked the blessing of ancestral Spirits; and they had an annual festival, called Parentalia, in honor of the Souls of all Ancestors.

Sacred Books usually give assurance of immortality, accompanied with descriptions, more or less vivid, of a future paradise for the good, and a place of suffering for the wicked. But the Sacred Records of the religion taught by Moses are a singular exception. He says nothing to the Hebrews concerning eternal life. The rewards promised, and the punishments threatened are all of a temporal nature. He says to the people of Israel: "Thus saith the Lord: If ye obey my commandments, I will give you rain in due season. I will bless the grass of the field, and the increase of the cattle, and the flocks of sheep. The land shall yield her increase, and the trees shall yield their fruit; and ye shall eat bread to the full. I will rid wild beasts out of the land. Ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword; and ye shall dwell in the land with safety."

"But if ye do not observe to do all his commandments and his statutes, which I command you this day, the Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust. The heavens over thy head shall be brass, and the earth under thee shall be iron. Cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of sheep. The Lord shall smite thee with pestilence, with consumption and fever, with madness and blindness, and with the sword. Thou shalt be smitten by thine enemies, and flee before them."

The English Bishop Warburton explained this peculiarity of the Pentateuch, by saying that the doctrine of a future state had been taught in "heathen countries," because it was deemed necessary as a means of keeping the people in order; but that Moses, though he believed the doctrine, did not teach it, because he preferred to control the Hebrews purely by inspiration and the perfect Law.

Ideas of a future life have always been very distinct among the Hindus and Buddhists. In Buddhist countries they never say a man is dead; they say, "His soul has emigrated." Hindu and Buddhist Sacred Books give glowing descriptions of various degrees of paradise, where there are crystal rivers, delicious fruits, golden palaces, and ravishing music. These are attainable to those who deal justly and kindly, who speak the truth, and observe the prescribed ceremonials of religion; and so fascinating is the prospect that it has not infrequently led to suicide. But those who aspire to the highest degree of sanctity expect a reward which they deem infinitely superior to any region of paradise. Their earnest aspiration is to be re-united to the Soul of the Universe, from which their own souls originally proceeded. To accomplish this, they practise benevolence and humility, renounce the duties and pleasures of this world, torture their bodies, and spend their time in fasting, meditation, and prayer. By these means, some of them are thought to have become, even in this life, one with God. They are figuratively said to be born again, and are habitually spoken of as "twice born" men. These devotees give the most fervid descriptions of the state of beatitude they experience here, and expect to enjoy through all eternity. The loss of their individual consciousness, involved in this idea of complete absorption into the Soul of the Universe, seems to have no disturbing influence; they are supremely blest in being "one with God."

Zoroaster, the prophet of the ancient Medes and Persians, promised immortality, in regions of splendor, to those who resisted Evil Spirits and obeyed the Good.

The ancient Greeks believed in immortality, but their wise men considered the subject too sacred to be talked of to the common people. Mysteries, of a very grand and solemn character, were performed in the temple at Eleusis, to exemplify the nature and destiny of the soul; but only a few, who had been prepared by severe probations, were allowed to witness them. The doctrines there taught are unknown;

but something may be conjectured from fragments that have come down to us. They believed the soul lived always, but was subject to changes of form. To typify this, a butterfly emerging from its chrysalis was a common emblem on their tombs. Poets described a paradise called Elysium, where philosophers, poets, and heroes wandered among majestic groves and blooming gardens, enjoying themselves with music, chariot-races, and whatever else they had liked best on earth. None of the common people are mentioned as entering there; and it is not known what ideas the populace entertained concerning a future life. Some supposed Elysium to be in a middle zone of the air; others, on a far-off isle of the ocean. Plato evidently conceived of it as the ethereal region where the souls of men dwelt before they came into bodies in this world, and where glorious types of all earthly objects preëxisted. He says: "There is a world of realities, of which all the beautiful things on this earth are mere faint reflections. Colors there have a more wonderfully pure and brilliant beauty than any we see in this world. All trees, flowers, and fruits grow there, each according to its nature. The stones are transparent, and of colors so beautiful that rubies and emeralds are but dim representations of them. Animals and men are also there; some dwell about the air, as we do about the sea; others on islands, which the air flows round. They have dwellings, and temples of the gods, where gods really dwell. And they have intercourse with the gods by voices, and oracles, and visions. They surpass us in sight, hearing, and every thing else, as much as air excels water, and ether excels air, in purity. They can see sun, moon, and stars as they really are. To affirm positively that these things are exactly as I have described would not be becoming in a man of sense. But since our souls are assuredly immortal, it seems most fitting to believe that something of this kind takes place with respect to our souls and their habitations."

After the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon, the Hebrew nation were much troubled with incompetent kings, foreign invasion, and internal discord. During these turbulent times their courage was sustained by prophets, who predicted the coming of a prince, of the line of David, who would put all their enemies under their feet, and make the chosen people of God more glorious than ever. Nebuchadnezzar conquered the Hebrews, 588 years B. C., and carried all the people captives into Babylon. The ancient nations, groaning under oppression and continual wars, all cherished hopes of a future Golden Age, when some holy man would come and govern them in righteousness and peace. These expected deliverers had various names in various countries. Hebrews called theirs the Messiah, which means the Anointed, and translated into Greek is Christos, which we call Christ. During their exile in a strange land, they naturally clung very tenaciously to this prediction. They adhered to the Law of Moses, but in process of time their new surroundings inevitably produced changes. Their language became mixed with the Chaldean, and several ideas, not previously recorded in their Sacred Writings, began to appear among them. The religion of Zoroaster, which prevailed in Chaldea, taught the resurrection of the body and a Day of Judgment, when all the world would be summoned to give an account of their actions. Perhaps these doctrines became mixed in the Hebrew mind with its previous conceptions of the advent of a conquering prince, in the venerated line of David. At all events, in later periods of their history we find the Hebrews expecting that their Messiah would come to judge the whole earth; that all dead Hebrews would have a bodily resurrection, and that all living Hebrews would be gathered with them in Jerusalem, where their Messiah would reign over them for a thousand years, with unexampled splendor, and all the people would revel in a superabundance of corn, wine, oil, and whatever else they deemed delicious.

A portion of the exiled people obtained permission from King Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, 538 B. C., and, as they were mostly of the tribe of Judah, they were thenceforth called Jews. Their leader was the prophet Ezra, whom they revered as second only to Moses; and whom some believed to be equally recipient of inspiration from God. Ezra, with the assistance of the prophet Nehemiah, established synagogues for the religious instruction of the people, and arranged a ritual of prayers and reading for the services therein. As the Laws of Moses prescribed not only the religious ceremonies but the civil laws of the Hebrews, it was of immediate necessity that those laws should be clearly arranged and explained to the people for their government. During successive wars and captivities, the Sacred Writings had become scattered, dislocated, and some of them lost. Ezra appointed a college of learned men to gather up traditions from the aged people, and to collect all the copies that could be found of their Sacred Scriptures. New ideas, and new emergencies gave rise to extended interpretations of the Law of Moses, and the adoption of various traditions, which had been handed down orally from generation to generation. This produced sects. A sect called Sadducees adhered to the original Law of Moses, but did not invest with divine authority the Commentaries upon it, and the Oral Traditions. They denied the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. The sect called Pharisees were zealous believers in the Commentaries and Traditions, and rigidly observed all the ritual of ceremonies; in consequence of which Jesus charged them with making the Law of Moses of no effect by their traditions. When the Romans subjugated the Jews, 63 B. C., the Pharisees related the payment of tribute to Caesar, and rendered themselves very popular with the people by their abhorrence of the Romans and their glowing descriptions of the coming kingdom of the Messiah on earth, of which all Israelites were

to partake except those who denied the resurrection of the body. This state of the public mind produced several claimants to the office of the Messiah, who had more or fewer followers. One of them was actually anointed and crowned, and placed himself at the head of a considerable army. These attempts at sedition were vexatious to the Roman government, and rendered them very suspicious and severe toward all who were accused of claiming to be King of the Jews.

Some of the Pharisees believed the soul died with the body, and would be raised with it at the resurrection. But the prevailing opinion was that the souls of pious Israelites went to Paradise when they died, and waited there for the summons of the Messiah. They maintained that God originally created a certain number of Hebrew souls, and that these would keep returning to the earth in new bodies as long as the world lasted. This gave rise to the idea that John the Baptist might be Elias come again; and that Jesus might be Elias, or one of the old prophets. They supposed that children were punished for the sins of parents; and also that when a soul came into a new body it suffered by diseases, or mishaps, for the wrong it had formerly done while existing in another body; hence the questions concerning the man born blind: "Did this man sin? or his parents?" It was likewise a common idea that wicked souls, by way of penance, were sometimes sent back to earth in the form of animals. But at the general resurrection all Jewish souls would be purified, and enter into the joys of the Messiah's kingdom on an earth renovated and beautified for their presence.

There was another sect, of unknown origin, which dwelt near the Dead Sea, about two hundred B. C. They were famed for skill in healing, and were called Essenes, which means physicians. They lived in communities remote from cities, and were generally farmers, or shepherds. They drank only water, and lived on bread, fruit, and vegetables. They had no women among them, and considered celibacy essential to holiness. Their truthful and direct speech was so proverbial, that the simple yea and nay of an Essene were deemed more reliable than the oaths of other men. They objected to oaths, which they said implied distrust that ought not to exist among honest men. Sadducees valued only the literal sense of the Law of Moses; Pharisees said it had a literal and a spiritual sense, both of which ought to be revered; Essenes attached no importance at all to the literal sense, but spent much time in studying the spiritual meaning. They said God created all men equal; therefore they would call no man master, and would have no servants; making it a rule to wait upon one another. When they travelled, they never took money or change of garments. When they entered any town they inquired for an Essene, and having found one they tarried with him as long as they remained in the neighborhood. Their ideas of the soul differed from those of all other Jews, and probably had a Hindu or Egyptian origin. They thought it had preëxisted in some high ethereal sphere, and had been fatally attracted toward the earth, where it became imprisoned in a body. They did not believe in the resurrection of the body, but thought the soul escaped from it at death; the good to go to a delightful paradise above, the bad to deep places of suffering below. They believed God employed successive gradations of Spirits as mediators between himself and the souls of men; and that he fore-ordained every event of human life, even the very smallest. They abhorred war, and forbade the manufacture of any deadly weapon. They inculcated complete forgiveness of injuries, and expected the Messiah would come as the Prince of Peace.

Such is a very brief summary of opinions among the Jews at the time Jesus was born.

In the Christian Scriptures, there are no descriptions of heavenly abodes except in the Book of Revelation, which seems to be written in the form of allegories. Its pictures of heaven remind one of the splendid audience-chambers of oriental kings. "The Lamb of God" is described seated on a throne encircled with "rainbows like unto emeralds," and before it is "a sea of glass like unto crystal." There are spirits in white raiment and crowns of gold, some of whom wave golden censers filled with incense, "which is the prayers of the saints;" others play upon golden harps, and sing "Glory to the Lamb" and bow down in worship before the throne continually. This Book, written after the time of Jesus, has always been a great puzzle to commentators, who have found a variety of spiritual meanings in its allegories.

Jesus gave no detailed account of heaven; he merely said, "In my Father's house are many mansions." In the New Testament, eternal life is repeatedly promised to "those who believe in Jesus Christ, and are baptized in his name." The limitation was adopted by the Christian churches; and it necessarily involved the belief that the millions of people of other religions, most of whom never heard of Jesus, must inevitably be either annihilated or damned. Henry Dodwell, who in 1688 was Professor of History in Oxford College, England, published a sermon to prove that the human soul was not immortal, until Christianity made it so by administering the rite of baptism in the name of Jesus; by which process the recipient became united with "the Divine Baptismal Spirit." And he maintained that, after the apostles, none had the power of conferring this Divine Immortalizing Spirit except regularly ordained Bishops. The belief that only the baptized can go to heaven still prevails extensively among Christians; hence, the extreme anxiety of Catholics to have a babe baptized immediately.

The Jewish belief in the millennium passed into Christianity. Jesus said: "All the tribes of the earth shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and

they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. . . . Know that it is near, even at the doors. *This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled. . . . Watch, therefore, for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come. . . . Therefore, be ye also ready; for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh. . . . Verily I say unto you, ye who have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* At another time, he said: "Verily I say unto you, there be some of them who stand here, who shall not taste of death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power." At another time, when Peter questioned him concerning John, he replied, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" And when he partook of the last supper with his disciples, he said, "I will not taste wine again until I drink it new in the kingdom of God."

The apostles seem to have interpreted these sayings literally, and to have expected the coming of the Messiah on earth during their life-time. And a tradition extended universally, that the Apostle John would surely be living on the earth when the Messiah came to establish his kingdom. That the mother of James and John had this expectation is manifest from her petition to Jesus: "Grant that my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, the other on thy left, in thy kingdom." And a similar expectation is indicated by the other ten Apostles, when they "were moved with indignation against the two brethren," for thus claiming the highest places in the coming kingdom. The same idea is implied by the question, "Wilt thou, at this time, restore the kingdom to Israel?"

Paul said to his hearers: "We shall not all sleep (that is, die); but we shall all be changed. At the sound of the last trumpet, the dead shall be raised incorruptible; and in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, we shall all be changed; for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. . . . The Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God. The dead in Christ shall rise first; then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air." And again he said: "When Christ shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." And again he says: "Of times and seasons ye have no need that I should write unto you; for yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night; therefore let us watch and be sober." John also says: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know when he shall appear we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." And Peter says: "The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night. The earth, and the works that are thereon, shall be burnt up. But we, according to promise, look for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him without spot and blameless." The author of the Book of Revelations says: "I saw the souls of those who were beheaded for witness of Jesus, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years; but the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished."

Gentile converts to Christianity were eager for the promised Golden Age of the world, and Jewish converts were eager for the coming of the Messiah's kingdom; therefore, it is not surprising that the doctrine of the millennium was universally adopted by the early Christian teachers. Irenaeus and Justin Martyr especially delighted in giving glowing pictures of it; and though Jesus had said his kingdom was not of this world, their imaginations of it were decidedly of an earthly character. They said: "In those days every stalk of wheat shall make ten thousand pounds of the finest flour; each shoot of grapes shall bear ten thousand bunches; and every bunch shall bear ten thousand grapes. And when any of the saints shall go to pluck a bunch, another bunch shall cry out, Take me! I am better." Some of the Christian Fathers took more spiritual views of the millennium, but they all believed it was coming. Jews believed that the kingdom of their Messiah on earth would be for Jews only. Christians believed that all Jews who rejected Jesus as their Messiah would be shut out from the blessedness of the millennium, which would be enjoyed by Christians only. During five centuries, very glowing descriptions were given of the happiness of that promised time. Meanwhile, John and Paul had died without witnessing it; but it was believed they had been taken up into Paradise, and were waiting there to appear with Christ, at his second coming.

When Christianity was sanctioned by the Roman government, and ceased to be persecuted, this doctrine gradually became less prominent. But, for the first three centuries, an Epistle bearing the name of Barnabas was read in the churches. And that Epistle declared that the world would come to an end in six thousand years from the Creation; because it had been made in six days, and a thousand years was to the Lord as one day; and that the seventh day would be a thousand years of millennial rest. From this, and from some passages in Daniel, it was calculated that the Day of Judgment would come one thousand years after the birth of Jesus. Consequently, the approach of the year 1000 was watched with great anxiety and excitement, and the business of this world was much neglected. After a while, that agitation passed away; and the doctrine of the millennium slipped more and more into the background. It has however reappeared from time to time, and has been zealously preached and believed within the present century.

Jews also continue to believe that their Messiah will come, and gather all the scattered children of

Israel together in the Holy Land, and that their temple in the New Jerusalem will far surpass the magnificence of Solomon's. The more liberal among them indulge the hope that all the Gentile nations will become converted to the faith of Israel, and that the whole world will be governed by the Law of Moses.

Mohammed gave glowing pictures of the joys that awaited true believers, "if they have forsaken their sins, and prayed to God to pardon them, and have given alms freely, and bridled their anger, and forgiven men." He declared that he saw "gardens, where rivers flow; and angels were building palaces with blocks of gold and silver and rubies, cemented with the soil of Paradise, which is pure musk. In those gardens of delight the faithful shall repose on couches adorned with gold and precious stones. Youths blooming with immortal beauty shall wait upon them with whatsoever birds or fruits they may desire, and with goblets of wine, the drinking of which shall not disturb the reason, or cause their heads to ache. They shall have for companions fair damsels, resembling pearls hidden in their shells, and having large, dark eyes. They shall not hear any charge of sin, nor any vain discourse; but only the salutation, Peace! Peace!"

I know not how far enlightened Mohammedans accept these descriptions literally. But in countries more favorable to the expansion of the human mind, ideas concerning a future state have been gradually changing from age to age. Visions of heaven in the semblance of gorgeous Asiatic palaces gave place to thoughts of it as a temple, where perpetual worship was performed by prostrations, and waving of censers, and singing of psalms. These pictures had peculiar attractions in the Middle Ages, when men were in continual danger, and churches and convents seemed the only places of rest and peace. In these latter years homes have become safer, and have been rendered more agreeable and interesting by an increasing recognition of women as the friends and equal companions of men; and as human beings long to find in another world what seems to them the most desirable lot on earth, there has been an increasing tendency to think of heaven as a home, where we shall rejoin the loved ones who have gone before us, and where we may exercise tender guardianship over the friends who remain in this world.

Emanuel Swedenborg says (as Plato did, though in different terms) that every object on this earth exists also in the spiritual world, only far more glorious in beauty. He describes gardens, and dwellings, and flowers, and fruits; and he says departed little ones are very happy with their angel teachers, "who, when they were in this world, were women full of maternal tenderness." And though the believers in his doctrines are not numerous, his writings have undoubtedly had great influence in modifying old ideas, and rendering heaven more home-like. Modern Spiritualism has also done much to produce a feeling of familiarity with the other world; a familiarity so tangible and earthly, as to be repulsive to many reverential minds. But it performs an important part in helping to banish the grim skeleton armed with a dart, and to introduce death as an angel leading us home.

Hindu and Buddhist Sacred Books describe places of future suffering as vivid as are their pictures of various degrees of Paradise. There are fourteen of these wretched abodes, each of the lower gradations being more dreadful than those above it. In these places human souls suffer according to the degrees of their wickedness on earth. Some are immersed in nauseous mud, some are continually stung by serpents, some are embraced by red-hot iron, and some are thrown into the lowest pit filled with burning charcoal. Some, who have not been bad enough to need such torments, transmigrate into the forms of various animals, more or less vile or ferocious, according to the character of the deceased. But all these states of degradation, or suffering, are probations intended for the purification of souls. The door of hope is not closed even for those in the lowest pit. When they have become sufficiently purified by suffering, they may gradually ascend and return to earth,—sometimes as animals, but finally as men,—with a renewed chance to attain to Paradise, or to beatific absorption into the Universal Soul.

Zoroaster taught that the souls of the wicked, for terms of time, would pass through sufferings by water and fire; but he also left the door of hope open for all. In the Zendavesta it is said: "If a man neglects to combat evil within himself, he has reason to fear that evil spirits will seize him and carry him where he will be punished according to his sins; not to satisfy the vengeance of Deity, but because, having connected himself with evil, this is the only way for him to become purified therefrom, so as to be capable of enjoying happiness at a future period."

The ancient Greeks and Romans believed in a subterranean abode which they called Hades, or Tartarus, where the wicked were chained and scourged, and gnawed by hungry wolves, and tormented with thirst in sight of water they could not reach. Some souls wandered for a while in forests; not being good enough to enter Elysium, or bad enough to be consigned to Tartarus. Some were cleansed of their sins by being submerged in deep waters, or passing through intense fires. After going through probations painful according to the degrees of their guilt, they finally attained to Elysium, which means Rest. At the end of a thousand years, all would return to the earth again, with liberty to live such a life as they chose. Those who returned three times into bodies on earth, and each time lived wisely and virtuously, ascended into the "world of realities," there to dwell for ever with the immortal gods.

The Christian Scriptures speak of no gradations of reward or punishment; and the common belief among Christians is that the human race is divided into two

classes,—saints and sinners; the former of whom all go to heaven, and the latter all go to hell. In both cases, the condition is represented to be of eternal duration. Jesus speaks of the wicked as "cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." When their deeds are brought unto judgment, he says, they will hear the terrible words, "Depart from me into everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his angels." In the Book of Revelation it is declared: "If any man worship the beast or his image, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torments ascendeth up for ever and ever; and they have no rest, day or night." For many centuries, the preaching of Christians was lurid with the fires of this pit, and it still continues to be so to a considerable extent. Travellers in Catholic countries continually meet by the road-side pictures of devils, with pitchforks, hurling human souls into blazing fires. But Catholics agree with the Hindus and Buddhists in their belief in an intermediate state, between heaven and hell, where the wicked are punished for their sins for a term of time proportioned to their guilt, and which may be shortened by the prayers and offerings of surviving friends,—the merit of whose righteousness is imputed to the souls they pray for. The majority of Christians probably retain an abstract belief in the eternal torment of the wicked by fire; but it has become far less prominent in their preaching. Some sects never allude to it at all. Others give allegorical interpretation to the texts that assert it, and thus arrive at the conclusion that all souls become purified by a limited probation of fire, and finally attain to happiness; or that they suffer only from the stings of their own remorse, and the scorching of their own recollections.

Mohammed declares that souls, when they leave the body, are obliged to pass over a bridge, "fine as the thread of a famished spider," and sharp as the edge of a scimitar. Beneath this bridge the flames of hell are roaring; on the other side lies Paradise. Some, who are not quite good enough to enter Paradise immediately, remain in a partitioned place, till by acts of adoration they have atoned for the evil they have done, or for the acts of worship they have omitted. Pious believers are conveyed over the bridge like a flash of lightning. Some pass over it slowly and with difficulty; and some slip off into hell, where devils tear them with red-hot pincers and pour fire down their throats. There are seven hells. Sinful Mohammedans are in the upper one, and hypocrites of all religions are in the lowest abyss. But though Mohammedans may have to suffer for their sins hundreds or thousands of years, according to their degrees of guilt, they will all attain to Paradise at last, because they believed the true faith, and because Mohammed continually intercedes with God for them.

Mohammedans are divided into many sects, and though all believe the Koran to be an inspired book, they interpret it in various ways. Thus some say the thread-like bridge over hell into Paradise merely means the narrow and difficult path to holiness. Hindu and Buddhist ideas have become mixed with Mohammedanism, as they were with primitive Christianity. There is quite a numerous sect, mostly in Persia and India, called Sufis, who tend greatly to asceticism and monastic seclusion; and who, by prayer and meditation, seek to become one with the Universal Soul. Devotees among them, who think they have attained to complete self-renunciation, sometimes say, "I am the Truth," "I am one with God." In this state of complete regeneration, they think, Sacred Books can be dispensed with; and heaven and hell signify to them good and evil states of mind.

The present century is remarkable for a lively interest in past ages. In the material world, men are laboriously exhuming buried cities and cemeteries. Embedded in masses of sand and clay they find gems and gold, which human thought and imagination have wrought into forms of grotesque or graceful beauty. Another class of men are exploring the ancient mind, in such vestiges of it as can be found in written records of the past. Encumbered with much spiritual sand and clay these diggers find mental gems, reflecting the light of heaven in varied hues, and forms of thought and feeling which, whether they are clumsy, fantastic, or graceful, are fashioned from the precious gold which man received from his Creator.

Of late years, several learned books have been written on the subject of ancient religions. . . . I have had but one object, and that a very simple one; namely, to show that the fundamental laws of morality, and the religious aspirations of mankind, have been strikingly similar always and everywhere. Indeed, when we examine them, they appear so much alike, that, at the first glance, the human race seem to have been continually moving round in the same circle. But though progress has been circular, it has not been on the same plane. The circles ascend perpetually; the ladder we climb is spiral; every thing that is evolved out of what has been. We cannot understand why good and evil, false and true, have been perpetually manifested in the mind of

[CONCLUDED ON PAGE 380.]

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUG. 3.

Chas. W. Buck, \$3.40; James Welch, \$1; Doeringer & Co., \$2; C. H. Phillips, \$1.25; Mrs. C. Neymann, \$2; W. E. Darwin, \$3.50; Joseph Horton, \$3.20; Dr. W. O. Gouinlock, 75 cents; O. A. Farwell, \$3.20; George Cary, \$1.25; John Hendrie, \$3; A. W. Kelsey, \$4; Chas. Haskell, \$3.20; Mrs. Beebe Booth, \$3.20; Henry Field, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 8, 1878.

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

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

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OGTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. O'BRYEN, GEORGE JACOB
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MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Until September 1, the editorial charge of THE INDEX will be wholly in the hands of Mr. A. W. Stevens, who has kindly consented to relieve me of all literary responsibility for it during the present month. F. E. ABBOT.

BOSTON, Aug. 1.

F. E. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

WOULD you have freedom in thought and in life? Then study the laws of thought and of life, and grow into harmony with these,—when you shall have the freedom of Nature and of God.

AN ENGLISH barrister, named Pike, has recently written a history of crime in England from Saxon to Victorian times; the moral of which is that, with the progress of civilization, the number of criminals in Great Britain has steadily diminished. In commenting on this book, the New York World says: "If any competent person will undertake a history of crime in New York City, he will find, we think, that even in this vast reservoir of vice, greed, and passion the ratio of crime to population has of late years steadily decreased. Especially will this appear if he examines the statistics of the higher felonies." If the statement of the World be true, it may go some way to relieve the fears begotten by the social problems of such great cities as London, Paris, and New York, which bring the great strain upon our modern civilization.

IN SOME parts of the West, "laborers" have combined to prevent the use among farmers of a new reaping machine, which very successfully reaps and binds at the same time,—thus saving the employment, to a considerable extent, of manual labor. These

"laborers" have threatened the new owners of these machines, that, in the event of their being used, they (the "laborers") will burn or otherwise demolish machine, grain, barn, etc. What madness and what folly! By all such means "laborers" are only helping to bring their cause into obnoxiousness, and themselves into deeper trouble. The right of any man to choose between the employment of a machine or of another man does not lie under the least shadow of a doubt; and any "cause" or champions of a cause who undertake to obstruct this right will be swept away before a righteous public wrath.

THE LITERARY correspondent of the Springfield Republican, in commenting on some recent American novels, says: "What is yet lacking in most of our American novelists is a serious conception, either through the reason or the imagination, of what human life and its possibilities are." To our mind this is a very just and needed criticism; yet it applies not only to novelists, but to most of the popular writers of our day. It would seem that we in this country, of all peoples in the world, ought to be impressed as to what human life and its possibilities are. In our very short national existence, we have had extraordinary trials and extraordinary triumphs; and, as a people, have again and again touched the depths of life's pathos, and risen to the heights of its glory. No educated and thoughtful man can have lived the period of one generation in America, without having been brought seriously to consider, not only in their speculative but in their practical bearings as well, the most momentous questions underlying social welfare and affecting human destiny. How then can any such man, when he takes up his pen to write for the American people, hold himself back from making an honest and earnest effort to inspire no less than to amuse them? How can he write merely of what is light and transitory, and neglect that which is capable of rousing the noblest thought and the sweetest sentiment? We fear it is because our novelists, our poets, our essayists, and even our sermonizers, write chiefly for pay and for praise; not to lead men up to higher plains of intellectual and spiritual life. Such writers might better let their pens rust in idleness, and weed carrot-beds for a living, than that the finest quality of their heart and brain should trickle out into paltry fun and sickening sentimentalism. The great American novel has not been written; and we may not expect it, until that man—or that woman—appears who is born out of the full consciousness of what America signifies, and whose nature, like our continent, includes all temperatures of feeling and all zones of faith.

WE TRUST that the habitual readers of THE INDEX will not suffer absolute syncope if, during the brief absence of their vallant and admired editor, they hear very little about the Liberal League and its cognate enterprises in these columns. We are quite sure that it is from no unworthy disposition towards that excellent institution, that we propose to give it a month's vacation from these editorial pages with its distinguished founder. The reason is that we have nothing to say about it. Circumstances have led us to be interested in other things, and will now lead us to report of other things. For the past three years we have lived in a world far different from that where political enginery may be formed for the civil or religious emancipation of a people; far different from that where controversy rages, discussion excites, and party or public interests clamor at the ear. We have been living in a world of private life, where so few Americans can content themselves to live. We have been following purely private vocations, which have led us to associate with private citizens having no public aims; which have led us among books and authors, among men and women of calm thought and sweet philosophy; which have led us into that great, rich, boundless world of literature, where the best things woo us for their own sake,—not that we may build up cheap reputations upon them, or ravish them away from their beautiful retreats into public arenas where they become pearls before swine. In this private life we have had time to remember that God has some business of his own, which he has promised to look after; and that ours is not to get in his way if we can help it. From this private life we are very glad to emerge just far enough, for a brief time, to take the hands of THE INDEX readers once more and talk to them a little about the things that are of most interest to us, and report of others that have a real human interest independent of class or party. This new symposium can only be for four weeks; so that if they don't like it, they may be comforted in knowing that it won't last long.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

This man is the grand solitary figure in American society to-day. His genius among Americans is *sui generis*; his character, something unique. He came in with the nineteenth century, and is a genuine son of New England pedigree; but he is, notwithstanding, the purest piece of Orientalism that ever grew in the West. His wisdom is not unmodern; that is, it is not lacking in certain modern qualities of shrewdness, knowingness, and practicality; and yet the word modern does not describe it. His is the wisdom of the ancients,—subtle, discerning, intuitive, spiritual. He has an eye for the fact, and knows its temporal value; but he has a clearer, deeper eye for the fact's eternal significance, and cares less to report the fact than to set forth its transcendent meaning. He has been called by the popular tongue a "sage" and a "philosopher;" he is both, and more,—he is a mystic, and a seer.

Mr. Emerson's countrymen generally have not understood him; but he has understood them,—no man better. No American thinker or writer has taken so accurate a parallax of the true character of America and Americans as Mr. Emerson. He has caught in the camera of his swift intuition all their features, bad and good; and has given them the grand setting of his prophetic and optimistic genius. No American has ever believed more heartily in America than Mr. Emerson,—in her opportunity, her power, her destiny. And yet he has signaled himself among Americans by all his life studiously turning his back on what they most admire,—namely, riches and applause. His genius has been ever chaste and coy,—it could not bear publicity; nor was it capable, in its pure simplicity and sturdy self-respectingness, of depending upon the appliances of wealth. A public man, in no modern sense of the word, has Mr. Emerson ever been; and this, considering that no man ever held his talents more serviceable to his fellow-men than he, is something remarkable. No convention, no platform—arenas so fascinating to the average American man and woman—has been able to detain him beyond the brief time required for the delivery of his conscientious and weighty message. Even clubs of semi-private character have found it difficult to get possession of this shy thinker, especially if he had reason to suppose that a reporter lurked in the vicinity. Unlike most of his countrymen, he has never been in love with the sound of his own voice. Slow to open speech, and quick to recover it, has been his wont. Only as the mouthpiece of the Spirit has he desired to be heard; and then speedily to hush, and let the Truth make its own impression. All this has come of the ingrained modesty and moderation of his soul. Embosomed in the green hills of Concord, sitting beside his beloved Indian stream, far from the city's clamor and contention, its fascination and its sycophancy, this grand man has nursed his mighty heart,—not for himself, but for his brothers the world over; not for selfish culture, but that he might have a single eye for the Truth, and an equilibrated soul to report it without fear or favor. "Good-by" to the world he said, more than forty years ago, when he went to seek "a spot sacred to thought and God;" but that world he never forgot and never ceased to love; and from time to time, out of his calm solitude, he has sent to it or brought to it the wisest, most spherical words that any American has spoken.

Of course, Mr. Emerson has never been a "reformer," in the ordinary acceptation of that word. And this because he has never been content to have but one virtue, or one sympathy. He has always loved the oppressed of every color and nationality; but he has never hated the oppressor. He has always had justice for the wronged; but he has never meant injustice to the wronger. He says that those who would renovate,—they needed renovation as much as anybody. He saw that those who sought to widen the bounds of liberty,—they too were enslaved in their own prejudices and fears, no less than others. He refused to be committed in favor of any one class, as against the whole. Slave and slaveholder, laborer and capitalist, poor and rich, weak and strong,—he saw that no one was without sin, no one without virtue: the word which he might say, should be a word to quicken, lift, emancipate, *all*. And yet, if it must come to particulars, there was never an anti-slavery tract or labor-reform pamphlet written one-half so trenchant or wholesome, as Mr. Emerson's "Ode," sung in the Town Hall, Concord, July 4, 1867, and his "Boston Hymn," read in Music Hall, Jan. 1, 1863. The fact is, Mr. Emerson is too large a man to be a come-outer. Like the old Ro-

man Terence, nothing human is foreign to him. He can't get outside, because he includes everything. His method is not one of attack and aggression, but of flanking and circumvention. He draws a circle round his opponent, and captures his partial position with a completer statement. Does any man think to be a radical?—this man is more radical than he! Would any man be a safe conservative?—this man's wiser conservatism swallows up his! Not a reformer, but a former; not a regenerator, but a generator; not a savior, but an inspirer,—this has Mr. Emerson been to America; and this he will continue to be long after his soul has climbed the stars!

Mr. Emerson is the grandest fatalist that has breathed the air of our modern civilization. Jonathan Edwards never believed more unshakenly in the decrees of God than Mr. Emerson believes in the inviolableness of the spiritual laws of the universe. But there is not a particle of mental or moral paralysis in his fatalism; it does not overlook the finite will as a necessary part of the will of the Infinite. It comes as a strong breeze out of the eternities, sweeping us out of our puppyish conceits, our willful egotism, our asinine wilfulness; showing us that we are not the arbiters of our own or the world's destinies, but that they all are welded fast to the palm of God's hand; showing us that we are masters nowhere in earth or heaven, except as we ride on the strong backs of Perpetual Forces. Mr. Emerson's faith in the Integrity of the Old Universe makes the ordinary faith of the Church in its Heavenly Father seem pale and feeble. It is no faith in a special Providence that walks into the widow's cottage and says, "I heard you pray to me for some bread; here it is." It is faith in a Universal Might and Beneficence which perhaps would let that widow starve, and her six children beside her, while the procession of its divine purposes marched on, heaving up the world masses and every particle of mind and matter towards a perfect outcome. It is a faith which makes us feel safe any where, any how; which makes life and death the two feet on which all things move forward; which makes good and evil friendly forces in the arena of eternity. It is a fatalism which is optimism; which keeps us from despair and wrath and disgust; which makes us believe in the Good, and in nothing but the Good, and in the Power of that for evermore. Some poor benighted church-people have called Mr. Emerson a sceptic. We had almost said that he is the only real believer in America!

Only one thing more may we say, in weaving this modest chaplet to lay at the feet of so great a man. Mr. Emerson is the noblest prophet of Ethics which this country has ever listened to. He has lifted the word *moral* high above all the church steeples, and made it shine like a pure star in every earnest soul's ideal. His life-long friend, Henry James, once said to us: "Emerson and I have for years been kicking one another's shins over that word *moral*." Mr. James has never liked the word, considering it damaged goods left in the vacant shop of the old theology: he prefers the word *spiritual*. But the ethics which Mr. Emerson preaches is not based on cowardice or fear; his morality is not one that feels a yoke or a cross, and groans out a pusillanimous or sullen obedience. Far from it. It is a morality that comes just as natural and easy as breathing, because it is in conscious harmony with the law of life. It is a morality that dares every thing and can be overcome with nothing; which is on good terms with the world, and yet defies it; which can carry off any needful experience, and does not spill its ammunition wagon all along the roadside of life. It is a morality which looks Fate cheerfully in the eye, and says: "Come on, old friend! I know you. You will find me ready for any emergency!" It is a morality that does not walk more than it soars; it builds altars to the Beautiful Necessity, and worships while it serves. Those who are moral with the morality that this man preaches, they need not any other religion.

We believe that Ralph Waldo Emerson is the greatest legacy that God has yet bestowed on America, and that this will become more and more patent as our generations pass. The ten small volumes that he has given to the world in the course of his fifty years of working life, with the one or two more that he may give before he is summoned away, or his friends after he is gone,—these will constitute an American literature by themselves; one to which aspiring and thoughtful youth, and earnest mature men and women, will for ever go to slake their thirst for inspiring wisdom. For as Mr. Emerson once said of Goethe, so we may now say of him: "The Old Genius that builded the world confided himself more o this man than to any other."

"IS IT TRUE?"

Not entirely satisfied with the comments of the editor of THE INDEX, under the above caption, in the issue of July 26, on the editorial article copied from the *Christian Statesman*, I wish to present a few thoughts on the same subject.

There is, in my opinion, as little "selfishness and hatred," and as much of the "spirit of generosity and self-sacrifice," among Liberals as among Orthodox Christians. And is it not rather inconsistent, to use the mildest language, for a Christian journal devoted to a movement which aims, in opposition to the tolerant and liberal tendencies of the age, to deprive of their rights all who cannot accept its particular faith to claim for the adherents of that faith preëminence in *unselfishness* and *generosity*?

That Liberals are not, as such, organized like the Orthodox Christians is due to quite other reasons than lack of generosity or unselfishness on the part of the former. Some of these reasons are rather creditable than discreditable to Liberals. If they attached more importance to religious belief than to character; if they taught that the eternal interests of men depend upon the acceptance of their views; if they presented them to the world in the form of a creed, and made the rejection thereof a crime; if they punished unbelievers by social ostracism and civil disabilities in this world, and threatened them with eternal torture after death,—then no doubt they would to-day, like Orthodox Christians, have numerous organizations and a rigid discipline. With their diversity of belief, they would too, quite likely, be divided into sects, always wrangling with one another, perhaps, except in the presence of a common danger,—when, like the sects of to-day, confronted by Liberalism, they would probably be willing to subordinate their differences in a common defence. Christians claim great credit for the number of their Christian organizations; but instead of proving their superiority, this, to my mind, indicates a narrowness, a sectarianism and exclusiveness, which true Liberals have outgrown.

Is it any proof of lack of generosity or of interest in our views that we do not organize Materialistic societies, excluding all who cannot accept the philosophy of Materialism; or Theistic societies, denying membership to Atheists; or Spiritualistic Associations, rejecting all applicants who do not believe in the existence of, or communion with, spirits? It is neither desirable nor possible for Liberals in this age successfully to organize themselves into societies for the advancement of their scientific, philosophic, or religious views. This is evident. If the different schools of thought should organize *separately*, they would make so many more sects, and do more to diminish that breadth and catholicity of thought which are the distinguishing features of true Liberalism than to promote the special views which they were organized to advance. If all the classes of Liberals should unite in one organization for the advancement of Liberalism, it is unquestionable that the existing diversity of thought and belief among Liberals would make the undertaking a failure from the start. Materialists will not work for the advancement of Spiritualism; nor will Spiritualists advocate Materialism. Theists will not help propagate Atheism, nor will Atheists help strengthen Theism. The only basis on which it is possible for Liberals as such to unite is that of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, or the Free Religious Association, which encourages the study and discussion of all systems of thought, but pledges itself to the defence of none; while the members, from the platform of the society or elsewhere, are at liberty to advocate their individual views in their own way. That Liberals generally have not organized on this broad basis is very true. Neither have Christians, with all their centuries of experience in organization, generally been able to unite on a basis admitting to membership all classes of Christians.

An organization on the basis of the Liberal League is, I believe, very desirable, and the movement has had my sympathy from its inception. The work at which it aims is not the advancement of any particular beliefs on the subject of religion, but the securing to all, of every belief and of no belief, entire religious liberty. Its platform is so broad that nobody is debarred from membership by reason of religion, sex, color, or "previous condition of servitude." While it is, in my opinion, deeply to be regretted that so few Liberals comparatively have joined this organization, to say that the reason of this is to be found in a lack of unselfishness and generosity among Liberals is to take a very narrow and false view of the subject.

If the editor of the *Christian Statesman* had referred to the fact that Christians as a class have no sympa-

thy with the principles and objects of the Liberal League, as an illustration that there is no necessary connection between their faith and a respect for equal rights and religious liberty, he would have told the truth.

There are many Liberals who sincerely believe that the changes which the Liberal League would effect will, with the decay of the Christian theology and the advancement of intelligence and liberality, come as fast as the people can adjust themselves to them, without any organized effort whatever. This, indeed, is the view of a large proportion of our educated Liberals. We may dissent from it, but cannot fairly ascribe it to any lack of generosity on the part of those who entertain it and act accordingly.

There are again many who believe that State secularization can be hastened somewhat by wise efforts, but do not think that its success depends upon the Liberal League, and do not, therefore, feel the same interest in that organization as Mr. Abbot and some others do. If their attention is directed more to other movements, it does not follow that selfishness is the cause. Many who are favorably disposed toward the movement yet think there are other reforms of equal importance, and to which their support can be given with as great if not greater usefulness; and as they find in the communities in which they live others with whom they can cooperate in the reforms referred to, it is but natural that they should give to them greater attention than they bestow on a movement which is as yet perhaps hardly known to their neighbors. This may be unwise, but it is no evidence of selfishness. And then there are many who are anxious to help the Liberal League, but public opinion where they live is so intolerant that identification with the movement involves injury to business and sacrifice of social standing. If a man lives in a bigoted community, and is dependent on the patronage of the public, or has sons and daughters whose social position and advancement he regards with fatherly solicitude,—it requires something more than generosity to make that man put himself in opposition to public opinion. If we censure him who out of regard for the family he loves falls to work for a just but hated cause, what shall be said of those whose bigotry and intolerance are the occasion of this man's silence and inaction! Christianity in many places is powerful and strong, and it encourages men holding unpopular views to be disloyal to themselves, by offering a premium on hypocrisy. There are some who, seeing the proscriptive and persecuting spirit of Christianity invariably exhibited wherever it has the power, believe they can do but little in the way of State secularization except by destroying confidence in the system that is the cause of inequality and injustice. Hence their efforts are chiefly directed in opposition to the Christian theology.

These are some of the reasons why the Liberal League has not commanded more attention or awakened more interest: they do not imply selfishness on the part of Liberals. There are other reasons, which I will not attempt to offer now. But I may remark that the Liberal League is a recent organization, and that the working machinery of organizations for great and radical reforms is perfected slowly, and only after many failures and mistakes. This movement appeals to men's intelligence, to their sense of justice, to their honor. When Christians organize societies outside of the Church—like the Young Men's Christian Association—they bring into requisition all those dogmas whose narrowing tendencies and proscriptive character keep the churches exclusive, sectarian organizations. The Liberal League makes no appeals to the weaknesses or superstitions of men; and if it loses on that account, in competition with Christian societies, in getting support, it is exempt from the charge of fostering and perpetuating the childish beliefs of the past.

But even the so-called National Reform Party (which dates farther back than the Liberal League) has not proved a great success as an organization, for the reason evidently that the liberal tendencies of the age are against its aims and objects. Its meetings are not largely attended; the press, which is a good index of popular feeling, has generally viewed the movement without favor; and it has not yet commanded anything like general attention in spite of the long list of officers it publishes, and the show it makes on paper. Some scheming has been done by individual members, and some influence exerted; but nothing has been accomplished to justify the boastfulness of the editor of the *Christian Statesman*, either in the capacity for organization that its leaders have exhibited, or in the interest they have been able to awaken in the work against justice and a generous regard for

the rights of their fellow-men. On the other hand, the number and strength of the Liberal Leagues give no adequate idea of the public sentiment in favor of State secularization, which is wide-spread, and increasing rapidly East and West.

I grant that Liberals are doing much less than they ought to do, and I for one care not how often or pointedly they are reminded of their short-comings by Christians. But when the failure of the Liberal League to achieve more than it has thus far been able to accomplish is ascribed to the "selfishness and hatred" of Freethinkers, and a "quarrel" between two Liberal journals on a certain matter is made use of as an illustration of the disposition of Liberals, I feel like resenting the imputation as most ungenerous and unjust. Liberals are not perfect, but they are quite as much devoted to every good work as Christians. They make as many sacrifices. Were they not prominent and active in the anti-slavery cause? Have they not done their part in the temperance reform? Do they not everywhere encourage and support education? Have they not fought in the struggles for liberty? Have they not been conspicuous in works of benevolence? True, they have not combined into sects; but they have, consistently with their unsectarian and catholic views, cooperated with all parties, classes, and sects, in every noble work. Wherever there has been a demand for generosity, for sacrifice, for courage, Liberals have been found, in proportion to their numbers, quite as active and efficient as Orthodox Christians.

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man; nor why gentleness and ferocity, beauty and ugliness, nourishment and poison, creation and destruction, have been productions of the material world through all its manifold evolutions. But when we measure by centuries, we see that the mind of man and the outward world have both been gradually though slowly improving. Whosoever makes diligent use of life, and strives to follow the light of reason and conscience, helps on the progress of the world by his own individual growth. . . .

The more closely and candidly we look into these things, the more fully shall we realize that human aspirations and human weaknesses have a common root, and that the growth from it is similar; making due allowance for difference of soil, climate, tillage, and numerous inter-graftings.

To "scorn any thing which a nation's heart has held for ages holy," is surely neither wise nor kind. All we poor mortals are groping our way through paths that are dim with shadows; and we are all striving, with steps more or less stumbling, to follow some guiding star. As we travel on, beloved companions of our pilgrimage vanish from our sight, we know not whither; and our bereaved hearts utter cries of supplication for more light. We know not where Hermes Trismegistus lived, or who he was; but his voice sounds plaintively human, coming up from the depths of the ages, calling out, "Thou art God! and thy man crieth these things unto thee." Being thus closely allied in our sorrows and our limitations, in our aspirations and our hopes, surely we ought not to be separated in our sympathies. However various the names by which we call the Heavenly Father, if they are set to music by brotherly love, they can all be sung together in harmony.

If Christianity had been true to its professions, the whole world would have been attracted by it, as bees are by sweet flowers. But the mournful truth is that its practice has been the reverse of its theories. It does great harm to the souls of men to make noble professions which they do not manifest in actions; and as the tallest mountain casts the deepest shadow in the water, so the higher the assumed standard the lower is the state of morals produced by a practical disregard of it. It will require many generations for Americans to recover from the demoralizing effects of reading the Declaration of Independence, year after year, with loud vauntings and ringing of bells, while they held millions of the people in abject slavery. And a similar effect is produced by repeating every Christmas day the angels' song of "peace on earth and good-will to men," while we cheat in trade, and break treaties with weaker tribes, and exterminate Seminole Indians because they refuse to give up their wives and children to become slaves, and massacre friendly Mexican neighbors because we covet their land, and fill our pockets with money by selling a deadly article that "steals away the brains of men."

We are no worse than other Christian nations. Yet they all marvel that the whole world does not bow down with reverence before Christianity! They forget that people of other religions make acquaintance with theirs principally through the medium of grasping traders and sensual sailors; neither of whom are favorable exemplifications of the Golden Rule, or the Sermon on the Mount.

It is a melancholy fact that some earnest souls, educated in other forms of faith, have been attracted by our theories only to be repelled by our practices. That pure and enlightened Hindu, Rammohun Roy, became in love with the teachings of Jesus. He went to England, expecting to find there a Christian community, living together like a band of brothers. He found haughtiness in one class, servility in another; super-abounding wealth on one side, rags and starvation on the other; stately cathedrals and pompous ritual, and the worship of God made a matter of bargain and sale. And he whose sensitive, truth-seeking soul had been pained by missionaries calling him

"a heathen," died sad and disheartened because he could not find his ideal of a Christian.

And in our own midst there are many to whom pious professions become a subject of hissing, by reason of the worldliness with which they are accompanied. Such hissing is not, in many cases, caused by want of reverence for what is good, but simply by a hatred of shams. Let us respect sincerity, wherever we find it; and let us cease from judging people harshly because they cannot believe what seems to us to be true. Belief is not in our own power. Natural organization, education, surrounding circumstances, and the various experiences of life gradually change our views, without our willing it, or even being conscious of it. I presume no reflecting person could say that the state of his mind, on any subject of mere opinion, remained the same at sixty years of age as it was when he was twenty years old. And these inevitable changes come to different individuals in diverse forms.

With a large majority of people, the love of approbation and the force of habit are so strong, that they prefer peace to progress. They go on using customary phrases and forms, without thinking much about what their significance or influence may be; and all whose mental organization leads them to question their import, they brand as infidels. But there are different kinds of infidels, as there are different kinds of Christians. Some Christians join the church, partake of ordinances, and repeat prayers, merely because custom has rendered it respectable; others find real support and consolation in such observances. Some are infidels because they find religion an uncomfortable restraint; others are infidels not from want of principle, but from having so much principle that they will not, by conforming to established usages, appear to believe what increasing knowledge has compelled them to doubt. The word sceptic, in its Greek origin, simply signified one who looks about him carefully; and this describes a large class of active minds at the present period. They reverence truth, and in their diligent search for it they are carefully shading their eyes from cross-lights, that they may see things as they are.

Two classes of minds always have existed, and always must exist, because they are as necessary to preserve equilibrium in the world of Mind, as are the centripetal and centrifugal forces in the world of Matter. In ancient times Jesus said, "The Jews ask for a sign, and the Greeks seek wisdom;" and this distinction exists quite as strongly in the mental organizations of people in modern times. Some have no power to stand alone; they seek some changeless authority to lean upon; they cannot feel sure that truth is truth, unless it is endorsed by some miraculous interposition of super-human power. Another class of minds perceive that truth is its own best evidence; they are unable to believe that any authority can possibly be unchangeable, and suited to all times and conditions; they regard all seeming miracles as the effects of universal laws, not understood; and they have a settled conviction that any departure from the established laws of creation, to accomplish temporary purposes, would inevitably resolve the universe into chaos. Of course, these two classes of minds cannot delight in each other's society; but it is time they should learn to have patience with each other, and to set up for one another no other standard of goodness than moral rectitude and perfect sincerity of speech and action. In the absence of this, the only just criterion, many good men in all ages have been deemed irreligious, merely because their souls had outgrown the mould society had prepared for them. It was so with Socrates; it was so with Jesus; it was so with Luther. The learned German Spinoza was a conspicuous instance of this injustice. He was pre-eminently pure and good, and so devout that he reverently recognized the presence of God in every leaf and insect; but because his mind was so constituted that he could not think of the Infinite One as a person, his own people, the Jews, united with the Christians in denouncing him as an atheist.

But as men become more familiar with each other by means of travel, emigration, free institutions, general diffusion of literature, and mutual translation of each other's languages, the more they will become convinced that all men are brethren; that God is the Father of them all, and that he has not neglected any of his children. The fire which sends steam-chariots whirling through the world is a mighty agent to melt away the barriers of race and creed.

The more we know of history, the more does it seem likely that Hindustan, or Central India, was the cradle of civilization. Fragments of their ancient language, called the Sanscrit, are found in languages formerly deemed the most ancient in the world; and it is surprising how many of our theological opinions, customs, manufactures, and even games can be traced back to that source. And now again India is leading the way in the great movement destined to eventuate in a Church of the World. There is an association existing among them called Brahma Somaj, which simply means "Worshippers of God." They accept the best teaching of all religions, and try to embody it in just, pure, temperate, benevolent, and religious lives. Again day dawns in the East!

Milan cathedral, lifting its thousand snow-white images of saints into the clear blue of heaven, is typical of that Eclectic Church of the Future which shall gather forms of holy aspirations from all ages and nations, and set them on high in their immortal beauty, with the broad sunlight of heaven to glorify them all.

JOSE BILLINGS is not a classical author, yet thousands, probably, when seeking the indulgence of a midsummer siesta, have had occasion to repeat, "uttered or unexpressed," his immortal apothegm, "Darn a fil."—*Boston Advertiser*.

Communications.

LECTURES.

LINCOLN, Neb., July 23, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I expect to be present at the Watkins Convention, and after it is over I propose spending a month or two in New York and New England, during which time I should be pleased to address Liberal Leagues and other Liberal Societies. I should esteem it a favor if you would make this announcement through THE INDEX. Some of the subjects on which I am prepared to speak are—

The Devil-Worshippers of America.

The Spiritual Bankrupt Act.

Armageddon.

The Reign of Law.

The Positive Side of Liberalism.

The Loom of Life.

Societies wishing my service will please address H. L. Green, Esq., of Salamanca, N. Y.

Yours truly, W. E. COPELAND.

LINCOLN, Neb., July 26, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I understand that Rev. W. E. Copeland of this place is expecting to attend the convention of Liberals at Watkins, N. Y. Permit me, through your journal, to say to those wishing to hear a powerful lecturer, during his sojourn in the East, that they will find such a one in Mr. Copeland.

Few men in the ranks of liberal lecturers display so unselfish a spirit, and so marked talent upon the various questions of reform, as he. To hold good audiences for five years in one community among the unorganized element of freethinkers, besides doing a large work abroad in the States, is a powerful testimonial to his ability, and should draw for him a large hearing wherever he may go.

Very truly yours, L. J. BUMSTEAD.

LETTER FROM OLIVER JOHNSON.

ORANGE, N. J., July 29, 1878.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I desire to thank you most heartily for your courageous vindication of the freedom of the press, infringing in the recent conviction and sentence of Mr. Ezra H. Heywood under a strained interpretation of the law prohibiting the transmission of obscene publications through the mails; and also for your strenuous efforts to save the cause of liberalism from becoming identified in the public mind with the odious and detestable doctrines of "free love," and with the efforts to screen from deserved punishment the manufacturers and disseminators of obscene publications. Your expositions of this whole subject are as clear and sound as they are timely, and I trust they will in some good degree serve the purpose for which they were written. The liberty of the press, properly defined, is one of the most sacred of human rights; but the attempt to make it a cover for the indecipherable and corrupting nastiness of obscene literature should awaken the indignation of every friend of purity and virtue. Once let the cause of liberalism become identified in the public mind with the efforts to corrupt the youth of the country by obscene pictures and appeals to animal passion, and it will be smitten (as it ought to be) with the lightning of public indignation and wrath. Liberals can no more afford to be thought indifferent to this question than to that of the liberty of the press. The advocates of the popular faith insist that every departure from the Orthodox standards is dangerous to good morals; and the wide prevalence of this belief constitutes one of the mightiest obstacles to the growth of liberal opinions. It is important, therefore, that liberals of every class should furnish a standing refutation of this error in the purity of their private lives, and in the open and strenuous advocacy of the highest standard of morals.

I am more, rather than less, inclined to thank you for your efforts to keep the standard of liberalism high and pure, from the fact that I do not agree with you in renouncing Christianity, but choose to fight the battle of freethought in its name and that of its founder. Upon this point I here enter into no argument beyond the simple fact that I stand upon the definition of Christianity which I find in Webster, and believe that liberalism, rightly understood, is far more Christian than are the creeds which I reject. I have read THE INDEX from the beginning, but upon this point my conviction remains unshaken.

And, now that I am writing, I desire to thank you also for your invaluable labors for the complete secularization of the Republic. You have done much to expose the evils arising from the attempt to confuse the functions of the State with those of the Church, and to form a sound and consistent public opinion upon the subject. In one respect, however, I think you make a very serious mistake; namely, in attempting to identify the cause of secularism with opposition to Christianity,—as if the latter and the former were necessarily at enmity with each other. As a Christian, and in the interest of Christianity as I understand it, I am an earnest and thorough secularist; and I believe the drift of thought and opinion, even in the Orthodox churches, is far more toward than away from secularism. You treat the National Reform Association as if it were the representative and expositor of the religious Orthodoxy of the country. In this I believe you are utterly mistaken. The "Covenanters"—a comparatively small, though highly respectable, body of Christians—are the soul and substance of that association, without whom it would perish in three months, beyond all hope of resurrection. The drift of thought and opinion in the churches is altogether away from its projects. The leading religious papers of the country (with few ex-

options) show it no favor, and many of them have spoken openly against it. The *New York Observer*, the stout champion of old-school Orthodoxy, the *Christian Advocate*, the national organ of Methodism, the *Independent*, the *Christian Union*, and the whole Baptist press of the country have avowed their opposition to the Covenant scheme. Dr. Spear's book in defence of secularism, though it has not received the attention due to its merits, is exerting an influence to-day far stronger than that of the National Reform Association, with all its conventions, papers, and tracts. The Covenanters are a hundred years behind the age. Indeed, they are lingering still in the atmosphere of the Jewish Theocracy. We should never forget that in this conflict the main citadel was carried nearly one hundred years ago, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted. Against that bulwark the National Reform Association arrays its forces in vain. True, the work of secularization is not yet fully accomplished. A number of old customs, that had their roots in the union of the Church with the State, still remain. So, when the forest trees are cut down and burned, and a wide territory opened to the sun, rotting stumps will long remain to embarrass the work of the farmer. The employment of chaplains, religious worship in schools, the enforced observance of the Sabbath, the appointment of days of fasting, thanksgiving, etc., are nothing but customs that must die out sooner or later for want of life at the root. They are not signs of a great conspiracy to marry the Church again to the State, but remnants of a former state of things, anachronisms tending to decay. The processes of Nature here need help, just as a stumpy field needs the grubbing-hoe; but there is no cause for alarm, as if the forests were about to grow again. The only reason for the popular indifference to this subject is in the almost universal conviction that there is not the slightest danger that the nation will in this matter take any backward step. The efforts of the National Reform Association alarm the public no more than would a proposition to compel the cataract of Niagara to reverse itself and roll its mighty flood back toward the western lakes. But if ever a serious conflict should arise between the friends and the foes of secularism, you will find the vast majority of American Christians taking sides not with the latter, but with the former.

You wonder why liberals are not aroused by your appeals on this subject; but there is no mystery about it. They do not generally see and feel the danger that you describe, and so are little inclined to spend their time and money in what seems to them a needless conflict. They see that the line between secularists and anti-secularists is not the line that divides Christians from anti-Christians, but that Christians themselves are ready to resist any serious step toward a reunion of Church and State.

Pardon me for writing so long a letter. I have no claim to a hearing in THE INDEX; but if you will publish what I have written, you will at least gratify

Yours cordially,
OLIVER JOHNSON.

LITERATURE.

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S TWO VOLUMES.*

Mr. Frothingham's position among the scholars and men of marked intellectual power in this country has long been recognized. As a preacher in the great metropolis of this nation he has achieved a happy eminence, and from Sunday to Sunday wins to his hearing an audience which, if not conspicuously great in numbers, is certainly so in culture and refinement. And yet Mr. Frothingham is no holiday man; he is not merely an orator capable of graceful and elegant periods; he is not a student to say with Prospero in the "Tempest,"—

"My library was dukedom large enough;"

so being content with his books, and indifferently leaving the affairs of men to drift by as they will. In all that concerns humanity this scholar and preacher has taken a vital interest. Early in his ministry he became deeply enlisted in the anti-slavery cause, and his pulpit trumpet gave no uncertain sound in that great ethico-political agitation. On later questions of reform, as they have successively risen to vex our social sphere, he has been as unequivocally committed to the side of justice and impartial right, finding in all a common ground of sympathy and cooperation with enlightened philanthropic men of every Christian sect.

We mention these facts with the purpose of indicating that Mr. Frothingham, as an author, has a distinct claim to the candid consideration of the public whenever he writes upon subjects that move his intellect and conscience; a claim which suggests that upon whatever topic his pen may touch he is likely to have something to say worthy in itself to be considered.

The fact, then, that the author of the books before us is a famous expounder of so-called religious rationalism should not deter any real thinker from turning their pages with care. Mr. Frothingham, both in the matter and manner of his writing, appeals only to cultured, thoughtful, and serious readers. He has no coarse, sneering, defiant sentences to tickle the ears of mere iconoclasts, to rouse the rude joy of reckless deniers and polemical shoulder-bitters; but he invites to calm thought, to candid comparison, to charitable judgment, to reasonable discussion.

We are of those who firmly believe that respect for the essence and substance of religion is ineradicably ingrained in the nature of man; and, therefore, that the frank discussion of the relative merits of any or all the forms by which the human religious element has sought to express itself is not only in order, but

may fearlessly be encouraged to proceed. He who attacks religion itself, we believe, attacks an invulnerable fortress, which never has surrendered, and never will surrender; and this, because it is entrenched in the natural love, sympathy, aspiration, hope, and faith of the common heart of mankind. The finite human feels, even when it does not think, its relation to the Infinite; and out of that conscious relation springs what we call religion, which is the pose of the individual soul in more or less of awe, reverence, worship, and obedience toward God. This pose cannot be opposed successfully, simply because there is nothing so natural as religion.

In this belief Mr. Frothingham is himself a sharer. On page 117 of *The Spirit of the New Faith*, he says:

"It is my faith that as long as there shall be traces of human life there will be traces of religion; and the religion, instead of becoming more shadowy and ephemeral, will increase in richness and splendor. It is my belief that the cardinal ideas that constitute its intellectual substance will never decline; that great realities will become more real as time rolls on. Aspiration, the sighing for the perfect, the longing for the infinite, the craving for a better truth than has been discovered, will haunt the mind more and more as reason becomes calm and composed, and able to entertain the facts that make up human life. As man grows older, reason will more and more predominate over passion; then intellect will become wider, more comprehensive in its scope as it becomes richer in its culture, more rather than less imaginative and poetic; the great words will be charged with new meanings; the great doctrines will be interpreted in finer senses."

In this volume, which is a collection of discourses, twelve in number, one thing is markedly apparent; and that is the high moral tone which pervades every chapter. We do not use this word *moral* in any superficial or legal sense, but rather in that which expresses a certain elevation of spirit, which instinctively and spontaneously allies itself with whatsoever is pure and beautiful and good. On the current of thought and emotion in these pages we are borne up into sweet, wholesome air, where our minds and hearts are swept clean of anything like hatred or ill-will or uncharitableness toward our fellow-men.

The second volume, *The Cradle of the Christ*, is doctrinal, and even controversial, in comparison with the first; and yet here, that purpose which so generally characterizes the author is plainly manifest; namely, to be fair and just, and always from his point of view reasonable. The essay has for its object to strip off what its author conceives to be the husk of Christianity and to expose its inner life, and to tone down what are believed to be the extravagant and superstitious views of the Church with respect to its founder. Mr. Frothingham carefully distinguishes between the Jesus and the Christ, and seeks here to trace historically and critically the process by which he regards the veritable man as having taken on a largely mythical form. He declares his intention, even in this effort, to be mainly literary, and in his preface he takes no little pains to allay the apprehension of the reader that there is any dogmatic determination in the book. On reading over what he has written, he says:—

"The thought has occurred to him [the author] that, in his solicitude to make his positions perfectly clear, and to state his points concisely, he may have laid himself open to the charge of carrying on a controversy under the pretence of explaining a literature. Such a reproach, his heart tells him, would be undeserved. He disclaims all purpose and desire to weaken the moral supports of any form of religion; as little purpose or desire to undermine Christianity as to revive Judaism. It is his honest belief that no genuine interests of religion are compromised by scientific or literary studies; that religion is independent of history, that Christianity is independent of the New Testament. He is cordially persuaded that the admission of every one of his conclusions would leave the institutions of the Church precisely, in every spiritual respect, as they are; and in thus declaring he has no mental reserve, no misty philosophical meaning that preserves expressions while destroying ideas; he uses candid and intelligible speech. The lily's perfect charm suffers no abatement from the chemist's analysis of the slime into which it strikes its slender root; the grape of the Johannisberg vineyards is no less luscious from the fact that the soil has been subjected to the microscope; the fine qualities of the human being, man or woman, are the same on any theory,—the Bible theory of the perfect Adam, or Darwin's of the anthropoid ape. The hero is hero still, and the saint saint, whatever his ancestry."

Indeed, we cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that rationalists in general would do well to learn from Mr. Frothingham a larger and finer appreciation of the spiritual contents of Christianity, and to do better justice to many of its doctrines and institutions.

From any theological criticism of these volumes we purposely abstain. Their literary execution is on the whole excellent. We might object that the author is sometimes too rhetorical, and that he indulges too much in metaphors and antitheses. He has a habit of stating both sides very strongly; indeed, sometimes so strongly as almost to bewilder the reader, and leave him in doubt as to where the truth really lies. The orthography of the pages is a little mixed, partaking now of Webster and now of Worcester. Why does Mr. Frothingham give to Christian a small c, to Arabian a small a, and to Hebrew a small h? Would he begin German with a small g, and Russian with a small r? We are sorry to observe that the proof-reading of these volumes is quite faulty, and the mechanical execution of them in some respects astonishingly imperfect, excellent as it is in others.—A. W. Stevens, in the *Literary World*.

SUMMER VACATIONS.

We regard as one of the most encouraging features of modern times the increasing prevalence of the custom of leaving the city for a time during the heat of summer. Once it was thought to be only the privilege of the wealthy classes, who could afford to have country seats, among their other luxuries of living; for the rest, the very desire for a respite from city heat and labor was often frowned upon, and even stigmatized as a proof of an idle and frivolous mind. But every natural need of humanity will force its way through all opposing barriers; and gradually this one has been recognized and provided for so fully that now persons even in very moderate circumstances plan for their fortnight's or month's vacation as one of the necessities of city life, without even a thought of its being an extravagance either of time or money; while every year witnesses increasing provision for the poor, in the way of children's excursions, country homes for the sick, and similar benevolent and most praiseworthy enterprises.

While, however, we hail this change as most significant of a better understanding of life's uses, and a promise of increasing health and vigor for our busy and tired citizens, we have yet much to learn as to the best mode of spending our short respites and of gaining from it the refreshment, invigoration, and happiness which it is capable of affording. There is one infallible way of counteracting the blessed influences which meadow, forest, mountain, or sea are waiting to pour upon us. It is that of carrying with us our city life, with its business cares, its fashion, its conventionalities and excitements. Nothing will more surely nullify the good that may be in store for us than this. Most of us are weary with a ceaseless round of these things for ten or eleven months in the year. They have exhausted the vital powers, and worn upon the tissues of the brain and nerves, by their constant pressure. Whether it be the unrelieved toll of the mechanic or artisan or the mental labor of the student, the anxious cares of business, or the endurance of domestic perplexities, professional and public responsibilities or the exciting demands of fashionable society, the effect is alike exhausting and prostrating. What is needed is the tonic of complete change; the delicious freedom from the burdens of the past year; the sense of perfect liberty to come or go, to sleep or wake, to read or think or dream, untrammelled by the inexorable must of city life.

Our summer holidays, then, should always be planned with this in view. They must not involve an expense that will be hard to meet, or the care will frustrate the object in view. They must not be rural images of city life, such as fashionable summer resorts too often are, with an enforced routine of dress, amusements, and social excitements; for then the same drain on the vital energy will be made, only among different surroundings. Neither should they be eager and hurried efforts to crowd as much sight-seeing into a few days as possible. Some people rush through a week or a month of vacation, flying from one place to another, with the futile expectation of thus discovering the grandeur or sublimity or beauty of Nature. It is utterly impossible. They may catch glimpses of solemn mountains, roaring cataracts, wonderful caves, expansive oceans, lovely fields, placid lakes, and gentle rivers; but to experience the uplifting influence of their majesty on the one hand, or the tranquillizing and soothing effect of their loveliness on the other, a degree of leisure is needful that the hurried traveller can never command. It is far better to confine ourselves to a single contemplation, and to allow it time to fill our hearts day by day with its own peculiar charm, than to fly from one place to another, reaching home only to find our bodies exhausted with rapid transit, and our minds confused with a multiplicity of impressions.

In order to secure a vacation that shall be at once enjoyable and beneficial, we must endeavor to realize the two ideas of freedom and leisure. This is not so difficult a task as may be supposed. It demands no serious outlay of money; indeed, it forbids this, as involving care and anxiety. No extensive preparations are necessary, as only comfort and convenience need to be consulted. Health, circumstances, and taste will, of course, combine in the selection of a spot where these enjoyments may be secured. But whether by the side of grand old hills and stately forests, or by old ocean with its dashing waves, or amid the more tranquil scenes of fertile meadows and placid streams, let us for the time throw off our cares, lay down our labors, banish all conventionalities, and enjoy to the full that perfect liberty of action and unbroken leisure that shall, while affording us a season of pure and simple delight, also enable us to take up our work again with renewed life and vigor, and a full consciousness that our vacation has been both well planned and well spent.—Mrs. A. F. Curtis in the *Philadelphia Ledger*.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 451.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS B. ABBOT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HOW SWEET is the sense of leisure to him who knows that he has earned the right to enjoy it!

DENNIS KEARNEY may help make Ben. Butler governor of Massachusetts, but we much fear that he will not facilitate the wise solution of the labor problem in this State.

THE GREAT California "apostle" of working men's rights says that a man who wears his shirt outside of his trousers (like the Chinaman) isn't fit to be an American citizen,—or words to that effect. Why is it not just as decent to wear a clean shirt outside, as to wear a dirty one inside?

WE LOOKED in vain in Dennis Kearney's speech at Faneuil Hall, on the evening of August 5, for any full, clear, and impressive statement of the laboring man's grievance and demand. The speech as a whole was empty of argument and reasoning, but fairly bristled with vengeful epithets and fierce denunciations.

A GRAND EMBASSY has come from China to this country, to be received by President Hayes and his cabinet at Washington. Among other international negotiations which may be made, we trust that the one suggested by Mr. Kearney may be settled; namely, the right of any one in this country to wear his shirt in whatever manner pleases him.

ENGLAND gets an increased taxation of twenty million pounds in consequence of Disraeli's new "policy;" and the Liberals expect this fact will help them in making head against the Conservatives. Let the English people alone for measuring the right or wrong of any policy, liberal or conservative, according as it increases or diminishes their taxes!

MR. H. L. GREEN wishes us to correct a former statement of his in regard to excursion railroad rates to the Watkins Convention. As corrected, the fare will be as follows for a round trip: From Baltimore, \$11.19; Harrisburg, \$7.84; Philadelphia, \$12.00; Lock Haven, \$5.06; Williamsport, \$4.65; Elmira, ninety cents; Pittsburgh (via Lock Haven), \$12.51.

IT SEEMS to be in the human nature of every oppressed class to desire to oppress some other class. It would appear that the working men of California, under Dennis Kearney's lead, propose to obtain their rights at the expense of doing some wrong to Chinese laborers. Hasn't a Chinaman as much right to come and live in this country as an Irishman; and when here, to be treated with equal justice?

THE WORKING MAN most certainly has a real grievance and demand, which society must give ear to, or refuse at its peril. The oftener these are plainly and calmly stated, the more rapid approach shall we make to that equitable readjustment between labor and capital which would seem to be indispensable. But we want sense and reason, not nonsense and madness, in the discussion and solution of this complicated problem.

THE COUNTRY is beginning again to resound with party preparations for the fall campaign, and the party organs are tuning up with wonderful exhilaration and expectancy of success. In what will it all end? Why, one side will beat and the other will be beaten; and then the country must try and get along as best it can, hopeful that as little damage will be done to its interests by the "ins" as is possible to the nature of politicians.

THE PETITION for the pardon of E. H. Heywood, which is now in circulation, will we trust rapidly grow with willing signers. Dissent from Mr. Heywood's social theories as much as any one may, all reasonable and unprejudiced persons can but allow that he is imprisoned on a false issue and under an unrighteous interpretation of the law. If Heywood should go to jail under Judge Clark's rendering of

the obscenity law, then also should every publisher and vender of the Old Testament scriptures.

THE ESSAY which we print this week in these columns, from the pen of Francis Parkman,—one of the foremost historians of this country,—is one with whose sentiments we do not wholly agree; nor does it appear to us, we are bound in candor to say, so good as it ought to have been in justice to the nature of the subject. Nevertheless, it contains so much timely warning and excellent exposition of the perils attending our republican experiment, and is on the whole so worthy a treatment of a most needed discussion, that we are heartily glad to present it to the readers of THE INDEX for their most thoughtful consideration.

IT IS NEEDFUL that a man sometimes step aside from the roaring stream of current affairs, in which he has long been a strenuous actor, and stand in the cool shadows of calm thought and meditation, in order that he may see that not to him but to God belongs the praise of leading the world on to perfection. While we are struggling with might and main to renovate society, and are committed to some particular method for such renovation, the conceit is apt to be born in us that we are of more consequence to the world than is really the fact; and that things would not "move on" with any considerable progress, unless our shoulder were pushing so mightily at the wheel. But this is all a delusion. However useful a man may be in the world's affairs, his importance is not so great that he may not at any time be excused without checking the rolling chariot of Divine purposes. God always has a great crop of helpers; and no matter who or how many of them disappear, his resources never become bankrupt. The Cosmos is both intelligent and moral, and never falls in business, let what may happen.

SPRINKLING approvingly of the Nation's adverse criticism of Swinburne's recent volume of poems, the Christian Register considers "it a compliment to American literary discrimination that such poets as Swinburne have obtained but little popularity on this side of the Atlantic, and that Walt Whitman must go abroad to be 'appreciated.'" Of course, no gentleman is capable of defending for a moment any really coarse style of writing, which is the product of a pen dipped in the love of the vulgar and sensual; but there is a kind of squeamishness in certain "literary discrimination" which does not appear to us the sign of a healthy and robust virtue. Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* is as a whole a noble book, the product of a thoroughly noble and manly brain; and anything in it which may be deemed indelicate is merely incidental, not conspicuous. Any literary judgment which would exclude *Leaves of Grass* from our study or parlor tables on the score of immodesty of utterance would exclude the plays of Shakspeare, the essays of Montaigne, the poems of Burns, the *Paradise Lost* of Milton,—to say nothing of a score of other books highly esteemed by the best "literary discrimination." Would the writer of the Register paragraph read Solomon's *Songs* to his family at morning devotions or to his congregation at the Sunday services? Probably not. And yet he wouldn't be glad if the Bible had to "go abroad to be 'appreciated.'" We hazard nothing in saying that neither Solomon nor his father David was half so pure and chaste a man as Walt Whitman, and that neither wrote with a loftier or more honest purpose to inspire and benefit mankind. Whatever words a pure heart utters with pure lips any pure reader can bear to read, however different the style of the writer may be from that which the reader might employ. A person of really good "literary discrimination" will not throw a book aside because of some incidental features to which he objects, providing it be on the whole a book of high aims and aspirations.

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- List of local leagues including Boston, Massachusetts; New Philadelphia, Ohio; Titusville, Pennsylvania; etc.

- List of local leagues including Newark, New Jersey; Hainesville, Texas; Cortland Village, New York; etc.

The Failure of Universal Suffrage.

BY FRANCIS PARKMAN.

In different times and countries, patriotism has different work to do. For the last two or three centuries its business has usually been the bridling of tyrants, the dethroning of arbitrary kings and the setting up of constitutional ones, or the getting rid of kings altogether; in short, the extension of popular liberties at the expense of the wearers of crowns and bearers of sceptres. Going farther back, we see another state of things. Toward the end of the middle ages we find the relations of kings and peoples the reverse of what they afterward became. We find oppression divided and diffused in the persons of a multitude of feudal tyrants, and the masses looking to their sovereign as a protector. The feudal oppressor was both his enemy and theirs, and the progress of monarchical centralization was in the interest both of prince and peasant. It was not until feudalism was prostrate that the masses ceased to bless their sovereign as a friend, and began to curse him as a tyrant. Still farther back in the centuries we find feudalism itself acting a part which could not have been spared in the reorganization of society. The foe of one generation is the friend of another, and there is scarcely a form of government so bad that it has not, at some time, prevented a worse or prepared for a better. It is but lately, then, that crowns and sceptres have been denounced as enemies of the rights of man; but the war against them has been waged so hotly, and has left such vigorous traditions behind it, that the same battle-cry is still raised in quarters where the foe has been driven off the field and utterly annihilated; where the present danger is not above but beneath; and where the real tyrant is organized ignorance, led by unscrupulous craft, and marching amid the applause of fools, under the flag of equal rights. One might be better employed than in hooting and throwing stones at the ghost of dead and buried privilege. But the amusement is safe and popular. Habit has made it second nature, and it gives excellent occasion for the display of oratorical fireworks. The transfer of sovereignty to the people, and the whole people, is proclaimed the panacea of political and social ills; and we are but rarely reminded that popular sovereignty has evils of its own, against which patriotism may exercise itself to better purpose. Here and there one hears a whisper that perhaps the masses have not learned how to use their power; but the whisper is greeted with obloquy. We speak, of course, of our own country, where no royalty is left to fear, except the many-headed one that bears the name of Demos, with its portentous concourse of courtiers, sycophants, and panders. Those who live on its favors and pretend most devotion to it have been heard of late warning us to beware, and telling us that Demos is a "dangerous beast," whose caprices it behooves us to humor, lest he should turn and rend us. Far be it from us to echo this treason. Let others call him beast; we are his subject, and will but touch with reverence a few flaws in his armor. Once he was a reasonable and sensible monarch, who had a notion of good government, and ruled himself and his realm with wisdom and moderation; but prosperity has a little turned his head, and hordes of native and foreign barbarians, all armed with the ballot, have so bewildered him that he begins to lose his wits and forget his kingly craft. When a king makes himself oppressive to any considerable part of his subjects, it is not worth while to consider whether he wears one head or millions; whether he sits enthroned in the palace of his ancestors, or smokes his pipe in a filthy ward-room among blackguards like himself. Nevertheless, if we are to be oppressed, we would rather the oppressor were clean, and, if we are to be robbed, we like to be robbed with civility. Demos is a Protean monarch, and can put on many shapes. He can be benign, imposing, or terrible; but of late we have oftener seen him under his baser manifestations, keeping vile company, and doing his best to shake our loyalty by strange, unkingly pranks. The worst things about him are his courtiers, who in great part are a disreputable crew, abject flatterers, vicious counselors, and greedy plunderers; behind their master in morals, and in most things else but cunning. If the politicians would let him alone, Demos would be the exact embodiment of the average intelligence and worth of a great people; but, deluded and perverted as he is, he falls below this mark, and passes for

worse than his real self. Yet, supposing that his evil counsellors were all exterminated as they deserve, it would avail us little, for he would soon choose others like them, under the influence of notions which, of late, have got the better of his former good sense. He is the master, and can do what he will. He is answerable for all, and if he is ill-served he has nobody to blame but himself. In fact, he is jealous of his nobles, and, like certain other kings before him, loves to raise his barber, his butcher, and his scullion to places of power. They yield him divine honor, proclaim him infallible as the pope, and call his voice the voice of God; yet they befool and cheat him not the less. He is the type of collective folly as well as wisdom, collective ignorance as well as knowledge, and collective frailty as well as strength. In short, he is utterly mortal, and must rise or fall as he is faithful or false to the great laws that regulate the destinies of men.

A generation or more ago, a cry of "Eureka!" rose over all the land, or rather over all the northern part of it. It was the triumphant acclaim of a nation hailing its king. The enthusiasm had its focus in New England, at that time, perhaps, the most successful democracy on earth,—a fact which, however, was mainly to be ascribed to wholesome traditions, which had become part of the popular life. These the jubilants overlooked, and saw the fountain of all political and social blessings in the beneficent sway of an absolute Demos; that is to say, in the uncurbed exercise of the "inalienable right" of man to govern himself. A little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, rose presently above the sea, the herald of an invasion of peasants. With this in-pouring of labor came railroads, factories, and a thousand prolific industries, which heads without hands could not have awakened or sustained. Population increased, wealth grew apace; men became rabid in making money, and women frivolous in spending it. The same influences were at work through all the Northern States. A vast industrial development, an immense prosperity, rested safely for a while on the old national traditions, love of country, respect for law, and the habit of self-government. Then began the inevitable strain. Crowded cities, where the irresponsible, and ignorant were numerically equal, or more than equal, to the rest, and where the weakest and most worthless was a match, by his vote, for the wisest and best; bloated wealth and envious poverty; a tinsel civilization above, and a discontented proletariat beneath,—all these have broken rudely upon the dreams of equal brotherhood once cherished by those who made their wish the father of their thought, and fancied that this favored land formed an exception to the universal laws of human nature. They cried out for elevating the masses, but the masses have sunk lower. They called for the diffusion of wealth, but wealth has gathered into more numerous and portentous accumulations. Two enemies, unknown before, have risen like spirits of darkness on our social and political horizon,—an ignorant proletariat and a half-taught plutocracy. Between lie the classes, happily still numerous and strong, in whom rests our salvation.

To these we must look for the sterling ability and worth of the nation, sometimes in wealth, now and then in poverty; but for the most part in neither the one nor the other. They are the natural enemies of the vulgar plutocrat, and the natural friends of all that is best in the popular heart; but, as they neither flatter, lie, nor bribe, they have little power over these barbarians of civilization that form the substratum of great industrial communities.

Liberty was the watchword of our fathers, and so it is of ourselves. But, in their hearts, the masses of the nation cherish desires not only different from it, but inconsistent with it. They want equality more than they want liberty. Now, there is a factitious inequality and a real and intrinsic one. Rank, titles, privileges, and wealth make up the first; and character, ability, and culture, the second. Excepting only the distinctions of wealth, we have abolished the artificial inequality, and now we are doing what we can to abolish the real one. Vaguely and half unconsciously, but every day more and more, the masses hug the flattering illusion that one man is essentially about as good as another. They will not deny that there is great difference in the quality of horses or dogs, but they refuse to see it in their own genus. A jockey may be a democrat in the street, but he is sure to be an aristocrat in the stable. And yet the essential difference between man and man is incomparably greater than that between horse and horse, or dog and dog; though, being chiefly below the surface, the general eye can hardly see it.

Mountains and mole-hills, deserts and fertile valleys, and all the universal inequality of Nature, are but types of inequality in men. To level the outward world would turn it into barrenness, and to level human minds to one stature would make them barren as well. The history of the progress of mankind is the history of its leading minds. The masses, left to themselves, are hardly capable of progress, except material progress, and even that imperfectly. Through the long course of history, a few men, to be counted by scores or by tens, have planted in the world the germs of a growth whose beneficent vitality has extended itself through all succeeding ages; and any one of these men outweighs in value to mankind myriads of nobles, citizens, and peasants who have fought or toiled in their generation, and then rotted into oblivion. Condé used to say that a thousand frogs were not worth one salmon. The saying, as he meant it, was false, but there is a sense in which it is true, though it tells the truth but feebly and imperfectly.

The highest man may comprehend the lowest, but the lowest can no more comprehend the highest than if he belonged to another order of beings,—as for some purposes he practically does. A single human

mind may engender thoughts which the combined efforts of millions of lower intelligences cannot conceive. This is not the faith of Demos. In his vague way, he fancies that aggregated ignorance and weakness will bear the fruits of wisdom. He begins to think that science, thought, and study are old-time illusions; that everybody has a right to form his own opinion as to whether the world is round or flat, and that the votes of the majority ought to settle the question.

We have said that intrinsic equality is inconsistent with liberty. It is so because, in order to produce it, very unequal opportunities of development must be granted to different kinds of mind and character, and an even distributive justice refused to human nature. The highest must be repressed and the lowest stimulated in order to produce a level average. In such an attempt no political or social system can completely succeed; but in so far as it tends this way it is false and pernicious. If it could succeed, or approach to success, it would be an outrage upon humanity. Asiatic despotisms have done so as nearly, perhaps, as is possible; but the Amuraths and Bajazets will hardly be thought fit examples for emulation. Democracy can no more succeed in producing a level than they did, but it can do prodigious mischief by trying to produce one. It may pretend that it is only "levelling upward"; but this phrase of pleasing sound means levelling downward also; for, if the lower strata of humanity are raised as high as their nature and the inexorable conditions of human life will permit, there will still be no equality till the upper strata are pushed down to meet them.

A society where liberty was complete, and where all men had equal opportunities of development, according to their several qualities, would show immense diversities of all kinds; like the vegetable world, where the tallest trees and the humblest shrubs, plants climbing and crawling, poisonous and wholesome, all grow out of the same soil and are formed of the same essential elements. So the essential elements of human nature are the same, but mixed in such different proportion, and controlled by such different tendencies, that they often result less in resemblances than in contrasts.

Shall we look for an ideal society in that which tends to a barren average and a weary uniformity, treats men like cattle, counts them by the head, and gives them a vote apiece without asking whether or not they have the sense to use it? or in that which recognizes the inherent differences between man and man, gives the preponderance of power to character and intelligence, yet removes artificial barriers, keeps circulation free through all its parts, and rewards merit wherever it appears with added influence? This, of course, is a mere idea, never to be fully realized; but it makes vast difference at what a republic aims, and whether it builds on NUMBERS or on WORTH. The methods by which it tries to reach its mark may be more or less effective, but it is all-important that the mark should be a true one.

The success of an experiment of indiscriminate suffrage hangs on the question whether the better part of the community is able to outweigh the worse. There are certain social conditions, rarely to be found except in small communities and a civilization not the most advanced, in which this question may be answered confidently in the affirmative; but, as numbers, wealth, and luxury increase, the difficulty grows with them. It is aggravated by the fact, generally acknowledged by those most competent to judge of it, that intellectual development and high civilization are not favorable to fecundity, so that the unintelligent classes, except when in actual destitution, multiply faster than those above them. Thus the power of ignorance tends to increase, or rather the power of the knaves who are always at hand to use it.

A New England village of the olden time—that is to say, of some forty years ago—would have been safely and well governed by the votes of every man in it; but now that the village has grown into a populous city, with its factories and workshops, its acres of tenement-houses, and thousands and ten thousands of restless workmen, foreigners for the most part, to whom liberty means license and politics means plunder, to whom the public good is nothing and their own most trivial interests everything, who love the country for what they can get out of it, and whose ears are open to the promptings of every rascally agitator,—the case is completely changed, and universal suffrage becomes a questionable blessing. Still we are told it is an inalienable right. Suppose for an instant that it were so, wild as the supposition is. The community has rights as well as the individual; and it has also duties. It is both its right and its duty to provide good government for itself; and, the moment the vote of any person or class of persons becomes an obstacle to its doing so, this person or class forfeits the right to vote; for, where the rights of a part clash with the rights of the whole, the former must give way.

When a man has not sense to comprehend the questions at issue, know a bad candidate from a good one, or see his own true interests; when he cares not a farthing for the general good, and will sell his vote for a dollar; when, by a native instinct, he throws up his cap at the claptrap declamation of some lying knave, and turns with indifference or dislike from the voice of honesty and reason,—then his vote becomes a public pest. Somebody uses him, and profits by him. Probably it is a demagogue, possibly a priest, or possibly both. In any case, it is folly to call him a free agent. His inalienable right may perhaps be valuable to him for the bribe he gets out of it; but it makes him a nuisance and a danger to the State. It causes pulpits, platforms, and press to condone his vices, and debauch the moral sense of the people by discovering objects of sympathy in

vagabonds, thieves, and ruffians. It gives power to the communistic attack on property, and makes it difficult to deal with outbreaks of brutal violence against which even humanity itself demands measures of the most stern and exemplary repression.

Universal suffrage, imposed upon the country by the rivalries of contending parties bidding against each other for votes, has since been promoted into a "principle," regarded by many persons as almost sacred. This so-called principle, however, is by no means of universal application, and, when applied in the wrong place, at once reduces itself to absurdity. Distribute ballot-boxes among the subjects of King John of Abyssinia or those of the Khan of Kalat, and set them to govern themselves by the full exercise of their inalienable rights, and our panacea would result in anarchy. Universal suffrage is applicable only to those peoples, if such there are, who by character and training are prepared for it; and the only rational question is as to the degree of preparation that will serve the purpose. In any case, preparation must be the work of time. There must be hereditary traditions of self-government. Universal suffrage exists in some European nations, and exists along with a high degree of civilization and prosperity; but in these the traditions and material forces of a centralized government are extremely strong, and the evils of an ignorant or vicious vote are held in check by powers of resistance which are unknown here. Yet even in these countries the final results of the experiments are, and well may be, the objects of deep anxiety.

We are told that, to make a bad voter a good one, we have only to educate him. His defect, however, is not merely intellectual. It consists also in the want of the feeling that his own interests are connected with those of the community, and in the weakness or absence of the sense of moral and political duty. The evil is not to be cured by reading, writing, and arithmetic. The public school may cram his brain with all it is capable of containing, and he will be no whit the better citizen for the process. It might train instead of cramming him, lay the foundation of a sound morality, and teach him something of political and social duty; but such education is more difficult than that now in vogue, and demands more judgment and ability in those who conduct it. To teach the teacher must be the first step; and here, as in everything else connected with public education, we find ourselves moving in a vicious circle. To whom have we entrusted these high and delicate interests? They demand the best intelligence and the best conscience of the community; and yet their control rests, in the last resort, with legislatures and municipal bodies representing in part that very public which needs education the most,—wretched, wire-pulling demagogues, ignorant as the constituencies that chose them, reckless of public duty, and without the faintest notion of what true education is. In such education rests the only hope of democracies; but it is vain to look for it unless the wiser half of the public can regain its virtual control.

The results thus far of our present style of popular education are not flattering. That portion of young America which has sprung from humble and ignorant parentage ought to show its effects most conspicuously; but it may be doubted whether, as a general rule, the young Irish-American is a better or safer citizen than his parent from Cork. He can read; but he reads nothing but sensation stories and scandalous picture-papers, which fill him with preposterous notions, and would enfeeble a stronger brain than his and debauch a sounder conscience. He is generally less industrious than his sire, and equally careless of the public good.

Those who bray loudest for inalienable rights extol the ballot as an education in itself, capable of making good citizens out of the poorest material. Under certain conditions, there is a measure of truth in this. An untaught and reckless voter, enveloped by honest and rational ones, is apt to change greatly for the better; but, to this end, it is essential that those whom the ballot is to educate should be segregated and surrounded by healthy influences. When extensive districts and, notably, large portions of populous cities are filled by masses of imported ignorance and hereditary ineptitude, the whole ferments together till the evil grows insufferable. The ballot then educates only to mischief. If the voter has a conscience, he votes it away. His teacher is a demagogue who plays on his prejudices or his greed, and out of a bad citizen makes him a worse. Witness the municipal corruptions of New York, and the monstrosities of negro rule in South Carolina.

It is said that vigilance is the price of liberty; but it has another condition no less essential. It demands moderation. It must stand on the firm ground, avoid rash theorizing and sweeping generalization, and follow the laws of development that reason and experience point out. It must build its future on its past. When it rushes deliriously after dazzling abstractions it is rushing toward its ruin. In short, it must be practical, not in the vile sense in which that word is used by political sharpers, but in the sense in which it is used by thoughtful and high-minded men.

There is an illusion, or a superstition, among us respecting the ballot. The means are confounded with the end. Good government is the end, and the ballot is worthless except so far as it helps to reach this end. Any reasonable man would willingly renounce his privilege of dropping a piece of paper into a box, provided that good government were assured to him and his descendants.

The champions of indiscriminate suffrage—such of them, that is, as deign to give reasons for their faith—point in triumph to the prosperity which the country has enjoyed till within the last few years, and proclaim it a result of the unlimited power of the

masses. This prosperity, however, had been founded and half built up before the muddy tide of ignorance rolled in upon us. It rests on the institutions and habits bequeathed to us by our fathers; and if until lately the superstructure has continued to rise, it is in spite of a debased suffrage, and not in consequence of it. With still more confidence, and more apparent reason, we are told to look at the great popular uprising of the civil war. Here, indeed, democracy revealed itself in its grandest aspect. The degrading elements had not then reached the volume and force that they have reached to-day. The issue was definite and distinct. The Union was to be saved, and popular government vindicated. There were no doubts and no complications. Victory meant national integrity, and defeat meant national disintegration. Above all, the cause had its visible emblem,—the national flag; and thousands and hundreds of thousands of eyes were turned upon it in absent and loving devotion. We heard a great deal at that time about "thinking bayonets." The bayonets did not think, nor did those who carried them. They did what was more to the purpose,—they felt. The emergency did not call for thought, but for faith and courage; and both were there in abundance. The political reptiles hid away, or pretended to change their nature, and for a time the malarious air was purged as by a thunder-storm. Peace brought a change. Questions intricate and difficult, demanding brains more than hearts, and discretion more than valor, took the place of the simple alternative to be or not to be. The lion had had his turn, and now the fox, the jackal, and the wolf took theirs. Every sly political trickster, whom the storm had awed into obscurity, now found his opportunity. The reptiles crawled out again, multiplied, and infested caucuses, conventions, and Congress. But the people were the saddest spectacle; the same people that had shown itself so heroic in the hour of military trial were now perplexed, bewildered, tossed between sense and folly, right and wrong, taking advice of mountebanks, and swallowing their filthy nostrums. The head of Demos was as giddy as his heart had been strong.

But why descant on evils past cure? Indiscriminate suffrage is an accomplished fact, and cannot be undone. Then why not accept it, look on the bright side, and hope that "somehow or other" all will be well in the end? Because the recognition of an evil must go before its cure, and because there is too much already of the futile optimism that turns wishes into beliefs, and discourses in every tone of sickly commonplace about popular rights and universal brotherhood. Beneath it all lies an anxious sense of present and approaching evil. Still, the case is not yet desperate. The country is full of recuperative force, latent just now, and kept so by the easy and apathetic good-nature which so strangely marks our people. This is not the quality by which liberty is won and kept; and yet popular orators and preachers do their best to perpetuate it. Prominent among obstacles to reform is this weary trawdle of the optimists.

It is well to be reminded how far we have sundered ourselves from the only true foundation of republics,—intelligence and worth. The evil is not to be cured by hiding it, turning away our eyes from it, or pretending that it is a blessing. If it is to be overcome, it must be first looked in the face. All nations have in them some element of decay. Systems and peoples have perished, and not one was ever saved by shutting the eyes and murmuring that all was for the best. Faith without reason will only beguile us to destruction, and Liberty may elope while we are bragging most of her favors. We believe that our present evils are not past cure, and that, if the sound and rational part of the people can be made to feel that the public wounds need surgery, they will find means of applying it.

Under what shape shall we look for deliverance? It is easy to say where we need not look for it. To dream of a king would be ridiculous. We might set up an oligarchy, or rather an oligarchy might set up itself; but it would be one made up of the "boss," the "railroad king," and the bonanza Croesus,—a tyranny detestable and degrading as that of the rankest democracy, with which it would be in league. The low politician is the accomplice of the low plutocrat; and the low voter is the ready tool of both. There are those who call on imperialism to help us; but, supposing this heroic cure to be possible, we should rue the day that brought us to it. Our emperor would be nothing but a demagogue on a throne, forced to conciliate the masses by giving efficacy to their worst desires.

There is no hope but in purging and strengthening the republic. The remedy must be slow, not rash and revolutionary. A debased and irresponsible suffrage is at the bottom of the evil, but the State is sick of diseases that do not directly and immediately spring from this source. Something is due to the detestable maxim that to the victor belong the spoils, and the faculty that makes office the reward of party service, demands incessant rotation, dismisses the servant of the public as soon as he has learned to serve it well, prefers the interests of needy politicians to the interests of the whole people, sets a premium on trickery and discourages faithful industry. When the scraps and marrow-bones of office are flung down to be scrambled for, the dogs are sure to get the lion's share.

Never was there a more damning allegation against popular government than was made unwittingly by the popularity-loving Governor of a certain State, who, talking for reform in one breath and against it in the next, said in substance that good administration might be expected in monarchies, but that with us the conduct of public affairs is in the hands of the people, and that to complain of bad civil service is to

arraign democracy itself. Let us emulate this worthy gentleman: sit in smiling and serene despair, banish reflection, and drift placidly down the tide, fishing as we go! It is thus that republics are brought to their ruin. What the times need are convictions, and the courage to enforce them. The hope lies in an organized and determined effort to rouse the better half of the people to a sense that honest and trained capacity in our public service is essential to our well-being, and that the present odious and contemptible system is kept up in the interest of the few, not of the whole. There is much, too, in the organization of legislative and municipal bodies which might be changed in the interest of honesty against knavery, and of ability against artifice, without involving any attack against "inalienable rights." Yet, so long as a debased suffrage retains its present power for mischief, the snake is scotched, not killed. When a majority of the people become convinced that no aggregate of folly can produce sense, and no aggregate of worthlessness can produce honesty, and when they return to the ancient faith that sense and honesty are essential to good government, then it will become possible, not, perhaps, peaceably to abolish a debased suffrage, but to counteract and so far neutralize it that it may serve as a safety-valve and cease to be a danger.

There are prophets of evil who see in the disorders that involve us the precursors of speedy ruin; but complete disruption and anarchy are, we may hope, still far off, thanks to an immense vitality and an inherited conservative strength. The immediate question is this: Is the nation in the way of keeping its lofty promise, realizing its sublime possibilities, advancing the best interests of humanity, and helping to ennoble and not vulgarize the world? Who dares answer that it is?

Great fault is found with men of education and social position, because they withdraw from public life and abandon the field to men half taught and sans *aveu*. Tried by the standard of ideal perfection they ought, for the good of the country, to sacrifice inclination, peace, and emolument, go down into the arena, and jostle with the rest in the scrub-race of American politics, even if victory brings them no prize which they greatly care to win. Such men we have. Those who to-day save our politics from absolute discredit do so, in one degree or another, at a personal sacrifice. If the conflicts and the rewards of public life have something to attract them, they have also a great deal to repel. They enter a career where the arts of political management are of more avail than knowledge, training, and real ability; or, in other words, where the politician carries the day and not the statesman; where fitness for a high place is not the essential condition of reaching it, and where success must often be bought by compliances repugnant to them. The public service is paid neither by profit nor by honor, except such profit and honor as those best fitted to serve the public hold in slight account. It is only in the highest walks of political life that honor is to be found at all. For the rest, it might almost be said that he who enters them throws on himself the burden of proof to show that he is an honest man. More and more, we drift into the condition of those unhappy countries where "the post of honor is a private station;" and perhaps at this moment there is no civilized nation on earth of which this saying holds more true.

Out of this springs a double evil: bad government first, and then an increasing difficulty in regaining a good one. Good government cannot be maintained or restored unless the instructed and developed intellect of the country is in good degree united with political habits and experience. The present tendency is to divorce it from them; and this process of separation, begun long ago, is moving on now more rapidly than ever. Within a generation the quality of public men has sunk conspicuously. The masses have grown impatient of personal eminence, and look for leaders as nearly as may be like themselves. Young men of the best promise have almost ceased to regard politics as a career. This is not from want of patriotism. When the Union was in danger there were none who hastened to its defence with more ardent and devoted gallantry, rejoicing to serve their country in a field where it was to be served by manhood and not by trickery. Peace came; they sheathed their swords and were private citizens again. They would die in the public service, but they would not live in it.

In fact, the people did not want them there. The qualities of the most highly gifted and highly cultivated are discarded for cheaper qualities, which are easier of popular comprehension, and which do not excite jealousy. Therefore the strongest incentive to youthful ambition, the hope of political fame, is felt least by those who, for the good of the country, ought to feel it most. The natural results follow. A century ago three millions of people produced the wise, considerate, and temperate statesmanship on which our nationality is built. Now we are forty millions, and what sort of statesmanship takes forty millions produce let the records of Congress show. The germs of good statesmanship are among us in abundance, but they are not developed, and, under our present system and in the present temper of our people, they cannot be developed. The conditions of human greatness are difficult to trace; but one thing is reasonably sure: it will not grow where it is not wanted. It may be found in a republic that demands the service of its best and ablest, but not in one that prefers indifferent service of indifferent men, and pleases itself with the notion that this is democratic equality.

The irrepressible optimist, who discovers in every disease of the State a blessing in disguise, will say that eminent abilities are unnecessary in democracies. We commend him to a short study of the recent doings of Congress, and if this cannot dispel his illusion his case is beyond hope. This same illusion, in one shape or another, is wide-spread through all the realm of Demos, where we sometimes hear the value of per-

sonal eminence of any kind openly called in question, on the ground that the object of popular government is the good of the many and not of the few. This is true; but it remains to ask what the good of the many requires. It does not require that the qualities most essential to the conduct of national affairs should be dwarfed and weakened; but that they should be developed to the utmost, not merely as a condition of good government, but because they are an education to the whole people. To admire a brazen demagogue sinks the masses, and to admire a patriot statesman elevates them. Example is better than schooling; and, if average humanity is encouraged in the belief that there is nobody essentially much above itself, it will not rise above its own level. A low standard means low achievement. In every one of the strata into which civilized society must of necessity be divided, there are men capable of a higher place, and it is injustice to those whom Nature has so favored not to show them the heights to which they may aspire. What they do see clearly enough are the factitious heights of wealth and office; what they need also to see are those of human nature in its loftiest growth.

A nation is judged by its best products. To stand in the foremost rank, it must give to the human race great types of manhood, and add new thought to the treasury of the world. No extent of territory, no growth of population, no material prosperity, no average of intelligence, will ever be accepted as substitutes. They may excite fear, wonder, or even a kind of admiration, but they will never win or deserve the highest place.

Our civilization is weak in the head, though the body is robust and full of life. With all the practical vigor and diffused intelligence of the American people, our cultivated class is inferior to that of the leading countries of Europe; for not only does the sovereign Demos think he can do without it, but he is totally unable to distinguish the sham education from the real one. The favorite of his heart is that deplorable political failure, the "self-made man," whom he delights to honor, and to whom he confides the most perplexed and delicate interests, in full faith that, if he cannot unravel them, then nobody else can. He thinks that he must needs be a person of peculiar merit and unequalled vigor. His idea of what constitutes him is somewhat singular. He commends as self-made the man who picks up a half education at hap-hazard; but if, no matter with what exertion, he makes use of systematic and effective methods of training and instructing himself, then, in the view of Demos, he is self-made no longer.

The truth is, liberal education is at a prodigious disadvantage among us. In its nature it is only the beginning of a process that should continue through life; of a growth that will bear its fruit only in the fulness of time. Of what avail to nurse and enrich the young tree, if its after-years are to be spent in a soil and climate hostile or at least unfavorable to it? We do not say this in dependency, but simply to illustrate the position and its necessities. Amid the morbid levelling of the times, few signs are so hopeful as the growing strength of the higher education; but it is well to recognize with what it has to contend. In the platitudes of democratic society two counter-influences are apparent,—the one a curse, and the other a blessing: First, those sudden upheavals of accumulated wealth which break with sinister portent that broad distribution of property which once formed our safety; and, secondly, this recent reinforcement of trained intelligence. Each confronts the other; for culture is no friend of vulgar wealth, and most of the mountains of gold and silver we have lately seen are in the keeping of those who are very ill fitted to turn them to the profit of civilization.

But culture—to use that inadequate word for want of a better—has, as we have said, to contend with formidable difficulties. The lower forms of ambition among us are stimulated to the utmost. The prizes held before them are enormous. The faculties that lead to money-making, and those that lead to political notoriety as distinguished from political eminence, have every opportunity and every incentive. Ability, poor and obscure, may hope to win untold wealth, rule over mines, railroads, and cities, and mount to all the glories of official station. As a consequence, we have an abundance of rich men and an abundance of clever politicians. Again, we would not be misunderstood. We have no wish to declaim against self-made men. There are those among them who deserve the highest respect and the warmest gratitude. If rarely themselves on the highest pinnacle of civilization, they are generally the sources, immediate or remote, from which our best civilization springs. Yet there are achievements to which they are equal only in exceptional cases. We have had but one Franklin; and even that great man had fallings from which different influences would have delivered him. Nor was Franklin a product of democracy full-fledged.

While the faculties that win material success are spurred to the utmost, and urged to their strongest development, those that find their exercise in the higher fields of thought and action are far from being so. For the minds that mere wealth and mere notoriety cannot satisfy, the inducements are weak and the difficulties great. The slow but ominous transfer of power from superior to inferior types of men, as shown in city councils, legislatures, and Congress, has told with withering effect on the growth of true political ability. Debased as our politics are, they do not invite, and hardly even admit, the higher and stronger faculties to a part in them. Liberal education is robbed of its best continuance and consummation, in so far as it is shut out from that noblest field of human effort, the direction of affairs of State; that career of combined thought and action where all the forces of the mind are called forth, and of which the

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Poetry.

THE CHURCH.

BY O. P. CRANCH.

O mighty Church! who, old, but still adorned
With jewels of thy youth,—a wrinkled bride
Alliance to the blind,—so long hast scorned
The rising of the inevitable tide
That swells and surges up against thy pride,—
Thou, less the artist's than the tyrant's nurse,
Blight of philosophy, false star of poet's verse!

What though thy forms be picturesque and old,
And, clustered round thee, works of noblest art
Hallow thy temple! Once they may have told
Profound emotions of the inmost heart;
Now shadowed by a faith that stands apart,
And scowls against the sunlight shared abroad,
Burning in altar-nooks its candles to its god!

The saints who toiled to help the world's distress;
The noble lords of thought and speech divine;
The prophets crying through Time's wilderness;
The vast discoveries, the inventions fine
That stamped upon the centuries a sign
Of grandeur,—all, like music thundered down
By stern cathedral bells, were silenced by thy frown.

Chained to Madonnas and ascetic saints,
Even Art itself felt thy all-narrowing force.
The painter saw thee peeping o'er his paints;
The sculptor's thought was fettered from its source;
Thy gloomy cloisters shaped the builder's course;
Thy organ drowned the shepherd's festive flute
With penitential groans, as though God's love were mute.

And yet, because there lurked some element
Of truth within the doctrine,—to man's need
Some fitness in the form; since more was meant
And more expressed than in the accepted creed,—
The artist's genius giving far less heed
To formulas than to his own ideal,—
The hand and heart wrought works the world has stamped
As real.

What didst thou for the already teeming soil
Of souls like Dante, Raphael, Angelo,
Save to suggest a theme or pay their toll?
While they o'erlooked their prison walls, and so
Caught from the skies above and earth below
Splendors wherewith they lit thy tarnished crown,
And clothed thee with a robe thou claimest as thine own.

Names that in any age would have been great,
Works that to all time speak, and so belong,
Claim not as thine; nor subsidize the fate
That gave them to the nations for a long,
Unceasing heritage. Amid a throng
Of starry lights they live. Thy clanging bells
Can never drown their song, nor break their mighty spells.

No mother thou of Genius, but the nurse.
Seek not to stamp a vulgar name upon
The sons of Morning. Take the Poet's verse,
But not the Poet. He is not thy son.
Enough for thee, if sometimes he hath gone
Into thy narrow fold from pastures wide,
Where through immortal flowers God pours the living tide.

Enough if he hath decked thee with the wealth
Of his heaven-nurtured spirit,—showering gems
Of thought and fancy, coining youth and health
To glid with fame thy papal diadems;
Plucking life's roses, with their roots and stems,
To wreath an altar which returned him naught
But the poor patronage of one suspected thought.

What didst thou for the studious sage who saw
Through Nature's veil the great organic force,—
Who sought and found the all-pervading law
That holds the rolling planets in their course?
When didst thou fail to check the flowing source
Of truths whose waters needs must inundate
The theologic dikes that guarded thy estate?

Is there a daring thought thou hast not crushed?
Is there a generous faith thou hast not cursed?
Is there a whisper, how'er low and hushed,
Breathed for the future, but thou wast the first
To silence with thy tortures,—thou the worst
Of antichrists, and cunningest of foes
That ever against God and man's great progress rose?

Yet life was in thee once. Thy earlier youth
Was flushed with blossoms of a heavenly bloom.
Thy blight began, when o'er God's common truth
And man's nobility thou didst assume
The dread prerogative of life and doom;
And creeds which served as availing-bands were bound
Like grave-clothes round the limbs laid living underground.

When man grows wiser than his creed allows,
And nobler than the church he has outgrown;
When that which was his old familiar house
No longer is a home, but all alone,
Alone with God, he dares to lift the stone
From off the skylight between heaven and him,—
Then shines a grander day, then fade the spectres grim.

And never yet was growth, save when it broke
The letter of the dead scholastic form.
The bark drops off, and leaves the expanding oak
To stretch his giant arms through sun and storm.
The idols that upon his breast lay warm
The sage throws down, and breaks their hallowed shrine,
And follows the great head that points to light divine.

But thou O Church! didst steal the mother's mask,
The counterfeit of Heaven,—so to ensfold
Thy flock around thee. None looked near, to ask
"Art thou our mother, truly?" None so bold
As lift thy veils, and show how hard and cold
Those eyes of tyranny, that mouth of gulle,
That low and narrow brow, the witchcraft of that smile,—

That subtle smile, deluding while it warmed;
That arrogant, inquisitorial nod;
That hand that stabbed, like Herod, the new-formed
And childlike life which drew its breath from God,
And, for that star by which the Magi trod
The road to Bethlehem, the Good Shepherd's home,
Lit lurid idol-fires on thy seven hills of Rome.

But thou who claim'st the keys of God's own heaven,
And who wouldst fain usurp the keys of earth,—
Thou, leagued with priests and tyrants who have given
Their hands, and pledged their oaths to blight the birth
Of thine own children's rights,—for scorn and mirth
One day shalt stand, thy juggling falsehoods named,
Thy plots and wiles unmasked, thy heaven-high titles
Shamed!

Look to the proud tiara on thy brow!
Its gems shall crush thee down like leaden weights.
Thy alchemy is dead; and wouldst thou now
Thunder anathemas against the States
Whose powers are Time's irrefragable fates?
Look to thy glories! They must shrink away,—
With meager pomp must fall, and sink into decay.

Lo, thou art numbered with the things that were,
Soon to be laid upon the dusty shelves
Of antiquaries,—once so strong and fair,
Now classed with spells of magic, midnight elves,
And all half-lies, that pass away themselves
When once a people rises to the light
Of primal truths and comprehends its heaven-born right.

Toll on; but little canst thou do to-day.
The sun is risen. The daylight dims thy ahrines.
The age outstrips thee, marching on its way,
And overflowing all thy boundary lines.
How art thou fallen, O star! How lurid shines
Thy taper underneath the glowing sky!
How feeble grows thy voice, how lustreless thine eye!

Like some huge shell left by the ebbing tide,
In which once dwelt some wonder of the sea,
Thou liest, and men know not that thy pride
Of place outlives thy earlier potency,
But, coming nearer to thy mystery,
Might call thee lovely, did not thy decay
And death-like odor drive them in contempt away.

So perish like thee all lies stereotyped
By human power or devilish artifice,—
Dark blot on Christ's pure shield, soon to be wiped
Away, and leave it fair for Heaven's free kiss;
So perish like thee, drowned in Time's abyss,
All that hath robbed strong Genius of its youth,
All that hath ever barred the struggling soul from truth!

And yet we need not boast our larger scope
In this broad land, if creeds of later stamp
Still cast their gloom o'er manhood's dearest hope,
Still quench the heavenward flame of Reason's lamp,
And dogmas shamed by science still can cramp
The aspiring soul in dungeons scarce less drear
Than those of olden times, when faith was one with fear.

Nor dream that here the inquisitorial chair
Is but a byword, though we flush and weep
In honest indignation, when we hear
Chains clank in Rome, and wonder how the cheap
And common truth of Heaven must cringe, and creep,
And mask its face, lest Mother Church disown
The rebel thought that flouts the apostolic throne!

If we indeed are sure our faith is best,
Then may we dare to leave it large and free,
Nor fear to bring the creed to reason's test;
For best is strongest, fearing not to see
As well as feel. Then welcome, Liberty!
Down with the scaffolding the priest demands!
Let truth stand free, alone, a house not built with hands!

Down with the useless and the rotting props.
That cumber only and deface each wall!
Off with the antiquated cloth that drops
Moth-eaten draperies round the columns tall.
Nor needs the heavenly Architect our small
Superfluous tricks of ornament and gilt,
To deck the royal courts his wisdom planned and built.

He wills a temple beautiful and wide
As man and Nature,—not a cloister dim,
Nor strange pagoda of barbaric pride
Scrawled o'er with hieroglyph and picture grim
Of saint and mend. Why seek to honor him
By crusting o'er with gold of Palestine
The simple, stainless dome whose builder is divine?

Thanks to the Central Good, the inflowing Power,
The Primal Life in which we live and move,—
The aroma of the soul, the passion-flower
We bear upon our hearts, the deathless love
Of right, outlives device, and floats above
All human creeds, though armed with power to brave
The scholar's daring thought, and make the world their
slave.

The music of the soul can ne'er be mute.
What though the brazen clang of antique form
Stop for a hundred years the angel's lute,—
The angel smiles, and when the deafening storm
Has pealed along the ages, with the warm
Touch the immortals own, he sings again,
Clearer and sweeter, like the sunshine after rain.

He sings the song no tyrant e'er resists!
He sings the song the world forever must join,
Though ages stand as motes. For he insists
With such sweet emphasis, each chord divine,
That, soon or late, along the living line
Of hearts that form Humanity, there thrills
A sympathetic nerve no time or custom kills.

Humanity must answer when God speaks,
As sure as echo to the human voice.
And every grand o'ertrapping lie which breaks
With furious flood and century-deafening noise
In the eternal symphony that joys
Along, is but one base pipe or chord
That shall be tuned again when Reason sits as lord.

Eternal Truth shines on o'er Error's cloud,
Which, for a little, veils the living light.
Therefore, though the true bard may sing aloud
His soul-song in the unreceptive night,
His words—swift, arrowy free—must fly and light,
Sooner or later, kindling south and north,
Till skulking Falsehood from her den be hunted forth.

Work on, O fainting hearts! Through storm and drouth,
Somewhere your winged heart-seeds will be blown,
And plant a living grove;—from mouth to mouth,
O'er oceans, into speech and lands unknown,
Even till the long-foreseen result be grown
To ripeness, filled like fruit with other seed,
Which Time shall sow anew, and reap when men shall need.

There is no death, but only change on change.
The life-force of all forms, in tree and flower,
In rocks and rivers, and in clouds that range
Through heaven, in grazing beasts, and in the power
Of mind, goes forth forever, unspent dower,
Glowing and flashing through the universe,
Kindling the light of stars, and joy of poet's verse!

Each hour and second is the marriage-morn
Of spirit-life and matter; as when kings
Wed peasants, and their simple charms adorn
With Oriental gems and sparkling rings
And diadems, and with all royal things
Making their eyes familiar,—so, with tones
Sweet and unheard before, conduct them to their throne.

One mighty circle God in heaven hath set,
Woven of myriad links,—lives, deaths unknown,—
Where all beginnings and all ends are met
To follow and serve each other,—Nature's zone
And zodiac, round whose seamless arc are strewn
A million and a million hues of light
That blend and glow and burn, beyond our realm of night.

O ye who pined in dungeons for the sake
Of truths which tyrants shadowed with their hate;
Whose only crime was that ye were awake
Too soon, or that your brothers slept too late,—
Mountainous minds! upon whose tops the great
Sunrise of knowledge came, long ere its glance
Fell on the foggy swamps of fear and ignorance,—

The time shall come when from your heights serene
Beyond the dark, ye will look back and smile
To see the sterile earth all growing green,
Where Science, Art, and Love repeat Heaven's style
In crowded city and on desert isle,
Till Eden blooms where martyr-fires have burned,
And to the Lord of Life all hearts and minds are turned.

The seeds are planted and the spring is near.
Ages of blight are but a fleeting frost.
Truth circles into truth. Each mote is dear
To God. No drop of ocean e'er is lost,
No leaf forever dry and tempest-tossed.
Life centres deathless underneath decay,
And no true word or deed can ever pass away.

And ye, O Seraphs in the morn of time!
Birds whose entrancing voices in the spring
Of primal Truth and Beauty, were the chimes
Of heaven and earth! still we may hear you sing.
No clang of hierarchal bells shall ring,
To drown your carol, in the airs that move
And stir the dawning age of Liberty and Love!

Light,—light breaks on the century's farthest round;
Light in the sky, light in the humblest home.
The unebbing tides of God, where errors drowned
Sink down to fathomless destruction, come
Swelling amain. Truth builds her eternal dome
Vast as the sky. Nations are linked in one.
Light, Love, henceforth shall reign forever and alone!

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 10.

E. S. Campbell, \$2.20; A. M. Dent, \$5; Marcellus H. Parker, \$3.50; O. P. Wrecks, \$3.50; E. W. Gunn, \$3; W. L. Coffinbury, \$2.50; J. C. Delano, \$10; Henry Obermeyer, \$3.20; C. A. W. Crosby, \$3.20; Benj. A. Andrews, \$3.14; F. S. Cabot, \$1.25; Maggie Devoe, \$1.50; Geo. Martin, \$5; Wm. Galpin, 90 cents; F. J. Hoyt, \$1.80; W. L. Taylor, \$3.20; Guido Marx, \$3.20; John M. Thomas, \$3.25; Mrs. A. C. Richards, \$1; J. H. Bridges, \$2.20; Jas. W. Bartlett, \$2.20; Rev. J. H. Allen, 25 cents; Cash, \$10; A. Osborne, \$4.10; Samuel Cole, \$3.50.

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

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 15, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 331 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLBOO OFFICE, No. 35 MONROE STREET: J. T. FRY, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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 WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Until September 1, the editorial charge of THE INDEX will be wholly in the hands of Mr. A. W. Stevens, who has kindly consented to relieve me of all literary responsibility for it during the present month. F. E. ABBOT.

BOSTON, Aug. 1.

F. R. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD is undoubtedly fulfilling a noble mission in so extensively travelling the country as he does, engaging in debates with Orthodox champions, delivering lectures on liberal themes, and generally reasoning and persuading men out of their superstitions, fears, and enslaving longings as to a future life, and engaging their attention in the work of making this life divine and this state heavenly. Although we differ decidedly from what we suppose to be Mr. Underwood's materialism and atheism, we are bound to say that the method and spirit of his propagandism appear to us entirely unobjectionable. The God and the religion which he antagonizes we take to be the creation mainly of the old-school theology; and we care not how soon they are overthrown by such doughty assailants. But there is an idea of God and religion in which we firmly believe, consistent with reason and the most approved science; which idea we think may go far to comfort, encourage, and reassure men's hearts in the midst of this life's trials, disappointments, and sorrows. But Mr. Underwood is doing his own work in his own way; and, as we have said, it is a work and a way to which we take no exceptions, but indeed commend. That he does not supplement the preaching of his own views with that of others which to our mind seem more complete and perfect, is surely no reason why we should not heartily speed him on his chosen course.

JUDGING from all we can learn of the prospects, we should say that the Watkins Convention promises to be a most agreeable and successful affair. Aside from the intellectual attractions of the Convention

itself (and they are evidently to be first class), the natural beauties of the place of meeting are of themselves sufficient to tempt visitors thence. The Lakes, the Glens, the Falls, and the Springs in the vicinity are known far and wide as lovely and advantageous places of resort. And if all reports are true, we have no hesitation in saying that our liberal friends attending the Convention will make a vital mistake if they do not try to get entertainment at the Glen Park Hotel in Watkins. It is said to be the largest and finest Hotel in the place, and to be kept by a gentleman (Mr. C. S. Frost) who never fails to give satisfaction to his guests. The Hotel is situated within five minutes' ride of the railroad station and the steamboat landing; and its omnibuses will convey guests to the House free. Mr. Frost's terms are \$2.00, \$2.50, and \$3.00 a day, according to rooms. The Hotel is near to all the points of interest which our friends will be likely to desire to visit; and the good entertainment which Mr. Frost is sure to give their bodies will not be a bad preparation for that which they are as sure to have for their minds in the Convention. We must not forget to say that Mr. George H. Foster, of Boston, will be the accredited representative of THE INDEX, at the Convention; and will be happy to receive new subscriptions and take dues on old ones.

THE FREE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY in Providence, R. I., have invited Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley of Boston to become their resident speaker,—thus adopting the plan of the Cosmian Society at Florence, Mass. We believe that the Providence society have shown great wisdom in thus deciding, and they surely could not have made a better choice than that of Mr. Hinckley to be their permanent leader. Mr. Hinckley never had any visible ordaining hands laid upon him, but he is a natural minister nevertheless, in the best sense of that word. He is full of moral zeal and energy, a forcible and manly speaker; and withal, though a man of most profound and earnest convictions, one of very broad and tolerant sympathies. He is a prince among reformers; for while he never ceases to stand bravely by his own opinions, he has the rare capacity of understanding and appreciating the man who differs from him. Mr. Hinckley will certainly do our Providence friends a great deal of good, if they will let him; and it will not principally be his fault, if he does not bind them into a serried and efficient organization. They have shown a deal of courage and fidelity in persevering to live as long as they have, and among them are some of the choicest and best spirits that ever blessed any community. We have a peculiar interest in the Providence society, and a like interest in the man they have chosen to come and labor with them. Our warmest wishes will attend them both. Mr. Hinckley has accepted their invitation, and will join them early in the fall. It is superfluous, and yet grateful to our feelings, to say that his many friends in Boston will seriously miss him.

THE INDEX is favored this week with two productions from the gifted pen of C. P. Cranch. We believe that these columns have never before been enriched by any of his writings, and we are happy and proud to be the medium of introducing him here to the readers of this journal. Mr. Cranch has for more than thirty years been well known to the literary and artistic circles of America as a poet and painter of no ordinary genius; but his consummate modesty has always held him aloof from that strenuous competition with rivals which appears to be necessary to ensure to a man even of rare ability that which is called success. But his exquisite poems and beautiful pictures have been deep sources of delight to thousands; and to those who are privileged to know him well in private life he is esteemed a most rare and favored soul. Mr. Cranch was one of the early transcendentalists of New England, leaving the Unitarian ministry after a brief experience,—as did Mr. Emerson, John S. Dwight, and others,—because his spirit craved a freer scope than was there allowed. He was a prominent contributor to the Dial, the transcendental magazine edited by Emerson and Margaret Fuller. Art soon claimed him as her natural child, no less than Poesy, and he spent many years abroad in the cultivation of his artistic talents. Afterwards he returned to New York, where he had a studio for some time. At present he lives in Cambridge, where literature, art, and social intercourse about equally divide his time. Mr. Cranch, we need not say, is a genuine idealist in his philosophy; although, like many others of the same school, he has a brave "heart for any fate" which undoubted science may ultimately impose.

LESS NOISE!

The increasing din of our modern civilization has for some time been truly appalling, and we have long felt that sooner or later the serious attention of our people would have to be given to some method for its diminution, or our nervous systems would be shattered on the brazen shield of our material ambition. As a people, we have bestowed more or less careful consideration on well nigh every other matter involving the sanity of our minds and bodies; but to this augmenting and diabolical nuisance of noise we have consented or submitted, as if it were something commendable or at least absolutely inevitable. Fifty years or so ago, our great thoroughfares and streets were comparatively quiet; but within that time we have been adding every conceivable racket to every other conceivable racket,—in the shape of clanging machinery, pounding vehicles, shrieking whistles, and dingling bells,—until we have made all our great cities and considerable towns perfect babels of confused and confusing noises, and converted our conspicuous avenues of travel and communication into regular pandemoniums of devilish din.

The theory has been that we could or did "get used" to all this tumult, and that we came not to "mind it" at all, or to suffer any inconvenience from it. But this was all a delusion. Epictetus said to his master, when the latter was punishing his slave for some supposed misdemeanor, "If you are not careful, you will break my leg." The master persevered in his cruel torture of the noble bondman, on the plea no doubt that it was needful discipline, and at last did break the leg; whereupon Epictetus coolly remarked, "There, I told you so!" But this stoical philosophy on the part of Epictetus didn't make it one whit more comfortable or useful to him to have a broken leg, nor the folly and madness of his master less real. So this would-be reconciling unction that we lay to our souls of "getting used" to our own noise does not render that noise any less impeachable for unsanity and needlessness, nor in the long run hide its disastrous effects on our mental and bodily health. The alarming increase of nervous diseases in connection with the increase of noise would seem to suggest some relation of cause and effect between the two. Then the fact that our people of late years have found it more and more necessary to abandon cities and large towns and much-travelled thoroughfares, and seek homes in the quiet country and places remote from the bustling centres and lines of hurried and tumultuous life,—this, too, is significant that consciously or unconsciously noise is intolerable to sound nerves, even tempers, and patient dispositions. Doubtless a continuous noise is more tolerable than a periodic one, even though the former may be much greater than the latter; and yet that a loud and continuous noise causes a great wear and tear of the nervous system is beyond question. One who has investigated this subject ably and scientifically says that if the incessant roar of a great city were suddenly to be brought to a stop thousands would fall prostrate with exhaustion. Of course. And so will the man who has "got used" to taking opium lose all his strength and energy when the stimulating drug is denied him. All this goes to prove what it would seem every one must know; namely, that too much or too prolonged excitation of the nerves produces a deadening or vicious effect on them.

The truth is, we are hurrying and banging our nervous systems to death in this age of thunder-and-lightning civilization; and we are slowly coming to the consciousness that "that's what's the matter." How many of our working men and women just rub through the busy months of the year, in the midst of din and under high pressure, feeding their languishing hearts the while on hopes of a "vacation;" and then, when that time possibly comes, running off to the bracing seaside, or up among the grand mountains, or away into some cool country retreat, finding the month or so of vacation scarce time enough to repair their shattered energies, restore their wasted strength, bring back the sparkle and color to their lustreless eyes and faded faces, and send them home again to grapple with another year's hurry and noise! In this hot and tumultuous age we are having our lives crushed out of us between our numerously growing wants and ambitions; and are bringing children into the world to inherit our nervousness, impatience, and irritability, our poor blood and feeble constitutions. Is there any necessity for all this, and is there any remedy?

We are glad to see that there is an awakening in certain authoritative quarters to the necessity of putting some check on the careless if not unscrupulous ambition of our times to introduce so-called modern

improvements for travel and trade, without considering the effect they may have on human health and life; and that especially the nuisance of noise is getting an indictment from scientific and thoughtful minds. The *Springfield Republican* informs us that one hundred and thirty-five physicians and surgeons of New York have protested before the grand jury against the operation of the elevated railway in sixth avenue in that city. These doctors practise in the fine blocks along that street, and are moved to a forcible appeal in behalf of their patients. The ninth avenue road which has been in operation for some years, passes quite a different quality of dwellings, to the comfort of which public opinion was less sensitive; but when the train sweeps along the brown-stone fronts humanity is aroused. This is what the doctors say about the diabolism of noise:—

"The degree of the annoyance resulting from the noise of its traffic as now conducted hardly admits of exaggeration. It disturbs and interrupts all mental processes and all common conversation near the line of its route during the passing of the trains, which, according to the plans of the company, is to be almost continuous. In our deliberate professional judgment, we declare that this noise is capable of doing, and undoubtedly will do, great and permanent injury to those who may be compelled to live within reach of its force. The soft brain of childhood cannot healthfully develop, and the faculties of mature life must rapidly waste, under the continuous excitation of a special sense. This is a physiological axiom, and does not admit of debate. Disease beginning in or maintained by disturbances of the nervous system is the great fact of modern pathology. The State can hardly provide lunatic asylums as rapidly as the number of proper subjects for them increases. Perverted mental and moral action, cerebral exhaustion, insomnia, hysteria, chorea, mania, paralysis, meningitis, and decay of nutrition must be largely promoted among those who live along the line of the railway, while to some the alternative will be deafness, or dementia, or death. It has been already definitely observed that patients suffering from inflammatory and other diseases, whose well-being requires rest in all its forms, have had convalescence arrested and relapses provoked by this noise. Tradesmen upon sixth avenue complain that as evening comes on they are overpowered by an unusual sense of weariness, caused partly by the irritant effect of the jar and din in which they must live, and partly by the necessity of talking all day in an over-loud voice. This strain upon the function of voice and respiration directly tends to produce laryngeal catarrh, bronchitis, emphysema, and pulmonary hemorrhage,—the antecedent and often the cause of pulmonary consumption. The municipal authority is relied upon to protect the nostril of the citizen from a disease-bearing stench. Has not the ear a right to an equal justice?"

The *Republican*, in commenting upon this protest of the New York physicians against the noisy railway, says: "The experience of New York with this road will probably direct attention more generally to the avoidance of sound vibrations in architecture and locomotion. . . . We believe that noise is not only an annoyance, but a costly one. Wherever there is noise, there is vibration, friction, and wear and tear, and frequent necessity of repair. Noises are needlessly multiplied by itinerant tradesmen. Bells were once a distinction; but now that horse-cars, omnibuses, bakers' carts, and the yeast man have taken them they are simply a nuisance. We do not doubt that attention to this subject will be found greatly to reduce the uproar now thought necessary to the conduct of a city's business. A few years ago the whistling of locomotives was greatly reduced within the limits of Boston, on the appeal of the State railroad commission, and upon grounds of public health. There are other noises equally deleterious and equally unnecessary, which it would be a relief to have done away with or modified."

As a further testimony on this subject, we quote from the *Providence Journal* the following remarks on the nuisance of noise:—

"American people are altogether too tolerant of noise. . . . Cleanliness and other virtues are insisted upon from each individual or corporation for the benefit of the whole community, but noise is well-nigh permitted to rage rampant, without the least effort to check it. It is perhaps considered effeminate to object to noise; and we have not yet arrived at a realizing sense of its power upon the health, as we were long ignorant of the effect of sewer gas. . . . Some day we fondly hope that the steam whistle and the howling huckster will no more be tolerated within the limits of a civilized city than menhaden factories or soap works, or even pest houses and small-pox hospitals."

MATTER AND SPIRIT.

The old Oriental religions regarded matter as base; the body as a clog to the soul. And all our modern religions thought is clouded with the remains of the old beliefs. At last matter came to be regarded as the servant of spirit, and the body as the necessary instrument of the soul, but still inert and perishable; still somewhat conceived of as the opposite of spirit.

Will not the thought of the future conceive of matter as something higher,—even as one with spirit?

We can never get rid of the material side of mind. Who can ever explain the wonderful connection of the senses with the soul? Who can interpret the marvellous power the material universe has over our thoughts, our imaginations, our affections? Who can explain why Nature has an answering voice to all our moods? Who tell the secret of the sunshine, the moonlight, the changing seasons, the various and exquisite perfume of flowers, the songs of the birds, the symphonies of Beethoven? Why should a certain odor bring back the scenes of boyhood? Why should a simple tune swell the hidden waters of recollection till they overflow in tears? Why, on a bright morning, when we walk towards the east, should the heart leap with joy and hope, till we break into singing,—while the afternoon and the sinking sun move us to pensiveness and even sadness? It is all inexplicable.

But has not matter here, affecting us through the senses, such a refined and subtle ministry that it becomes something more than the mere servant of the soul? Are not the manifestations of matter the sole avenue to the secret sanctuaries of this temple? We are accustomed to call matter *dead*. Is not the mind, too, dead without matter? Can there be spirit without form? Then why not call matter one side of an existence of which spirit is the reverse? Does not matter help to build one-half, at least, of the bridge between sensation and knowledge?

Remember that we no more see matter in itself than spirit in itself. We know nothing of either except through phenomena. Why, then, should not one be as potent and alive as the other?

The philosophy of the future will be variously expressed,—as recognition of the totality or solidarity of life; as a conception of the necessity of physical form as well as of psychical substance; of matter as only an under-side of spirit. It will be a philosophy which will reconcile the opposite tendencies of materialism and idealism; where all facts of consciousness will be presented as alike worthy of investigation, and their relative importance tested; where the balloon of metaphysics will need the grappling-hooks and anchors of the physical sciences; and these in turn will be indebted to the abstract thought of the mental philosopher, and the daring imagination of the poet.

Swedenborg had a strong and deep-seated conviction of this philosophy of the reconciliation of matter and spirit, in his doctrine of the spiritual body. But in Swedenborg the philosophical truth was, here as elsewhere in the books of this great but singular genius, clouded and inseparably confused with his theological views of the Hebrew Bible. His philosophy; usually based on science and on profound intuitive thought, was hopelessly saturated with the local color of the Jewish Scriptures, and with the dogmas thence derived. And though he swept away some of these dogmas as understood by the Christian Church, and explained others in a rational way, it was impossible for him to escape from the atmosphere and scenery of Bible and Church, and come out into the free air of Nature.

What in Swedenborg was founded on speculative intuition, and buttressed by Scriptural symbolism, may in the philosophy of the future find an eternal basis of fact.

What a perpetual testimony is it of the absolute necessity of this marriage of matter with spirit, that every created soul must be incarnated in a visible body! Paul compared the human body to the temple in which the spirit was enshrined; a noble image. But modern thought will conceive of this holy temple as alive with the presence of God; and in its essence as mysterious, perhaps as imperishable, as the spirit it incarnates. While it discriminates between the rational-moral nature of man and the bodily appetites, it will show how the latter may not only be subservient, but may be conditioned and educated so as to be absolutely necessary to the former in order to develop a complete specimen of the *genus homo*.

The fact that both matter and mind are only phenomenal existence should be one great motive toward their eternal reconciliation, and also toward belief in God and immortality. In exploring either, we come upon the region of the unknown. They are both manifestations of a power behind them, by which they appear. And so the invisible things of God, as Paul says, are made known through the visible. Both matter and mind are found to rest on indestructible forces, and therefore the inference is that they are both immortal. The more appearance, then, the more reality. And the universe is conceived of as an unshattering revelation of the divine love and intelligence.

True science, then, instead of leading us into the bog of the materialists, avoids this Slough of Despond, and conducts us to the high and beautiful lands of affirmation and faith.

Grant that science limits herself to experience of facts. But the world of facts is a very wide world. It does not follow that she is bound to exclude all experience except that of the senses, or even of the pure intellect. The moral, affectional, and religious nature of man surely affords wide enough ground for experimental knowledge. True science is patient, and wide-seeing, and reverent. Before she can formulate a complete cosmos, she must wait till all the facts of the universe are in. And who can say when that shall be?

So far as science can evolve the greater life of reason and conscience and imagination and artistic faculty out of primordial animal instincts and the utilitarian needs of society, let her work have due consideration and praise. But when she tries to account on a purely material basis for the grand preponderating forces of the moral nature, and to furnish the genealogy of the moral ideal of Christ or Buddha; or when she would trace the intellect and the imagination of a Shakespeare, or the musical genius of a Bach or a Beethoven, from some remote anthropoid ape,—let her pause till she is sure of all her facts and their bearings.

It is high time for truth-seekers to protest against these ultra-materialistic tendencies of science. It is time we should question the first premises, if they start with representing the mind as a *tabula rasa*, a negative, passive recipient, like a sheet of white paper, on which anything can be scrawled. The mind is a great factor, and not a passive recipient of knowledge. It is a rather active partner in that great firm—Nature, Spirit, & Co. It is an old established firm, and should own some capital by this time. And why should not our private, moral, and religious experiences (backed by the accumulated records of the world's experience in past time) be counted in as contributions—when repeatedly verified as experience—to the treasury of science?

C. P. CRANCH.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 388.]

objects and results are to those of the average American politician what the discoveries and inventions of applied science are to the legerdemain of a street juggler. The professions still remain open, and in these comparatively limited fields the results are good. Literature offers another field; but here the temptation is powerful to write or speak down to the level of that vast average of education which makes the largest returns in profit and celebrity. The best literature we have has followed the natural law and sprung up in two or three places where educated intelligence had reached a point high enough to promise it a favorable hearing. For the rest, our writers address themselves to an audience so much accustomed to light food that they have no stomach for the strong. The public demand has its effect, too, on the pulpit. It is pleasanter to tell the hearer what he likes to hear than to tell him what he needs; and the love of popularity is not confined to the laity.

From one point of view, the higher education is of no great use among us. It is not necessary to make a millionaire, a party leader (such as our party leaders are), or a popular preacher or writer. So little is it needed for such purposes, that the country is full of so-called "practical men," who cry out against it in scorn. Yet, from a true point of view, it is of supreme use and necessity, and a deep responsibility rests on those who direct it. What shall be its aims? Literature, scholarship, and physical science are all of importance; but, considered in themselves, their place is subordinate, for they cannot alone meet the requirements of the times. It has been said that liberal culture tends to separate men from the nation at large, and form them into a class apart; and, without doubt, this is to a certain degree true of the merely aesthetic, literary, or scholastic culture. What we most need is a broad and masculine education, bearing on questions of society and government; not repelling from active life, but preparing for it and impelling toward it. The discipline of the university should be a training for the arena; and, within the past few years, no little progress has been made in this direction.

Some half a century ago, a few devoted men began what seemed a desperate crusade against a tremendous national evil. American slavery has now passed into history. It died a death of violence, to our shame be it said; for the nation had not virtue, temperance, and wisdom enough to abolish it peacefully and harmlessly; but it is dead. We would not compare the agitation against it to the far more complex and less animating movement by which alone our present evils can be met and checked. Conviction and enthusiasm, with very little besides, served the purpose of the abolition agitators. Their appeal was to sentiment and conscience, not to reason; and their work demanded a kind of men very different from those demanded by the work of political regeneration. The champion of the new reform will need no whit less enthusiasm, but it must be tempered with judgment and armed with knowledge. One idea will not serve him. He must have many, all tending to one

and; an integrity that can neither be tempted nor en-
sured, and a courage that nothing can shake.

Here, then, is a career worthy of the best, and de-
manding the best; for none but they can grapple
with the complicated mischiefs of our politics. Those
gallant youths, and others such as they, who were so
ready to lay down life for their country, may here
find a strife more difficult and not less honorable. If
these is virtue in them for an effort so arduous, then
it is folly to despair. If a depraved political system
sets them aside in favor of meaner men, and denies
them the career to which the best interests of the na-
tion call them, then let them attack this depraved
system, and, in so doing, make a career of their own.
The low politician is not a noble foe, but he is strong
and dangerous enough to make it manly to fight him;
and the cause of his adversary is the cause of the peo-
ple, did they but know it; or at least of that part of
the people that is worth the name. No doubt, the
strife is strangely unequal; for on one side are ranged
all the forces of self-interest, always present and al-
ways active; on the other, only duty and patriotism.
But if the virtue and reason of the nation can be as
well organized as its folly and knavery are organized
to-day, a new hope will rise upon us, and they who
can achieve such a result will not lack their reward.
The "literary feller" may yet make himself a practi-
cal force, and, in presence of the public opinion which
he has evoked, the scurvy crew who delight to gibe at
him may be compelled to disguise themselves in gar-
ments of unwonted decency.

It is in the cities that the diseases of the body poli-
tic are gathered to a head, and it is here that the need
of attacking them is most urgent. Here the danger-
ous classes are most numerous and strong, and the
effects of flinging the suffrage to the mob are most
disastrous. Here the barbarism that we have armed
and organized stands ready to overwhelm us. Our
cities have become a prey. Where the carcass is, the
vultures gather together. The industrious are taxed
to feed the idle, and offices are distributed to perpetu-
ate abuses and keep knaves in power. Some of our
city councils, where every ward sends its representa-
tives, each according to its nature, offer a curious and
instructive spectacle; for here one sees men of mind
and character striving for honest government under
vast and ever-increasing difficulties, mingled with
vicious bores in whose faces brute, knave, and fool
contend which shall write his mark most vilely.

The theory of inalienable rights becomes an out-
rage to justice and common-sense, when it hands over
great municipal corporations, the property of those
who hold stock in them, to the keeping of greedy and
irresponsible crowds controlled by adventurers as
reckless as themselves, whose object is nothing but
plunder. But the question is not one of politics, it is
one of business; and political rights, inalienable or
otherwise, are not in any true sense involved in it.
The city which can so reorganize itself that those who
supply the means of supporting it shall have the chief
control over their expenditure will lead the way in
abolishing an anomaly as ridiculous as it is odious,
and give an impulse to its own prosperity which will
impel other cities to follow its example. That better
class of citizens who have abandoned civic affairs in
disgust will gradually return and acquire in munici-
pal administration a training which may avail them
afterward in wider fields. The reform of cities would
be a long and hopeful step toward the reform of the
States and the Nation.—*North American Review.*

THE VENERABLE Richard H. Dana, who was the
first to acquaint the public with the poetic gifts of
the late William Cullen Bryant, by publishing "Than-
stopis" in the periodical of which he was then the
editor—the *North American Review*,—is living in
beautiful retirement at Manchester-by-the-sea. He
dislikes noise and activity; fashionable society is his
Nemesis. It drove him away from Newport; it im-
pelled him to leave Nahant. He owns his Manches-
ter home, and the estate is so large that it is left un-
disturbed by summer populations. He is over ninety
years of age, erect of form and firm of step, a living
link between the literature of the past and the litera-
ture of the present. He introduced Bryant to the
world, watched him grow to be a very old man and
pass away. He was the contemporary of Percival,
Alleton, and Channing. He is the sole survivor of a
distinguished circle of literary men who were at the
meridian of life and in the morning of their reputa-
tion fifty years ago. Mr. Dana is not a total ab-
stainer. He drinks wine in moderation, and eats
whatever his fancy craves. He has never been
abroad, and has no desire to leave his picturesque
home again.—*Boston Herald.*

BISMARCK is immensely taken with "Dizzy," and
says he is the only man he has met for some years
really worth talking to. That may be partly because
the said "Dizzy" so seldom does talk that when he
unbosoms himself he is really worth listening to. It
is an odd thing, but it is true that no one in London
can really be said to know this strange, lonely sort of
man who has placed himself at the head of the Eng-
lish government. He has no confidants and few per-
sonal friends. I asked a gentleman who ought to
know him well whether he talked much to him.
"He never talks to anybody," said he; "sometimes,
perhaps, to Monty Corry, but only on matters of
business. He will not dine out, as a rule, and when
he does go anywhere the chances are that he will not
say much." A man, one might have supposed, after
Carlyle's own heart; but Carlyle detests him. There
he is, however, the central figure in English public
life.—*London letter to the New York World.*

A PAISLEY PUBLICAN was complaining of his
servant-maid that she could never be found when
required. "She'll gang out o' the house," said he,
"twenty times for ance she'll come in."

Communications.

A NEW LIBERAL LEAGUE.

VINCENNES, Ind., July 28, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The liberals of this city, to the number of about
twenty ladies and gentlemen, have at last organized
a liberal league, and have applied for a charter. The
following is a list of our officers: Charles Graeter,
President; O. F. Baker, Secretary; S. S. Barnett,
Treasurer.

This is our feeble beginning, which we hope may
soon grow into stronger results. While our city con-
tains a large liberal element, it is of a character re-
quiring development. We are not blessed with tal-
ented local speakers, and are too poor as a society to
employ foreign lecturers. Much of our work must
be done by the help of books, tracts, periodicals, and
journals. Were we able to procure and properly dis-
tribute good works of this class, we should soon ac-
complish the best of results.

We promise our liberal friends everywhere that we
will use every exertion to make our club a grand suc-
cess; and we invite a correspondence with all who
sympathize with us. O. F. B., Sec'y.

THE WATKINS CONVENTION.

MR. STEVENS:—

Allow me to ask the readers of THE INDEX who
are interested in the success of the Watkins Con-
vention to prepare at once a notice of the meeting, and
get it published in the local papers of their neighbor-
hood.

The speakers who have promised to be present are
so numerous that I will not take your space to name
them. They number some thirty-five in all, all of
whom are able, and many of them men and women
of national reputation. We are also to be blessed with
good singers. First, Prof. Hudson, of Detroit,—
known as the liberal Sankey of the West,—was en-
gaged with his sister and her daughter; in addition,
the "Hutchinson Family" have promised to attend
and add to the interest of the occasion with their
grand vocal and instrumental music.

I desire, moreover, to inform the readers of THE
INDEX, who do not already know the fact, that Wat-
kins Glen is one of the most interesting summer re-
sorts in America, and that natural scenery is no-
where more attractive than here. It is worth a long
journey to view it.

I have just learned that the Albany & Susque-
hanna Railroad Company will furnish cheap excu-
sion tickets from Albany and return; this will assist
Boston and New England people in reaching the
convention. From most of the cities of the West
excursion tickets can be obtained to Chautauqua Lake
and return; the holder can then get another excu-
sion ticket from Salamanca or Dunkirk and return,
which is probably about the best way to come from
the West. These Western rates were obtained for
the great Orthodox gathering at Chautauqua Lake,
but the tickets answer just as well for an "infidel"
gathering. These tickets are good for a month or
more after the Convention.

If further information is required write to me;
and remember that you must first get an order from
me to get excursion tickets on the Northern Central
Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Phil-
adelphia & Erie Railroad.

Liberal friends of America, lay aside business for a
week, and meet in one grand body at Watkins!
H. L. GREEN, Sec'y.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist upon
the question of female suffrage, or even upon the less
mooted point of woman's employments, there is, at
length, an entire unanimity in regard to her right to
the best and highest education that her abilities and
circumstances will enable her to obtain. In the
thirteenth century the proper education of woman
was defined by a European writer as "knowing how
to pray to God, to love man, to knit, and to sew";
and for several centuries scarcely more than reading,
writing, and accomplishments were added to the list.
Gradually, however, the barriers against her mental
improvement have given way, and now each year
opens up new and improved methods for her intel-
lectual development. Even the sneer of "blue-stock-
ing" has died away, or, if at times feebly echoed by
some would-be wit, it falls harmless, having lost its
sting. Many of the best colleges in the land have
freely opened their doors to women, and we hail the
day when, in fact as well as in name, her educational
advantages shall be established on as solid a founda-
tion as those of the other sex.

To promote this desirable end there is nothing so
much needed as thoroughness. At present the chief
impediment to the higher education of woman is the
superficial character of her studies. In the two,
three, or four years commonly devoted to the higher
branches, she is rapidly led through a maze of lan-
guages, mathematics, sciences, philosophy, history,
literature, and accomplishments that a lifetime
would be too short to apprehend. If conscientious,
perhaps her health breaks down under the constant
strain; and then we hear the cry of the physical in-
capacity of the sex for mental labor. In any case,
her mind is left with an inextricable tangle of con-
fused knowledge, which she can neither classify nor
remember; and her mental powers, taxed but not
disciplined, are unable to cope with subjects of deep
thought or of practical importance. Education, to
be worthy of the name, necessitates time, labor, pen-
tience, system; and those who crave its privileges
must pay its price. It is far better to learn a few

things thoroughly than many superficially, not only
for the worth of the knowledge thus obtained, but
still more for the mental development that ensues.

Teachers and friends of education generally are be-
coming awakened to this need of thorough mental
training for our young women, and many judicious
plans are being brought into operation to secure it.
Perhaps none have been found of greater practical
efficacy than that of frequent written examinations,
given at short intervals, upon the studies which have
previously engaged the attention. These afford so
fair, and usually so correct, a test of the scholar's real
acquaintance with the subject as to leave no doubt
as to her fitness for further advancement. They also
afford an equally correct test of the character of the
teaching and the wisdom of the plans that have been
pursued, thus keeping alive in both pupil and teacher
the spirit of improvement, and exposing all super-
ficiality, however brilliant a gloss may have hidden it
from view. In many of our best schools, both public
and private, this plan is being put into successful
operation; and we cannot too highly recommend it in
every stage of education.

In 1874, Harvard University offered to women, as a
test of culture, written examinations of two grades,
preliminary and advanced, and promised certificates
to successful candidates, stating that they had
"passed," or "passed with distinction," or "passed
with the highest distinction," the prescribed ex-
aminations. These were held for the first time
in Boston, then in Cambridge, New York, and
Cincinnati. A local committee is now organized
in Philadelphia, to cooperate with Harvard, and to
offer the same opportunities here. Neither of the
examinations is identical with the entrance exami-
nation of the University, or with any of those given
to resident students, but are simply regarded as tests
of liberal culture, and the certificates as assurances
of proficiency from a high and most trustworthy
source. It is to be hoped that many of our young
women will take advantage of this opportunity, and,
during the coming year, will prepare themselves to
join this class of candidates for literary honors.
Whether regarded as a special preparation for teach-
ing, or other literary work, or as a means of purely
private mental cultivation, it cannot fail to richly
compensate those who are willing to strive earnestly
after a thorough education.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

HINTS FOR VACATION READING.

BY CHARLES ELIOT BORTON.

It is certainly one of the chief pleasures of vaca-
tion that a man, busied during the rest of the year in set
studies, has leisure during its course for the reading
of books for delight. And remembering Lord Bacon's
saying, that "studies serve for delight," he may
seek for something different from what is known as
"light reading." And yet to give any general advice
in the matter of the selection of books for vacation
reading is not altogether easy; for the choice made by
each man must be determined by considerations in
great degree special to himself. There are, indeed,
a few books with which every one who pretends to edu-
cation ought to be familiar; and the sooner he begins
acquaintance with them the better it is for him.
There should be no need to call over their names,
but I am afraid that some of our college students fail
to make themselves friends with Shakespeare; and I
am sure that some who have begun to know their
Shakespeare have yet never read the Prologue to the
"Canterbury Tales" or the first part of *Don Quixote*.

But next to, and near to, the supreme masters of
delight come a band of authors of whom one may
say that "to love them is a liberal education"; for
instance, Montaigne; and what pleasanter vacation
reading could there be than his essays,—the most
frank of books, and one of those most full of human
nature; remote in tone, but contemporary in spirit,—
the writing of a gentleman? Or what better or more
befitting use could one make of the long, but only
too short, summer days on country hill-sides or by the
sea-shore, than by the reading of some old poet or
dramatist,—whether it be Chaucer or Spenser or
Marlowe or Ben Jonson or Milton, with such help-
ful comment as may be got from the essays of Lowell
or Hazlitt or Charles Lamb? Truly, a young fellow
were to be envied with such companions.

And there is a use in such company beyond the
direct and immediate enjoyment. It may serve to
introduce us to the best society of the living. A
man who has refined himself in companionship with
the poets will easily make friends with the men of
culture whom he may chance to meet. A common
taste is one of the strongest bonds of sympathy.

There is yet another sort of reading which may be
well done in vacation; reading that shall illustrate
and give life to the studies of the remaining year. If
a student has become interested in any part of his-
tory, let him seek out the books written by men who
were alive during the period of which he may desire
fuller knowledge, the shapers or eye-witnesses of its
events, or the nearest narrators of them. I will not
commend a man for vacation reading to books in a
language he does not read easily, and over which he
would have "painfully to pore"; nor would I com-
mend him to translations in general. But there are
some translations good enough to read in lieu of the
original; so that, for example, if one should wish to
learn of the best thought of Athens in her best cen-
tury, he could hardly do better than read Jowett's
Plato, with the commentary to it afforded by Frere's
Aristophanes. For the whole Greek and Roman
time, Plutarch's *Lives* are an indispensable source of
the most instructive and entertaining information,—
the book of all among those that have come to us
from the ancients that tells us most concerning the
thoughts and lives of the great men of antiquity, and
consequently a book that has always been a favorite
with all sorts of readers, from Lord Bacon to Rousseau.

To come to a later time; the external spirit of the later chivalry and the Crusades is vividly expressed in Joinville's incomparable *Life of St. Louis*; while the *Divine Comedy*, which the ignorant of Italian should read in Mr. Longfellow's translation, is the summary of the faith, the convictions, the character, and the sentiment of the Middle Ages. These two books would open the way for many others.

One might thus give a long list of books for each modern century, which serve the purpose of making real to us the men of past times, and bringing us into relations with them as contemporaries. The diaries and autobiographies of men with any greatness or sincerity in them are always good reading. So are the best biographies.—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, *facile princeps*. There could be no better study of the history of England in the seventeenth century than to read in sequence and comparison Izaak Walton's *Lives of his friends*, the *Memoirs of Lord Herbert of Chesham*, Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, Pepys's and Evelyn's *Diaries*; and then, to connect America with England, to follow these up with John Winthrop's *Journal* and William Bradford's *History*.

But suppose it difficult to get books of this sort for vacation entertainment, there are every year likely to be one or two books, recently published and easily obtainable, which it will not be a waste of time for a lover of literature to read. Just now, for instance, we have two remarkable biographies, each interesting in itself, and both made still more interesting by comparison and contrast,—the *Lives of Mr. Ticknor and of Lord Macaulay*.

These are brief and slight hints; but nothing more is needed. Mr. Emerson's essay on "Books," in the volume entitled *Society and Solitude*, had best be the first piece of vacation reading, and will give all needed suggestions.—*Harvard Advocate*.

FREE SPEECH.

The following is the address of the Hon. Elizer Wright at the meeting in Faneuil Hall, on the evening of August 1, to protest against the infringement of free speech in the imprisonment of E. H. Heywood for circulating an alleged obscene pamphlet. Mr. Wright presided, and spoke as follows:—

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

Being unexpectedly asked to preside at this meeting,—for I was never so honored before,—I ask your kind indulgence towards a few remarks on the matter that will be brought before you by speakers who will command your attention, as I cannot, by their eloquence. "Know thyself," said a Grecian sage; and he was recommending the most valuable kind of knowledge. It is good for the human race collectively as well as individually. Human society is not yet as happy as it might be, on account of the imperfection of its self-knowledge. It does not know its own goodness or the origin of it. It has no faith in its own virtue and honor. It seems to think that if it did not make statutes compelling every man and woman to be good under pains and penalties everybody would be bad. It seems to think if it only had statute law enough and severe enough everybody would be wise and virtuous, and vice and crime would cease. Well, why not? Make it impossible to be wicked, and shall we not all be righteous? Of course we shall be—after a sort. So abolish downhill and there will be no up-hill. With repressive law enough, thoroughly enforced, society will be perfectly innocent and quite flat.

But how can involuntary virtue be its own reward? One hundred and two years ago a heavy blow was delivered in the face and eyes of this notion that virtue is to be manufactured by law; that total depravity is the raw material out of which all that is good in the world is made by the joint government of priests and kings. It was the Declaration of American Independence. This remarkable document presupposes that virtue, honor, conscience, religion, are indigenous in the human race. In itself, and as interpreted by the Constitution of the United States, it restricts law to the defence of human rights, leaving all theoretical rights of superhuman beings to their own care, thus striking off at one blow all the old fetters of the soul, rusty with age and smeared with blood. The world—I mean the old one—stood aghast. It looked to see American society swallowed up in an ocean of vice, corruption, and crime. Now, for more than half of the one hundred and two years of this audacious experiment I have watched society to see the effect upon it of having speech, printing, and all sorts of opinion free—so far as they have been left free,—have watched and compared with the past and with the other side of the Atlantic; and I say to you I have seen society as a whole growing cleaner, sweeter, wiser, purer, nobler, happier, every year I have lived; and it is here now far better than what I saw on the other side of the Atlantic. Too well I know there is deplorable rottenness and falsehood, and too much of it in regard to the vital and naturally holy relation of the sexes, by which society perpetuates itself, and by the refinement of which it rises above the level of the brute beasts. But I do not believe the disease is growing worse, or that it affects the great body of the people, or that it can be in the least degree diminished by visiting with pains and penalties either the scientific or religious opinions that may be supposed to engender it. That the newspapers are now, every day, filled, as never before, with crimes, scandals, rascally failures, and fast life, luxury, extravagance, and folly, is no proof that people are growing worse. These, like all abnormal things, are news; and it is to be noticed that any newspaper now collects news from an area at least one hundred times greater than it could fifty years ago. Hence, supposing the crimes and scandals in a given population to be only half as rife as they were

then, by the newspapers they would seem to be fifty times more so. Still, better and better as society grows, its sexual vices are too bad, to be sure. Read Rabelais, Bouris, and the Bible, and you will see it was always so, in spite of plenty of both ecclesiastical and civil law. It is not more statute law prescribing the relation of the sexes that society wants, but more knowledge of natural law, more self-knowledge, more knowledge of causes, consequences, moral and physical effects. With better opportunity to gain such knowledge in due season and from pure sources, the conservatism of innocence and the increase of virtue is possible, nay probable, nay almost as sure as sunrise. Nobody here doubts that there is such a thing as obscenity in literature and art, and that it is a bad thing. Unhappily, it is very difficult to define it or to prosecute it without increasing its mischief. But happily the sway of public taste is such that it is rather clandestine in our cities, quite so in the country. It takes detectives to find it in either. The States have had laws against it coming down from the days when it was less clandestine than now. They are severe enough, but have no more succeeded in suppressing it than in suppressing the obscene people who patronize it. It is quite another sort of force which has driven it into obscurity. But nobody comes here to complain of that law, or justify that literature. Nobody would have come here if loose and careless federal legislation had not been used to prosecute, repress, and punish honest freedom of opinion. Nobody here, I think, would object to a law regulating the transmission of literature through the mails, if it could so define obscenity as not to exclude a great part of our most valuable literature, including the Bible, and so as not to violate the true and constitutional liberty of the press. This is truly a difficult problem; and more than one able legislator, without despairing of the cause of good morals, has shrunk from it in despair. But when a detective, employed by a bigoted and aggressive religious sect, traps into the mail by a lie (yes, by a lie; as if lying was not a more dangerous vice than indelicacy) a book openly sold, earnestly discussing the most vital question of society—with no word more indecent than can be found in the most revered works in our libraries, and with no opinions even more heterodox or erroneous, if you please, than can be found in the writings of John Milton,—and the Supreme Court of the United States having pronounced the law constitutional, a Circuit Court sentences the author of that book to two years of imprisonment. Faneuil Hall would cease to be Faneuil Hall if its four walls did not become phonographs of indignation till this wrong application of the law is righted. Why, admitting the law to be constitutional, and the sentence according to law, there is no such thing as the liberty of the press; and without it the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence are not worth two brass buttons.

You will read in the twenty-ninth chapter of Isaiah, in the prophet's rejoicing over the downfall of evildoers, these significant words: "And all that watch for iniquity are cut off; that make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just for a thing of naught." The simple and whole truth is that Mr. Heywood was openly "reproving in the gate" by the circulation of two works, one on human physiology and one on marriage, neither of them any more open to the charge of obscenity than any work must be which thoroughly discusses those subjects. One of them was written by himself, and contains opinions which, though by no means new or very rare, do not accord with those professed by the people who employ Mr. Comstock. If they had, all the words being the same, the charge of obscenity would never have been thought of. It was easy enough to obtain the books and prosecute under the Massachusetts law, a law which makes the possession of an obscene book as criminal as its publication, and which, if Mr. Heywood's book is obscene, would put a large part of the people of Massachusetts in jail; but it was deemed desirable to subject Mr. Heywood to the odium of appearing to circulate his books clandestinely, as if they were not fit to be seen. For that reason, Comstock, as rogues generally do, hides behind a feigned name, an alias, tells the lie that he admired Heywood and his books, and asks the favor of having them mailed to him in New Jersey. He had been engaged with apparently great success in ferreting out obscene literature from the mails, and as if he were still about that business, and not a wholly different one, a very incautious prosecuting officer and grand jury of the United States find two bills of indictment against Heywood, each for having mailed (I quote the exact words of both indictments) "a certain obscene, lewd, and lascivious book [naming it], which book is so obscene, lewd, and lascivious that the same would be offensive to the Court here, and improper to be placed on the records thereof." In regard to one of the books, the jury did not hold this to be true, because it acquitted. But if it was true of either, it was true of both. And if it was true of either, then would many passages of the Bible be too offensive to that Court to be placed on the records thereof. This language of the indictments put the prosecuting officer and grand jury in the place of the judge and petit jury. It prejudged the case. A fair indictment, if it did not set forth the entire book itself, which I understand is held to be law on the other side of the Atlantic, would have at least set forth in its express words so much of it that the jury could understand its drift, purpose, and intent, and the defendant could know the exact point of attack. Instead of this, the grand jury treated the Court to a dose of judicial prudery, for which no Court that respected itself could possibly be thankful. The criminality of words must be in the intent with which they are used; otherwise such an indictment would be as much a violation of law as the crime it charged.

If words are used to allure the young to the "chambers of death" they are criminal; but there can be no crime in using any words necessary to warn them away. Under the law, as Judge Clark administered it, if Solomon and his family were alive to-day he might be indicted for his *Proverbs and Songs*, and be in Dedham Jail along with Ezra H. Heywood. And, all things considered, which do you think should be pardoned out first?

Fellow-citizens, this prosecution and punishment of Heywood, to put the most charitable construction upon it, is a dangerous mistake. Grant that his doctrine is a social heresy, the only safety of the republic against social as well as political heresies is the perfect freedom of publication, allowing every man to load his literary gun, whether with wisdom or folly, sense or nonsense, and fire it in the face and eyes of the common-sense of the public. Our fathers, about the end of the last century, frightened at the virulence and want of respect for authority in the political press, tried for a limited time the experiment of a "sedition law," so-called; that is, a law for the punishment of seditious publications. It made matters so much worse that when it expired they did not renew it. Half a dozen convictions under it were enough to prove the Constitution right and the law worse than useless. So, granting Heywood's doctrine to be erroneous and foolish, and even granting his motives to be bad, which I think no candid person can intelligently believe, the people who, under the false pretence of suppressing obscenity, have let loose upon him the old bull-dog of religious persecution have committed against the interests of society one of those blunders which are worse than crimes.

One word more. I am sure you will pardon me, if, standing where I do by your favor, I express my own opinion and define my individual position in regard to the question of marriage. I believe the family is the foundation of the State, and the perfection of the family is the union for life on terms of perfect equality of one man and one woman. I believe such union in our country is generally happy, and is held together by an ever-increasing force, to which law or anything from the outside can add nothing; to wit, genuine, truthful, supersensual love, or mutual worship. I do not blame the law for punishing a man who deserts the mother of his children to follow another woman, and I sympathize with the public scorn for his baseness. But considering that all laws are made and administered by men, and that women have no voice in the matter, I don't see where the law gets its right to punish the wife for slipping her neck out of the yoke. Men have put into their laws regarding women too little of doing as they would be done by; and I think Jesus was of that opinion when he said, "Neither do I condemn thee."

KISSING THE BOOK.

"Take the book in your right hand—there—now—kiss it. Where d'ye live and what ju do?"

This witness, says the *Philadelphia Times*, was a rubicund-faced saloon-keeper, with red hair and freckles, and he stood in the box at the Mayor's office. Time, 10 A.M. Rows of prisoners on seats formed the congregation behind him, and in that congregation was a man that had stolen \$6, a revolver, and some trinkets, and the rubicund-faced man was the one to prove it.

"Well, and you swear he's the thief? That'll do. Get down. Let your wife up. The other hand, madam. Kiss that book now, and tell us what you know."

The woman, having a very prominent nose and a very prominent chin, pressed the book against the point of the former and the tip of the latter, leaving so much space between the sacred volume and her lips that the largest conceivable pucker could not reach it. Then, slowly depressing her hand, she laid the book on the table before her.

"And that's all you know? That'll do. James Tolen!"

A very retiring-looking young man, in the extreme corner of the prisoners' box, rose, and, with a cheerful smile, looked at the magistrate and said:—

"John Tolen, sir."

"Ah—well—John Tolen. Who's the witnesses? The other hand, sir; take that book in your right—that way. Kiss it. Where d'ye live and what ju do?"

The story is told, the witness the while shuffling the book around like a hot brick, and never releasing it till he steps out of the witness-box, and then showing an inclination to carry it away with him.

"Who's the next witness?" A young woman steps into the box.

"The right hand, madam; kiss the book. Now tell us what you know."

Even so soft a thing as a kiss may prove destructive if repeated a great many times. That book is worn smooth and shiny. Contact with so many lips has begun to tell on the corners and binding. No two kiss it alike, and some don't kiss it at all, but rub it against their nose, while such of the masculine persuasion as have moustaches sometimes scrub it with tobacco juice.

"Next witness, where is he?" There he is, a stalwart colored man, as black as they generally grow. He takes the book, inflicts on it a very audible smack, puts it down and tells his story.

"Kiss the book, madam, kiss the book." The young woman, who is the next witness, takes it up and presses it triangularly against her lips. "And you're positive he's the man?" "Yes." "That'll do; call the next witness."

A huge-moustached individual ascends the stand, takes up the book in a most business-like manner and rubs it across his lips horizontally, with an energy that is good for all the enamel on that particular spot of the cover at least, if it has not been kissed away before. A colored damsel is the next witness, and she kisses the book square, with fully as much smack about it as her brother before her. That is all, and the book is laid away for the next occasion.

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- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

POE'S "RAVEN" was originally sold to the *American Quarterly Review* for ten dollars.

IT IS REPORTED that Dennis Kearney doesn't drink, or use tobacco in any form. His intemperance is all in his speech.

IT IS SAID that Mr. Beecher's lecturing tour in the West, this side of the Rocky Mountains, didn't pay—anybody but himself.

THE SOCIALISTS, in Germany, cast four hundred thousand votes in 1877, and they hope to double their representation this year.

THE STATE OF IOWA has a new capital-punishment law; but within one fortnight after it went into operation there were four murders. So much for legislation instead of civilization.

DR. MINER says of the Republican party: "It means to succeed by the help of the Lord if it can, and if not, by the help of the devil." Precisely so, doctor; but then, what political party doesn't?

TO THE PHILOSOPHER prayer, as generally understood, is a waste of time. It does one of two things,—perhaps both: it impeaches either the faith of the one who prays, or the wisdom and goodness of the One to whom prayer is made.

GEORGE HERBERT, giving his ideas of a Country Parson, says: "A pastor is the deputy of Christ for the reducing of man to the obedience of God." Not unless the pastor himself is so "reduced;" which is far from being always the case.

"IF HE BE married," says George Herbert of the Country Parson,— "if he be married, his judgment, not his affection, found out a fit wife for him." Why shouldn't a parson marry for love as well as any other man? He will not marry wisely, surely, if he does not.

BISMARCK never walks out for his "constitutional" without being watched over by a squad of police in citizen dress, and attended by a large, smooth, black boar-hound. If he weren't an oppressor and a destroyer of personal liberties, he might walk abroad with as much safety as any other honest citizen.

WE ARE TOLD by the *Christian Register* (which of course registers everything correctly) that "the average life of the Christian is only thirty-six years and eleven months." Now if you will just turn Free Religionist, you shall have that even month added to your years, and be exactly thirty-seven when you die on "the average."

LORD BEACONSFIELD has attributed to him, among his other deep designs, a scheme to move the Pope to Jerusalem, as the head of the Greek and Roman churches, and indeed of all Christendom. Well, why not? This would be but an act of historic justice; for the Catholic Church is the true representative of historical Christianity.

MAUNDEVILLE, a celebrated traveller (1344 A.C., more than one hundred years before Columbus discovered America), maintained "that the earth is of a round form," and "that if a man found passage by ship he might sail all round the world, above and beneath," and always "find men, lands, and isles." In the same way, every speaker of a new truth has been antedated by some one else, who has thought if not spoken the same thing.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, when he was eighty-three years old (March 2, 1826), wrote as follows to one complimenting him on his public services: "Your very friendly letter supposes in me claims on the attention of my country to which I have no pretensions. I happened to be born in times which required from all its citizens every aid they could render, and gave full value to even the smallest that any could render. Those within the reach of my faculties have been

fully remunerated by the honors and compensations which my fellow-citizens have bestowed upon me."

MR. EMERSON wrote, thirty years ago, of Plato: "Out of Plato come all things that are still written and debated among men of thought. Plato is philosophy and philosophy Plato,—at once the glory and the shame of mankind; since neither Saxon nor Roman have availed to add any idea to his categories." It is thus that an admirer of the great Greek can write; but one should read what Walter Savage Landor, a critic of Plato, has to say of him, in order to see how differently a master mind may be received and interpreted by two equally distinguished students.

QUEEN VICTORIA has given Mr. Disraeli, not a dukedom as was expected, but a "garter," for raising England once more to the rank of a first-class power. If his lordship really needed that useful article of apparel, we are glad he has got it; and now, we may reasonably hope, his stockings will never more slip down. But however that may be, there are many chances that the Premier himself may "slip up" before he has gone very far in his cunning game of diplomacy; for we see that the Liberals are once more reported as being very confident of soon winning his trump card.

IN AN ARTICLE on John G. Tappan's case, pointing out the precise manner in which that man has violated the Massachusetts law punishing the servant of any corporation who uses its name or his own official name to obtain money on the credit of the corporation without its authority, and demanding his arrest and conviction at the hands of the State, the *Springfield Republican* vigorously remarks: "Then again, what will the Mount Vernon [Boston] Church, of which he is a member, do about it? It belongs to a fellowship of churches who are just now unusually concerned about purity of doctrine. They may be right in this. But the question will be asked, Are they also concerned about 'clean hands'? Will this dignified worshipper and attendant on the weekly prayer-meeting be proceeded with after the gospel fashion of discipline?"

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, in the Rochester Woman's Convention last month, advocated self-development in the place of self-sacrifice; saying that women had practised altogether too much of the latter in our civilization, and been too willingly subject to Church and State. This may do very well as a healthy reaction against the sacrifice-theory of the popular Christian inculcation. But the right sort of self-sacrifice produces self-development, does it not? Any other kind is certainly demoralizing. Yet one of the most beautiful traits of character,—one which endears to all its possessor,—is, not constant self-assertion, but that thoughtful consideration which is continually seeking to promote the happiness and welfare of others. Not they who are anxious to govern, but they who are desirous quietly to serve, are the real helpers of mankind.

WE HAVE RECEIVED the following note from Mr. E. H. Heywood: "Cell 52, the Jail, Dedham, Mass., Aug. 13. Dear Mr. Stevens: I wish to thank you for the reprint from Mrs. Child's writings. Next to Theodore Parker, I owe most to her for religious enlightenment. Her *Progress of Religious Ideas* let a flood of light in upon the midnight darkness which imprisoned me in the old creeds when I was a student at Brown University. Later, in the Anti-Slavery movement, I owed much to her teachings. Her frequent visits to the old Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington Street (old number), were inspiring events. She was one of the famous Executive Committee, composed of Garrison, Phillips, the Jacksons (Eben and Francis), Quincy, May, Bowditch, and the rest. Thanks to Mr. Abbot's kindness, THE INDEX comes regularly, and is indeed welcome within these walls."

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Ideal and Historical Christianity.

BY A. W. STEVENS.

"Say nothing but good of the dead" is a maxim born of sweet human charity. It is one which I am glad to believe is generally closely followed. To let asperities and dislikes be buried in the grave is, on the whole, an easy and a common concession; for death both mollifies and subdues the living, and glorifies and transfigures the departed. In almost every instance "distance lends enchantment to the view," by withdrawing or removing the opportunity and the occasion of close, sharp scrutiny. The good that men do does live after them; the evil oftener is forgotten. To judge one who cannot reply, to criticize one who cannot offer explanation,—most men are by nature too magnanimous to do this. The chivalry and the charity of humanity alike hasten to cast the mantle of forgetfulness over the imperfections of those who are overtaken by the night and silence of the grave.

And so it transpires that we naturally and kindly idealize the dim and distant. In such cases all real defects are obscured, and all real beauties enhanced. Emphatically is this so, when the object of our retrospective vision is intrinsically very venerable, or by the force of association or traditional custom has come to appear so; then affection, like the clinging, climbing vine on the old wall or tree, helps to clothe with all the luxuriance of ideal charms that which our thought or memory cherishes.

But this tendency to idealize what is removed by death and time, while it is ordinarily a gracious and proper thing to do, may in some instances be carried so far, and exercised so indiscriminately, as to become a mistake, nay, even a crime. There is such a thing as historical and comparative justice, such a thing as justice to contemporaries; and when we are writing or interpreting history,—be it that of a neighborhood or a nation, a family or a race,—we are bound to do it in the spirit of this justice, and to dispense it impartially to every relative period, person, event, and idea. We must not only deal kindly and generously, but justly and exactly, both with the living and the dead, with what is present and what is past. In all our reminiscences and historical investigations, it is a great thing if we are able to keep the truly discriminating mind, if we are able to bestow upon every object, near and distant, alike the soft glow of charity and the clear, steady look of balanced judgment. It may not, ordinarily, be needful to criticize; and when not needful, criticism is wanton. But when one thing is exalted at the expense of another, or when anything is so idealized beyond its actual character as to cause it to occupy an undue and disproportioned place in our regard,—then criticism is indispensable; then criticism is a duty, and the omission of it a fault: for historical justice must be vindicated and the truth served at whatever and whomsoever's expense.

Now it seems to me that Christ and Christianity have long been ideally regarded. By a fond and partial method of treatment they have been lifted out of their true historical relations, and given a place which does not properly belong to them. They have been viewed not through the deliberately poised telescope of historic comparison, but through the eagerly-clutched kaleidoscope of affectionate prejudice.

Christians are in the habit of affirming that Christ is the perfect teacher, and Christianity, or what he taught, the perfect religion. They do this by a tremendous assumption, which rests primarily not on rational investigation and interpretation, but on authority. That Christ and Christianity are perfect, one as a teacher and the other as a doctrine, is an *ex cathedra* declaration, quite unhistoric and unrationale. They are perfect, it is assumed, because they alone came from God and brought his miraculous attestation. Of course this is, both in premise and conclusion, a complete begging of the question; or it is, in parliamentary phrase, an ordering summarily of the previous question on the matter to be discussed, a cutting off of all debate, and an arbitrary forcing of the decision.

Now if Christ and Christianity were not a part of history, we could not historically view them; we should be left only the pleasant, if not harmless, method of idealizing them. But they are a part of history, a part of the history of religion. They are not the whole of that history, but only a page or a chapter out of the entire vast volume which has been written and is still being writ, and which will never

have *finis* subscribed to it so long as man exists. This being the case, we have no choice left but to consider Christ and Christianity historically, to consider them comparatively, as one of a series, as a part among parts, as a species of a great genus; to consider them not only in the light which shines from them, but also in that which shines from behind them and from all around them.

With but exceptional instances this is not the method which Christians have adopted in their treatment of Christ and Christianity. They have treated them as *sui generis*, as having a nature peculiarly their own, so unlike that of any other or others as to remove them by a vast distance from all historic, serial, and generic connections. A few, a very few, of the most cultured Christian scholars have, it is true, deigned to inquire as to the character of the other religions of the world, most of which are more ancient, and some of which are more wide-spread to-day, than Christianity. But while some of the more candid of these Christian students of comparative theology have been compelled to admit that in the other ethnic religions the same great fundamental doctrines are taught as in Christianity, they and all of them have gone into the inquiry so completely panoplied with their prepossessions and prejudices in favor of Christ and Christianity, that they have been impervious to the broadest, justest, most generous convictions which such a historical survey enforces, and have come off from their research bringing with them their antecedent indomitable assumption that Christ and Christianity alone are perfect.

What now can we say to all this but that we believe it to be an immense idealization of Christ and Christianity; that we believe such a treatment of the whole matter to be eminently unhistoric and unscientific? How of two things so alike in many of their prime features as Christianity and Buddhism, for instance, are allowed to be even by some Christian scholar, can it be affirmed that one is absolutely divine and the other human? Such a conclusion could surely not be reached if the method of treatment in comparative theology were as scientific as that usually observed in comparative ethnology. There are many races, as many religions. It is not, however, affirmed of any one of these races that it is the absolutely perfect type of man, though it is allowed that some races, in some respects, are vastly superior to others. We see that all races have certain great features and qualities in common; and while they markedly differ in some particulars, they still are so much alike that we do not hesitate to pronounce them homogeneous, to declare that they all have one nature, one origin, one destiny. All together, we say, they make up the race of man; not perfect in any of its parts, not perfect indeed as a whole; but throughout indicating such degrees of progressive development as show it to be on the high road towards perfection. In this way of dealing with races we do no injustice to any, but even justice to all. We idealize none, but we historically and scientifically classify all.

But why not deal with historic religions as we deal with historic races? Surely it cannot be denied that the cases are analogous. Why not, then, observe the same exact and impartial method of treatment in the one instance as in the other? Why not say that all the world's religions are forms of Religion itself; that no one of them is the root, but that all are offshoots from the root that bears and nourishes them; that no one of them is perfect by or in itself; that all together, indeed, they do not give a perfect voicing of absolute truth or absolute right, but that they are the different expressions which, at different times, in different places, and under different conditions, the religious nature of man inspired by the Divine mind has made of itself; and that they all are prophetic of the future progress which man as a religious being will make in the path that stretches on and up forever into the fulness of the Infinite? This indeed would be dealing with religions in the same spirit of historic justice as is brought to the consideration of races. This would be to treat the whole question rationally and not arbitrarily. This would be to dismiss prejudice and employ candor; to trample under the feet of our generous disdain ecclesiastical as well as ethnical caste.

But our purpose now leads us not so much to consider the idealization of Christ and Christianity, which Christians in general indulge in, as that which characterizes a particular class of Christians. All Christians agree in claiming absolute differentiation between Jesus and his doctrine and all the other great religious teachers and their doctrines; all Christians are guilty of gross historic injustice in the comparisons they make, or fail to make, between Christ and other masters, and Christianity and other religions; and yet there is one class of Christians who, in their apprehension and representation of Christianity itself and its author, transcend all others in idealizing both.

Christendom is divided into two parties, the names for which are furnished by popular usage to our hand, as *Liberal* and *Orthodox*. The Liberals differ from the Orthodox mainly in their method of interpreting Scripture,—the latter interpreting it on the basis of authority, the former on the basis of reason. Both go to the Christian Bible to find the records of the perfect religion; but both come away with very different accounts of the contents of those records. The Liberals say that Christianity, according to the Bible, is this. The Orthodox say that Christianity, according to the Bible, is that. And when we examine the presentations of both, we find that the Liberal *this* and the Orthodox *that* have scarce any mutual resemblance.

Now in this controversy—long since begun and not yet ended—between the two Christian parties, as to what Christianity is in itself according to the Bible,

truth and candor compel me to agree in the main with the Orthodox, and to confess that in this instance the Liberals are especially guilty of unhistoric and illogical interpretation; they are the party who falsify the records and misrepresent the doctrinal character of the religion taught by Jesus and his disciples. I do not think they do this deliberately, in order to make out a case; they do it the rather through the easy and not uncommon delusion of mistaking the ideal for the actual. They do it by projecting the ideas of the nineteenth century upon the first; by attributing to Jesus what they believe, instead of receiving from him what he taught.

The Liberals are certainly to be congratulated on not believing what the Orthodox believe; but they are to be reprehended for referring their belief to the wrong source. Their *ideal* Christianity is for the most part very beautiful and very true; but they gravely and grossly err when they put forth that for the historic actual. They went into the issue with the Orthodox on the basis of reason. This was right. Their mistake is, and has been, that they try to rationalize what is irrational, to spiritualize what insists on remaining literal. Their mistake is in not sticking to their own ground, in not being faithful to the principle they started with. They would fain equip themselves with weapons in the same arsenal wherefrom the Orthodox precedently step armed from head to foot. The Bible is the true fort of the Orthodox; behind its walls they are safely entrenched, and the Liberals in vain essay to take it, and turn its guns against its rightful occupants. The Orthodox are the legitimate inheritors of the chief doctrinal contents of the New Testament, to most of which the Liberals forfeited all claim when they departed from the patrimonial premises and set up for themselves on the capital of reason. The Liberals fatally embarrass themselves by endeavoring to take with them, in all their excursions into the realms of science and modern thought, the New Testament as an authoritative and supernatural *exposé* of absolute religion. They fight nothing but a losing battle in trying, with the so-called "accommodation theory" of Mr. Andrews Norton, to reconcile many of the prominent doctrines of Jesus and his disciples with nineteenth-century ideas. Sweetly but soundly they had far best suffer to sleep on dusty shelves all tracts written, for instance, to prove St. Peter to have been a Unitarian, and the four Gospels, as well as the apostolic Epistles, to be documents originally indited in the interests of "Liberal Christianity."

The nature of the controversy between Liberal and Orthodox Christians relegates us directly to the actual records of the Christian religion, to the very reputed words of Jesus himself, the "author and finisher" of every Christian's faith. To them we now go, not intending to take with us any prejudices or preconceived notions, not desiring to read between the lines to find what we fancy might be there or imagine is there, but desiring only to read what is actually there written, and to find what is really there put down.

And for one, I would say that I accept with alacrity the necessity of thus going to the book to ascertain what Christianity really is. Indeed, I have already been there, and long and faithfully have I studied what I there find written. And against the desire with which I went to such a study of the New Testament, I come away convinced that in no special doctrinal sense am I a Christian; because, while I find in those writings, and in the great person of whom and on account of whom they were written, much that my heart loves, my judgment approves, and my whole being responds to, I find also so many things contrary to reason, to science, and the natural fitness of things, that I cannot accept Jesus in any special sense as a divine teacher, or the New Testament in any special sense as an inspired book. To the Liberal Christians I am constrained to say: Your Lord is not my Lord, because I do not find him to teach, on the whole, what you claim he does; some things he teaches which you ascribe to him; some beautiful things you quote of him he doubtless uttered; yet the great distinctive features of your Liberal system, as opposed to the Orthodox, I am convinced he did not teach, but the contrary. And in saying this to the Liberals, I appeal from their interpretation to the book itself; I appeal from ideal to historical Christianity.

I. Almost the first Orthodox doctrine which Liberal Christians denied was that of everlasting punishment. The largest, best organized, and most efficient denomination of Liberal Christians in our country to-day conspicuously and strenuously stand on the denial of this doctrine, and on the affirmation of its antithesis; and from this denial and this affirmation they derive their chief strength and popularity,—for no man either wishes or is willing to go to hell under any circumstances, but much prefers to go, and is glad to be convinced that he is going, the other way. But what does the New Testament, what does Jesus, teach about future punishment?

In answering this question I do not propose, and it is not incumbent on me, to go into a philological discussion of the words *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna*. Doubtless these were used by the ancients sometimes in one sense and sometimes in another. But that the Jews before Christ, and the Greeks, believed that somewhere in the next world there was a local place and a gross species of horrible torment for the wicked, I suppose no person tolerably acquainted with their literature doubts. *Gehenna* and *hades* were the words they habitually used to describe such a locality and condition; and to say that in every instance where we find these words in the New Testament they were used not in the customary but in some other sense, is to jump at conclusions with only a partisan dexterity.

Jesus uses the words *hell*, *hell-fire*, *everlasting fire*, and *everlasting punishment* a great many times; and

he uses them without one particle of cautionary qualification, and not seldom in a very intense and vehement way. He uses them, moreover, in reference to the future condition of those who reject his gospel. On one occasion (Matt. v., 22) he tells his hearers that were they to do a certain thing they would be "in danger of hell-fire." Again (Matt. v., 30), that they had better give up some much-prized possessions than by these to be brought wholly "into hell." Still again (Matt. x., 28) he tells them to fear nothing which can harm only the body, but to "fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." At another time (Matt. xlii., 39-42) he is speaking of "the end of the world," when the Son of Man with angels will come for the judgment of all; then, he says, those will be gathered "out of his kingdom who do iniquity," and will be "cast into the furnace of fire." Once more (Matt. xxv., 31-46), he is describing the future condition of those who have and those who have not accepted him: the first, he says, will "inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world," while to the last he will say, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the everlasting fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels." And he winds up this whole passionate and pictorial passage in this way: "These [the wicked] will go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life." The Orthodox, it seems to me, are unanswerable when they call attention to the fact that here Jesus sets off one "everlasting" as equivalent to the other. And yet, if there be any doubt whether Jesus was accustomed to use this word in a limited sense, he himself dispels it in his parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi.). In that case he graphically refers to both heaven and hell, to a future local condition of the good and the bad; between these two places he says "there is placed a great gulf, so that those who wish to cross may not be able." This would seem to be about as unalterable a state of things as one could well imagine; and if all this language, often and unqualifiedly repeated, does not indicate belief in future everlasting punishment, what can? When we hear such things said in an Orthodox pulpit, we know very well what is meant by them. When we meet with similar sayings in the records of other religions, we do not hesitate to interpret them squarely. Why, then, stammer over the words of Jesus? Why seek to wrest his phrases from their obvious meaning? Why not deal as candidly with the great Galilean as with any other of the world's masters?

II. The affirmation of impartial, universal salvation naturally follows the denial of everlasting punishment. This affirmation the Liberal Christians emphatically make, especially that denomination of them known as Universalists. But did Jesus make this affirmation? Do his words, fairly interpreted, allow any class of Christians to hold belief in universal salvation on his authority? He nowhere says, he nowhere intimates, that any will be saved who reject him and his gospel. On the contrary, he plainly intimates that only those will be saved who have been chosen and given to him by God (Mark xlii., 20, 27; John xvii., 2, *et seq.*). He is reported in one instance as saying (Matt. x., 32, 33), "Every one, therefore, who shall acknowledge me before men, him will I also acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven." This appears, certainly, to be very explicit and frank. Does it mean anything else than that he will recommend to God for salvation such, and such only, as confess him to be the Christ? He says on another occasion (Matt. xxiv., 31) that at the end of the world he "will send forth his angels . . . and they will gather his *chosen*." To choose is to select from, and implies the rejection of some. But he was once asked the direct question (Luke xlii., 23), "Lord, are there few that are to be saved?" This gave him an excellent occasion to say, if he had wished to, that not a few, but all, are to be saved. And yet he did not say this; nor was he non-committal. Promptly he replied (v., 24) that the way to salvation is through a "narrow door," and that "many will seek to enter in and *will not be able*." This implies—does it not?—that there are many who will not be saved. It certainly does not hint at universal salvation. There are numerous other instances in the Gospels, where Jesus is reported as saying that only such as believe on him, and accept him, will be accepted and loved of God. And all along through the subsequent books of the New Testament it is with many repetitions declared that there is salvation only in Christ, the exceptions to this doctrine being rare and sporadic. If there be salvation only in Christ, then surely there be few and not many that are to be saved.

In these two doctrines of everlasting punishment and partial salvation, Christ and Christianity might well be corrected by Zoroaster and Parseism; for Zoroaster explicitly taught, and Parsees on his authority believe, that all punishment is intended to be disciplinary and remedial, and that all souls, even Ahriman himself, will finally be purged from evil and secured to the good.

III. All Liberal Christians rejoice in having well rid their faith of a personal devil. This frightful monster they have exorcised from their creed; his horrible shade they have laid low. But how they can claim to do this in consistency with the belief and teachings of Jesus and his Apostles, it passes my ability to understand. The Devil, in Jesus' time, was a notorious individual. He neither was nor cared to be concealed. He had thrown down his gauntlet at God's feet; he had rallied all his retainers and followers, and was fighting a desperate fight for the bodies and souls of men. All this was in the tradition, the belief, of Jesus' time; it was a part of the mental and moral atmosphere that all men breathed. And that he imbibed it, that he accepted

the tradition of the Devil and of his moral warfare with God, is as plain on the pages of the New Testament as words can make it. Over and over Jesus speaks of the Devil, of Satan, of the Evil One; and never does he hint that he regards that being as a hero of fiction and not of fact; never does he hint that he had any other belief about the Devil than the popular one of his day,—which represented the Father of lies as having a kingdom and sceptre of his own, as lurking about in person and by proxy to invent, incite, and do all the evil possible, and against whom every one must be on his guard lest he should be seized and bound by him. Jesus' description of the traditional and popular Devil is so frequent and full that we should indeed be blind with prejudice not to recognize him. His allusions to the One whom he believed to be especially inimical to his own mission are copious and explicit. Jesus evidently believed that he was sent to defeat all Satan's designs, to wrest the world of man and Nature from his control, as well as to summon all to a better and more faithful service of God. And the followers of Jesus believed that their master did defeat the great Adversary; that he descended even into hell and warred with the Prince of the powers of darkness, and so broke his control over men that they could the more easily escape him.

IV. Another important particular wherein Liberal Christians differ from Orthodox is in the exaltation they give to this natural, earthly life. They say it is good, it is pleasant, it is desirable. They say it is not a vale of tears, a fleeting show, an illusive and sinful scene. They say this life ought to be made the most of; this world ought to be used and enjoyed, and dwelt in as long as possible. And they say that religion would best give its attention to the making this life long and happy, to the perfecting and perpetuating of all natural, social relations and institutions.

All this is eminently reasonable and right. But all this has not its best, its fullest, its most explicit authority from Jesus. I am impressed that he did not do justice to this life and this world. Religion in his view seems to be chiefly useful in helping us to get ready to go to heaven, not to dwell on this earth; in preparing us to die, not to live; in making us to be saints without bodies, rather than saints in bodies. Much of his teaching, I confess, if we are faithful to it, will help us to live well no less than die well. But this is the point I make,—that Jesus seemed to have heaven, not earth, in view, as the arena where his regenerated followers would most appropriately figure, and where they would find their true satisfaction and reward. It is true he said, "The kingdom of heaven is amongst you." But the kingdom to which he referred was that of the Son of Man,—the kingdom of the Messiah; and that kingdom he expressly said was "not of this world." It was a kingdom, if not in heaven, then heaven or the New Jerusalem come down, which was to abolish the existing order of things, and leave no trace of the present earthly life. Jesus treated that life with unconcealed disdain; he continually referred every high hope, every grand consummation, to the life to come. Commerce and trade were very dispensable in his eyes; he called men away from them, and in general from all secular concerns, to become devoted to his cause. Religion in his view was not to moralize business and practical life; it was rather to abolish them, and make each man's occupation that of saving his own and others' souls. Thousands and millions of his followers have taken him at his word; have made religion, not the crown of every-day life, but something wholly apart from it; have despised this life and this world, libelling both with depreciating epithets; have poured contempt on riches and held up poverty as a virtue; have mortified and crucified everything pertaining to the physical and natural man. I am free to confess that in much of this they have exceeded the authority of Jesus' teaching and example; and yet from many things he said and did the suggestion and impulse of Christian asceticism and monasticism proceeded. The present sentiment and tone of Orthodox Christians, who so generally regard religion as a means not of living but of dying well; not of making this world heavenly, but of getting happily out of it into another; not of helping to be good for goodness' sake, but for the sake of being "saved," and obtaining the reward of heaven,—are, I believe, derived with much legitimacy from the teachings of Jesus and the Apostles. And here again is another opportunity for Christianity to be amended by one of the ethnic religions. Confucius made religion especially bear upon this life and this world, upon the making them orderly, pure, and beautiful, without so much reference to anything in the hereafter. If the religion of Confucius lacked spirituality, the religion of Jesus no less lacks practicality.

It is not necessary to pursue further the scrutiny of Jesus' teachings, to show that in some most important particulars there is a wide variance between them and the views held by certain Christians laying claim to his authority. Much more material is at hand for this purpose, but we believe we have already done enough to demonstrate the discrepancy between ideal and historical Christianity; between the beliefs of "Liberal Christians" and the teachings of him whom they own as master. We have done this in no other interests than those of truth. We would detract from nothing and nobody that which is their due; we only seek to secure justice to those all round the circle. We love Jesus and his religion more than we can tell; but we love the truth far better. And the truth will not be damaged by any such investigation and comparison as we have pursued; it can afford to have all facts brought to light, and everything subjected to scrutiny in the world's great exposition of historic religions.

For one, I look not to the past for perfection, but to the ever-dawning future. I look to no historic person for a perfect leader, to no historic religion for a perfect rule of faith. To the fulness of the Infinite, to the Spirit of Truth that can lead into all truth, I turn my expectant eyes. For what of good the past has given, or may give, I can feel nothing but gratitude; but of the future I have a hope, an expectation, which is well-nigh exultant. For the fuller light to be shed from that I look and long. May no eye be averted, no heart be cold, to see and welcome it!—*The Radical*, May, 1872.

NEW ENGLAND INDIANS.—THEIR ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

[The following particulars respecting the Aborigines of New England are given by Roger Williams (Historical Collections, vol. III. p. 203). They are full of interest to those who like to know what sort of notions and usages have prevailed outside of so-called Christian civilization. Inasmuch as they were reported by a Christian (though one who was persecuted by the "Orthodox" for his liberalism), we suppose they may be regarded as authentic.—A. W. S.]

The natives "constantly anoint their heads, as the Jews did;" they "gave dowries for their wives, as the Jews did." In accordance with "the Greeks and other nations," they call the seven stars "mosk or paukunnawaw," the bear. "They have many strange relations of one Wetcucks, a man that wrought great miracles amongst them, walking upon the sea, etc." The "southwest, Sowwanu, is the great subject of their discourse; from thence their traditions; there" is "the court of their great god Cawtantowwit; at the southwest are their forefathers' souls;" and there "they go themselves, when they die: from the southwest came their corn and beans, out of the great god Cawtantowwit's field." Some connection is inferred with the Southwest wind being the "pleasings" and most desired by the natives, "making fair weather ordinarily." They "are exceedingly delighted with salutations in their own language;" are "remarkably free and courteous to invite all strangers into their houses;" and he "acknowledged amongst them an heart sensible of kindnesses," having "reaped kindness again from many, seven years after, when" he himself "had forgotten." Their provision for a journey of three or four days is "nokehick," parched meal: of their other dishes, parched corn, "msick-quatah" (succotash), boiled corn whole, "manusquasedash," beans, and "nawsaump" (sawp), a kind of meal pottage unparched, are mentioned. "They generally all take tobacco;" one of the causes alleged being "against the rheum, which causeth the tooth-ache." Howling "and shouting is their alarm, they having no drums nor trumpets." When "they have had a bad dream, which they conceive to be a threatening from God, they fall to prayer at all times of the night, especially early before day."

Having "no letters nor arts, it is admirable how quick they are in casting up great numbers, with the help of grains of corn, instead of Europe's pens or counters;" the names of numbers up to "nquitte-mittannug," thousand, are given; and even by combination, up to one hundred thousand. "They hold the band of brotherhood so dear, that when one had committed a murder and fled, they executed his brother; and it is common for a brother to pay the debt of a brother deceased;" their "virgins are distinguished by a bashful falling down of the hair over their eyes; there are no beggars among them, nor fatherless children unprovided for; their affections, especially to their children, are very strong;" and this, "together with want of learning, makes their children saucy, bold, and undutiful. 'Nickquenum,' I am going home, is a solemn word amongst them; and no man will offer any hindrance to him, who after some absence is going to visit his family, and use this word." Two "families will live comfortably and lovingly in a little round house, of some fourteen or sixteen feet over, and so more, and more families in proportion." They "are as full of business, and as impatient of hindrance, in their kind, as any merchant in Europe." They "have amongst them natural fools, either so born, or accidentally deprived of reason." They "are much delighted after battle, to hang up the hands and heads of their enemies." Their "desire of, and delight in news is great as the Athenians;" and "upon any tidings" I have "seen near a thousand in a round, and many 'will deliver themselves' with 'very emphatical speech and great action, commonly an hour, and sometimes two hours together;" in "time of war, he that is a messenger runs swiftly, and at every town the messenger comes, a fresh messenger is sent;" their word for letter is from "wussuckwhommin," to paint, "for having no letters their painting comes the nearest." They "have thirteen months, according to the several moons; and they give to each of them significant names." It "is admirable to see what paths their naked hardened feet have made in the wilderness, in most stony and rocky places;" I have "known many of them run between fourscore or an hundred miles in a summer's day, and back within two days." They "are joyful in meeting of any in travel, and will strike fire either with stones or sticks, to take tobacco, and discourse a little together." I have travelled "many a hundred miles among them, without need of stick or staff, for any appearance of danger amongst them; yet it is a rule amongst them that it is not good for a man to travel without a weapon, nor alone." If justice be refused in case of robbery between persons of different states, "they grant a kind of letter of mart to take satisfaction themselves; yet they are careful not to exceed in taking from others beyond the proportion of their own loss: I could never hear that murders or robberies are comparably so fre-

quent as in parts of Europe, amongst the English, French, etc." A certain small bird is called "sachim," from its "courage and command over greater birds" (the king-bird, *Muscicapa tyrannus*); a hawk, "wushowunan," is kept "tame about their houses, to keep the little birds from their corn" (compare origin of *falconry*).

They "are very exact and punctual in the bounds of their lands belonging to this or that" people, "even to a river, brook, etc.;" and I have known them make bargain and sale among themselves for a small piece or quantity of ground;" when "a field is to be broken up," all "the neighbors, men and women, forty, fifty, a hundred, etc. join, and come in to help freely; with friendly joining they break up their fields, build their forts, hunt the woods, stop and kill fish in the rivers;" the "women to this day, notwithstanding our hoes, do use their natural hoes of shells and wood." The "variety of their dialects and proper speech, within thirty or forty miles of each other, is very great, as appears in" the word for dog.

"Paumpagussit" is the "name which they give that deity or god-head which they conceive to be in the sea." A sail is called "sepakehig," and "their own reason hath taught them to pull off a coat or two, and set it up on a small pole, with which they will sail before the wind ten or twenty miles;" some of their canoes will carry "twenty, thirty, forty men;" and "I have known thirty or forty of their canoes filled with men, and near as many more of their enemies, in a sea fight." I have heard a native lamenting the loss of a child, "cry out, 'O God, thou hast taken away my child! thou art angry with me; O turn thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children:' if they receive any good in hunting, fishing, harvest, etc., they acknowledge God in it; yea, if it be but an ordinary accident, a fall, etc., they will say, God was angry and did it: but" they "branch their godhead into many gods," and "have given me the names of thirty-seven, all which in their solemn worship they invoke," as the great southwest god Cawtantowwit, the eastern god, the western god, the northern god, the southern god, the house god, the woman's god, the children's god, "Muckquachuckquand,"—the last-named, believed by a dying native to have appeared to him "many years before, and bid him, when he was in distress, call upon him." They also worship created things, in which "they conceive doth rest some deity,"—as the sun god, the moon god, the sea god, the "fire god: 'Can it, say they, be but this fire must be a god, or divine power, that out of a stone will arise in a spark, and when a poor naked Indian is ready to starve with cold in the house, and especially in the woods, often saves his life, doth dress all our food for us, and if it be angry will burn the house about us, yea if a spark fall into the dry wood, burns up the country:' besides there is a general custom amongst them, at the apprehension of any excellency in men, women, birds, beasts, etc., to cry out, 'Manittoo,' that is, it is a god." And further, "they conceive that there are many gods, or divine powers, within the body of a man, in his pulse, his heart, his lungs, etc.;" in sickness, the "powwaw" or priest "comes close to the sick person, and performs many strange actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sickness." They "have an exact form of king, priest, and prophet;" their "priests perform and manage their worship; their wise and old men, of which number the priests are also, make solemn speeches and orations, or lectures, to them concerning religion, peace, or war, and all things."

The word for soul "cowwewonck," is "derived from 'cowwene' to sleep; because, say they, it works and operates when the body sleeps: 'michachunck' the soul, is a higher notion, which is of affinity with a word signifying a looking glass or clear resemblance."

Besides "their general subjection to the highest sachims, to whom they carry presents, they have also particular protectors, under-sachims, to whom they also carry presents, and upon any injury received, and complaint made, these protectors will revenge it: the sachims, although they have an absolute monarchy over the people, yet they will not conclude of ought that concerns all, either laws, or subsidies, or wars, unto which the people are adverse, and by gentle persuasion cannot be brought;" the "most usual custom with them in executing punishments, is for the sachim either to beat, or whip, or put to death with his own hand; to which the common sort most quietly submit." Marriage "they solemnize by consent of parents and publick approbation, publickly;" the "number of wives is not stinted; yet the chief nation in the country, the Narragansets, generally have but one wife;" the "men put away frequently for other occasions beside adultery; yet I know many couples that have lived twenty, thirty, forty years together."

They have money: the white, called "wompam," made "of the stem or stock of the periwinkle, when all the shell is broken off;" and the black, called "suckahock," made of the shell of the "poquahock;" and for this money the natives "bring down all their sorts of furs, which they take in the country." They have great difference in their money; "some that will not pass without allowance; and some again, made of a counterfeit shell; and their very black, counterfeited by a stone and other materials; yet I never saw any of them much deceived."

Of their occupations, some "follow only making bows; some, arrows; some, dishes; and the women make all their earthen vessels; some follow fishing; some, hunting; most on the sea-side make money, and store up shells in summer against winter," and before obtaining awl-blades, "they made shift to bore their shell money with stone; they also felled their trees with stone set in a wooden staff." They have games, "private and publick;" one, "like unto the English cards, yet instead of cards, they play with strong rushes; secondly, they have a kind of dice,

which are plumstones painted, which they cast" in a tray; "ntakesemin, I am telling or counting, for their play is a king of arithmetic;" their "publick games are solemnized with the meeting of hundreds, sometimes thousands;" the "chief gamblers amongst them much desire to make their gods side with them in their games; therefore I have seen them keep" a kind of stone "which is like unto a crystal, which they dig out of the ground, under some tree thundersmitten, and from this stone they have an opinion of success." Besides gambling-houses, "puttuckqua-puonck, a playing arbour," on "which they hang great store of their stringed money; have great stakings town against town, and two chosen out of the rest by course to play the game;" they "have great meetings of foot-ball playing, only in summer, town against town," at "which they have great stakings, but seldom quarrel;" they "will sometimes stake and lose their money, clothes, house, corn, and themselves, if single persons; they then become weary of their lives, and ready to make away themselves."

The "mocking between their great ones is a great kindling of wars amongst them; yet I have known some of their chiefs say, 'What should I hazard the lives of my precious subjects, them and theirs, to kindle a fire which no man knows how far and how long it will burn, for the barking of a dog?' their wars are far less bloody than the cruel wars of Europe, and seldom twenty slain in a pitched battle;" and yet, "all that are slain are commonly slain with great valour and courage, for the conqueror ventures into the thickest, and brings away the head of his enemy."

They have sweating-houses, "pesuonck, a hot house;" into which, after being heated with fire on "a heap of stones in the middle," the men "ten, twelve, twenty, more or less, enter at once stark naked;" and "which doubtless is a great means of preserving them, and recovering them from diseases;" in sickness, "their only drink in all their extremities is a little boiled water." At "the first being sick, all the women and maids black their faces;" and "upon the death of the sick, the father, or husband, and all his neighbors; the men also,—as the English wear black mourning clothes,—wear black" faces: "sequatol, he is in black, that is, he hath some dead in his house." As "they abound in lamentations for the dead, so they abound in consolation to the living," using different expressions, "because they abhor to mention the dead by name; and therefore if any man bear the name of the dead, he changeth his name; and if any stranger accidentally name him, he is checked; and if any willfully name him he is fined; and among states, the naming of their dead sachims is one ground of their wars": "mockuttasuit, one of chief esteem, who winds up in mats and coats, and buries the dead; commonly some wise, grave, and well descended man hath that office."

ANECDOTE OF THOMAS PAINE.

[In the fifth volume of Walter Savage Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, we find the following anecdote of Thomas Paine, illustrating his kindness and nobility of nature, which we do not remember ever to have seen printed elsewhere.—A. W. S.]

On the following day I went again to Mr. Paine's. "Never mind my face," said he; "water makes it blister—there are blisters snow already,—and soap cracks the skin. I needed not have written that book [the *Age of Reason*]; they tell me the arguments are found in others; I had no money to buy, nor time to read, them. Gibbon was pensioned, I was prosecuted, for one and the same thing; but he was a member of Parliament, and wore powder."

"And if neither you nor he had written any such things, would you or the world have been the worse?"

"Certainly," said he, "the world would have been the worse, because the less wise."

"Ah! Mr. Paine, he is not over-rich in knowledge who cannot afford to let the greater part lie fallow, and to bring forward his produce according to the season and the demand. Wisdom is only a good as being an instrument of happiness. There have been great masses of it in the world, collected by experience and approved by experiment; we only survey the fragments, most of which are preserved by religion. The ancients had their sacred groves; pirates and philosophers laughed at them as they passed; they were cut down; pestilences followed. Experience had evinced their utility to simpler and calmer men. Whenever people meet—"

A grave, decent-looking man now entered, whom the general saluted in silence, giving him his hand; and Mr. Paine said, "Take a seat, Zachariah. This young man is as religious as you are, and you will hear him with as much pleasure as I do. There are two good things in the world, reason and sincerity. I am convinced he has the one; we will try him on the other. Go on, go on; let us lose no time."

I continued: "Wherever people meet and bring with them good intentions, they humanize more and more at the sight of common wants and common sufferings; they warm in sympathy, they strengthen in forbearance. You think no religion good; I think all are, from which cruelty, fraud, lucre, and domination are excluded. We mortals want supports; some require a crutch iron-cramped, some are contented if it is well-cushioned, others are kept up fearlessly by the weakest walking-stick. If there is only the probability that a man will be the happier or the honest by one belief than by another, would you hesitate to leave him in possession of it? Wisdom is not to be hazarded with the same levity or indifference as wit. We may acquire the name of deep thinkers at too high a price; which price, like the interest of money, is limited or illicit, rendering the transaction void, and subjecting us to the forfeit of the little we have been toiling to establish. Shall so acute a rea-

soner, so clear a writer, rub off his hide and canker his flesh to the bone against a tree, striving to push it down because some people sit beneath it on a Sunday, and return to their supper the more contented?"

"That is unfair," said he; "the motive is mistaken."

"The fact remains," replied I, "under the parable; and I thank you for correcting me on the abuse of language. No man ever argued so fairly as he might have done. We pour in more or fewer words, and weaker or stronger, to gratify our organs, according to our warmth and excitement."

"Carry that home with you," said he, seizing my hand, "and tell the twelve judges, and the score or two of bishops, that they never have said anything so just. Eloquence is the varnish of falsehood; truth has none!"

"What?" said I, taking from my pocket and giving to him my Pascal and Epictetus, "are not these eloquent?"

"Neither of them," answered he; "they are only the best-written books in the world, being the plainest and fullest of ratiocination. That is eloquence which moves the reason by working on the passions. Burke is eloquent; I am not. If I write better than he does, it is because I have seen things more distinctly, and have had the courage to take them up, soft or hard, pretty or ugly, and to turn them on their backs in despite of tooth or claw. Plato would give as noble a description of a rhinoceros as Aristototele could do; ninety-nine in a hundred would prefer it. The only difference is this: while the one has been confounding it with the camelopardalis, the other has been measuring its joints, counting its teeth, inspecting its belly, and anatomizing the whole animal."

"O Mr. Paine!" said I, earnestly, "let me bring you a few good books; let us open the *New Testament* together."

"What service will that do?"

"It is the plantain," cried I, "which the reptile man may creep to and chew with advantage while the venom is yet fresh in him."

He replied thus:—

"Good books, as you call them, make you comfortable; good brandy makes me so. I have the twelve apostles in this bottle, and they never shall complain that I hold them long imprisoned."

I was discouraged.

"At least, Mr. Paine, leave others their habitudes while they are harmless, and think it equally so to love God as to love brandy."

"Ay, ay," said he; "jog on quietly, and let your neighbor be robbed and plundered by any rogue who may have the impudence to call him 'my son' or 'my brother' or 'my sheep.'"

"No, sir," answered I, indignantly; "there draw the pen and cry, Stand! For such let there be an *Age of Reason* and *Common Sense*. A branch of a fruit-tree may be so covered with insects, and these insects may have eaten into it so deeply, and have so sucked and blighted it, that the best gardener would cut it off totally."

The general left the room on business. Mr. Paine seemed as if he grew tired of the conversation; the gentleman who had entered, and who had taken no part in it, said he would (if I pleased) accompany me. When we were in the street, he thanked me for the defence I had made.

"I wonder," said he, "what motive Mr. Paine can have for his good actions, since he avoids society, and disbelieves (I am afraid) the pleasure God takes in virtue. As for conscience, if that alone were sufficient, and perhaps it might be, he deadens both the bad and the good of it with liquor."

"To speak plainly," answered I, "much as I have heard about him I never heard of his good actions. That he is strictly honest and just I have reason to believe."

"Sir," said he, "let me tell you what he did for me. My name is Zachariah Wilkes.* I was arrested in Paris, and condemned to die. I had no friend here, and it was a time when no friend would have served me; Robespierre ruled. 'I am innocent!' I cried, in desperation. 'I am innocent, so help me God! I am condemned for the offence of another.' I wrote a statement of my case with a pencil, thinking at first of addressing it to my judge, then of directing it to the President of the Convention. The jailer, who had been kind to me, gave me a gazette, and told me not to mind seeing my name, so many were there before it."

"Oh!" said I, "though you would not lend me your ink, do transmit this paper to the president."

"No, my friend!" answered he gaily. "My head is as good as yours, and looks as well between the shoulders, to my liking. Why not send it (if you send it anywhere) to the deputy Paine here?" pointing to a column in the paper.

"O God! he must hate and detest the name of Englishman; pelted, insulted, persecuted, plundered—"

"I could give it to him," said the jailer.

"Do, then!" said I, wildly. "One man more shall know my innocence." He came within the half-hour. I told him my name; that my employers were Watt & Boulton, of Birmingham; that I had papers of the greatest consequence; that if I failed to transmit them, not only my life was in question, but my reputation. He replied, 'I know your employers by report only; there are no two men less favorable to the principles I profess, but no two upon earth are honest. You have only one great man among you: it is Watt; for Priestley is gone to America. The church-aid-king-men would have japed him. He left to these philosophers of the rival school his house to try experiments on; and you may know better than I do

*This anecdote was communicated to me at Florence, by Mr. Evans, a painter of merit, who studied under Lawrence, and who knew personally Wilkes and Watt. In religion and politics he differed widely from Paine.

how much they found in it of carbon and oak, of silice and argilla."

"He examined me closer than my judge had done; he required my proofs. After a long time I satisfied him. He then said, 'The leaders of the Convention would rather have my life than yours.' If by any means I can obtain your release on my own security, will you promise me to return within twenty days?' I answered, 'Sir, the security I can at present give you is trifling,—I should say a mere nothing.'

"Then you do not give me your word?" said he.

"I give it, and will redeem it."

"He went away, and told me I should see him again when he could inform me whether he had succeeded. He returned in the earlier part of the evening, looking fixedly upon me, and said, 'Zachariah Wilkes, if you do not return in twenty-four days (four are added) you will be the most unhappy of men; for had you not been an honest one you could not be the agent of Watt & Boulton. I do not think I have hazarded much in offering to take your place on your failure; such is the condition.' I was speechless; he was unmoved. Silence was first broken by the jailer. 'He seems to get fond of the spot, now he must leave it!' I had thrown my arms upon the table toward my liberator, who sat opposite; and I rested my breast and head upon it, too, for my temples ached, and tears had not yet relieved them. He said, 'Zachariah, follow me to the carriage.' The soldiers paid the respect due to his scarf, presenting arms, and drawing up in file as we went along. The jailer called for a glass of wine, gave it me, poured out another, and drank to our next meeting."

"On the fourteenth day I returned to Calais in an American brig. Approaching to Montreuil I saw the girls begin to dance in the meadow; and party after party came tripping down the declivity that leads from the town to the bridge. Some were sitting on the parapet, and communicating a printed paper to many auditors, who, however, mostly quitted them when they heard of a private letter on the side opposite. Passing the arch and entering the town gate, I saw the ruined monastery on the left hand covered with garlands; and men and women were levelling the floor for the reception of several great tables that were standing on the outside. The youths were better-dressed than I had ever seen them, although their coats were old-fashioned. The moment my carriage stopped I cried, 'What festival is this to-day?' The answer was from fifty voices, 'The monster is dead! the Constitution forever!'"

"Robespierre had shot himself, was the intelligence brought by the postillions; a few lines to a few families and a few hand-bills announced the same. I hastened to the capital, to the house of my benefactor."

"You could not have heard it in England?"

"No," replied I, "I heard it at Montreuil; is it true?" He did not answer me, but, turning to the general, said, 'Tate, there is yet English blood in England, though it is run and contraband, and found among people who have no right to it. I wish it may do you no harm, Zachariah. Come; while we are well, let me give you joy.'"

"My son," said an old lady, "how must Jonah have felt when the whale swallowed him?" "Down in the mouth," was young hopeful's reply.

Poetry.

PACE IMPLORES.

BY JOAQUIN MILLER.

Better it were to sit still by the sea,
Loving somebody and satisfied,—
Better it were to grow babes on the knee,
To anchor you down for all your days,—
Than wander and wander in all these ways,
Land forgotten and love denied.

Better sit still where born, I say,
Wed one sweet woman and love her well,
Laugh with your neighbors, live in their way,
Be it never so simple. The humbler the home,
The nobler, indeed, to bear your part.
Love and be loved with all your heart,
Drink sweet waters and dream in a spell,
Share your delights and divide your tears;
Love and be loved in the old east way,
Ere men knew madness, and came to roam
From the west to the east, and the whole world wide;
When they lived where their fathers lived and died,—
Lived and so loved for a thousand years.

Better it were for the world, I say,—
Better, indeed, for a man's own good,—
That he should sit down where he was born,
Be it land of sands or of oil and corn,
Valley of poppies or bleak northland,
White sea border or great black wood,
Or bleak white Winter or bland sweet May,
Or city of smoke or plain of the sun,—
Than wander the world as I have done,
Breaking the heart into bits of clay,
And leaving it scattered on every hand.

VENICE, 1874.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 17.

B. Bowron, 10 cents; A. Kimpton, \$1.00; Dr. L. F. O. Garvin, \$3.20; Geo. Mannfeld, \$3.20; Benj. P. Birdsall, \$3.20; S. L. Hill, \$1.25; New England News Co., \$5.78; A. L. Whitcomb, \$3.20; E. P. Hassinger, \$3.20; Jno. P. Bailey, \$3; B. B. Griswold, \$4.80; Dr. M. B. Jarvis, \$3.20; J. M. P. Bachelder, \$6.40; R. J. Moffat, \$4.80; Alex. H. Davis, \$3.20; Mrs. M. S. Eble, \$1.

The Index.

BOSTON, AUGUST 22, 1878.

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

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

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

N. B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, *Editor.*
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SPECIAL NOTICE.

Until September 1, the editorial charge of THE INDEX will be wholly in the hands of Mr. A. W. Stevens, who has kindly consented to relieve me of all literary responsibility for it during the present month.

F. E. ABBOT.

BOSTON, Aug. 1.

F. E. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, *Secretary.*

IN MR. GILL'S *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, a clan of Hervey Islanders, when on a marauding or murdering expedition, are said to pray to their god as follows: "We are on a thieving expedition; be close to our left side to give aid. Let all be wrapped in sleep; be as a lofty cocoanut-tree to support us." In a very similar strain pray Christian nations at war with each other: each implores its god to help it in murdering and plundering the other.

"THE RELIGION of Jesus did not grow out of an institution," says the *Christian Register*. That depends, neighbor, upon what you mean by "the religion of Jesus." If you mean *love towards God and man*, then you are right; for that religion is natural and universal, but is no more the religion of Jesus than of Buddha, or Zoroaster, or Socrates. Jesus was only one among several who gave it a great impetus in the world. But if by "the religion of Jesus" you mean what is called Christianity, then you are wrong in saying that it "did not grow out of an institution;" for Christianity grew out of, and rests today on two institutions,—*"Baptism"* and the *"Lord's Supper."* These mean the *Confession of Christ*; and that is Christianity, as Paul preached it, and as every real Christian clergyman preaches it now. These two institutions, at least, are essential to every Christian Church and every Christian believer; and we have very little respect for anything that insists upon calling itself Christianity, in any historic sense, which does not observe and hold as binding these two Christian ordinances.

CONCERNING LIBERALISM.

Liberalism is a subject of evolution. It has its different stages of development, both in history and in individual experience.

In Christianity for instance,—which Dr. Hedge calls "the high-road of history,"—the historical development of Liberalism is very apparent. Jesus himself was one of the few conspicuous points of departure of Liberalism in history. He was a protestant against Judaism, which in his day had become intensely conservative. Jesus was for conserving nothing but the love of God and man; everything else—secular, religious, and political—he was more than willing should be smashed. But Paul made Christianity a dogma, and Christ a shibboleth. Perhaps he didn't intend to do so; but that was the effect of his preaching. For nearly fifteen centuries thereafter Christianity was the tomb of Liberty. She made a few unsuccessful attempts at resurrection meantime; but the stone wasn't rolled away for her until Martin Luther appeared; then Liberalism came forth and spoke again to her disciples. But it soon appeared that she had on swaddling clothes, and wasn't quite released from restraint. She went through various phases of evolutionary struggling, until at last the Puritans took her aboard the Mayflower and boldly pushed from the old continent to the new. Here Liberalism found an entirely new environment, and began to display remarkable transformations. The Puritans soon discovered that they had no exclusive ownership of her, for she passed to other and strange hands with the same alacrity that she had once come to theirs. Puritanism couldn't detain her; neither could the Quakers nor the Baptists. Orthodoxy in all its forms struggled hard to hold on to her; but she passed in spite of it to the Universalists and the Unitarians. In these two heretical denominations it seemed that Liberalism at last had found a home. They adopted her joyfully, and gave her a name which they thought she would willingly ever bear. They called her "Liberal Christianity," and flattered themselves they had "come full circle" and found at once their source and their goal in Christ. But did Liberalism know only "Christ and him crucified"? Not at all. She said, "Christ is no master for me. I am greater than he. He is my servant,—not I his." And so out of the last heresy Liberalism developed into a new. She passed on to Transcendentalism and Free Religion.

It remains to be seen whether in this last form Liberalism has come to historic maturity and found a permanent home. Certainly she has not, unless Free Religion has made her house of elastic materials, capable of indefinite expansion. Liberalism dwells not long anywhere where is fear, or where is prejudice. If Free Religion leans in any direction towards dogma,—whether of intuition or of science; whether of theism, pantheism, or atheism; or if she shows too great a devotion to any personal leadership, or too much regard for respectability,—then Liberalism will instantly start up afresh and say, "There is no limitation for me; transformation upon transformation must I have, until thought is utterly free to think, reason to venture, faith to climb, and imagination to soar!"

Historically speaking, Liberalism has no church, no altar, no school, no master, no form of thought, faith, or worship which she especially reverences. She creates no organization to endure; she establishes no institution to stand. Her only home is in the universe of mind; her only delight is in a grand symposium of all honest thinkers. Liberalism serenely replies to the sneering question so often flung at her by those who thought her high-road ended at their threshold, "Yes, my friends, I do live out-of-doors!"

In individual experience Liberalism undergoes the same process of evolution as in the experience of the race. What sincere and fearless thinker has ever found that he could stop anywhere for more than a night, to rest and refresh himself? On the morrow of his mind's new activity he must arise and go forth, ready to be led wheresoever the Spirit of Truth may take him. Yet how many times has he flattered himself, as he came in late at night weary from his quest, that here at last was a home where he might tarry and be satisfied! So comfortable was the easy-chair, so luxurious the couch of repose! "Here," he has said to himself, "I may surely abide. Here is room enough for all my hopes and my plans. I will go no farther, but establish and fortify myself here." But when vigor came to him once more, and he ventured to look out of the windows and doors of his dwelling, and saw how small a place he was in and how large a place was without, and realized from how much he shut himself off when he shut himself in,—he has

resolutely taken his staff and bound on his sandals again, and said, "No, this is an inn, not a home. Truth has not stopped here with me; she has gone on. I will follow her."

As we in some cases look back on our past life, and see what a stretch of mental distance separates our present position from some former one, we scarcely can realize that we are the same individual now as then. We say, "How could I have believed that? How could I have accepted so credulously those teachings, and clung so tenaciously to those belongings?" And yet if we are wise enough to understand the causes and processes of our mental growth, we can clearly see how it was that even Truth herself led us to and defended us in those intrenchments; how she held her shield before our pale faces until they acquired the red hue of courage to march boldly on to new positions. The infallible sign that we have made any progress at all is the ability to analyze and appreciate the method of our advance, and to be sympathetic and patient with others while they are treading the same path. No man is truly liberal unless he is liberal towards those who are behind him and before him as well as towards those who are by his side. For the evolution of Liberalism in the individual depends upon two things,—temperament and circumstance. At a given point in their lives some men stop thinking, and live thenceforth on their former mental accumulations. This they do because their souls grow old as fast or faster than their bodies; the joints of their minds stiffen with or before the joints of their legs and arms. They lose their mental elasticity and acumen, their love of search and venture. Like the fossil animals that found their graves in the ancient rocky beds, these men are intellectual fossils buried in the strata of old creeds and forms. Other men, again, remain stationary, or seem to, because of their accidental relations to society. There is many a man in the Christian ministry to-day who thinks more than he speaks, who knows more than he tells; and who passes for a conservative, or semi-conservative, simply because his position restrains him. If some happy fortune would but come along and remove him from the ministry into some less artificial and more truly human relation, he would speedily chip the shell of his conservatism and emerge a full-fledged liberal. The change in his circumstance would couch his obstructed vision, and enable him to see more clearly and report more accurately.

One thing is certain: not every man is a liberal who thinks himself so. Self-deception is as easy in this matter as in any other. After all, the capacity to be liberal abides rather in the heart than in the head. Mere intellectual belief or disbelief doesn't make a man liberal or illiberal: *it is the spirit in which he holds his belief or disbelief that makes him broad or narrow.* We have known and communed with some most conscientious conservatives who were more truly liberal in their souls than some stalwart radicals we wot of. An intellectual change from Orthodoxy to Liberalism can't take the spirit of dogmatism, pugnacity, or egotism out of a man if it be in the grain and fibre of his mind. The spirit of Liberalism ever flies from him who has more capacity to make war than peace, to hate than love, to denounce than persuade, to repel than welcome. Sometimes what seems to be a growth in liberalism is rather a growth in individual self-conceit, causing a man to defer less humbly and modestly to the judgment of others perhaps quite as wise, and less to that infinite source of all finite reason. It is no advantage to a man to get rid of Christ or of God, if thereby he is led to make his own opinions a dogma and an authority to others, or himself the object of his idolatry.

In order to be liberal we must have in us the spirit of modesty, charity, and love. We must have no fear for the truth, either intellectual or moral. We must be incapable of being shocked by the expression of any man's sincere opinions, whether they be concerning belief or conduct. To be liberal requires more faith, not less. It requires faith in the absolute soundness of things, filling us with the noble courage to look all evil in the face and believe that good is its master. It requires that at any time we confess ourselves fools for the sake of wisdom; that at any time we deny what before we have affirmed, when Truth requires a larger statement.

To conclude, the spirit of liberalism is incompatible with the spirit of proselytism. The moment we become committed to any belief so as to feel bound to defend and propagate it, that moment the shadow of illiberality begins to darken our minds. Truth protects herself and us; not we her. All she asks of us is

to confess her in our own word and deed. So much must we do in order to have the clear vision to discern her from error. But it is moral and spiritual disaster to us to assume to be the guardians of truth. The Devil smiles when we take that rôle, for he knows that we shall soon serve him more than God. Every honest persecutor set out in the first place with only the intention to defend religion and morality. It will never do. They need no defence from us other than our steadfast characters. This undertaking to do the business which God has reserved to himself ends always in making us moral nuisances. The truth goes ahead of our fastest running: where can we carry her that she will not go herself? She rides not in the cunningest or stoutest vehicle that we can make; but wherever our sweet and sincere personalities go, there she has witnesses that establish her in credit. Let us not then be guilty of the impudence of trying to "push" Truth, or of adopting the vulgar method of "putting her through." In seeking to convert we oftener in-vert. True liberalism fills us with the great patience of faith,—faith in the law of evolution that works slow but sure, with eternal purposes to eternal ends.

CHRISTIAN WEAPONS.

The recent Congress of Berlin missed an opportunity, not often given to so distinguished a body of diplomats, of making an important contribution to theological discussion, and on no less a question than that which is in the forefront of debate among modern theologians and ecclesiasts,—the meaning of Christianity. Toward the close of the Congress an incident occurred which has not attracted so much attention as it deserves, but which is full of significance as indicating the drift of Christian sentiment, and as the possible seed of a new missionary movement in behalf of the unity and dominion of the Christian Church. Count Schouvaloff, one of the representatives of the Russian Empire, called the attention of the Congress to the fact that the very flower of the Russian army had been kept at bay and frightfully slaughtered in the Balkans by the improved rifles with which the Turkish soldiers had been armed by Christian manufacturers and merchants, especially in the United States of America. Had the Turks been left to themselves, and had not thus had the benefit of Christian weapons of warfare devised by the greater skill and enterprise of Christian nations, the war would have been much shortened and much less destructive,—at least to Christian Russia. He desired, therefore, to propose as a question worthy of the consideration of the representatives of the Christian governments there assembled, whether the time had not come for the formation of a league of Christian nations for the purpose of keeping among themselves all those arms of precision and sure death which make modern wars so effective and which are due to Christian invention, and of preventing their being obtained, as far as possible, whether by sale or otherwise, by the non-Christian and Pagan populations, especially of Asia. Christian civilization, he argued, would be endangered, if these advantages derived from its own superior skill should be surrendered by any mercenary cupidity to heathen and barbarian nations. Evidently he considered all these specially death-dealing devices of modern warfare as peculiarly Christian property; as providentially invented by Christian brains, to be used only by Christian hands, for the spread and sway of the Christian Church and Christian culture: and it was a kind of treason to Christianity to let Mohammedan and Pagan governments get hold of them.

It was reported that Lord Beaconsfield replied "lightly" to Count Schouvaloff's speech, that it was a matter that did not come within the province of the Congress, however important it might be; "lightly," because he remembered that at that moment a division of native Pagan soldiers from India were in the Mediterranean under the British flag, and armed probably with the newest of Christian weapons: a fact which Count Schouvaloff doubtless remembered too, though he was too diplomatically polite to speak of it. But the Count's plea for keeping Christian "arms of precision" in Christian hands, it was said, made more impression upon Prince Bismarck, who of course saw with Christian satisfaction that the Imperial and invincible German army would draw recruits only from pure Christian sources, and could therefore be equipped with the best of Christian arms; and also upon M. Waddington, one of the French diplomats, who must have temporarily forgotten that the Algerian Zouaves in the French army, though

not very Christian in their religion, were armed with very deadly Christian weapons, or else he was reflecting on possible future complications of France with Great Britain in the East, and on the power of the Pagan hordes of India with Christian arms in their hands. At least, whatever the reason, Messrs. Bismarck and Waddington appear to have thought the subject of sufficient importance to be brought before Christian governments, with a view to the question of calling a special Congress upon it.

It is to be hoped that such a Congress will soon be held, and that it will be constituted of no less eminent men than those who made the Congress at Berlin. Its deliberations and decisions would doubtless throw much light on the new meaning of the word "Christian" which modern civilization is developing. This word once had a very definite meaning in the Christian Church; but now, under modern innovations, it has become so vague that many worthy people do not know whether they are Christians or not, simply because they do not know what in common parlance the word means. The application of it to military arms of precision will doubtless tend to more "precision" in its use. Perhaps we shall have a military definition of it, with possibly a military penalty for violating it. That would be a great gain, and a decision worthy of any Congress of Christian nations: a Christian soldier, for instance, armed with a weapon of the latest Christian precision, and ready to shoot down any one who does not use the word with precision. But whether such an extreme measure were to be at once adopted or not, the deliberations of the Congress could not but be valuable. It would be very interesting to note to just what degree of precision a military weapon must be brought to entitle it to be called "Christian." The Congress, of course, would determine how many persons a rifle must be capable of killing at one discharge in order to be worthy to be kept in the exclusive service of Christianity; and at how long range, and at what standard of slaughter and maiming of the enemy, a cannon should have the like honor; and what kind of torpedoes could most effectually destroy a ship with all on board, and thus be classed among fit weapons of the Christian gospel. And, of course, in thus determining positively what kinds of military arms are sufficiently effective in the art of murder to be called "Christian" and to be kept in Christian hands, it would also determine negatively what sort of weapons are so ineffectual, so entirely old-fashioned and behind the age in dealing out death and destruction, that they may be defined as "Pagan," and safely left to the use of non-Christian and barbarian countries; and probably also, as a measure of economy, and for the sake of strengthening the financial sinews of Christian nations in their warfare against Paganism, such a Congress would decide at what time and on what conditions the old weapons of Christian invention, which are being constantly superseded by the Christian discovery of arms of nicer precision, might be sold to Pagan nations, as having become in fact essentially non-Christian and barbarian in their slight power to hurt one's enemies.

To be sure, there might possibly be in such a congress some delegate who would recall that the New Testament says that the weapons of Christian warfare "are not carnal but spiritual," and that it enjoins forgiving one's enemies, and talks about "the breastplate of righteousness," and "the sword of the spirit," and "the helmet of salvation," and "the girdle of truth." But, then, very likely the congress would decide that these are old-fashioned and obsolete weapons, which may be safely given over to the heathen races,—which, indeed, they already possess in considerable measure. At any rate, it would be easy to overthrow any such objection by the argument that the word "Christian" is not to-day to be defined by any such narrow and antiquated notions. Have not Christian preachers of eminence and authority declared that every new truth discovered is a part of Christ's truth? That every scientific fact and every useful invention of modern times become part and parcel of Christianity, and are to be reckoned among the glories of the Christian Church? And what invention, fact, or truth of modern times is more potent than the military weapon of precision, which is the triumph of Christian civilization, and through which the Christian Church may make itself secure against all its heathen foes? Let it therefore define the new Christianity!

W. J. P.

There is no sound science without philosophy; as there is no pure reasoning possible without an element of intuition.

RELIGION TO-DAY.

The religious effort of this age is independent of established religious opinions. The characteristic feature of modern thought in religion is the elevation of ideas above persons. The world is advancing from the authority of individuals to the authority of principles. We desire not men to lean upon, but truths.

The world's prophets do not speak of coming Messiahs, but of better conditions for humanity. The world's seers do not tell of visions of heavenly splendor for the elected few, but of possibilities of earthly happiness for all. Blessings, to enlist human sympathy, must be universal, not partial. The attention of man is directed to ends of justice.

The line of our religious thought to-day must be straight. The sinuosities of theology the soul cannot follow. Theological speculations are labyrinths in which the spirit is lost.

We must write our definitions of religious things all over again. Our duty is not beside the altar, but beside the sufferer. We are not to raise our hands for God's blessings: blessings fall upon the hands that bless. Human love is the angel that we are watching and waiting to see at our doors; but he comes in only at that door where he goes out. We must give what we would receive.

The religion of saving one's self must be given up for the religion of saving others. No matter how you dress up selfishness, it is ugly. You may put the mask of piety over it, but the mask cannot hide the face. "Saving one's soul" is the meanest kind of selfishness that I know of. Better that man's peace who brings back life and hope to some poor heart of earth than the satisfaction of some sanctimonious deacon who brags of his faith in Jesus.

There is so much religion in this world that we do not need! There is so little religion in this world that we do need! Do not profess to be religious, but when you know that you can make anybody happier, or lessen the suffering of man or woman, do not miss the opportunity.

We cannot rise to a higher spiritual realm by neglecting our duties on earth. The only true elevation is attained by good desires and noble actions. Do not let us sigh for wings until we have exhausted our feet. Misery is not in the clouds, but in the cellars.

Religion is natural love and common-sense charity. We are not to learn to repeat somebody's prayers, but to find out somebody's wants and satisfy them, in order to get religion. The giving of bread and wine to a few over-fed human beings is no token of righteousness, but rather the taking some bread and meat to the hungry.

The appurtenances of religion are nothing too sacred for common use. Virtues are values. Justice is true judgment. Right is the only righteousness. To be reliable is to be religious. Truth can be trusted. Be good and do good: what more can man be or do?

L. K. WASHBURN.

GARDEN-SCHOOLS in this country are a suggestion of the New York Academy of Sciences, a member of which, Dr. Edward Seguin, has lately returned from Europe, where his errand in part was the study of similar institutions there. The idea in general seems to be to convert into academic groves, somewhat after the ancient Grecian pattern, portions of public parks, for the instruction of the multitude. Aristotle picked up the natural history with which his weighty tomes abound in Alexander's Nymphseum, and thousands of students became minutely acquainted with the anatomy and physiology of animals and plants at the garden-schools of Athens, Pergamus, and Alexandria. In later times the garden-schools founded by Alfonso d'Est and Como di Medici in Italy were instrumental in the renaissance of science, and the Jardins de Montpellier of Henry of Navarre instituted the processes of investigation out of which grew the inductive method as formulated by Bacon. Last October the Paris authorities converted the park of Montsouris into a garden-school, and connected it with the public schools of the city. Kensington, Sydenham, and Kew in England are illustrations of what the doctor would approximate in this country. Particular attention should be paid to the acclimatization of foreign trees and plants, and the instruction of public school-children in natural history. He would convert all the public squares into botanical gardens, each presenting a tolerably complete cycle of floral botany, with a classification obvious to the eye. Medicinal and poisonous plants and vines yielding food and drink should be planted in juxtaposition, that they might be studied together; and designers in the industrial arts would find, in the flowers and plants most prolific in beautiful forms of leaf or tendril grouped for their convenience, inspiration to higher attainment in artistic decoration. Next fall the members of the New York Academy, it is said, will attempt to impress the legislature with the benefits to be derived from garden-schools, and try to have them introduced by special statute.—*Springfield Republican*.

Communications.

MORE FAITH IN FREEDOM.

MR. EDITOR:—

Allow me space for a few remarks upon Mr. Heywood's imprisonment.

It is said, by my friend J. Villa Blake, that "if the sentence be wrong it must be either because it is too severe, or because there should be no punishment at all." I answer decidedly, it is wrong for this latter reason and for no other.

Why should Mr. Heywood be punished? What has he done?

What more has he done than Mr. Blake has done and is doing constantly; namely, publishing to the world his own opinions?

There is this difference: the one treats religious topics mainly; the other is dealing principally with a social or moral question.

Mr. Blake's religious opinions are extremely heterodox to most people. Mr. Heywood's social views are extremely heterodox to Mr. Blake. Why should one be "punished" more than the other?

But, says my friend, "Mr. Heywood has treated a topic of extreme delicacy, and of the first moment to public morals, with a recklessness of expression and manner tending to confuse, or even obliterate, moral distinctions in the minds of the young and unprotected." And therefore he should be "punished;" or rather, as I understand Mr. Blake, it would be right to punish him, though he thinks, as a matter of expediency, it is "unwise" to do so.

Is it right? That is the question.

Suppose the same or a similar charge should be brought against Mr. Blake. Suppose that the majority in the town where he resides are very sensitive and Orthodox. Now if they could not say of Mr. Blake that he is "reckless in expression," that he treats that most delicate [or sacred] question of religion in a manner "tending to confuse or obliterate all religious perception," it might not be so difficult for them to affirm this concerning, for instance, such a man as Robert Ingersoll. Were they to do so, would it follow therefore that Ingersoll should be "punished"? They would have no trouble, I think, in making it manifest to their own minds that both his doctrines and his manner of presenting them were "corrupting."

Mr. Blake may contend that what he at least is striving to do is to make true religion more apparent, and not by any means to efface all religious distinctions. Just so does Mr. Heywood assert his mission. It is, he contends, to make true morality more conspicuous; not by any means to obliterate moral distinctions in the minds of young or old.

Mr. Blake fears the influence of Heywood's doctrine on the "young and unprotected." Many a good Orthodox mother has a kindred fear of the influence of the "irreligion" and "blasphemy" her boy may chance to hear on "free platforms" and in "liberal churches" even.

Now I ask how is a moral Orthodoxy that punishes heresy different from or better than the religious Orthodoxy that by punishing thinks it puts an end to heresy? I see no distinction between the two that will bear scrutiny. If you are to punish all expression of opinions that in your judgment is "corrupting," you will enter on a task that will baffle you at every step.

I can understand how *atheism*—the preaching disbelief in God—may be regarded by the Orthodox world as even more "corrupting" than any denunciation, however "gross," of the institution of marriage. I do not speak unadvisedly. I once had such assurance from the lips of a clergyman, an intelligent and earnest man. In his judgment "no vulgarity, no low immoral story or conversation, would do half as much to undermine the moral nature as the denial of the existence of Deity." It was his opinion that "society, cut loose from the feeling that it was in the hands of the Almighty, would go to the devil straightway." He would have "God put in the Constitution, and make the utterance or publication of atheistical doctrines a punishable offence." It was the duty of government "to protect society," to shield the "young and unprotected" against *whatsoever* was "corrupting."

This was said to me while I was a boy; and when I timidly struggled to make a little plea for freedom of speech, he quickly replied: "Ah! when freedom reaches *atheism* it has degenerated into *license*." This retort silenced me for a season, for at that time I had seen but one live atheist, and his snapping gray eyes, freckled face, and flaming red hair quite confirmed me in my clergyman's faith that such a man teaching such doctrines must be a monster, however honest or well-meaning. I agreed that he ought to be suppressed,—"*punished*."

But this was only for a season. I have since grown to be very jealous of the word "*license*," and use it never. Touching whatever subject, I believe only in the saving power of the one word—*Freedom!* If I speak this word at all, I say it extends to all opinions on whatever topic.

I want no half-way belief. To give liberty for all doctrines which we approve, or which we have been schooled to think not too harmful, is nothing. Who are we that we "*give*"? We may neither give nor withhold. We may mind our own affairs, which is not putting padlocks on other lips than our own. Unless we go so far that we defend liberty for the utterance of opinions and doctrines that wholly upset all our ideas of right and truth, religiously and morally and every way, we are no true apostles of it. There is where *faith* comes in. We distinguish our free society from despotic by the defiance we give all we suppose to be error left free to defeat the ends of the

highest and noblest civilization. A new thing in the world, but it is the world's new religion. It is building strong, if slow. Leaving the human intellect the largest liberty to look on all sides and correct itself in all ways,—that is our American privilege. We must be brave and fearless to maintain this.

For myself, I wish to think that I can listen to Mr. Heywood, or any other man or woman, and not be disturbed by even the shadow of a thought that the world can be upset. More than that, I believe absolute freedom of thought and expression are necessary to the world's growth in intelligence and in morals. There must be no Orthodoxy that punishes!

If I may add a word more, I will say in reference to Mr. Heywood's "style" that I do not for a moment think he studies so to write as to make his books "sell," or to make them "take" with the "uneducated and exposed." A reformer brought up in the Anti-Slavery school, he learned to state things boldly and (as I think) with some exaggeration. His object is not to make his ideas "sell," but to "wake people up." I am confident of this. No one of my acquaintance cares less for mere money-getting than Mr. Heywood. He is wedded to his ideas, and would dwell in a dungeon the rest of his days sooner than give them up. He thinks that the subject he treats has all along been handled with so much delicacy the truth has not been spoken. He means to speak it. For one, I say, "Let him. It is his right." In this, as in every such case, I "fear nothing so much as fear."

S. H. MORSE.

SOCIETY TALK.

It is rather small, juiceless, and puckery, like a green apple. To find topics of conversation which will interest as many as can participate, say fewer than the digitals of one hand, is one of the constant difficulties of the drawing-room and dinner-table. An *Atlantic Monthly* writer reports that even in New York "society," where everybody has "been to Europe" and the opportunities of acquisition and development have been great, conversation is not only not "of an improving order," but not interesting "to a notable extent." In fact, "to be particularly well-read and interested in intellectual matters is thought not quite in good form." Is this true everywhere? Are we all degenerating into, or can we never get above, the everlasting tinkle-tinkle-tinkle of society small talk? It seems to be invading the magazines, too,—a kind of plimire culture, which values the subject-matter of thought inversely to its real importance and interest.

The first business of society, we suppose, is entertainment. Walking books in men's and women's clothing are not always entertaining, unless the human element is masterly. Neither are walking shops; and "talking shop" has been put under ban. Unfortunately there is a good deal of "shop" talk which doesn't get properly discredited. The woes of the kitchen and the shortcomings of Bridget are dreary "shop" to housewives, and drearier still to house-husbands.

The assertion of inequalities between men and women is among the most benumbing influences of social intercourse. Perhaps it may be imagined that this is rare, and that utter social equality reigns between the sexes. But men's conversation, however interesting and absorbing, almost always takes a different turn on the approach and participation of ladies. There is a certain condescension to the supposed lighter gear of the feminine mind, and vital topics are deferentially tossed off behind the bushes with the cigar-stumps. There are not a few women to whom this is an annoyance, as well as a deprivation. Woman is not necessarily so differently constituted from man that she always prefers the stale sweetmeats of male compliment and persiflage to the more stimulating diet of sober realities. Take, for instance, that most forbidding of all topics,—politics. Is there any reason why it should not interest women as well as men, if it happens for the moment to interest either? In fact, the highest types of society inform the ladies well upon this topic. In England, where the absurd deference of journalism renders society the only channel for the dissemination of much personal and political news, the women of the ruling classes take a warm interest in public affairs, and are ready to discuss the qualities of political leaders or the prospects of parties. The same was true of the women of the southern aristocracy before the war, though the political culture in that case took on a depth of party feeling which under high excitement often characterizes woman. When it comes to the pitch of civil war, in fact, women scarcely need advice to participate fully in the rage of the hour. At Washington, politics, or rather political fortune, makes up a considerable share of society intercourse, as is always natural where office-holders and office-seekers constitute a large part of society itself; but the study of politics in a broader or juster sense is not above the attention and comprehension of the best social circles of Boston and New York, both men and women. If it be not so, the fault is certainly not all woman's. There is a sharp point to the satire of a recent novelist whose heroine attempts to count up with her girl companions all the young men who could converse upon any scientific, literary, or political subject, and they don't get above two!

Social intercourse is a failure if it does not recreate life, and give some relief from the humdrum of its cares. It is shallow to assume that this relief is always best afforded by a conventional round of topics, supposed to be kindly attuned to the unequal capacities of men and women. It is ignorance, dulness, and narrowness which make bores. It is intelligence, activity, and breadth of thought with some serious basis which afford entertainment.—*Springfield Republican*.

WHAT MACHINERY HAS DONE.

It is a very shallow consideration of human economy which reckons labor-saving machinery among the evils of the time. What we see before us unquestionably is, or rather was (for the lack of employment has been mostly met and supplied), a great development of labor-saving machinery, and consequently a superfluity of laborers in certain employments. It is a short-sighted conclusion that labor-saving machinery is therefore an evil. The truth is that for every person thrown out of employment, there are ten or twenty persons for whom all the necessities and conditions of life are immensely cheapened, or whose range of comforts is greatly increased by this introduction of labor-saving machinery. This latter fact seems to be generally overlooked,—that the great benefit of labor-saving is in the cheapening of the conditions of life and the increase of the enjoyments of the great mass of people.

Let us examine one, and perhaps the most remarkable, invention for the saving of labor,—the modern system of steam transportation, by land and sea. From the experiment of Watts with his mother's tea-kettle down to the application of the air-brakes and the invention of the Vanderbilt pooling-systems, it is one of the greatest triumphs of invention yet achieved in its effect on human life and industry. The telegraph is more marvellous, but the application of steam to transportation is the most revolutionary in its effects on human industry. Now what are these effects? Are they evil or are they good? First, as to the demand for labor, is it less or greater on account of this great development of steam transportation? We contend it is vastly greater. The answer might be doubtful, if we were to consider merely the numbers engaged in transportation. But consider for a moment the physical limitations upon the use of animal power and other agencies for this purpose. How far west could this country have been settled, if the produce of the prairies had all been obliged to seek an outlet, by draft animals or by water channels, without steam? The Mississippi Valley, fifty miles from the navigable streams, would have been as thinly settled as the highlands of Asia east of the Caspian Sea, from which the camel is laden with cotton for a journey of a thousand miles to the Russian market. Has not the opportunity for profitable labor been vastly increased by this agency? For every person out of employment in the country from this cause, twenty persons, and probably fifty, are in the enjoyment of happy homes by its help.

Second, the application of steam to transportation has not only greatly extended the habitable portion of the earth, and therefore the field of labor, but it has greatly cheapened the conditions of life in the old fields of labor. This generation scarcely remembers, but the last one might, the great fluctuations which formerly characterized the prices of food. Flour used to reach prices extraordinarily high at times, while at other times a full harvest plunged the farmers in bankruptcy. The cheapness of modern transportation has rendered these extremes impossible, and saved the laboring classes from the loss always inflicted upon them by fluctuation. All the great staples of merchandise now hold about the same value from year to year, since the facility of transportation insures the ready filling up of a deficit at one point or the distribution of a surplus at another. It used frequently to be the case in England that wheat, after a poor harvest, would command double the price that it did after a fair one, inflicting the greatest distress and misery upon the laboring class. Now the steady American supply of breadstuffs, reaped and bound by McCormick reapers, threshed by threshing machines, loaded upon the cars by steam elevators, transported to the sea-board fifteen hundred miles for ten cents per bushel, shipped to Liverpool by steamship, ground into flour by patent and economizing processes, raised by a patent yeast, and cooked by a patent American "Home Comfort" stove, assures plenty from year to year. This is but one article. Go into any laborer's home, no matter how low, and see how he owes the necessities and comforts of life to the application of labor-saving invention. The very house over his head is cheapened by the circular saw, the planing machine, and, above all, by the cheap railroad, which makes him indifferent whether the lumber grew in Florida, Michigan, or Massachusetts. His table-cloth, and he probably has one, is from Ireland or Germany, his bread from St. Louis, his meat from Kansas, his tea from Japan, his coffee from Brazil, his sugar from Cuba. The sewing-machine, which has thrown so many seamstresses out of work, clothes his children, and the precise division of labor of the manufacturer of ready-made clothing enables him to buy a whole suit of substantial apparel at marvellously low figures. If he chooses to indulge so far, he has strawberries from the Middle States at fifteen cents a box, and the canning process supplies his table in winter with wholesome fruit, annihilating distinctions of season.

But, third, there is another important favor which steam transportation has done for labor. It makes it more mobile and independent of the local market. Never before has the world gone through a business depression so severe as this, with so little suffering among the laboring class. There has been no starvation and, comparatively speaking, not much lack of employment. The railroad enables the laborer to shift from the over-crowded community or avocation to the less crowded. Compare our condition with that of China, whence the railroad and all other labor-saving inventions have been excluded. A short harvest there makes the people die like flies and by the million. Food they might have, but it is eaten up two or three times over by the mere cost of distribution, while they have no means of seeking provinces where there is an abundance. The Chi-

ness, says a recent despatch, are still opposed to the introduction of railroads.

The New York *Graphic* proposes that we "regulate the introduction of machinery," and that to leave the problem to fight itself is "more suitable to Asia than to America." Precisely the reverse is true. To regulate the introduction of machinery would be a thoroughly Chinese policy. To give it freedom is the only policy consistent with free institutions and with American progress. Why is this question now raised so prominently? Where are the laborers "compelled to starve" whose condition excites the *Graphic's* sympathies and benumbs its sense? Are they the saloon-keepers and lazy outcasts of the Old World, who are attempting to get a living out of popular agitation in New York? Or are they the ruffians who are frightening the Ohio farmers? The fact is, there is less ground for a labor agitation at this moment than there has been for three years. The labor of New England is well employed, notwithstanding the condescending tone with which other portions of the country regard us. Our mills are in full operation, our manufactures have regained a moderate and reasonable prosperity, our savings bank deposits are steadily rising, our mortgages are being steadily liquidated, public and private economy is general, taxes are falling, paupers diminishing, and labor is content to abide the developments of the future under free institutions. It does not propose to emulate the ignorance and brutality of the frame-breakers who destroyed the lace industry at Nottingham early in the century, and spread alarm throughout England. American laborers know the goose that lays the golden egg, and will regard with suspicion the efforts of demagogues to turn the country back toward decrepit and starving barbarism.—*Springfield Republican*.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF CULTURE.

The question of social privilege with us is not settled by personal prestige. There is no landed aristocracy to confer a hereditary position upon the select few. The decay of the old colonial mansions is a significant comment upon the attempt to localize an American aristocracy. We are compelled to look elsewhere for the social rank which gives the proper and natural balance of power between different classes. It is found not in birth, not in wealth alone, not in education simply, but in culture. This point was happily stated by Dr. Zabriskie, of Wollaston, in his recent address before the alumni of the University of New York: "We want a cultured class; men and women in whom the processes of civilization have done their perfect work in capacity to think, in felicity of expression, in breadth and accuracy of knowledge, in firmness of manners, in the sense of beauty, in the art of living, in wisdom alike to use or dispense with riches. It is not enough to have specimens of such among our people. We must multiply them so they shall cease to be phenomena, and become a recognized and familiar element in common life."

This is the key-note for a true aristocracy. It is based upon what people are in themselves, and comes as near as is possible to bringing the higher education into close relations with the greatest number of the people. It makes an aristocracy of culture, but not an aristocracy which is removed from the stir and progress of present life or of current thought. Matthew Arnold, with his exquisite sense of the fitness of things, defines culture as "the study and pursuit of perfection," with "sweetness and light" as its main characteristics; but his people of culture are chiefly engaged in trying to perfect themselves and their minds as part of themselves, with no ulterior aim. He does not seize upon the broad and human uses of culture as a means of developing and purifying free institutions. Mr. Francis Parkman sees much more clearly than Mr. Arnold what liberal studies ought to do. In treating "The Failure of Universal Suffrage," in the July *North American Review*, he says: "What we need most is a broad and masculine education, bearing on questions of society and government; not repelling from active life, but preparing for it and impelling toward it. The discipline of the university should be the training for the arena." At the recent Harvard Commencement dinner, Lord Dufferin threw out the same idea. "Since I have been in Canada it has been brought home to me more perceptibly than ever," said he, "what incalculable service institutions such as these render to this continent." It has probably occurred to many in attendance upon our literary festivals that the educated men, the graduates of our colleges, had some characteristics of the class of social privilege and extended usefulness; and when a thousand graduates, as at Harvard and Yale, have assembled together, the electric thrill of literary brotherhood and common sympathies must have been widely felt.

Yet, true and genuine as is the power which men of the higher education feel in dealing with large questions and in caring for the interests of the community, it is unfair to say that college-bred men alone possess the culture which makes them leaders in society and in affairs. It is a constant surprise that so many of the men who stand high in the professions, in political life, and in general society have never been trained in the university. They may not always be self-made men, but they have somehow obtained essentially the same results by that social attrition and keen common-sense which make a college-bred man a great leader, and make a man who steps out from the ranks to make good in part what he must always feel to be defects more or less in his training. The truth is that our ideas of culture need to be broader than the university, which, in fact, is only the stepping-stone to something else. The close contact with men, the ambitious spirit which is infused into American youth as a part of their social environment, the idea of making one's way to some-

thing more than he was born to, is quite as powerful an incentive to general culture as the college; and, while it will never do to say that learning can be dispensed with, it is a constant surprise to find how abundantly quick-witted men make up for its loss in the actual work of life. It is the peculiar experience of American society that its leaders come from all the walks of life, and not more from one quarter or circle than from another. We are all born to possible greatness, if the conditions are favorable by which we march out from boyhood. If in one generation a family steps into the first rank, it is by no means certain that it will retain its position in the second or third. Everything is shifting, and a coat of arms with us practically goes for nothing.

The aristocracy which we can maintain, and which alone has the elements of permanence and power, is that of culture, and broad culture, too,—not of necessity derived from the schools; quite as likely picked up in a rough struggle for fortune or fame, but still seasoning and ripening the whole man, and placing him in proper relation with his fellows. If this is also the aristocracy of practical usefulness, no one need quarrel with such a definition of culture. No one feels like disparaging our institutions of learning because some men can do without them. The greater number cannot reach the tone and grace and finish which give to society its irresistible attraction without such an agency; and so long as they are so thoroughly practised in their course of study, and seek so earnestly to foster the elements which make the republic permanent, they are equally worthy of the benefactions which men of wealth feel it right to bestow upon them, and the benedictions which graduates yearly invoke upon Alma Mater at the recurring anniversaries. If our culture makes comparatively few men who incarnate, as Goethe did, the highest forces of social life in personal development, the general average is not far already from reaching, in some quarters, the point mentioned by Dr. Zabriskie, where cultivated people "become a recognized and familiar element in common life." In this general average, increasing every year, there is great and wholesome influence. Our education, whether by college or by affairs, is too practical to make men snobbish, and quite large enough to give the best of them some intellectual vision. It is the start for the education of after-life which gives even the best university training its true value. What the youthful and excellent society to encourage studies at home does for its hundreds of women pupils in all parts of the country, that the spirit created and fostered by university life uses to advance the wide-spread social culture which is a characteristic and general feature of American life. It is here that we find the proper basis for an aristocracy which does not arouse the jealousy of the other orders of society, because it constantly ministers to them, and is not at all alienated from the best elements in the nation's future. It is this aristocracy of culture which our literary institutions are chiefly called on to maintain, and which many agencies in our somewhat complex social life help to develop.—*Boston Advertiser*.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH DINNERS.

The following is an extract from the very pleasant letter of George W. Smalley to the *New York Tribune*, describing the banquet given to the delegates in attendance at the recent Literary Congress in Paris:

At an English dinner every guest has his assigned seat; and a plan of the hall, submitted to his inspection in the ante-room, enables the dullest to find his place without too much hunting. The arrangement is often purely arbitrary and gives you queer neighbors, but it is better than none. If you are planted between two strangers, and their names on their cards in front of the plates tell you nothing, you are at liberty to amuse yourself by guessing at their identity or revealing your own, or not revealing it if you prefer. I have seldom found the Englishman thus thrown into contact with foreigners so silent or so savage as the Continental European believes him to be. He will sometimes impart his opinions to you with a quite astonishing freedom. I think I did not tell you at the time, of an incident which befell me at the geographical dinner to Mr. Stanley; perhaps because I should have had to tell the story at my own expense. My neighbor on the left was an Englishman; we were perfectly unknown to each other, and as I had been talking all the evening to an acquaintance on the other side, he—the left—had not even found out that an American was next him. He did not like Mr. Stanley's speech, and he opened a conversation with me by remarking that Stanley was a good fellow, but with too much bounce. Then, after a pause, "But that, you know, is due partly to his nationality and partly to his profession."

No such casualty occurred on Monday. A few places at the top of the table were awarded to distinguished people. The great majority were allowed to sit where they liked, or where they could find places. The American colony, including even President White, marshalled its forces on the road, and took up a position in a solid body about half way down; an arrangement which was thought to promote the flow of conversation.

No English public dinner is complete without a toast-master,—a functionary who bears to a grand banquet about the same relation that a drum-major bears to a brass band. I might reverse the comparison, and liken the toast-master to the band. The drum-major is only the cause of noise in others; the toast-master has the lungs of Stentor, and uses them. He is a human trombone. He appears to have a kind of authority over the waiters and the company. When he cries, "Pray, silence, my lords and gentlemen, for your chairman," the clatter of plates and all voices is hushed. When the chairman has risen,

and the toast-master roars out "ch-a-a-i-r," the boldest holds his breath for a time. There is a routine which is never broken into. The Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the royal family are invariably toasted; sometimes with speeches, sometimes without. If the chairman happens to be a particularly incapable orator, he is sure to run into a discourse on the domestic virtues of "Her Majesty." I heard such an one lately in London. He could not get from one end of a sentence to another without losing his way, and his substitutes and verbs were seldom on good terms with each other. So he rambled on endlessly, where a clever man would have been content with, "The Queen, God bless her."

But here in Paris the toast-master seems to be unknown; and long may it be before they invent or import him. There is no grace before dinner, and nobody proposed the health of the President after. There was a chairman, no less a chairman than Victor Hugo, with Edmond About on one side and Jules Simon on the other. But he made no speech and gave no toasts. He never once rose from his chair. After dinner he took a paper in his hand whereon were inscribed the names of certain speakers, and from time to time he called on one of these gentlemen. But it happened more than once that other orators, not inscribed but big with speeches, were too quick for him, and were on their legs and delivering themselves before they could be stopped. Some men even pulled manuscripts out and read them,—a ghastly feature which I never saw in England. Most of the speakers were foreigners. The programme, so far as there was a programme, appeared to be drawn up on the theory that some representative of each foreign country which had sent delegates to the Congress should make a speech and propose a toast. The speakers invariably expressed their admiration of France, and their gratitude for the welcome and hospitality (at fifteen francs) offered them, and generally found time to declare their conviction that Victor Hugo was a very remarkable man. I asked Mr. White when he was to speak, and for a moment was surprised to hear that he had not been asked to say anything. As he was, both by official position as head of the American Bureau in the Congress and by his position at home, the most distinguished American present, I inferred that the Western Continent had been forgotten,—as it had been at the Chatelet in the afternoon. But I was wrong. It had not been forgotten. Presently up rose a coffee-colored young man with thick black hair, and began an oration. I asked a Frenchman near by who he was. The Frenchman answered, "He is an American from Brazil!" It seemed to me a pity to disturb this French view of political geography; but some more ardent patriot than I, who could not stand seeing the United States suddenly annexed to a South American Empire, made his way to the head of the table and explained to M. About that we did not look on the Brazilian as a satisfactory American. So Mr. White, much against his will, had to get up. He spoke briefly and well in French, and with his speech the formal proceedings came to an end. Victor Hugo sat bravely through the whole. The hour named for the dinner was seven; we actually sat down at eight, and it was past eleven before the company adjourned to the drawing-room for coffee. Hugo had previously spent the afternoon at the Chatelet, made a speech there of thirty-five minutes, and listened to a good many others. You see how jauntily the poet carries his eighty years.

VERBATIM REPORT OF A MISSISSIPPI COLORED PREACHER'S PRAYER.—O Lord God of de glorious universe: wilt dou look down in de omnipresence of dy eye upon dese dy collar'd chil'n, bowed upon de knuckle-bone, dis night? Take a solemn peep upon us and let a heap o' light in. Don knowest what dese dy poor darkies need. On every side, dou knowest, O Lord, is de evidence of de dislocation and destruction of de human family. Dere be fightin' among 'one another and natural disease. But we die to live again either as saints or evil spirits. Dere be discussions on doctrines,—election, before-ordination, perfection, and sich like, confusin' de intellects of both black men and white. But, good Lord, dese knowest dat dese are vain allusions, splittin' and dividin' dy creatures into sexes without mercy. Whoever will can go to glory. Many dere will be with sick countenance, white collars, and fine clothes, who will find de gates shut against dem, while de blind old woman she go straight in. Amen.

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A NOTED CHARACTER, Miss Dr. Bradley, formerly of Nantucket, has recently died at Philadelphia, aged forty. Twenty years ago, when she was refused admission to various medical colleges, she cut her hair short, donned male attire, and was soon attending lectures at the college of physicians and surgeons in Philadelphia. After graduating with high honors, she astonished the professors of the institution by appearing to them in woman's clothes, and proving her identity. Since then she has practiced her profession with flattering success.—*Springfield Republican*.

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MISS DEVEREUX' BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES AND CHILDREN, at Irvington-on-Hudson, will re-open on Monday, Sept. 17, 1877. Miss Devereux refers, among others, to the following gentlemen: Rev. Orville Dewey, Sheffield, Mass.; Mr. A. C. Richards, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. H. R. Bishop, Irvington, N.Y.; Mr. Wm. H. Orton, Pres. W. U. Telegraph Co., N.Y.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION REPORTS.

Attention is specially called to a change in the advertisement of the publications of the Free Religious Association. By a recent vote of the Executive Committee the Annual Reports of the Association, from the year 1873 to the year 1877 inclusive, are now offered at five cents each (and at the same rate for any larger number) to any body who will take the trouble to send for them, enclosing five cents in postage stamps. They will also be sold at the office for the same sum to any one calling for them there.

The Committee have put the pamphlets at this low rate, which hardly more than covers the cost of sending them by mail, with the hope that they may thereby be more extensively circulated. By referring to the advertisement describing their contents, it will be seen that they contain much matter of special interest on the most vital religious problems of the age. It is not too much to say that some of the most valuable contributions of the last five years to religious discussion may be found in these pamphlets. Let any one who wants to know what the Free Religious Association means, send for these Reports. And will not the members and friends of this Association take this opportunity to extend the knowledge of its principles? WM. J. POTTER, Secretary F.R.A.

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

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 453.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT:

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

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BE INTOLERANT of nothing but intolerance.

IF YOU ARE AFRAID of anything but fear, you are a coward indeed.

A DEEP SENSE of life destroys the fear and almost the idea of death.

SUPERFICIALLY men differ; fundamentally, all the best thinkers agree.

ONE OF the very best aims of the *Christian Register* is the editor (*Ames*) himself.

MATERIALISM may be defined as a lack of poetic imagination and spiritual insight.

NO MAN can be a great saint, unless he have the capacity in him to be a great sinner.

UNLESS you understand the man who differs from you, you do not understand yourself.

BEWARE of knowing only one thing: such concentration cramps and belittles the mind.

WHEN life is full of meaning to us, we are not troubled with doubts as to its continuance.

THERE is no disgust so disgusting as self-disgust. There is no respect so respectful as self-respect.

A VISION of God is better than a thought of him; and a thought of him is better than an argument for him.

THERE is no merit in being good, any more than in being happy. Both are something to be thankful for.

A MAN cannot be said to have any faith, unless he believes in something more than his senses reveal to him.

ANY ONE who has ever felt immortal knows that he is so better than any one can possibly know that he is not.

GEORGE WASHINGTON couldn't tell a lie; but it seems he did gamble, and would occasionally swear. Oh, George! George!

IT IS NATURAL for egotists and dogmatists to believe in free-will: it requires modesty and the courage of faith not to believe in it.

WE LEARN from the London *National Reformer*, of August 4, that Mrs. Annie Besant was at that time seriously ill from "overwork and worry."

WHAT A PITY that we could not die down when the bleak winter comes, even as the flowers do; and like them awaken to a beautiful new life in the sunny springtime!

NO GREAT civilization is possible to a race, nor spiritual progress to an individual, where the power of death to dissolve life is not conquered in thought and feeling.

THE THOUGHT of public writers in all times is too extense. A man should think at least a year on any important subject, before he invites the world to listen to him one hour.

SCIENCE, in the common acceptance of the word, deals with the external and material, not with the internal and spiritual. Hence its authority is with the first, not with the last.

THE INFLUENCE of the life of Jesus on the life of the world is not more wonderful or more unaccountable, than the influence of the thought of Plato on subsequent ages of philosophy and belief.

IT TAKES more greatness to be good than goodness to be great. Therefore he is the greater man who lives wisely every day in private than he who dazzles the world with some one conspicuous virtue.

THERE ARE some days when it is impossible to think, and when it is unwise to try to do so. The mind, like the maid, has whimsical spells of wishing to be let alone and to have its own way. Only on certain days are the Oracles to be consulted.

WHO IS TO BE our next President? This question is always in the air in America. Were it not better that each man should ask, Am I fit to be my own president? What a saving of political fuss and soiled plumage, if every citizen were king of himself, and carried the seat of government in his own breast!

NEITHER pure athelism on the one hand, nor pure theism on the other, is a satisfactory explanation of the universe. The one fails to meet the demands of the heart; the other those of the intellect. Each lacks the wit to account for the other's facts. What then? The spiritual-intellectual man takes refuge in pantheism.

NATURE reflects her moods on us. When she is happy, we are; when she is dull and heavy, we are apt to be so. Her temperament affects ours; to her mercury our spirits respond. She and we are isomeric. What does this fine sympathy between Nature and ourselves indicate?—that both are material, or both spiritual?

IN FRIENDSHIP, character must be allowed to explain conduct. Between friends there must not be the frequent twitching of the skirt, with the whining or petulant intimation of doubt and misunderstanding. Friend should believe in friend, and lover in lover, as the old saint believed in God: "though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee."

PROF. SWING says of the Christian outcry against the paganism of Bryant's "Thanatopsis": "It was not rhetoric or logic which complained at the paganism of the great poem. It was only that Christian prejudice and semi-fanaticism which once demanded that even the sports of children should be evangelical, and that the clothing of adults should be cut out in the light of prophecy."

A CASE similar to Mrs. Besant's was that of the poet Shelley, whose custody of his children by his first wife was taken out of his hands by Lord-Chancellor Eldon, in 1817. The petition against Shelley alleged his atheistical views and arguments set forth in "Queen Mab" and the notes on that poem; but Lord Eldon in his decision ignored the atheistical charges altogether, and took Shelley's children from him on the ground that he had deserted his first wife and lived with another woman.

BERNARD R. TUCKER, formerly editor of the *Radical Review*, and at present editor of *The Word*, has been engaged by the *Boston Globe* as one of its editors. Mr. Tucker, as we understand it, will have nothing to do with the politics of the *Globe*, which are Democratic, but will give his attention to another department of the paper. He is a forcible writer, a man of unbounded energy in what he puts his hand to, and of integrity unquestioned. He has our heartiest wishes for his success in the new position he has taken.

THE VERSES which we print on another page of this paper are a most curious and unique performance by a printer in the office of John Wilson & Son, who occupies his leisure hours in extraordinary literary ventures of one kind and another. This unparalleled piece of versification is one of them. He has spent years and years in its ingenious construction, and has probably taken as much satisfaction in perfecting it as Dr. Johnson did in making his dictionary. He has submitted it to various literary gentlemen of eminence,—such as Dr. Holmes, George W. Curtis, R. C. Winthrop, Earl Dufferin, Prof. Child, Sterry Hunt, and others,—and all have expressed their admiration of the wonderfully ingenious lines. The author is a conscientious believer in the Orthodox religion, and meant that his description of the "model newspaper" should have no taint of heresy in it. We venture no criticism of his verses, being content to lay them before the readers of THE INDEX with the remark that they are not likely to be equalled, if imitated, by any other writer.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

Modern Religious Sentiment.

AN ESSAY READ AT THE LATEST MEETING OF THE SECOND SCLIOLOGICAL CLUB.

BY SIDNEY H. MORSE.

Dr. Johnson once said, "Every man who can ride four horses at a time, or balance a straw on his nose, increases the wealth of mankind. In that he adds to the scope of human powers." Perhaps this is the explanation of the interest we feel in the reports that fill the newspapers. Thousands of dollars are staked on O'Leary. In the presence of vast crowds of lords and ladies and people of all classes (so we hear across the broad Atlantic), he has distanced all competitors, and holds the prize. Bertha Von Hillern also wins once more. The enthusiasm is described as "immense and long-continued." Hundreds of ladies remain in the hall ten hours without food to witness her success. So, all round the horizon there are flashing rumors of a like dexterity. These fine sports and trials of power are spreading through the country, to be enjoyed ere long by both sexes. What we witness in this as in every direction is a new and vigorous effort to increase the sum of human capacities, controlled by a democratic bias that admits all capacity, without raising the question of Jew or Gentile, bond or free, male or female, to the competing arena. This time it is the whole human race that is to enlarge the scope of its powers.

One is no longer surprised at almost any report. Achievement is in the air. The natural abilities of man are past finding out. The supernatural is everywhere at a discount. Heller gives a vigorous blow to "mediumistic" pretensions. If he does not convict of perjury, he renders all that pertains to the miraculous absolutely profitless. When the magicians threw down their rods, and they also like Aaron's became serpents, the serpent of Aaron is said to have eaten up its competitors. So Heller's wonders destroy all the enterprises of "the spirits." That is, human powers resident in the flesh successfully rival the most brilliant of the performances we are invited to regard as the work of immaterial citizens visiting us from the "Summer Land."

It is our own globe and the life that is here resident we are called to celebrate and heartily believe in. Whatever power, whatever intelligence, whatever might, this universe can boast, belongs as much to our earth as to the remotest or most favored realm. There is, indeed, no favored point in space; there can be none. Where there is mind, there the whole is found,—all that is or can be. It was a foolish person who wrote of the little star,—

"How I wonder what you are!"

Distance makes the enchantment. Were he to go to that "twinkling little star," he would undoubtedly have to plough and blast, sow and reap, abolish yellow fever and diphtheria, even as he must help to do here. My friend longs to visit the moon. A fool's errand. Some barren rocks in some desolate sheep-pasture here on the bosom of our own mother earth will serve as well. 'Tis all the same. The processes of Nature everywhere correspond. Wherever one may go, 'tis himself he carries,—himself, outlet of infinite mind, greater than sun, moon, or star.

Napoleon asked, pointing to the deep heaven full of stars, "Who made all that?" We have all been puzzled with the immensity of space and the multiplicity of worlds. But space is nothing, and few or many worlds are nothing. Who made all that? Wipe all that out: whence came the ground you stand on, and you yourself standing there? The worlds are kept in their places by the simplest of laws. 'Tis the A B C of creation. Man alone is the mystery; the complex presentation of evolving mind. Who shall fathom him is master of all.

These two thoughts,—the equality of our planet with all planets, and the inexhaustible resources of the creative mind, manifest here as everywhere, with ability organically to express itself in outward form or symbol,—make very good starting-points.

Content with our goodly globe, and self-poised, we will stay here while we can, go hence when we must; but staying or going we cast out all fear, and keep our faith that the Spiritual Universe from which all things flow is sound and sweet at heart, and is ceaselessly working to make perfect all its manifestation. Doubt of this is insanity. The form of our faith we reconsider, but the faith itself abides, the inseparable life of our being; the never-dying Belief, from which proceeds all human activity; the endeavor of all the generations;

the aspiring, struggling, and the patient demeanor of each private soul. Without its history itself were impossible; for every step is one of faith that each new problem is solvable; no obstacle but can be overcome. In short, human nature following the lead of the divine laws is omnipotent. The Universe promises so much: believe this; 'tis all the homage the Universe asks. I know there are those who think they believe in satanic supremacy. But I am not much disturbed by the announcement, since they smile while making it. I have known some such to confront new questions with as great zeal and as much expectancy as the devoutest believers. These show their faith by their works, if they deny with their lips.

At the present time the question confronts us, whether we shall keep our religion in whole or in part, or dispense with it altogether. Confusion arises as to what religion may be. New definitions are volunteered, or the word is cast out as incompatible with the new intelligence. Knowledge, we are told, casteth out religion as well as fear. "I have no more need for it," says one; "I get on better without it." With much wit, as with a broom, he sweeps the heavens clean of all ghosts. The throne of God, and the God himself, disappear. And now that we are rid of these unseen powers of the air, we are rid also of religion. No more necessity for it. The gods, if there are any, may look out for themselves, and we will take care of ourselves.

A very good and necessary work this new liberal apostle is doing. But,—one must after confessing this much say, but— I apprehend the problem of life is not thus readily disposed of. Much to clear the sky of imagined obstacles; much to remind us to ourselves; but so are we only brought nearer, driven closer, to deeper realities. If we dissipate the false shows, we seek substance. It is the privilege of all error perhaps to be fulfilled, not abandoned utterly; for error, pure and simple, is of so dubious a quality the human heart cannot retain it, nor the human mind long defend it; much less can the human soul grow and thrive upon it. I have no respect for that philosophy which ascribes all the world's follies or misbeliefs to the inventive genius of bad men, either in Church or State. Priests did not invent religion; they did not fashion the gods out of pure air; out of wanton ambition and lust of power they have not constructed our enslaving theologies. According to Mr. Conway, even the Devil has a natural history; and, I may add, a certain real parentage in fact. The whole question always being how to interpret the universe, how to explain to ourselves our being's end and aim,—the answers we give from time to time, from age to age, are such as correspond to our actual state of intellectual development. Great masses of people, however ignorant, cannot be imposed on wholly. The truth undoubtedly is that the beliefs of the world have been the honest expression of the times in which they grew into shape. Moreover, the world has never been without its streaks of good wit. It has made from earliest times some pretty good guesses. Every age stammers; it can't express itself; its sight is not clear. There in the twilight, or mist of the morning, it sees somewhat that it fails to explain well. Wiser grown, the new generation may add something of clearness. Denial serves but a little way; correction alone gives satisfaction. If that is not so, what is so? By dint of experience we learn to hold our corrections tentatively, at arm's length, for successive peaceful surveys, letting them of their own accord fall into their place of permanence, if the Universe be so minded. Foolish every desire to force them; foolish every fear that they if truthful will fail.

What I wish to emphasize is the fact of this world's sanity from the beginning; its absolute integrity according to the measure of its intelligence. I would be reconciled not only to the world as it is, but to the world as it has been, as well as to the world that is to be. I would say to the old times: "I hear you. Your guesses and your insights were not all wrong. As honest of thought as we of to-day. But we stand upon the thoughts you raised as on a pedestal; our horizon is broadened, and we see much you did not see." And thus speaking, we are put into harmony with Nature, with the natural evolution of human nature. Much stress is laid upon science. But there can be no science of a thing that is not itself scientific. There can be no knowledge of that which is not itself knowledgeable. Mind can understand only mind. It is our felicity that we can see and interpret the processes of our mental growth. Often we say: "Well, that was what I meant, what I was struggling for." It took time to develop and, as we say, mature the thought. But the last word was in the first. Omega was in Alpha. Our most modern science was long ago sung by the poets. Our newest discoveries may be reinforced by the most ancient prophecy. Some one striving to draw lines of beauty, baffled again and again, at length exclaims, "There! that's it." From the beginning that was what he intended. He knows when he hits the mark. So is it with the race. Pascal was right when he said, "The human race is as one man, ever advancing toward perfection." History is the development of one mind.

It was more than a score that made the early ages say "God." A very genuine though crude attempt was theirs to explain this God. I think it was Mr. Jackson Davis who first said, "An honest God is the noblest work of man." God has been man fashioned large. In the rude ages he was, of course, masculine; the greatest pagist the universe could boast; full of hot temper, with wrath that must be appeased. But as men grew mellow with kinder feelings toward each other, the fashion of the God-countenance changed, and beamed with increasing intelligence. As neighborhoods enlarge their boundaries until they meet and fraternize the world around, taking in also

their poorer dumb relation, the God keeps pace, and becomes the universal father.

I listened to one whom I have already quoted, as he brushed away the infinite individual whose throne was said to be in the heavens. Both the awful Jehovah full of thunder and vengeance, and the bountiful, all-loving, and all-protecting Father, were shown to have no real foundation in our experience. If the paternal care of this supposed being let not even a sparrow fall without notice, such notice had no practical result so far as that sparrow was concerned; it fell all the same, though the infinite eyes were looking on. A man and a stone tumbling down a precipice fare alike. Prayer to such a being was of no avail. From his throne he looked with calm eyes, and saw all mankind's sorrow and suffering, putting forth no effort to turn it aside. Belief in such a God is impossible. If he exist, then have we enthroned in the universe none other than a monster. The only way people reconcile themselves to his conduct is by supplementing this life with another, in which all the wrongs here endured are to be there righted, unto such as love him (spite of all appearances) and keep his commandments.

I do not hesitate to acquiesce entirely in this disbelief in the existence of such a God. No; the picture, though faithful to ancient conception, is no true likeness. The mistake to be corrected is the putting on the throne a being that represents only the idealization and enlargement of our finiteness. Carried to his best, such a God is still impotent. The largest finite is not almighty. Think how you are at once baffled if you would conceive of a great being of like good intentions with yourself, to whom you assign power to interfere arbitrarily in this world's life,—putting things to rights. Human nature stands at bay; either it must be wiped out utterly, and reconstructed as pliable clay in the potter's hands, or your God is of no effect. I think we should prefer our misery with our freedom, to such a flattening out. But it is sufficient answer to all such speculation to say that the world's whole experience contradicts it. We are not so governed. From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same no such manifestation can you chronicle. So far as interference for good or ill from such a being is concerned, we are indeed left to ourselves, and have ever been.

What then? Shall we cease saying God? Is there no Supreme? One whom I revere said in his discourse the other Sunday, "A dangerous step has been reached when atheism is welcomed." But I see no cause for alarm. The atheism that is welcomed is in substance but the denial of an impossible God. It is really the voice of God we hear protesting against our calumny of him. God has no better defender than the human soul asserting the omnipotence of justice and love's supremacy.

I find two declarations that to my mind equally fail to cover the ground. The one that asserts a being all-wise and all-powerful, cognizant of our human affairs in the sense that we are acquainted with them, knowing for instance that we are met here this evening, and busy even now numbering the very hairs of our heads; and that other that, denying this portraiture, inclines further to say, because this old conception fails, none is possible.

Our dependence is on such facts as we have at hand. The God cannot emerge at the end of a process of reasoning. We are to believe in God as we believe in each other, if at all. I have only a limited respect for any man's logic. If one must find a friend not by sight, but by some syllogistic agility of demonstration, I should say you would go mourning for that friend all your days. Must I depend on my pastor's proving it, to know that my dearest friend is in existence? No; the God is not provable: the demand for proof begins by ignoring the God plainly visible.

The trouble is we begin with looking away and far, and not within and near. I call up the natural, common experience of any and all. Is it all we are that thinks, and acts, and goes about the streets; merged in the whirl of business, the successive rounds of what you call life? I think no one says this. There are depths and heights in our experience never sounded. A double self we seem to find: the one supreme, infinite, ever the same; the other finite and variable, often lost. Shall we hesitate to say we are both God and man? The Christian world has done well in declaring Jesus was God. The mistake has been in not affirming the same of all souls,—of Judas no less than Jesus. The difference was in their manhood; Jesus did not feel he ought to hang himself; Judas did. Why did he so feel? Not because he had been told of a God afar in the heaven, nor because he saw the God in Jesus. Had he been desolate and alone as mere man, he would have seen no more than the mere ox. Solely because he was also divine he knew of his infamy. The oft-quoted lines Goethe sung are full of this meaning:—

"Were not the eye itself a sun, no sun for it could ever shine;
By nothing noble could the heart be won, were not the heart divine."

I aver, then, that we know God; and challenge so-called atheist or blindest materialist to say he does not. Without this God there were no unity; no common bond among men. It is in this oneness of our permanent nature that the ages are linked together, and our whole social structure is fashioned and made to endure.

I find, then, God present with us, as substance of our nature; the very soil, so to speak, out of which we grow. In adopting this view, and dismissing the old idea of a being separate and afar, acting upon us from without, the same question remains to disturb our sense of security; namely, Does this God know of our calamities when they arise, and is he able to save? My thought is this: God as substance has only that knowledge of finite relations and conditions

which is gained by finite experience. We have the doctrine of the divine incarnation. Now, ceasing to limit that to Jesus, seeing in all men, in all manifestation whatsoever, this incarnating process,—in flower, shrub, tree, beast, universe, the same as in man,—and looking simply at the case rationally, what shall we say? Why, our experience is that what we term intelligence, knowledge, wisdom, the whole intellectual strength of finite man, is gained only by this incarnation carried toward its perfection. In other words, God, self-moved to know finitely, must achieve that felicity by or through finite organic development: he must become man to know man. We might say that, from his side, it is God moved to become man. From our side, it is the man moved to become God. The union of infinite desire and finite achievement constitute salvation.

Suppose there were a bridge to build across Niagara. Our friends who think that prayer may move the God to action may as well ask this favor as any other. If the God should hear the petition, and feel a desire to grant it, what would be his mode of procedure? Why, says my friend, he would either put it into the heart of some one to build this bridge; or, by miracle, he would span the cataract from shore to shore himself, laying buttress and all, before our very eyes, and in the twinkling of an eye. In these latter days, however, our faith is not equal to any very serious expectation of this last-named sort. There is hardly any credulity extant that will stand on Niagara's bank a moment, hoping to be eye-witness of such a consummation. God must, then, do the other thing, and put it into the heart and the intelligence of some one or more human instruments to do the work for him. But how shall even this be done? I do not see that experience or reasonable expectation justifies other reply than this: It must be done by creating such heart and intelligence. Well, now, is not that precisely the significance of all the ages? What else do they mean but the creation of this ability and disposition to care for all finite concerns? Now a bridge, for one thing, implies a hand that can hold a hammer. The hand is the consummation of long epochs of evolution; and there must be many more to get the brain that will vouchsafe it that cunning it will never forget. There are sewers to the sea to be built. When? When man arrives and his necessity becomes the mother of the invention? New land on our back bay is to be made. When? When the needs of the city suggest and explore the possibility. Mind, then, is developed in that direction; but never before knows it of sewer or new-made land.

The creative process is going on. The God is ever busy. "My Father worketh hitherto" was a good saying. Why pray the ever-busy God to do more? No; bridges are your business, not the God's. What can the infinite know about your bridge except through finite experience? And that finite experience is you, with brain and heart developed to your emergency. Moreover, how can the infinite hear without an ear? Again, your finite voice must find a finite ear, or its words do mock the air that carries them. All that concerns finite needs, the achievement of finite salvation, must come through finite development.

Hence it was that I reminded you in the beginning of the modern impulse to enlarge all the boundaries of the powers of man. It is that we ourselves must achieve what we have called on the gods in vain to do, and which the gods have been impotent to perform. The dependence is at least mutual. Luther said, "God cannot do without strong men." In some latter day Scriptures I find these lines:—

"Unto men belong the desires of the Most High; Providence is revealed in the wisdom and virtue of men.
The dignity of God is upon the shoulders of men. His dependence is upon them forever.

"He waiteth their will.
His delight is in their progress.
Their steps are down in the valley.
He alone is on the mountain, and men must go up to his help.

"His cry is to the children of men.
No good thing can he perform until it passeth through the thought of man, is accepted of their hearts and wrought by their cunning and powerful hand."

Explore for yourselves. In your own natures find the God-substance; the all-creating Reason that opens into knowledge; the universal Love that ever goes forth to all creatures; the eternal Beauty that holds you by its spell. Not articulate, not conscious as you finitely are conscious; but none the less, all the more real and abiding. In this God, I reiterate, we are not believers, but knowers.

If we cannot surrender the idea of God, but must interpret it more and more in harmony with experience, what is there to say concerning religion? (I dismiss the idea of immortality as having sought to do with religious sentiment. One moment is as good for its expression as a million; one life as another. Mortal or immortal does nothing signify.) If mortal, then so much; if immortal, all that implies.

Here too, I think, we find ground for more and more rational interpretation, but none for delivering the word up to the executioner.

Always in some sort this word has stood for fealty. Homage, trust, dependence, rest in that supreme somewhat we know,—I see not why this shall not be counted as our religion. Not moral action,—as St. James seemed to say in his famous injunction, "visit the fatherless and afflicted,"—but that which inspires it. Truth, love, beauty,—the divine impulses in our God-nature,—invite our aid. The bestowal of our lives to these, in service loving and not self-seeking, is religion. He who is over-solicitous for his own soul, ever watching and working to save it, turns religion as it were inside out. I do not incline to that form of statement which shows religion to be "the effort of man to perfect himself." I would rather say it is man's free service to the God; man's longing to perfect the divine incarnation. I

is, too, a spontaneity rather than effort. I like to let my thought run on somewhat as follows, and think when I have done that I have defined religion: I pass a man in the street. What have I done? With no thought of self, with no thought of the man I met, I have graciously given him the right of way. It was the spontaneity of my manners that lent them their charm. I did it not to perfect myself nor my neighbor. It was my salute to the Universe. Unpremeditated, 'twas a right thing to do. No praise for me. I was not there for blame or praise. I did it not to escape hell or enter heaven. Our meeting and passing was the rhythm and music of life. Neither of us thrust self in the way. With no thought of the act, we waived self and permitted the trust of God.

When we come to analyze the act, we find it moral as well as religious. The inspiration religious; the result moral. The difference between the religious and the moral sentiment is, the one is the service of the ideal,—of truth and beauty and righteousness for their own sake; the other implies some private consideration either for self, family, or race. There may be morality without religion, but there can be no true religion without conserving all that morality enjoins. There is a fault with "mere morality,"—to use a phrase made familiar to our ears by our Orthodox friends,—so that it becomes a sort of mechanism of manners; doing to others as you would be done by, for instance. I suppose the Pharisees of old were all scrupulously moral, painfully so; it was their moralism, with a dash of hypocrisy, that made them so distasteful to the Nazarene. One must act from within, unconsciously sending forth love to neighbor, even as birds sing and children play. Except ye become as little children ye do not enter into religion. Childhood is not moral. A calculating, precise, prim, wise, old child is a moral phenomenon that will distress a whole neighborhood. What we cannot do cheerfully is never done gracefully. And, you know, we are "saved by grace."

Shall we have this religion in America,—this religion that blends our lives in joyful union with indwelling Deity? No grim Mechanic executing a work; no omnipotent Will driving heedlessly on to self-glorification; but a divine Soul incarnating truth, beauty, and blessedness? Not a job, but an immortal poem. Let America be a fulfilment of this desire!

As we do not despise mechanical work, but seek to have it improved and uplifted into the light of an ideal aim, so in taking our continent, and reclaiming it from waste and wilderness, and developing all its manifold resources as aids, we seek also that these shall serve the incarnations of the Soul. There is work to do, but it should be the work of gladness. We should sing as we work, chanting the new births of the beautiful and the true. So do we liberate the God. It was a good saying that we should "come up to the help of the Lord." God is a paradox; almighty, and yet how weak! utterly unable to do aught without you; therefore are you created. The God will never, indeed, be baffled; rest assured of that. If you do not serve, others will follow that will. But that nothing can be accomplished save through human coöperation attests the God's utter dependence.

See how this service of the God who is the impulse of all beauty, truth, and goodness puts on universal consideration. We not only consider the lilies, but mankind everywhere, and the brute world, as we say, also. It all—the whole globe—means something: everywhere the ground is sacred. Life everywhere signifies the God's endeavor. Wherever in man the spark of freedom glows, it shall in no wise be smothered. Wherever sorrow, suffering, ignorance, poverty, appeal for succor, we are the agents to fly with God's relief. Only let us remember that, as religionists, we are to do nothing arbitrarily or mechanically, but creatively. So shall we write a new line of the immortal poem.

There are three words, much abused, that seem to me freighted with the divine life:—

Equality, Freedom, Fraternity.

Leave out the God, and equality is indeed a term of mockery. But, every soul, plus God, is the equal of every other. Whenever I see my brother, be he however fallen, however weak, however degraded, I may say, "That is as far as God has got along in him." He is God's signal of distress; that is the God's summons for help. There are to be no outcasts, male or female. Of all people, let not those who have abolished hell for the world to come think it must be perpetuated here. Have no such faithless religion. I have all faith in America that her only creed can be the sacredness of all human rights, the equality of all human souls in the God.

As to freedom, I think we are well set with our sails toward that. Yet our faith in it may still be increased, and we shall not lose the approving smile of the God. It is the God that cries, "I must have free course to be glorified!" Freedom of speech, freedom of life: it is a very serious interruption of the God's endeavor when these are checked and denied. It is no part of our business to wait till everybody shall speak right and act right before we grant their freedom. Ourselves should also then be dumb. Think if such an edict had ever gone forth to all people from the heavens, and power also to enforce it: why, the life of this world would have been wound up from that moment. No, our freedom is in the God. 'Tis the God's say, not ours. Not by measuring each other with the measuring rods of majorities are we to regulate freedom.

'Tis not that I am doomed, but God is hindered when I become your slave. Pure and unbloody egotism is it when you set your wit up, mighty though it be, as censor and establisher of what the God through me shall say and do. America has grand problems, political, moral, social, religious. Discussion—free and

welcomed—is the sole method of their evolution. Error is not only to be tolerated, it is to be expected. Let it come; the sooner it is out the sooner it will be over with. Error works in and works out. Give it play. The God knows his business. Why, from error we must liberate truth. How do it, if error be crushed? 'Tis a great delusion to do so. 'Twill rise again as well as truth. In my judgment the Devil never flourishes save when he is persecuted. No; every suppression of freethinking is at our cost. We don't know what we lose. America must delight in perfect freedom. Remember, 'tis the God that is to write the poem, and not we. Give the God democratic opportunity; and, good friends, absolutely cast fear from your hearts.

A word more of a complementing sort. I say we must give the God free utterance through all individuals. It is also for the individual to consider how he may and does hinder the God. It is a question that arises very naturally out of the other. Establish the expectation that every one must account, not to society, but to the God within him, and each begins at once to assume a new attitude. I may deceive you, but I cannot deceive this indwelling God. I know very well when my word or my deed is framed to the beauty and the truth that are within me. Fix responsibility there, and one must begin to slough off all enshrouding hypocrisy. I may hide from my human neighbors, and so feel at ease; but the sense of right that is the supreme part of me is not escaped. Though I go down into the depths of hell, lo! the God is there with me also.

Teach, then, one's duty to the God, to the highest and best he and she knows, and you teach the true and only all-embracing gospel. The right of each to render first and always this homage to the Supreme is the only safeguard to the rights of all. Duties to each other are so taught, and only so. I can ask no one to violate his conscience for my benefit, or to serve my egotism. Let, now, the individual accept this obligation to the highest in good faith; putting away all self-seeking, vain spirit, personal pride; be the humble servant of the truth, the adorer of beauty, the quiet medium of all the goodness the God can pour through him to a needy world,—and the perfect providence is established.

This also is the bond of fraternity; the true, abiding friendship of the world. The God is one. We are many,—the varying expressions of the same mind. Were we all alike, we should not much care for each other. Indeed, murder then would be of very little consequence. If but one were left, it would be enough for a sample; the God would be satisfied with that. But no; as are the sands on the sea-shore, so in number are the varieties of Divine incarnation. 'Tis the God in each suggesting relation, and prompting love for each other. Fraternity means peace and good-will on earth; not necessarily intimate friendships with all mankind. Each to his sort. Some people accord better apart. Others accord more and more as they more and more come to know each other. 'Tis a matter of temperament largely. Let that pass; let it be so. Fraternity—the fraternity of the race—is not thereby disturbed. Let Nature have her way; accord with whom you can accord for daily intercourse; and keep also for the God's sake charity and kindness for all souls else, with willingness to serve them.

Should I now stop to say anything of results in America, I should pass, I fear, far by the limit of your patience. And perhaps it would be much like the boy's piling up the little wood he had cut, to show how big was the pile, when all the forest he and others had been sent to attack still remained standing. Again, it really makes very little difference where we are in our work, if still the Ideal shines before or within us. With the times and the seasons, with the measure of present success or failure, whose hath heard the God's whisper of assurance hath no deep concern.

Be it more or less, much has been done, and much remains. What can't be done to-day shall be done to-morrow, or the day after. There is no hurry. Nature has but one way. Her only resource is growth,—growth that cannot be forced: we must abide her time. Since the Saurian ages, has not the God been patient? Let us emulate the example. We cherish great purposes and good ones. On all who would make haste beyond what is meet, let the poet's admonition fall:—

"'Tis all in vain to hurry so!
They're roses, and will surely blow."

LITERATURE AND BREADTH.

The domain of Literature is the only place wherein one can draw a long, deep, pure, free breath. Everywhere else one is bound to think and speak and act in conformity with the prevailing ideas and opinions of the set or company to which he "belongs." If our reverence for things divine and sacred; if our interest in the welfare and integrity of our country; if our deep sympathy with the unfortunate and suffering part of our race,—lead us to ally ourselves with any sect in religion, any party in politics, any movement in reform, then straightway we find that we have to hitch our free spirit to some machine of institution or organization, some private conceit or pet scheme of an imperious leader or manager. Directly we do this, we come upon some intellectual or moral scruple which we cannot alienate, without doing violence to our constantly uprising loyalty to truth and duty.

But in literature all this is different. Here our reverence for God, our love of country, our philanthropic sentiment toward mankind, may have free scope and exercise. Here are no sects, no parties, no schools, which can command our thought or constrain

within narrow limits. Here we can look around the whole circle of the world, and take note of, and feel the liveliest interest in, all the intellectual, religious, moral, and secular life of humanity. Here we can think and feel and live with the noblest and best of our race; and here, also, we can approach and enter into the joys and sorrows, the common lot, of all our kind. The far and near, the ancient and modern, the Christian and Pagan, the wise and less wise, here draw near and speak with us, and invite us to become acquainted with experiences which are as universal as life itself. Here our minds and hearts are not narrowed, but broadened; and here our sympathies are challenged, not by a portion, but by all of our fellow-men.

The thoughtful and just man feels lonely everywhere but in literature. He desires relations with his kind, and would not be solitary or cynical, but large-minded and large-hearted. Yet in the ordinary walks, pursuits, and ambitions of men, his constant experience is of being thrust back upon himself, repelled by the aims and animus of the company he tries to keep. In scrambling and competing crowds men never think their best thoughts, never breathe their noblest aspirations, never perform their highest deeds: it is when they are alone with themselves, alone with God, alone with those sweet, pure, true souls that ever have been set in life and history to shine as the stars with tranquil and unfading lustre,—it is then that they best can listen to and obey those voices which prompt to divinest things, and grow and ripen in the privacy of their heart and spirit.

We plead, then, for the greater and more common study of literature. Let our youth be trained to reading,—to the reading of those books which the best minds and souls have produced, and which stand the test of time. Let those who are forced to live in the midst of secular activities,—in the market, the court, the public place, the scene of labor and strife and competition,—let all such, as they value the right development of intellect, conscience, and heart, cultivate a taste for literature; cultivate the capacity of enjoyment in "breathing the still air of delightful studies." We sincerely believe that we can render no truer service to our countrymen, in these intense and noisy times, than to urge them to the acquirement of literary tastes and habits; to the securing of that "sweetness and light" which are to be found in the calm walks and ways of literature.—*A. W. Stevens in the Literary World.*

CHRIVALGIOUS DEED BY THE COLORED SENATOR.

Bruce, the Senator from Mississippi, is a very fine-looking mulatto, tall, stout, and handsome. He is said to be a Virginian by birth, and was owned in early youth by the wealthy Bruce family of Halifax County. He seemed very popular with his colleagues, and was frequently seen on the avenue, walking with the white brethren and evidently on pleasant terms with them. From what I could hear of him he must be a man of uncommon intelligence, who has studied diligently, since the emancipation, to improve himself and make up for his early disadvantages. A young lady who holds a clerkship in one of the departments told me an incident connected with Senator Bruce, which illustrates both the wonderful changes wrought by the whirligig of time, and the amiability which is ever the characteristic of the long-suffering African. While the carpet-bag government existed in Mississippi very heavy municipal taxes were levied in the towns, and some dispute arose between a gentleman who had been one of the wealthy citizens of Bruce's district and the "Yankee mayor" of the town in which he lived, in regard to the collection thereof. The Mississippian refused to pay his quota, because the city had failed to make repairs necessary to the preservation of the wall surrounding his grounds. The controversy continued for some time, until at last, in the absence of the owner of the property, deputies appointed by the mayor entered the house, and without ceremony carried off the piano and other pieces of property, which were at once sold for taxes. The family had suffered many losses from the war, and this act, when related to him by his wife, so exasperated the hot-headed Southerner that he went at once to the mayor's office and shot him dead. He was tried by the authorities, and being released on bail at once left the State, by the advice of his bondsmen. The family moved to Baltimore, where they lived in great poverty for a while, and the unhappy Mississippian sunk under his many cares and died.

All this occurred some years ago; and the widow had undergone many trials and privations, when she reached Washington, some months since, with her two little children, and attempted to get an office under the government. She took board at the house where my young friend was living, and after vainly appealing for aid to sundry Democratic friends in high position, having nearly exhausted her slender means, was advised by my informant to ask the assistance of the negro Senator from her own State. The high-born Southern lady, who is described as very handsome and refined in bearing, at first shrank from the thought. But her board-bill was nearly due, her purse was nearly empty, and, desiring her cup of sorrow full to overflowing, she accepted the offer of her new friend to accompany her to the dreaded interview, and the two specimens of the old noblesse went to the door of the Senate-chamber and sent in a card to Mr. Bruce. The negro Senator appeared at once, and my informant assured me that the respect and courtesy of his manner could not have been surpassed. In response to the faltering request of the unhappy lady for aid for herself and her starving children, Bruce answered quickly in tones of much feeling: "Certainly, madam, I will do

all in my power to aid you. When I was a slave, working on my master's plantation, you were known as one of the richest and most elegant ladies of the country; and now that times have so greatly changed for us both, I shall be glad of an opportunity to serve you." The ex-slave went at once to the departments, and his efforts were so successful that a few hours later the desolate widow was rejoicing in her appointment to a clerkship.—*Washington letter to Springfield Republican.*

WOMAN'S HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.

There is much said, and some of it very justly, upon the propriety of our girls accustoming themselves to perform the various branches of household labor, thus acquiring such a practical knowledge of the operations involved as to enable them to carry them on with ease whenever circumstances require them to do so. Yet in this, as in most good advice, there is danger of going to an extreme, thereby inducing the neglect of other claims. There are few things in the ordinary life of a woman that are in greater need of remodeling than the sudden and entire changes of occupation which seem at certain times to await her. During her school life, intellectual progress is thought to be the one thing needful. Either by her own ambition or the urgency of friends, she is induced to devote most of her time to study, and if she succeed in retaining health under the pressure she may consider herself fortunate. Suddenly, upon the completion of a prescribed course, all this ceases. The incentives to study, lately so intense, are removed, the influences changed, and too often the mental development, which had but just fairly started, is arrested. Her time is now given up either to society or household duties, and the taste for intellectual pleasures gradually declines for want of stimulus. It is not strange, then, that when the care of a family comes to devolve wholly upon her she should devote herself to its details too exclusively for her own best good, or for her greatest efficiency in the world.

Of course, when the question of means comes in to decide the occupation, no true and noble woman will hesitate to do whatever presents itself as immediate duty, or promises to secure the necessary comfort of the family. But this is not the point upon which it usually hinges. Many of those who can and do afford to have the household work done by other hands still occupy themselves almost wholly with elaborate needle-work and other artificial and unessential luxuries of living. They are indefatigably industrious, and would be greatly hurt by the suggestion that they were wasting time. Indeed, the common cry of the great importance of all women becoming proficient in domestic duties strengthens them in this course, and induces a supreme satisfaction at their own success. Meantime, the mind must suffer from neglect. There is no time for reading or study, no taste for thoughtful subjects, no desire to increase the stock of knowledge, which is fast waning away. May not one potent cause of this state of things be found in the general stress laid upon the propriety of household labor for woman, and the very small emphasis laid upon her need and duty of self-culture?

There is so much in the life of every wife and mother that demands rare intelligence, deep and extensive knowledge, wisdom, discretion, and judgment, that wherever it is possible, after providing for the more pressing wants of the household, to devote a regular amount of time to her own culture and self-development, she may rest assured that by so doing she is most truly blessing and benefiting those who are under her daily influence. What faithful mother has not been perplexed to know how to answer the eager questions of her little child, and wished for more knowledge and clearer ideas, that she might guide its young mind wisely? How can she ever be to it what its thirsting spirit craves or its awakening faculties demand, if her entire time and thoughts are consumed by the preparation of elaborate apparel and the care of costly furniture? The judgment needed to appertain expenses, to guide domestics, and to exercise hospitality, is not to be gained by incessant manual labor, but rather by habits of thought and the ability to reason, which must depend greatly upon the mental nutriment which is afforded. So also the outside claims of social life and of benevolent enterprise equally demand intelligent appreciation for their right fulfillment; so that even considering woman only in the relations of wife, mother, and the head of a household, it is far more important that she keep her mind thoroughly alive and growing, than her hands momentarily busy.

In truth, there should be no break in her mental culture. The education of school ought to be only a foundation on which to base a self-education to be continued through life. System and management will enable most women to secure at least a portion of each day for mental cultivation, and the result both in increased happiness and value to the world will richly reward the effort. It would be well if the advice so plentifully given to women, to learn and practice every species of household work, were at least supplemented by the advice, which is generally more needed, to keep up habits of intelligent thought, reading, and general self-culture.—*Phila. Ledger.*

A LITERARY CURIOSITY.

DESCRIPTION OF A MODEL NEWSPAPER.

DAILY, SEMI-WEEKLY, AND WEEKLY;
Which paper should be owned and conducted by good men, and sold at the lowest paying rate.

[As will be seen, this piece of metrical prose is in 8-and-7 trochees. The lines, however, contain several peculiarities, all but the first of which need to be pointed out. (1) Each stanza is without rhyme, and (2) no rhyme is found in any two contiguous stanzas taken as one. (3) In every stanza the vowel or diphthongal sound in the last accented

syllable of each line and that in the final (unaccented) syllable of each of the first and third lines are all different; (4) neither of the two final syllables of the first line of any stanza contains the same vowel or diphthongal sound as that in the terminal syllable of the last line of the preceding stanza; and (5) the same vowel or diphthongal sound does not occur in the last syllable of any two contiguous stanzas, nor (6) in the last syllable of the second line of any two such stanzas, nor (7), as already half-stated in (3), in the last syllable of the second line of any two contiguous pairs of lines or half-stanzas. Moreover, no emphatic monosyllable is admitted where incompatible with the rhythm; no unemphatic monosyllable is employed in an accented place; no second or fourth line—all which of course end on the accent—terminates on a secondary emphatic syllable of a word; no word beginning with a vowel sound comes immediately after one ending in a vowel sound; no word beginning with a consonant sound comes immediately after one ending in the same consonant sound; and, excepting nineteen necessary but simple monosyllables and one echoed trisyllable, no word in the piece is used more than once.

The rigorous application of rules so minute and complex sometimes, obviously, necessitates a recourse to forms of expression such as would scarcely be chosen in writing freely,—a consideration to be kept in mind in reading these verses].

I.—NEGATIVE.

It rejecteth contributions*
Fav'ring wrong, untruth, or guile,
Or that countenance or wink at
Route, the stage, or harmful sports.

It from things announced to happen
Weedeth such as fall of worth;
And from gleanings past, historic,
Purgeth matters, lines, unsafe.

It admitteth nothing vulgar;
Doth not jest at sacred thoughts;
And ignoreth outrage, swearing,
Hazards, drink, nicotian leaf.

It inserteth not nor hints of
Spiteful or injurious words;
But, when glaring vice it noteth,
Claims for guilty pains condign.

And it barreth fiction vapid,
Frivolous, corrupt, or low;
Shutting out the same as hurtful
Both to wise and saintly walk.

II.—POSITIVE.

'Tis a sheet octavoed,—handy;
Fit in paper; impress clear;
And, regarding type arrangement,
Excellent, attractive, spruce.

'Tis a journal prudent, sober,
Courtly, sensible, concise;
With, anon, a buoyant outbreak,
Hum'rous turn, or spice of wit.

'Tis a guest esteemed by fathers,
Matrons, children, misses, youth;
Plenteous in gainful reading,
Fire-side problems, wholesome tales.

'Tis a record prized of ranchmen,
Shepherds, tillers of the soil;
And, amongst the social topics,
Giveth all the farm-hints new.

'Tis a bulletin for merchants,
Proxies, holders, bond or share;
Trusty, full, on stocks and money,
Commerce, trade, exchange, and gold.

'Tis a chronicle for workers,
Whether using head or hands,—
For collegians philosophic,
As for navvies on the rail.

'Tis a news-collector, valued
For its manifold accounts;
Gath'ring in, from thousand sources,
Numberless occurrences, deeds.

'Tis a chart of useful knowledge,
And of sound affairs of taste;
With asclarity producing
All essential fancy, fact.

'Tis a leader ardent, stalworth,
In the total-abst'nanee league,—
Abstinence for self-security,
And for sake of friend or foe.

'Tis, concerning views of statecraft,
Independent, dauntless, firm;
First, though, weighing ev'ry question
In the scales of Truth and Right.

'Tis at feud with error, falsehood,
Fraud, injustice, aught unclean;
For the common weal contending,
Vold of all intent unfair.

'Tis a guardian constant, helpful,
Of the lower creatures dumb;
Judging that Immanuel's dictate
Loud condemneth ill to these.

'Tis a Mentor to the Christian,—
Middle-aged or young or old;
Urgent for unceasing progress
And a faith which acts by love.

And, in chief, it has the sinner's
Highest welfare deep at heart;
Making known, as fleet his life-days,
What should bring eternal good.

WILLIAM BOYD.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

*Advertisements emphatically included.
†Here used for brokers, agents, etc.
‡The Golden Rule.

THE CHANCES FOR GAMBLERS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES.—It is an indubitable result of the theory of probabilities that every gambler, if he continues long enough, must ultimately be ruined. Suppose he tries the martingale, which some believe infallible, and which is, as I am informed, disallowed in the gambling-houses. In this method of playing he first bets say \$1; if he loses it he bets \$2; if he loses that he bets \$4; if he loses that he bets \$8; if he then gains he has lost 1+2+4=7, and he has gained \$1 more; and no matter how many bets he loses, the first one he gains will make him \$1 richer than he was in the beginning. In that way he will probably gain at first; but, at last, the time will come when the run of luck is so against him that he will not have money enough to double, and must, therefore, let his bet go. This will probably happen before he has won as much as he had in the first place, so that this run against him will leave him poorer than he began; some time or other it will be sure to happen. It is true that there is always a possibility of his winning any sum the bank can pay, and we thus come upon a celebrated paradox that, though he is certain to be ruined, the value of his expectation calculated according to the usual rules (which omit this consideration) is large. But, whether a gambler plays in this way or any other, the same thing is true; namely, that if he plays long enough he will be sure some time to have such a run against him as to exhaust his entire fortune. The same thing is true of an insurance company. Let the directors take the utmost pains to be independent of great conflagrations and pestilences, their actuaries can tell them that, according to the doctrine of chances, the time must come, at last, when their losses will bring them to a stop. They may tide over such a crisis by extraordinary means, but then they will start again in a weakened state, and the same thing will happen again all the sooner. An actuary might be inclined to deny this, because he knows that the expectation of his company is large, or, perhaps (neglecting the interest upon money), is infinite. But calculations of expectations leave out of account the circumstance now under consideration, which reverses the whole thing. However, I must not be understood as saying that insurance is on this account unsound, more than other kinds of business. All human affairs rest upon probabilities, and the same thing is true everywhere. If man were immortal, he could be perfectly sure of seeing the day when everything in which he had trusted should betray his trust, and, in short, of coming eventually to hopeless misery. He would break down, at last, as every great fortune, as every dynasty, as every civilization does. In place of this we have death.—*Prof. C. S. Peirce, in Popular Science Monthly for March.*

It is a curious fact, which ought to have its proper weight, that the man whose duty it is to know most about crime (the head of the police in London) has been heard to say that he finds more and more to excuse in men, and thinks better of human nature, even after tracking it through its most perverse and intolerable courses. It is the man who has seen nothing of life who is intolerant of his fellow-men. Misanthropic people have, in most cases, been made misanthropes by hoping too much. But go on thinking the best you can of mankind, working the most you can for them, never scolding them because they will not be wise your way; and even then being sure that, think as gently and lovingly as you can, you have dealt but a scant measure of tolerance to your fellow-man.—*Arthur Helps.*

A LITTLE IRISH boy fell down and bit his tongue. He arose from the ground, crying and sobbing, and said to his brother: "O Stephen! think will I ever spake again?"

SO MANY CITIES claimed Homer as a resident and a citizen that we incline to the opinion that he was a Methodist preacher.—*Burlington Hawkeye.*

REPUTATION is but the synonym of popularity, dependent on suffrage, to be increased or diminished at the will of the voters.—*Washington Aliston.*

NO MAN CAN be brave who considers pain to be the greatest evil of life; nor temperate who considers pleasure to be the highest good.—*Cheero.*

MODESTY IS the appendage of sobriety, and is to chastity, to temperance, and to humility as the fringes are to a garment.—*Jeremy Taylor.*

"HOW GREEDY you are!" said one little girl to another, who had taken the best apple in the dish; "I was going to take that."

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 24.

L. Kingma, \$4.45; S. Hunt, \$3; J. C. Bentley, \$3.20; P. Tavey, \$1; Mrs. F. Watson, \$1; Mrs. Mary E. York, \$5; Geo. Draper, \$3.20; J. Farnsworth, \$4.70; O. M. Connon, 25 cents; S. Durell, \$3.20; A. W. Johnston, \$1.57; Wm. Phillips, \$2; Harvey Moore, \$3.20.

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The Index.

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

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

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

Until September 1, the editorial charge of THE INDEX will be wholly in the hands of Mr. A. W. Stevens, who has kindly consented to relieve me of all literary responsibility for it during the present month. F. E. ABBOT.

BOSTON, Aug. 1.

F. E. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

IN CLOSING our month's engagement on THE INDEX, we cordially salute its readers with a "good-by."

THE WORLD'S civilization depends neither on the "hard" dollar nor the "soft" dollar. When men live so as to inspire real confidence in each other, either "hard" or "soft" will serve their purpose.

BEN BUTLER, with lawyer-like discrimination, tells Dennis Kearney that under the treaty stipulations with China we have no right to prevent the Chinese coming here, but that after they have come we have the legal right to treat them so badly that they can't stay! Wise Butler! Happy Kearney!

WE DESIRE to call attention to the article in another column from "Orthodox." He is a gentleman of the very highest standing in the denomination to which he belongs, and kindly furnished us this communication in response to our request that he would write something for THE INDEX while we were temporarily conducting it.

IN A NOTICE of Mrs. Child's Aspirations of the World, the Independent thinks it is "almost amusing" to see that lady trying to preserve a "judicial fairness" in judging between "the claims of Christ and of Buddha." It is certainly to us quite saddening to see Christians ignoring every sort of fairness in judging between the claims of Christianity and those of the other great world-religions.

MR. BRADLAUGH has been publishing in his paper a series of articles having for their burden the inquiry, "Has man a soul?" Mr. Bradlaugh finally concludes not, and fortifies his conclusion with co-

pious extracts from various scientific authorities. It is vain, however, for these gentlemen, or any others, to think that they can settle this question in the negative. So long as mankind continue to think, love, and aspire, they will persevere to hope for, if not to believe in, the immortality of the soul.

THE INDEX READERS will gladly welcome their permanent editor back to his post next week, and will we are sure heartily unite with us in hoping that he may return with renewed strength and augmented vital energy. It has been granted to few men in this or any other country to give such able and useful service to the cause of Free Thought as he has given, especially during the eight years that he has been the editor-in-chief of this paper. The millions of free-thinkers throughout the world owe to him a deep debt of gratitude, and cannot fall ever to cherish and honor his name.

THE SOUTHERN NEGROES, the New York Nation says, "are growing in wealth, in intelligence, and in self-respect all over the South. They are in the enjoyment, for the first time, of security of person and property; and with the growth of wealth and intelligence political weight must come." It is certainly something to be thankful for that the "negro question" is at last out of our national politics in a manner that is so gratifying to all lovers of justice. We remember that Fred Douglass once said his real fear for the negro was when he should become a free man, and thus have the civilizing capacity in him put to a thorough test. But experience so far shows that the negro is prepared to enter into his birthright with a fair measure of ability to advance with other races in the path of true progress.

MR. T. P. HOWES, of Dennis, Mass., writes to thank us for printing Mrs. Child's essay. He says: "With her other writings I have been familiar for many years, and I hold her character in high veneration. It is impossible to estimate the value of such a mind and spirit as her's to our civilization. For myself, I can say that after visiting many foreign countries, seeing many different modes of living, and having to do with Mohammedans and Buddhists, I entirely agree with Mrs. Child in her opinion that the fundamental laws of morality and the religious aspirations of mankind are strikingly similar always and everywhere. In all my dealings with Eastern people, whether Mohammedans or Buddhists, I could never discover any standard of business morality different from ours." Mr. Howes is an old reader of THE INDEX, and says he has learned to "look to its columns for guidance and inspiration in all intellectual religious matters." We are very glad to receive this second assurance that Mrs. Child's excellent essay was appreciated, as we have no doubt that it generally was, by the intelligent readers of THE INDEX.

THE LIBERAL CONFERENCE which was held at South-Place Chapel, London, June 13 and 14, sent circulars of invitation to Mrs. Besant and Mr. Bradlaugh; but the National Reformer (Bradlaugh's paper) of August 4 tells us that each "declined to attend, on the ground that the circular limited the Conference to 'matters pertaining to the religious needs of our time,' and that the invitation was addressed to those interested in the 'tendency to universal religion.'" The Reformer charges Rev. Charles Voysey with "extremely illiberal conduct" at the Conference; and says that he "positively left the Conference in a fit of ill-temper, because Miss Downing had respectfully argued 'that they must either give up all belief in supernatural religion or become members of the Roman Catholic Church,' and because Mrs. E. L. Ross objected that the word religion was 'indefinite and undefinable.'" The Reformer also adds, in the course of its criticisms on the Conference, that South-Place Chapel (which all INDEX readers probably know is the place where Rev. M. D. Conway preaches) "cannot be let for atheistic advocacy, as the deed limits its use to the worship of the one true God."

A HANDSOME PAMPHLET (printed by John Wilson & Son) has been sent to our hand entitled, "Proceedings of the Indignation Meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Thursday evening, August 1, 1878, to protest against the injury done to the freedom of the Press by the conviction and imprisonment of Ezra H. Heywood." Benj. R. Tucker is the publisher. The pamphlet contains all the speeches made on that occasion, and all the letters of sympathy received by the committee. Some of the speeches are marked by ability and eloquence. The one by the President of the meeting, Elieur Wright, we have already presented to the readers of THE INDEX. The shortest speech in the

pamphlet is that made by Laura Kendrick; but for terseness of statement, fervor of tone, and grace of diction it is not excelled by any. "Vice, my friends, can never be legislated out of the world: our only remedy is education." In saying this, Mrs. Kendrick stated, in our opinion, the true philosophy of the reform movement. In one or two of the speeches we regret to see an altogether unnecessary severity of accusation, and the exhibition of a spirit really akin to that which was so fiercely denounced by the speakers. We presume this pamphlet can be obtained by sending to Benj. R. Tucker, Globe Office, Boston, Mass. The price is not stated.

FROM a private letter we take the following very clear and full statement, by a Quaker, of the Quaker doctrine as to inspiration and preaching of the word: "Our greatest and most vital principle is that God by his holy spirit will, if rightly sought, inspire the hearts of every one, whether Quaker or not, to do his will. All our religious meetings are supposed to be held under the guidance of that spirit. Hence, when we come together, we have no knowledge as to what will be required of any of us, either minister or layman; but we sit before God in silence, until by his spirit he calls upon some one to speak or to offer prayer. We believe, further, that this spirit will be so distinctly manifest to the person called upon to speak, as to make known to him or her the substance of what they are to say; and that if they speak according to the right direction, this same spirit will so inspire or touch the heart of the hearer that he will be quickened to heed and obey the preacher's word. The minister comes to the meeting on an equal footing with all the rest. Indeed, all that makes a 'minister' is an acknowledgment on the part of the Society, and a record of the same, that the person appearing has a gift to preach. We believe that there are various gifts,—that of preaching, teaching, exhorting, advising, etc.; and we record such as ministers as seem to have a special calling and guidance of the Spirit to preach. We also hold that all preaching is vain, unless called for and put forth by the Spirit; and that the silence of our meeting is as acceptable worship to God as the vocal portions. We have had abundant evidence of this, by some very marked and wonderful conversions during the silence of the meeting." In corroboration of this, we will say that we have certainly attended religious meetings,—not of the Quaker stamp,—where what little silence was allowed was far more impressive to us than the "vocal portions."

THIS NATION has shown a great capacity for meanness in the matter of race-hatred. It has just recovered from its long hatred and abuse of the negro, being purged of it by a bloody baptism. Against the Indians—who formerly possessed this entire continent, and who were never rightfully dispossessed of it—our nation is still accumulating its awful mountain of sin. It has always had spells of hating all foreigners, especially the Irish. And to-day it seems to be fast getting ready for a mighty transgression against the Chinese. We hated the negro because he was black and defenceless; we hate the Indian because he has always resisted our robbing, deceiving, and cheating him; we hate the Irish because they are Catholics and rapidly accumulating in numbers; and we are preparing to hate the Chinese because they are cheap servants, economical, "heathen," and wear their shirts outside! What better reasons could we possibly have for our meanness, dishonor, and injustice! After stealing our country from one race, and pretending to make it an asylum for the oppressed of every other race, we have exhibited unparalleled hypocrisy and treachery towards every race but our own. The negroes are happily emancipated by war from the slavery we cursed them with for seventy-five years; the Indians we are fast murdering and killing off; the Irish are at last equal to the taking care of themselves; but the Chinese, we fear,—in spite of our treaty stipulations with them,—are yet doomed to suffer immensely at our hands. Our politicians are selfish enough to connive at, if not actually to aid in, the injustice we contemplate to the Mongols,—as they did in that we inflicted so long on the Africans, and that we are still inflicting on the Indians; and no new Sumner yet appears in our national councils to champion the cause of the race we now propose to outrage. But one thing is certain: no nation, as no individual, can sin with impunity. If we sow again to the wind, again we must reap the whirlwind. We shall wrong the Chinese at our peril. They are here at our invitation and by our treaty permission; and we are bound by every consideration of fairness and honor to treat them with justice and kindness.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

We are in favor of *woman's* rights because we are in favor of *human* rights. But what are woman's rights? We have asked, and now we will venture to answer, the question. The right of every woman is like that of every man; namely, to have the freest and fullest opportunity to make the most of herself: in other words, to develop and perfect those faculties which make the worth and the beauty of her womanly nature.

So far as the individual woman is concerned, we are in favor of granting every claim which she makes at the hands of society, for the amplest cultivation and exercise of her powers. If she wishes to be a teacher, a lawyer, a doctor, a minister, a lecturer, a merchant, a sailor, a manufacturer, a farmer, or what not, in God's name let her! Whatsoever she wishes to be or do, give her not only a chance, but the best chance possible, to try it. Let her have free course to glorify herself. If she prefer a public life to a private one, she has a right to have it. If instead of being a wife and mother she chooses, or is necessitated for any reason, to strike out into an independent career and try her fortune among the competing fortunes of men, it is her unquestionable right to do so, and to receive honorable recognition according to her ability. If she desire the highest education in our schools and colleges,—as good as that which we give to any of our men,—why should she not have it? It is her right as one of the members of society; as one of the children of the State. To the individual woman—as to the individual man—nothing is to be denied, nothing withheld from her, which she thinks to be worthy of or necessary to her. So far as individual rights are concerned, woman is to be treated in all respects as on an equality with man. This is rapidly coming to be the conviction and the concession of society in general, as every year bears added testimony in the increasing opportunities given for the individual woman's culture and development.

But when we come to speak of woman in the aggregate, of woman as a sex, something more if not something different is to be said. Nature has drawn her own unmistakable line between the sex-capacities of woman and man, which neither can ignore without peril. It is plain that Nature intended that woman's sphere and woman's work should be different from those of man; and they who try to argue to the contrary only show their ignorance and their folly. Generically speaking, Nature's distinct purpose was that woman should live a private and man a public life; that woman should be the nourisher and man the creator; that woman should find her sphere in the home, and man his abroad in the world. If Nature didn't intend this as to the two sexes, then we don't know anything about Nature, and are utterly incapable to understand and interpret her in any respect. If Nature didn't intend this, then human society has been standing topsy-turvy from the beginning, and our entire civilization is a complete and ridiculous blunder.

If Nature, however, *did* mean to make, and actually has made, this distinction between the sex-capacities of men and women, then it is clear that whatever the individual woman may *exceptionally* undertake, women as a whole cannot with propriety attempt to go out of their sphere. If, for instance, the sex should universally deny their natural obligations to be wives and mothers; should refuse their natural duties to nurse, comfort, and inspire the generations; should scorn or neglect their natural gifts of grace, winsomeness, and beauty; should, in short, turn themselves out of doors and go in pursuit of men's vocations,—by so doing they would go as far as they could towards un-sexing themselves, inverting the order of Nature, and forfeiting that respect and deference which men as a rule so instinctively render to women. For, allow as we may and must, that the individual woman has the right—exceptional as we insist it is—to forego marriage and devote herself to external, worldly pursuits, it still remains true of woman as a sex that her natural destiny is to be a wife and mother, to fill the sphere of home, and to find her principal function in the discharge of domestic concerns. It is under this destiny and in the fulfilment of this calling that woman wins that love and homage from man which she naturally desires, and without which she would not be either permanently happy or useful. It follows, then, that whatever in woman's training would tend to divert her from her true vocation and unprepare her for her legitimate function would, as a rule, result in defeating her life's end and entailing upon her perpetual sorrow and disappointment. While, therefore, we should

not close the doors of our higher seminaries and colleges against such individuals of the sex as deliberately choose an exceptional career, it would seem far from desirable to encourage women in general to seek throughout an identical education with men, or to enter on the same pursuits.

The truth is, there was a deal of good sense and instinctive propriety in the old Oriental notion that the privacy of women should be carefully protected, and that they should not be exposed to public gaze and comment. Of course they carried this notion to absurd extremes, and were often very inconsistent in their observance of it. But it is just as true that in these days we are tending to the other extreme of demanding and allowing every publicity for women. Women are now eagerly competing with men for all public positions, and are even clamoring to enter the political arena and scramble with men for the loaves and fishes of partisan politics. The right of representation in government, we are prepared to admit, belongs equally to women as to men. But how that representation shall be had needs the wisest and coolest judgment to decide. Not all men are fit to be intrusted with the suffrage, and a *fortiori* not all women. It by no means follows, however, that because some classes of citizens do not vote they therefore are not represented in the government, have no influence in forming it, or fail to have their interests considered by it. All classes of citizens are protected by the government, and all are legislated for according to their needs, whether they vote or not. This at least is the theory of our republican government, and this too is its practice to a large extent. Women have never voted in Massachusetts; and yet we have the authority of one of the best legal writers in the State for the assertion that women are more favored by the laws of Massachusetts than men. The mere right of voting is not worth half so much as some people fancy, especially in a country where speech and press are free. *Public opinion* is the real government in America; and this is affected by the life and character and utterance of every intelligent and virtuous citizen, male or female.

We are well convinced that a large majority of the refined and educated men in this country do not wish to see our women mixing in public politics; and this, not because they are in any wise inimical to the true rights and interests of women, but because they are more than friendly to them. If there is any one thing more than another that men fear to see in women, it is an approach to masculinity,—just as women hate to see in men a sign of effeminacy. It is a mutual instinct in the two sexes, that each demands of the other *just what naturally belongs to it*; and this, natural belonging cannot be maintained, if either sex rushes from its heaven-appointed sphere. There is a well-grounded apprehension on the part of men that the womanly name, if not the womanly nature, will be cheapened and coarsened by too much publicity; and what some public women treat us to, in the matter of masculine manners and gestures and fierce invective, does not tend to allay that apprehension. We are by no means prepared to say that women may not speak and act in public without violating either their own or man's sense of propriety. We certainly believe that they may; especially when we remember the sweet and pure presence of a Lucretia Mott on the platform, or that of the dignified Mary Eastman, with her flowing and elegant diction. But such as these (and there are others like them) are the few exceptions among the many. The point we make is this: as a rule, habitual publicity lowers the tone and quality of the feminine character,—as, indeed, it too often does the masculine. Moreover, the alternative is not presented to women of entering on public life, or of having no voice in nor influence on public opinion. Even if they should be intrusted with the right of suffrage,—as we little doubt they will be to some extent before long, if the ill-advised methods of certain "women's-rights" people do not defeat it,—there is no occasion for them to rush into publicity; as many thousands of men do not, who quietly visit the polls and then go about their private business. The pen belongs to woman as well as to man. We are not aware that Margaret Fuller ever stepped upon a public platform; and yet in her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* she has written wiser things for and about woman than we are in the habit of hearing in modern "women's-rights" meetings. In her private conversations, also, she instructed and inspired scores of men and women, and sent them forth as apostles of that higher culture which helps on the best civilization for all.

And this leads us to say at the close of all we have written, that what women need, as what men need,

is a higher *inspiration*, that shall enter into their private living, bringing them nobler motives, more unselfish aims, richer thoughts and feelings, and in short a loftier ideal by which to live. If this nation is to be saved from utter political and social demoralization, it must have introduced into the private lives of its men and women higher political and social ideals; its best citizens must set up a superior standard of living, and hold themselves and all others to it as strictly as may be. In love and friendship, no less than in learning, we must have a new culture; for a higher education, either for men or women, does not mean more Greek and Latin and mathematics, but a deepening and broadening sense of that social justice and that personal integrity which constitute the genius of character in the individual and the true foundation of a permanent State.

WAFER.

—It is clear that *hell* cannot yet be dispensed with; for what then would become of Kearney's rhetoric?

—It is beginning to be seen that Benjamin wants to be Governor. And that is the *Kearney!* of the whole matter.

—The new Pope and his newer secretary seem to be trying to mend the papal crockery-ware which their predecessor carelessly allowed to get broken.

—Charles Burleigh (son of the late C. C. Burleigh), with his young wife, sails in a few days to spend several years abroad, to perfect himself in art studies.

—David H. Clark, who has been resident speaker of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Mass., for the last three years, has resigned the position.

—It is announced that Mrs. Sara Andrews Spencer has purchased a half interest in *Woman's Words*, and will hereafter be one of its editors. The paper is published jointly in Philadelphia and Washington.

—Imperialism appears to be "getting its mad up" since the late attempts at assassination; and Russia and Germany especially are laying a rough hand upon socialism. But popular convictions and movements cannot be stamped out as one would some burning rags or paper.

—Dyer D. Lum, who was last year the candidate of the Greenback party for Lieutenant-Governor of this State, and who has been a valuable contributor to *THE INDEX* (now a resident of Washington), is passing his vacation in New England in the interest of the Labor and Greenback movement.

—It will cause sincere sadness to many to hear that Stephen H. Foster, one of the bravest of the brave captains of the Anti-Slavery struggle, is in feeble health. Mr. and Mrs. Foster—and both are entitled to equal honor—live on a handsome and well-cultivated farm of their own, just outside of Worcester.

—"It is not well for man to live alone." The Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, Mass., one of the associate editors of *THE INDEX*, has wisely come to this conclusion. And hence Miss Anna C. Garlin, of Providence, R.I., whose earnest and pleasant voice has been heard on reform and liberal platforms, and whose graceful pen is winning her a good place in literature, will hereafter be known as "Mrs. Spencer." We congratulate the Haverhill society, and we congratulate each and all.

—The recent triumph of suffrage in New Hampshire drew forth the following announcement of the event to the *Woman's Journal*: "Concord, N.H., Aug. 9, 1878. To our surprise and delight, the bill allowing women to vote in school-district meetings passed the House yesterday afternoon at half-past four o'clock, amid much cheering and clapping of hands, the ladies in the gallery joining in the manifestations of satisfaction. Conservative New Hampshire leads New England in this branch of reform. A. S. WHITE." Mrs. White is President of the New Hampshire Woman Suffrage Association.

—Rev. J. B. Thomson of the Free Congregational Church of Bloomington, Ill., is one of the ministers who look forward and not back. Though nominally in fellowship with Unitarianism, he is on its outermost rim. He was born and educated in England, and has been but a few years in this country. Excommunicated from the Methodist denomination for what was deemed heretical opinions, while the minister of a small church of that order in Pennsylvania, to which he drew a large support of liberals from the country all about, he became the preacher to the society over which he is now settled. Mr. Thomson spoke one or two Sundays ago before the Society of Cosman Hall, Florence, where he left an excellent

impression. He will breathe the salt air of the rock-beard coast of New England for a few weeks before assuming work on the prairies. D. H. C.

A NOTE ABOUT TYPES AND HIGHER LAW.

The Boston *Globe*, in printing from his manuscript Elizur Wright's opening remarks at the Heywood Indignation Meeting, made him write *Bonris* where he read (and meant to write) *Boccaccio*. If there is any such author as *Bonris*, he will have to blame bad chirography and the *Globe* for placing him between *Babelas* and the *Bible*, and thus exposing him to ignominious punishment by the Courts of the United States. This error THE INDEX of last week, in reprinting the remarks, inadvertently copied, and also omitted the following sentence:—

"Fellow citizens, whatever the Supreme Court of the United States may have decided in some other case, a law which would justify the arrest by Anthony Comstock and the subsequent sentence of Heywood proves itself not only unconstitutional but contrary to the higher law, as laid down in a book which the supporters of Comstock profess to reverence without seeming to be familiar with it."

This may require a word of explanation from the writer. He certainly did not mean to say that the Constitution of the United States, correctly interpreted, is contrary to "higher law," or that everything in the Bible is agreeable to it. But he did mean to say that the Comstock law, as applied to Heywood, whatever the Supreme Court may have said or decided, is not only unconstitutional but contrary to whatever of "higher law" is contained in the Bible. Doing evil that good may come is contrary to a law higher than any such opinion or decision of a court,—not because Paul said the damnation of those who attributed it to Christians was just, nor because Isaiah rejoiced over the downfall of those who practised it in his day, but because its effect is not favorable to good morals or good order in society. If the conduct of the righteous in administering the government does not commend itself to the consciences of the wicked, government is a failure. If the wicked administer the government, and in punishing one offence are allowed to commit another, it is a still worse failure.

Bad as the offence of transmitting indecent works through the mail is, the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to establish post-offices, does not appear to have given it any power over that subject; and if not, it belongs wholly to the people, as States or municipalities. But, however that may be, when the law is used to punish and suppress opinions that happen to be unpopular, it comes in collision with the only bulwark of human liberty which the Constitution contains.

The details, the superstructure of our boasted free government, are nothing after the bed-rock of its foundation is disintegrated. If this sapping and mining goes on,—with liars for miners, and political judges to apply the match,—by-and-by there will be nothing beneath us but sand and insincerity. E. W.

RUNNING NOTES.

BY L. K. W.

—Col. Ingersoll received \$30,000 for lecturing last season. Does Free Religion pay?

—It is said that the sacred books of the Chinese Buddhists weigh half a ton. But they have no weight with us.

—Truth has to be told a thousand times before it is accepted; but people will believe a lie as soon as they hear it.

—Every soul has inherited a part of the divine estate. The gift of God is not "salvation by faith," but the power to think, to feel, to act, to live.

—It is easy to be kind to the dead, but hard to be just to the living. We can speak well of those who are gone: can we not treat well those who are left?

—When a Unitarian minister is allowed the privilege of speaking from a Methodist pulpit, are we to infer that Methodists have embraced the tenets of Unitarianism, or that the Unitarian minister has embraced Methodism?

—The cause of liberty is best advanced by its advocates not abusing the privileges of liberty. Mr Heywood might be enjoying the blessings of home and family, instead of suffering the humiliation of prison-life, had he recognized this truth. He might have written within the limits of good taste without any sacrifice of principle. His work may not be obscene, but it is hardly up to the heights of good morals.

—A young man advertises in the Boston *Herald* of a recent date for a situation as salesman or accountant, and says "he has never preached or prayed in public, neither has been treasurer or superintendent of a Sabbath-school, or betrayed any confidence re-

posed in him; but relies for worldly success on the old-fashioned qualities of integrity, intelligence, good health, and good nature." Such a young man deserves to be employed by a person with as clean a record as he shows.

—The magic word of Christendom is "Jesus." This is the word that the Church conjures with. It is preached; it is prayed; it is sung. We have heard it until we are tired of hearing it. It is alike in oath and in hymn; in the saint's mouth and in the sinner's. The pride of another man's goodness that fills the hearts of Christians is no virtue. This eternal boasting of the greatness of Jesus is but the sign of our own listlessness. We want the power that we praise in him, else are we but silly adulators and not men.

—The blessings of freedom are no less valuable and no less dear to the human heart for any man's injudicious exercise of his freedom. If a man says what is foolish or unwise, let us condemn his folly, not deprive him of his liberty. While we cannot say that his sentence was just, it seems to us that Mr. Heywood is more the victim of his own foolhardiness than a martyr to the cause of freedom. It is to be regretted that Mr. Heywood did not know that laws are designed to protect the morals of society as well as to secure the rights of individuals. We hope, however, that pardon will follow close upon imprisonment.

—Rev. Dr. Newman, of Washington, D.C., in a recent address said: "Mr. Chairman, the Church of God needs one thing. She needs an addition to her creed,—I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting." It needs a subtraction from her creed also. It wants the falseness and nonsense taken out of it. What the Rev. Dr. added (in italics) is about the only sensible thing in it. Why repeat this string of absurdities in an age like this? We do not want faith in a ghost, but faith in the actual living facts around us. We do not want a God who can die and come to life again, but one that cannot die.

—The public mind does not need to be agitated; it needs to be settled. If any one can speak wise words, let us hear them. We do not deny that the "times are out of joint;" but they cannot be righted by using bad language. The country will get no help from the shirt-sleeve oratory and sanguinary eloquence to which our senses have been treated of late. If Mr. Kearney expects to convert the common-sense of New England to his opinions, he has got to use different arguments from what he has yet employed. Is a man a murderer, a thief, because he is fortunate enough to be able to have a hundred-dollar government bond in his pocket-book? What sort of moral logic is this? We do not need a King of killers; a Ruler of rioters; a Lord of tramps. The elements are not in this section of the country to which Mr. Kearney can appeal with any success. We cannot remedy the working-man's wrongs by depriving the rich of their rights.

—Some newspapers are fond of quoting evidences of growing liberality among the many Christian denominations. It is true that modern investigation has forced the Christian pulpit into assuming a less offensive attitude on some religious questions, and that what is flatteringly called the "spirit of the age" has manifested serious objection to certain old theological dogmas; but that any essential doctrine of Christianity has been abandoned, or any important change made in the creed of Christendom, we cannot see. Some of the postulates of the Christian theology are not pushed to their logical conclusions as they once were; but this fact merely shows that the preachers of Christianity have adopted different methods of interpreting their assumptions. The vital doctrines of the Christian Church have not undergone any real change, and the liberality that is so apparent to many is only the forced pleasantness of the physician in administering a disagreeable potion. We shall recognize the liberality of Christians when they give up their illiberal doctrines; but as long as they teach that "faith in Christ is the only way of salvation," they are in no immediate danger of becoming liberal.

WHEN HE CEASES to be an advocate and speaks judicially, Mr. Phillips is a sage; and his table-talk would be as good as Selden's, if anybody chose to report it. It is a pity somebody should not, and also that the golden arrows of eloquence that he has been shooting from his easy bow for more than forty years should not be collected, austere revised, and edited for the generations that will not have the pleasure of hearing his voice. If I were President Eliot and could do as I pleased at Harvard, I would instantly appoint Mr. Phillips Professor of Oratory there, and thus do something to retrieve the years that have been wasted in that university without training its graduates to public eloquence. Harvard should long ago have made Mr. Emerson a professor, and now it should lose no more time in attracting Mr. Phillips thither.—F. B. Sanborn.

"ROVER," beloved dog of Good Will Fire Company of Harrisburg, Pa., died recently. He was a white Newfoundland, above the average size of the breed, and had greatly endeared himself to the members of the company by his faithful attendance at fires and parades, and his affectionate disposition. After death he lay in state for several hours in the engine-house. He was placed in a neat pine box upon a bed of fresh myrtle leaves. Flowers and geranium leaves were strewn over the body, and small flags were placed about the box. At nightfall, when nearly two-thousand persons had visited the engine-house, the dog was buried in the yard surrounding the building, and the fire-bell was tolled in his honor.—Exchange.

Communications.

LETTER FROM MRS. DENTON.

WELLESLEY, Mass., July 26, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The question, as I understand it, is not whether Congress has a right to "regulate the entire postal system of the country," but whether Congress has a right so to regulate that system that, while you may be permitted the use of the mails for sending certain documents safely to their destination, I may be refused their use for sending the same documents, or may be subjected to fine and imprisonment for having sent them. No one will complain when the so-called obscenity-law shall have been made sufficiently definite and impartial, and shall be impartially administered. But it is time to speak (and we have a right to be heard), whenever we find on the statute-books any law that discriminates in favor of theories, or that may be used for silencing discussion of any of the more important questions before the attention of this thoughtful age.

The necessity for the utmost care in the use of the language employed in this discussion I very freely admit, and believe it should be most strenuously insisted upon. I nevertheless see the necessity (and I think you will admit it) for calling things by their right names, whenever this is essential to their proper characterization, or to a correct understanding of the author's idea. That Mr. Heywood would be as ready to avow these sentiments as either you or I, I have not a shadow of doubt. That it was his purpose to trespass upon the rights of good taste, or of a cultivated sense of propriety, I do not for a moment believe. What I do believe is that, seeing the apathy, the inexcusable indifference of the community, radical as well as conservative, to a subject which must be regarded as of the very first importance in any effort for the regeneration of the race, he attempted to arouse attention to that subject by showing us a measure of the degradation in which we are involved. It may be easy to criticize his choice of language in the attempt to do this. It is not easy to answer his arguments. And with the terrible facts to which he refers everywhere staring us in the face, it is difficult to understand by what method any thinking person can maintain his or her integrity and still ignore the pressing need for this discussion.

Whatever may be said of the remedy proposed by Mr. Heywood, it is sufficiently evident that where the monogamic system of marriage prevails, there exists a class of evils that for thousands of years has defied the wisest legislative efforts of the nations adopting it. And it still defies them. Shall we then be forbidden all inquiry as to the why and wherefore of its existence? It is also evident that in our own time, and in its present form, marriage as a system falls of the high purposes for which it is ostensibly perpetuated. Shall we also be forbidden all inquiry as to the cause or causes of such failure? And can we hope to make such inquiry successful without studying the natural relations of the sexes, their needs, and the conditions of their mutual dependence?

Whether it be true, as intimated in *Cupid's Yokes*, that the marriage system, in its present form and with its existing methods, is neither more nor less than a system of gambling supported by law, and as such demoralizing in its immediate tendencies, and ruinous in its prospective results,—it is true that so long as it may compel one unloving pair to live a lie, its morality should be questioned and its tendencies discussed as fearlessly as we would question the morality and discuss the tendencies of any other system that may subject us to wrong and outrage. Humanity is above all its institutions, and the rights of society are secondary to those of the individual.

Truly yours, ELIZABETH M. F. DENTON.

WANTED—WHAT?

DEAR MR. STEVENS:—

I have been reading the advertisement for a new religion, which appears in a late number of the *North American Review*. The writer, who signs himself "Evolutionist," has apparently some good-fellowing, with a smattering of knowledge and a scattering of intelligence; but it is plain that he is far from deep in that "science" of which he talks, having learned the little he knows of it from some few treatises designed for general reading, together with the *Popular Science Monthly* and similar periodical publications; and the ignorant, implicit confidence with which he assumes as proven fact the most extreme conclusions, or rather guesses, of its more speculative professors would be amusing if it were not pitiable. As a writer, in short, "Evolutionist" does not merit notice. Unhappily, he has claims to attention on another score. He represents a state of feeling which, as every good observer must be aware, is prevalent and growing in our time, and which is to be reckoned among its most ominous features. No man with an eye in the head can fail to see that great numbers share more or less,—and that, to judge from existing tendencies, greater numbers are likely soon to share,—the impressions to which he has surrendered his mind, what mind he has. Great and growing numbers look upon the old religion as antiquated, and are persuaded that we must ere long have either a new one or none at all. You yourself, I suppose, are of that opinion. You have not arrived at the raw naturalism of "Evolutionist;" but you agree with him in thinking that the alternative for the future is a new religion or none; and it is obvious that an impression to such effect spreads daily.

A Christian believer, like myself, can but regard this as a portentous delusion, and cry in anguish of heart, "How long, O Lord, how long?" That it is

but for a time, I know full well. Spread as this dreadful delusion may, its progress will surely be arrested. Endure as the mysterious dispensations of Providence may permit it to do, its term is appointed: it can endure but for a season. There is one religion that out of question was true once. Revealed by God in Jesus Christ, it proved itself true by bringing newness of life to a death-stricken world. This is a style of evidence that verifies itself. Truth alone has life-giving power. You may doubt the resurrection of Lazarus: you cannot doubt the moral resurrection of the ancient world at the call of the Christian Gospel. Was such power in a lie? You dare not say it; you cannot think it. But what was true once is so now. Truth is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Therefore, with whatever griefs a contemplation of existing tendencies may afflict my soul, I am unshakably sure that the old religion will abide and triumph. From the Eternal it came, and with the Eternal it will live. Death is not for it, but for those who fall away from it. For them, and not for the Christian faith, I fear.

Nevertheless, on the side of this true and indestructible faith there is somewhat to be desired. It is not now proving itself true by power such as it once had. In the churches there is a too frequent declension from its moral standards, as out of them there is a falling away from it altogether. Had it power as of old, no such evils would appear. Why is it enfeebled? What has made the everlasting truth seem doubtful to so many? The answer is, it is now under a disguise, and not showing its face clearly. The doctrines of revealed religion are true, but I admit that they do not appear so. Truth is reasonable; and not a few of these doctrines seem far from reasonable. Truth consists with all fact; and many of these doctrines seem rather to be expressly contradicted by facts which, if of recent discovery, are unquestionable. Accordingly, apparent fact and reason are on one side, and truth on the other. This is the calamity. Hence it is that unbelief spreads. And while that lamentable discrepancy continues, unbelief will go on spreading.

Our want in this emergency is a new philosophy which shall enable us to present the old and everlasting religion to ourselves first, and then to others, as in harmony with all reason and all fact. At this point it is that we who still uphold the Orthodox Christian faith have made our great mistake. We have decried reason as carnal, when we should have been seeking its aid. We have impotently questioned the facts of science, when we should have been building a philosophical stairway from them to the heights of revealed truth. Perhaps it would be better, certainly it would seem to be safer, if men were not inclined to reason about religion, or if they would unanimously forbear to compare its sacred truth with facts ascertained by science, by Biblical and historical criticism, or by the restless investigation of our age in whatever province. Let me honestly confess, though I excite your derision by doing so, that I myself cannot help looking back with a certain envy to times when men went quite unscientifically to heaven, innocent alike of our knowledge and our doubts. They knew little, but they knew the way to the blest abodes. We who have learned so much of which they were ignorant, and in learning it have lost the way,—are we happier? Have we really gained? It is a vain question I am aware; and perhaps Providence is accused by the regret which asks it. At any rate the past is past, and its mental states irrecoverable. Men will think and study, and will apply their thought and study to religion, as to all else. That is the existing fact, which it is vain to wish away. And it is a fact which we Orthodox—I own it—are not prepared to encounter. It has been our fearful blunder to make "freethinking" a term of reproach. We have looked coldly upon philosophy, and jealously upon science. Devoted not more to our religion than to the explanation of it made in other times, we have spent our labor in defending the indefensible and resisting the irresistible. The consequence is that on the one hand the rationalizing tendency (of which "Evolutionist" is a cheap representative) is completely in the ascendant, while on the other hand our divine religion seems irrational.

Make the most of the confession you will, there it is! I have long made it to myself; I now make it to you, and put the burden of it off my heart. The fact is,—and I will no longer be a party to its concealment,—that while our religion rests upon immovable foundations, not one of its leading doctrines consists apparently with what men spontaneously think, or with a great body of facts which are becoming known to all. Now it is easy to cast ridicule upon an enlightened dunce like "Evolutionist," of whom it might seem easy to believe that he is descended from a line of well-disposed monkeys! What would it avail, however? It is not by thinking him a conceited simpleton that souls are to be saved from death. The world is to be saved, now as of old, through faith in the divine Redeemer. From that faith, in which alone is healing, many have wandered; and how are they to be brought back? How, unless we can convince them that our religion is rational; that is, consistent with all the facts, moral, historical, and physical, of whose reality none can doubt? But the sad truth is that at present we do not and cannot present it in that light. So far infidelity, absurd as it is, has us at a helpless disadvantage. Its positive doctrine—if it has any—is sorry stuff; its strength lies only in the weakness of the Orthodox position: but in this it finds strength enough, and too much.

Let me give an example. Death is in the world, with rage and cruelty and horror. Countless creatures live only by inflicting pain upon others. Murder, that man punishes, is for them the appointed means of existence. Hunger goesds them on, and they perish if they do not kill. All over the earth it

goes on,—in the sea, on the land, in the air; every moment the crack of crunched bones, the spurt of hot blood, the quivering of torn flesh. I shudder to think how many creatures are expiring in agony while I write this line. A strange world, with so much that is lovely in it, and so much also that is hateful and horrible! And when we add that millions of our own kind, after the storms of this life, are to find rest only in everlasting perdition, the mystery becomes awful indeed! For nevertheless this world was made, and is momentarily ruled and ordered, by an Omnipotent Goodness, and not a sparrow falls to the ground without his notice. Almighty Goodness is in the teeth of the shark, the fang of the cobra, and the changeless woe of so many immortal souls. I say it and believe it: but how can I do it? Oh, for a clearer light! Could one but see through this terrible mystery! Now, the time was that Christian men thought they could and did see through it very clearly. Sin had brought death into the world; all was explained by Adam's transgression. To be sure, there were those who could not well understand why the whole human race should suffer because one man had done wrong. We were able, however, to dispose of their objections, perhaps by the aid of a little casuistry. It was not so clear how the brute creation could justly be made to suffer for the sin of man. The lamb that the wolf rends,—has it also a share in the transgression of Adam? We called it a mystery, and got comfortably past the matter. But now comes science, with its prying eye, and shows that death was in the world myriads of ages before man existed. And now what have we to say? The good President Hitchcock suggested that in this case, for a wonder, the consequence came first, and the antecedent followed! Adam was going to sin when he should get into existence some millions of years later, and the scheme of Nature was ordered in anticipation of the fault he would commit! It was a tempting suggestion, considering the strait we were in; and I confess that I once made use of it myself, in order to quell an obstreperous infidel, whose yawn became too annoying. But I was soon ashamed of the act, and confess it with shame now. It is strange that the brute world should suffer as an after consequence of Adam's fault; but that it should thus suffer as a preceding consequence is utterly confounding. Yet there is the fact. It is so; therefore it is so by Divine appointment. And that endless perdition of souls, to which all the utmost darkness of Nature is as the brightness of noonday,—this, too, was contemplated from the beginning. The loving kindness of a beneficent Creator is in it all; and no less in what is most dreadful than in that which most pleases and attracts: no less in the agonies of the torn lamb than in its innocent gambols an hour before; and no less in the everlasting death of one than in the life everlasting of another. Such is the truth; but how can it be the truth? How can we present it as reasonable to a world that must believe it or perish? I, for one, cannot so present it to myself. My mind revolts against it; and the more I think about it, the more I am troubled. I almost fear that should I think of it too much I would be forced into infidelity, blind and foolish and—I would spare you the word if I could do so honestly—wicked as infidelity seems to me. Therefore I say the great desideratum now is a new philosophy, which shall show us that what seems reasonable is precisely that which is not so, and that what seems wholly unreasonable is in fact true reason.

It were easy to multiply examples; for from the doctrine of infallible inspiration, with which revealed religion necessarily begins, to the last article of the creed, the case is much the same: we know that the doctrine is substantially true, if perhaps faulty in form; and we know also that it is at present irreconcilable with reason, with morals, or with facts observed. Under these circumstances, I am indisposed to fall upon evolutionists, or upon any class of decent unbelievers, and to treat them with either railing or rally. Their position is easily accounted for. They are constitutionally incapable of believing that which seems plainly contradictory to reason and evidence. The doctrines of revealed religion do seem thus to them, and, as I freely confess, must seem thus under present conditions. They strike off, and endeavor to frame a religion for themselves. The notions in which they take refuge are indeed always groundless and often ridiculous; but it is in the nature of man to escape if possible from an old pain, even though it be but exchanged for a new and worse one. These aimless and fruitless excursions—alternating with an abandonment of the search and a disgust at all religion—will, I am persuaded, continue and increase until the Church shall be qualified to present its doctrine in a different aspect. And for this purpose a quite new philosophy is imperatively demanded.

What this philosophy should be I am ill prepared to say. In the attempt to anticipate its features, I might make an even more ludicrous figure than "Evolutionist" exhibits, when he undertakes to describe the worship that is to be. But two points must be established by it: first, that the highest real evidence consists in the want of apparent evidence; secondly, that divine truth is best confirmed by that which seems and ever must seem, to contradict it.

This may sound paradoxical; perhaps it is so, as thus stated. But take a case. There is no evidence that the books of the Bible were written by men infallibly inspired, or inspired at all. They are mostly anonymous, and the unknown writers did not even profess themselves inspired, or intimate that they wrote under unusual conditions. Even as human compositions, few of them claim a distinguished place in the world's literature, while not a few bear more than the customary marks of human limitation, ignorance, and error. But consider, on the other hand, the power of the Bible in history. How do you account for this effect? I say that the want of reason

to think it an inspired book itself constitutes the reason (in a higher sense) for believing that God is in it and working through it to produce conviction of divine truth.

Again, the doctrine of vicarious atonement is absurd, you will say. I agree with you. It is indeed absurd; a rational vindication of it, if it is looked at directly, and considered simply in itself, is impossible. Nevertheless, all the incomparable power of Christianity has been connected with it and inseparable from it. Who would for a moment put the effect of Aristotle's philosophy, vast as was the compass of the Stagyrte's understanding, on a par with that which has been wrought by this absurdity? Therefore, I say, the more contradictory to reason it is, the more reason in a higher sense to believe that God's truth is in it.

Now, I am incapable of expanding these suggestions into a systematic philosophy, for I am only an humble preacher of the Word, not a philosopher. But I have glimmerings of such a system. It must begin with a new logic, which shall enable us, somewhat in the manner just exemplified, to draw conclusion by way of opposition, or a partial opposition, to the premises. Conclusion by repulsion from the premise, I call it. And though the gospel will remain forever true, yet I do not see how men—that is, the more cultivated and thinking part of them—are to be convinced of its truth, unless this method of reasoning by way of repulsion from apparent facts and reasons shall be philosophically established. Till this is done, how are we who preach to speak the word with the eloquence of a perfect simplicity? At present, even while I am speaking what I know must be true, and the only saving truth, some little Satan squeaks out of a corner of my mind, "Between ourselves you are lying, you know." Must it always be the exclusive privilege of ignorant and thick-headed Christians, like Brother Moody, to speak evangelical truth with that unforced assurance of belief which makes belief in the hearer?

Why will not you radicals cease assailing Christianity; and, instead of wasting, and worse than wasting, your power in that mad way, aid us in devising and developing that philosophy, with its logic of contradiction or repulsion, which shall present the Orthodox Christian faith as utterly reasonable? You are somewhat fond, I suspect, of new things: here is a field for you. This philosophy will have the charm of novelty far beyond the guesses, already somewhat hackneyed, of Darwin and Huxley. I am asking aid of the enemy, I know; but the need is so great, and the sluggishness on our side so extreme, that at the risk of betraying weakness to one who will but exult over it, I am constrained to invite your assistance.

ORTHODOX.

SOCIALISM AND MARRIAGE.

An entertaining writer in the Parisian *Revue des Deux Mondes*, treating of German socialism, touches upon one phase of it which is worth considering,—the relation of its brilliant apostle, Ferdinand Lassalle, with women. This man, who was a scholar and a politician, seems to have been as great a libertine as Aaron Burr or Lord Byron. The French writer calls him "the profound commentator on Heraclitus and the paramour of the Countess Hatzfeldt," and adds that he boasted "he had never met a woman capable of resisting him." Now laxity of morals is, unfortunately, not confined to men of dangerous political opinions; but there does seem to be a natural and close connection between the doctrines of communism and the practice of free love. The Anabaptists of Germany in Luther's time were examples of this; the disciples of Fourier were shipwrecked on this rock; and many of the American communists have set their faces in the same direction. Even those who, like the Shakers, preserve themselves pure from vice do so at the cost of renouncing marriage altogether.

In fact, there is hardly an argument in favor of a compulsory community of goods which does not hold equally true in favor of a community of women. What right has a monopolist to claim for himself the exclusive control of his wife? What claim has any woman to the sole companionship of her husband? Are not the gifts of Nature free, and can anything be more the gift of Nature than companionship between the sexes? This is the way the rascals argue, when they have convinced you that land and water, capital and labor, and all that they have produced, should be used as a common fund for the whole human race,—to be distributed according to laws and votes, and not by the toil and frugality of individuals. And it is by appealing to the passions, as well as to the necessities and sympathies of mankind, that the communists make converts to their doctrine.

An old and injurious proverb declares that two out of every three physicians are atheists. The proportion of sexual libertines among outright communists is probably quite as great as this. And this is one reason why these men never can become a majority, or even a respectable minority, of any people among the Teutonic races. The family tradition and the family instinct are too strong among men, and still more among women, to permit such opinions to prevail. Even among the Mormons, where the powerful aid of religion has been called in to support a modified form of communism and a system of polygamy, the whole political and social structure is now giving way under the natural influences of Anglo-Saxon traditions and habits of thought. But it is well to remember that the philanthropic outside of the socialist system of government often conceals the iniquities of free love, as well as the senselessness of agrarianism.—*Springfield Republican*.

EVERY ONE is as God made him,—and oftentimes a great deal worse.—*Don Quixote*.

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Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1875. Contains Essays by Wm. C. Gannett, on "The Present Constructive Tendencies in Religion," and by Francis E. Abbot, on "Construction and Destruction in Religion," and addresses by T. W. Higginson, Lucretia Mott, Chas. G. Ames, O. B. Frothingham, B. F. Underwood, S. P. Putnam, and E. S. Morse.

Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wilson and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,—together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by O. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Dangers to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

THE ALBANY *Argus* shows that there are \$2,570,000 of untaxed church property in that city.

THE *Independent* defends its doctrine that Comstock has a right to lie and cheat in order to entrap the "rats" he pursues, but admits that it is "strong meat, which is good for men if not for babes." Aye, it is indeed strong meat—so strong that "its offence is rank, and smells to heaven." The *Independent* furnishes another instance of the corrupting influence of Christianity on natural morality. If the *Independent* is right, so are the Jesuits in declaring that "the end justifies the means." Generalize your argument, good *Independent*, and it comes down to that. Can you deny it?

THIS ARGUMENT for the redemption of greenbacks, published in the *Tribune*, only makes a good cause ridiculous: "Sir,—Some of the greenback men say they do not want the greenbacks redeemed. To compare small things with great, what would the human race be without a Redeemer? God in vindication of the justice of his holy law, was compelled to sacrifice his only Son, in order to redeem man; and can man stamp any amount on a piece of paper and make it worth that amount, without anything of intrinsic value to redeem it? What God could not do with justice, man cannot do with justice."

CHARLES BRADLAUGH, in his annual address before the National Secular Society of London, said: "One hundred and ten years ago, John Wilkes destroyed general warrants; in 1878, Mrs. Besant and myself have destroyed general indictments. No person can in future be put in peril of criminal trial for spoken or written words unless those words be clearly and distinctly stated. This is, at least, one solid advantage gained out of all that wearying litigation. Another thing we have shown is that the highest Courts of Judicature in our land will listen patiently while unpopular defendants plead even against the highest legal talent. The trial is remarkable in this country as the first effort of a woman's successful pleading in *banco*, and the first instance of uninterrupted speech by a woman *à nisi prius*, defending her own case."

THE *Advertiser* gives a good argument in the form of a good joke: "A correspondent of the *Portland Argus*, a Democrat who does not intend to be sold out to the greenbackers, tells of an answer he gave the other day to a soft-money man who had declared that no paper currency ever was redeemable in gold and silver. Said this greenhorn: 'You start a bank and issue \$100,000 in bills and keep on hand only \$10,000 in coin to redeem your bills; how can you call that redemption?' To which the sensible Democrat replied that 'there are over forty thousand people in Portland, all of whom will need coffins some time; but we have no need of forty thousand coffins constantly on hand.' The retort was one of the best that has been made in the long and weary discussion with persons who set all experience at defiance in their arguments for paper money."

THIS IS the kind of "morality" for which the churches display the most concern: "Something in the form of an ecclesiastical judgment seems to have been rendered in Dover, Del., by Chancellor Saulebury, of the Court of Chancery. The case under consideration was one in which J. B. Quigg, a stockholder in the Rehoboth Beach Camp-meeting Association, sought for a writ of injunction to restrain the proprietor of the Bright House, at that place, from permitting dancing, card-playing, and other amusements to take place in the house, on the ground that such things were contrary to morality as taught by the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and therefore in violation of the charter of the place. In the course of argument the chancellor gave emphatic expression to the opinion that dancing was in violation of the morality of the Methodist Episcopal

Church. When counsel ventured to dissent from this idea, the chancellor reiterated it, adding that there was no doubt in his mind that the practice of dancing was prohibited by the discipline of the Methodist Church, and that arguments on this point would be useless."

CANON FARRAR, in *Social Notes* (London), speaks of the need of arousing attention in the student, and relates some amusing anecdotes of mistakes that pupils have made for want of it. "When a boy," he declares, "said that algebra was a sort of wild donkey all over stripes, it did not show that the boy was stupid or ignorant, but only that nobody had ever told him what algebra was." When he was a teacher at Harrow and Marlborough, Canon Farrar says he used often in joke to tell his pupils that no answer, however ignorant, could possibly amaze him, because "they had ossified the power of astonishment." He further relates that 'one of the most powerful and lucid lecturers who ever lived told me that on one occasion he had been delivering a lecture upon 'the brain,' which seemed to him to be as clear as human words could make it; but at the end of the lecture a lady came smiling up to him, complimenting him on the interest and value of his lecture; 'but,' she said, 'Professor Huxley, I never knew before that we had some of our brains outside our skulls!' I have heard that at one of the universities, a student being asked to describe the chief source of revenue in the Shetland Isles, remarked that the inhabitants 'acquired a precarious subsistence by washing one another's clothes,' without its ever having occurred to him how very precarious a revenue obtained from washing one another's clothes would be!'"

HERE is an instance of the perverse and disingenuous trickery by which Orthodoxy habitually seeks to get the authority of every great name in favor of its own superstition. We quote from the *Sunday School Times* of August 24: "Ralph Waldo Emerson has never been suspected of narrowness or bigotry in his religious convictions; but he is too close an observer and too strong a thinker and too honest a man not to recognize and to rejoice in the fact of an over-ruling Providence shaping and directing the affairs of life,—the life of nations and the life of individuals. In his last published lecture, 'Fortune of the Republic,' he expresses his rest in this conviction with an explicitness which would do credit to a class-room in Princeton Theological Seminary. 'Our helm,' he says, 'is given up to a better guidance than our own; the course of events is quite too strong for any helmsman, and our little wherry is taken in tow by the ship of the great Admiral [the Captain of our salvation, as the Bible phrases it], which knows the way, and has the force to draw men and States and planets to their good. Such and so potent is this method by which the divine providence sends the chiefest benefits under the mask of calamities, that I do not think we shall by any perverse ingenuity prevent the blessing.' This is a hyper-Calvinistic statement of the truth; an assertion of what was called in 'Old School' parlance 'irresistible grace'; but the broadest Arminian would admit that it is a doctrine vastly preferable to bald materialism or to blind fatalism. Emerson also may now be ranked 'among the prophets.'" Observe the sly interpretation of Mr. Emerson's phrase, "the great Admiral," slipped in between brackets, as if Mr. Emerson meant to allude to Jesus Christ; whereas the *Times* knows perfectly well that he meant no such thing. Nothing is implied in Mr. Emerson's phrase except the pantheistic or semi-pantheistic optimism which has characterized his thought from the beginning; but the great swindle of claiming him as a devout believer in the "Captain of our salvation" has already begun to be executed, and Mr. Emerson can hardly expect to fare better than Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, Gerrit Smith, or a host of others equally belied in this respect.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Victor Hugo's Oration on Voltaire.

TRANSLATED BY CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

It is an hundred years to-day that a man died. He died immortal. He went charged with years, charged with labors, charged with responsibilities the most illustrious and the most redoubtable,—the responsibility of the human conscience informed and rectified. He is gone cursed and blessed,—cursed by the past, blessed by the future: and these, messieurs, are the two superb forms of glory. He had beside his death-bed on the one side the acclamations of contemporaries and posterity; on the other that triumph of hissing and of hate wherewith the implacable past assails those who combat it. He was more than a man; he was an age. He had exercised a function and fulfilled a mission. He had evidently been elected for the work which he had made, by the Supreme Will which is manifested as visibly in the laws of destiny as in the laws of Nature. The eighty-four years which this man lived occupied the interval which separates the monarchy at its apogee from the Revolution in its dawning. When he was born, Louis XIV. yet reigned; when he died, Louis XVI. was already reigning. Thus his cradle saw the last rays of the grand throne, and his coffin felt the first heavings of the grand abyss.

Before proceeding further, let us reflect, messieurs, on this word abyss. There are good abysses; these are the abysses where evil is engulfed. Messieurs, since I have interrupted myself, suffer me to complete my thought. No word imprudent or mischievous shall be uttered here. We are here to perform an act of civilization. We are here to make affirmation of progress; to display to the philosophers the good fruits of philosophy; to bring to the eighteenth century the witness of the nineteenth; to honor the generous combatants and the good servants; to felicitate the noble effort of peoples,—industry, science, the brave march forward, the work; to cement human concord; in a word, to glorify peace, that sublime universal will. Peace is civilization's virtue. War is for it the crime. We are here, in this great moment, in this solemn hour, to bow religiously before the moral law, and to tell the world which is listening to France, There is but one power,—conscience serving justice; and only one glory,—genius serving truth.

That said, I continue. Before the Revolution, messieurs, the structure of society was this:— The people at the bottom. Above the people, religion represented by the clergy. At the side of religion, justice represented by the magistracy. And at that moment in human society, what was the people? It was ignorance. What was religion? It was intolerance. And what was justice? It was injustice.

Do my words go too far? Judge of it. [The orator records the harsh acts of justice against faith to denounce which Voltaire had so eloquently raised his voice. The writer whose centenary they celebrated had always taken on him the defence of the oppressed, and denounced the excessive rigor of the criminal laws which promulgated cruelties as atrocious as useless. M. Victor Hugo adds:] In presence of that society, frivolous and ingu-brious, Voltaire, alone having under his eyes all these forces assembled,—the court, the nobility, finance; that unconscious power, the blind people; that dreadful magistracy, so docile to the master, so hard upon the subjects, crushing and flattering, on its knees upon the people before the king; that sinister clergy compounded of hypocrisy and fanaticism,—Voltaire alone, I repeat it, declared war on this coalition of all the social iniquities—to that world enormous and terrible; and he accepted the battle. And what was his weapon? That which is light as the wind and powerful as thunder—a pen.

With this arm he fought; with it he conquered. Messieurs, let us salute this recollection. Voltaire has conquered. Voltaire has made the war of illumination, the war of one against all; that is to say the grand war,—the war of thought against material power; the war of reason against prejudice; the war of justice against injustice; the war for the oppressed against the oppressor; the war for beneficence; the war for sweetness. He had the tenderness of a woman and the furor of an hero. He had a great spirit and an immense heart. He has conquered the old code and the old dogma. He has conquered the feudal seignor, the Gothic

judge, the Roman priest. He has raised the populace to the dignity of a people. He has taught, pacified, and civilized. He has accepted every menace, every outrage, every persecution, calumny, exile. He has been indefatigable and irresistible. He has conquered violence by the smile, despotism by sarcasm, infallibility by irony, obstinacy by perseverance, ignorance by truth.

I came to pronounce that word,—the *smile*. I stop myself. The smile,—that is Voltaire.

Let us say it, messieurs,—for forbearance is the great side of the philosopher,—in Voltaire the suavity ends always by being reestablished. However just may be his anger it passes, and Voltaire irritated always gives place to Voltaire cool. Then in that deep eye the smile appears.

This smile,—it is wisdom. This smile, I repeat it,—it is Voltaire. The smile sometimes becomes a laugh, but the philosophic sadness tempers it. For the side of strength it is mockery; for the side of weakness it is gentleness. It disquiets the oppressor and reassures the oppressed. Ah! be touched by this smile. It has had in it the brightness of the morning. It has illuminated truth, justice, goodness, and whatever is honest in the useful; it has lighted up the interior of superstitions,—those shades are good to see; it has changed them. Being light, it has been fertile. The new society,—the desire of equality and of concession,—and that beginning of fraternity which calls itself tolerance, good-will reciprocated, the placing in proportion of men and of rights, reason recognizing supreme law, the effacement of obstructive prejudice, the serenity of souls, the spirit of indulgence and of pardon, harmony, peace,—behold what has come of this great smile!

The day is undoubtedly approaching when will be recognized the identity of wisdom and of clemency; the day when the amnesty will be proclaimed. I affirm it, up yonder in the stars, Voltaire will smile.

Messieurs, there is between two servants of humanity, who have appeared at an interval of eighteen hundred years, a mysterious sympathy, a mysterious connection.

To combat pharisaism; to unmask imposture; to denounce tyrannies, usurpations, prejudices, lies, superstitions; to demolish the temple in order to rebuild it,—that is to say, to replace the false by the true; to attack the ferocious magistrature; to attack the sanguinary priesthood; to take a whip and chase the sellers from the sanctuary; to reclaim the heritage of the disinherited; to protect the feeble, the poor, the suffering, the exhausted; to fight for the persecuted and oppressed,—this is the war of Jesus Christ; and what man has fought this war? It is Voltaire.

The gospel work has for complement the work of philosophy; the spirit of mildness has commenced, the spirit of tolerance has continued. Let us say it with a sentiment of profound respect,—Jesus has wept, Voltaire has smiled. It is that divine tear and that human smile which make the sweetness of civilization actual.

Did Voltaire always smile? No; he often was indignant. You have seen it in our first words.

Certainly, messieurs, measure, reserve, proportion, that is the supreme law of reason. We may even say that moderation is the very respiration of philosophy. The effort of the wise man should be to condense into a kind, placid certitude all the little doubts of which philosophy is composed. Yet at certain moments the enthusiasm of truth arises strong and violent; and it is its right, like the great winds which purify. Never, I insist on it, will the wise man disturb those two majestic pillars for the support of social labor,—justice and hope; and all will respect the judge if he incarnates justice, and all will reverence the priest if he represents hope. But if the magistrature is called the torture, if the Church is called the Inquisition, then humanity will look them in the face, and say to the judge, "I will none of thy law!" and say to the priest, "I will none of thy dogma! I will none of thy prison on earth nor of thy hell in heaven!" Then the philosopher arises angered, and denounces the judge to justice, and denounces the priest to God.

This is what Voltaire has done. He is grand. What Voltaire has been, I have said. What his century was, I come to tell.

Messieurs, the great men rarely are alone. The great trees seem greater when they dominate a forest; they are there at home. There is a forest of spirits round Voltaire; this forest is the eighteenth century. Amidst these spirits there are summits,—Montesquieu, Buffon, Beaumarchais; and two others, after Voltaire the highest,—Rousseau and Diderot. These thinkers have taught men how to reason. To reason well leads to doing well; justice in the spirit becomes justice in the heart. These workmen of progress have labored usefully. Buffon has founded naturalism; Beaumarchais has discovered, beyond Molière, an unknown comedy, almost the social comedy; Montesquieu has made so deep researches in the law as to succeed in bringing up the right. As for Rousseau, as for Diderot, let us speak of these two names apart. Diderot—vast, inquiring intellect, tender heart, thirsty for justice—wished to furnish certain notions for the basis of true ideas, and has created the Encyclopædia. Rousseau has rendered woman an admirable service; has completed the mother by the wet nurse; has put the one near to the other,—those two majesties of the cradle. Rousseau—writer eloquent and pathetic, orator reflective and profound—has often divined and declared political truth: his ideal contains the real. The civic fibre vibrates in Rousseau; that which vibrates in Voltaire is the fibre universal. One can only say that in this prolific eighteenth century Rousseau represents the people; Voltaire, vaster still, represents man.

These cogent writers have disappeared; but they have left to us their soul,—the Revolution.

Yes, the French Revolution is their soul. She is

their shining emanation. She comes from them. We discover them everywhere in this beneficent and superb catastrophe which has made the closing of the past and the opening of the future. In that transparency which is proper to revolutions, and which through the senses leaves the effects apparent, and through the first plan the second,—in that transparency we see behind Diderot Danton, behind Rousseau Robespierre, and behind Voltaire Mirabeau. Those have created these.

Messieurs, to recall epochs in the names of men, to name the centuries by the kind of human persons produced in each,—this has been given to three peoples only: Greece, Italy, France. We say the age of Pericles, the age of Augustus, the age of Leo X., the age of Louis XIV., the age of Voltaire. These appellations have a grand meaning. This privilege—to give names to eras, exclusively proper to Greece, Italy, and France—is the highest mark of civilization. Until Voltaire, there are the names of chiefs of States: Voltaire is more than a chief of a State; he is a chief of ideas. With Voltaire a new cycle commences. People feel that hereafter the highest ruling power of the human race will be thought. Civilization obeyed force; it will obey the ideal. It is the breaking of the sceptre and the sword to replace them by the ray of light; that is to say, authority transmuted into liberty. No other sovereign for the people but the law, and conscience for the individual. For each of us these two aspects of progress clearly disengage themselves: to exercise one's right, that is to say, to be a man; to accomplish one's duty, that is to say, to be a citizen.

Such is the signification of this word, *the age of Voltaire*; such is the meaning of this supreme event, *the French Revolution*.

The two memorable centuries which preceded the eighteenth prepared it. Rabelais warned royalty in *Gargantua*, and Molière warned the Church in *Tartuffe*. The hatred of force and the respect for right are visible in these two illustrious spirits.

Whoever says to-day "*Force is before right*," does an act proper to the Middle Age, and speaks to the men of three centuries ago.

Messieurs, the nineteenth century glorifies the eighteenth. The eighteenth proposes, the nineteenth achieves. And my last word will be the declaration, calm but inflexible, of progress.

The time is come. The right has found its formula,—the federation of humanity.

To-day force is called violence, and begins to be judged. Civilization, on the complaint of humanity, instructs the process, and prepares the great criminal indictment of conquerors and captains. This testimony is called history. The severe reality appears. The false lights are dissipating. In many cases the hero is found to be a variety of the assassin. Peoples come to understand that the magnitude of guilt is not its diminution; that if to kill is a crime, to kill much is not an extenuating circumstance; that if to steal is a shame, to invade cannot be a glory; that a *Te Deum*, after all, is no great thing; that homicide is homicide; that blood shed is blood shed; that it counts for nothing to be called Cæsar or Napoleon; and that in the eyes of the Eternal God it changes not the nature of a murderer whether we make him wear a felon's cap or set upon his head an emperor's crown.

Ah! proclaim we then these verities as absolute. Let us dishonor war. No, the bloody glory does not exist. No, it is not good, it is not useful, to make corpses. No, it cannot be that life works for death. No, O mothers who surround me! It must not be that war—that robber—shall continue to prey upon your children. No, it cannot be that woman brings forth in travail, that men are born, that peoples labor and produce, that the peasant tills the fields and workmen enrich the cities, that the thinkers meditate, that industry does marvels, that genius produces prodigies, that the vast human activity multiplies, in presence of the starry heavens, efforts and creations, only to end in that frightful international exposition which they call a field of battle.

The true field of battle,—see it! It is the exhibition of the best fruits of human labor which Paris offers to the world just now!

The true victory,—it is the victory of Paris!

Alas! we must not deceive ourselves. The actual hour, worthy as it is of admiration and respect, has yet dark sides; there are still clouds on the horizon; the tragedy of peoples is not finished. War, scoundrel war, is yet there, and it has the insolence to raise its head over this august feast of peace. The princes since two years persist fatally on the wrong side; their discord is an obstacle to our concord, and they are evilly inspired to condemn us because we make the contrast.

Let this contrast remind us of Voltaire. In presence of the most menacing eventualities, let us be more peaceful than ever. Turn we towards the great dead, towards the great living, towards the grand spirit. Incline we before the memorable sepulchres. Demand we counsel at that one whose life, useful to man, has been extinguished for an hundred years, but whose work is immortal. Demand we counsel from the other puissant thinkers, from the auxiliaries of this glorious Voltaire,—from Jean Jacques, from Diderot, from Montesquieu. Give we the word to these grand voices. Let us arrest the effusion of human blood. Enough! Enough! despot! Ah! the barbarity persists; well, let philosophy protest. The sword is unsheathed; let civilization be indignant. Let the eighteenth century come to the succor of the nineteenth. The philosophers, our predecessors, are the apostles of truth. Invoke we these illustrious phantoms! They proclaim the right of man to life, the right of conscience to liberty, the sovereignty of reason, the sanctity of labor, the beneficence of peace; and, since light comes from the thrones, let light come from the tombs!

[FOR THE INDEX.]

LIBERAL CONFERENCE AT SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, LONDON.

REPORTED IN ABSTRACT BY L. E. WASHBURN.

"At the annual meeting of the members of South Place Chapel on Jan. 27, 1878, it was suggested that further use might be made of the Society and its organization by inviting to a General Conference all those liberal thinkers in the country who could unite for unsectarian work, and assist in the promotion of truth wherever it might be found."

Acting upon this suggestion and in accordance with a resolution offered to the same effect, a circular of invitation was issued in the month of April, soliciting the attendance of those who were in sympathy with the movement at a General Conference to be held on June 13 and 14, from 12 o'clock to 5 P.M. each day, for the "discussion of matters pertaining to the religious needs of our time and the methods of meeting them." From the report of the Conference we learn that about four hundred persons attended the sessions, representatives from different parts of the kingdom being present.

Mr. M. D. Conway, in behalf of the Committee of the South Place Society, welcomed the attendants, and announced Dr. George J. Wyld as chairman of the meeting. Dr. Wyld, upon taking the chair, spoke as follows:—

He felt that the great want among liberal religionists at the present time was unity and visible combination. Liberals had been "playing for their own bat" and "beating their own drum" long enough. It was time that this state of disintegration should end, and that the various bodies of freethinkers and individual freethinkers should be brought more within hailing distance of each other. He thought it trite to remark upon the benefits of combination, declaring that everything at the present day showed that cooperation and organization were the secrets of success. He deprecated the grounds for discouragement of growth and development of free thought, and said if free religion is ever to do any permanent good in the world it must attract and hold the younger generation. He thought if we did not increase our force before the next generation, that a reaction might set in,—all those under the influence of mutual fright being ready to combine for the purpose of crushing the rational thinker; and these would include not only the lovers of traditional faiths and those who tremble for the security of rank and property, but all those who are for quiet at any price. He dealt some severe blows at the make-shift liberalism of some Orthodox preachers, and warned the people not to be deceived by such attempts to "take the wind out of the genuine free-thinkers' sails." The common notion among liberal thinkers that there is no ground for combination among those who have no specified system of doctrine he denied; and affirmed that science afforded through its revelations the workings of a system, and an irreversible law, grander and more to be revered than the popular supernaturalism. There was room within the faith which was founded on science for a very high and real religion. He showed the evils of the priestly religion, claiming that it only served to stop the progress of sound education and to fill the world with bugbears. In concluding his wise and interesting remarks, he urged the importance of uniting the forces of liberal religion, and declared it to be the duty of every enlightened man to aid, as far as he can, those organizations which aim at counteracting the influence of the ecclesiastical systems.

At the conclusion of the address, Mr. Conway read several letters from distinguished persons who could not attend the Conference, but who sympathized with its object. Notably among these were Dr. James Martineau, Matthew Arnold, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Houghton, Prof. Max Müller, and "the veteran general of liberal thought, Thomas Scott." Rev. C. Voysey then read a paper on "Religious Needs," of which we make the following abstract:—

The religious needs of our time are extremely various. They are divided into the intellectual, the emotional, and the æsthetic. The intellectual needs of religion at one time hardly existed. Men and women were content with faith and worship, without any demand on the part of their reason for a share in the control of religious thought. This is now changed. To-day a rational foundation for their faith is demanded, and forms of worship that shall not do outrage to their convictions. Theology, to exist at all, must be based on science. Religion must be in harmony with known facts, or it will cease to occupy the hearts of people of common-sense. The growing demand is for a reasonable creed. For want of such a creed thousands are secretly atheistical, and tens of thousands are unsettled in their religious convictions. All the denominations of Christian believers maintain with obstinate pertinacity the old dogmas. The separation of Church and State will not answer our religious needs; it would put off the day of enlightenment further than ever. What is wanted is the disestablishment of the Creeds and Articles, and the repeal of the Act of Uniformity, so as to leave all clergymen free to speak their honest minds. The real need of the hour is to give freedom to those who have something reasonable to say about religion. The laity would heartily greet the endowment of the pulpit with absolute liberty. In brief, intellectual religion can only come by calm and perfectly independent thought. The chief religious need of our time is the getting hold of what is reasonable.

Discussion followed the reading of the essay, which was participated in by several persons. Mr. G. J. Holyoake said he cared nothing for unity of action. The old Orthodox questions are dead in men's minds,—dead as the cities of Zuyder Zee. It is impossible

to have any discussion upon them. A conference which seeks to reconcile opinion is delusive. What we want is a congress which shall recognize opinion. He favored a union for work; a unity of action for moral objects. True union will not come by giving up opinion, but by forming an organization that shall recognize all who care for the truth, and who desire to act together for the common ends of humanity.

Mrs. Ernestine Rose said free discussion is like the air we breathe: if we have it not we die. Religion is a term too indefinite and misleading, and is calculated to divide the human family instead of uniting it. We ought to form a society for work, and give it a practical name. She suggested that the name "Friends of Progress" would more truly represent their organization than any title with the word religion in it. None would be excluded from the association, no matter what they believed. We want laws that stand upon rational knowledge.

Colonel T. W. Higginson spoke of his connection with the Free Religious Association in the United States; and then upon the subject under discussion. He said that if we are to have a place where people of different opinions can stand, and also a platform large enough for all to walk upon and do everything that ought to be done, we shall do what is demanded by the times. To accomplish our object we must limit our aims. He thought the objection to the word religion was not real. The freethinkers of the United States saved themselves by the use of that word. He thought the platform of the Association should have but few planks, and should be used for but few things. We can never get an organization out of radicals in which men must suppress themselves. The strength of radicals is their individuality, their enthusiasm, their ardor, their willingness for self-sacrifice. To have this preserved, you must drive a radical with a very loose rein, and leave him much untied. Radicals must exert their strength in their own way, and without being disturbed.

Mr. Conway "moved that a committee be appointed which could lay before the meeting something like a practical suggestion as to whether they think it possible or feasible that any kind of result may come, or an association be formed, from our deliberations." The motion was carried, and a committee appointed by the Conference.

Prof. Garrison, of Chicago, spoke at some length, criticising the common Orthodox beliefs, and showing the changes which have taken place in men's thoughts in regard to religious matters in the last century.

At the close of his speech the Congress adjourned for the day.

On Friday, June 14, Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F. R. S., presided. He opened the session by reading a stirring essay in which he alluded to the injustice done to Mrs. Besant in taking from her care her child, and also to the work on *Population* recently published by this brave lady, and proved that the persecution which she had borne sprung from religious prejudice. He declared that all present in the meeting were liable to the same injustice from the same cause, and said that the only hope of escape was in enlightened education. He thought it a great triumph that Prof. Max Müller had spoken in defence of atheism in Westminster Abbey,—he defining atheism as "the denial of the gods that be, in obedience to nobler aspirations." He said we are not to be "merely insects in thought, passing a long apprenticeship of creeping caterpillar and sleeping grub before our wings of freedom grow"; nor are we "to use our wings like a painted butterfly." We must learn to do, to bear, to suffer. He defined liberal religion as "a profound sense of duty; that is, a profound sense of the relations of ourselves to every part of the universe which comes within our ken, together with an invincible determination consciously to act in harmony with these relations so far as we are able to perceive them." He concluded his remarks by expressing the hope that they would organize an association of liberal thinkers.

Mr. Conway then read several communications from sympathizers abroad. The following extract is from a letter from Mr. Fix, of Belgium:—

"Let us not confound belief and religion. A belief may be a faith particular to a people; religion includes the belief common to all men and all nations. A belief may kindle the faggots of inquisition; religion proclaims all men brothers. A belief leads to the triumph of an idea, of a man, or of a party; religion wishes only the triumph of truth. A belief raises a caste to rule over a country; religion requires free consciences and men equal by their rights. A belief tries to establish some kind of hierarchy over humanity; religion dreams only of the universal fraternity. A belief lasts only by egotism; religion means universal solidarity."

In a communication from M. Emile de Harven, of Antwerp, we find this truth: "In our days the struggle is no longer upon dogmatical grounds; it is only carried on between the torch of truth and the clerical extinguisher. It is circumscribed between thinkers, on the one hand, and on the other the clergy dragging in their train the crowd of simple and timid minds, with those who are, or think they are, interested in the maintenance of the sacerdotal power."

A debate upon the subjects which had been brought up followed. The first speaker, Mr. Johnston Russell, advocated national theism, and spoke with large sympathy for the inquiring doubts of the intelligent mind. He wanted some of the speakers on the previous day answered. He thought the lady who said she wanted a path to follow, something to do for humanity, voiced one of the greatest religious needs of the age. Some one ought to be wise enough to point out this path. Sects will neither lead nor follow. We need a new Reformation.

Mrs. Law spoke for practical work. We want a free platform where we can state our opinions and

hear others. She believed that it was possible to found and form a union independent and separate from the belief of the Church.

The last speaker, Rev. J. D. Hirst Smyth, thought that the distinction between atheism and theism was a vanishing one. When a man says he is an atheist, he says it because something higher than himself binds him to say it; in that he represents all the elements of religion. He declared that the interests of one living man were greater than the interests of all existing churches, and said our work is to care for man, not for any church.

The afternoon session of the Conference was devoted to hearing the report of the Committee on Organization and the discussion of its articles.

Mr. Conway read the report of the Committee:—
I. This organization shall be called the Association of Liberal Thinkers.

Its objects shall be (1) the scientific study of religious phenomena; (2) the collection and diffusion of information concerning world-wide religious developments; (3) the emancipation of mankind from superstition; (4) fellowship among liberal thinkers of all races; (5) promotion of the pure and universal religion,—the culture, progress, and moral welfare of man.

II. Membership in this Association shall leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and in no degree affect his relations with other associations.

Mr. Conway then delivered a characteristic address. We can give only a few of the many true and beautiful things he said. The great movements in the world have been the times of magnificent negation. The great eras of religion have not been when Constantine was building up, but when Jesus was pulling down. Along with emancipation must go fellowship. What we want is the true heart, the earnest religion,—the warm and hearty devotion to the right and true. That I call religion. He told of a negro in Liberia who wished to become religious. A sceptic said to him, "If you want to be a good man, you had better be a Mohammedan in this neighborhood; if you want to make money, be a Christian." Christianity has come to be a fashionable and wealthy thing. The name Christian is a phrase by which a person may deceive everybody as to what he really thinks.

Mr. Stuart-Glennie moved the adoption of the Committee's report, and gave intelligent reasons for so doing.

Colonel Higginson, a member of the Committee, next addressed the meeting on the report. He wished it might be adopted. He said there was probably not a body of people in all London of the same size so bristling with individuality as this meeting is. We cannot find anything to suit us all. We have drawn up a basis for this Association to go upon. It is not a creed. It is a basis for creedless people to come together upon.

A debate upon the separate clauses of the report resulted in making some slight alterations in its phraseology; but the platform, with these few changes, was finally voted upon by the Conference and unanimously adopted. The subject of the formal organization of the Association was then taken up, and a Committee consisting of twenty-two persons was appointed for that purpose.

A resolution of thanks to Mr. Conway and his congregation, and to the two gentlemen who conducted the meetings, was carried by loud acclamation. The Conference was then adjourned.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE SOUTHERN NEGROES.

RICHMOND, Va., Aug. 7, 1878.

The negroes of the Southern States, if not religious, are emphatically *religiotary*. The mystery of religion takes strong hold upon their excitable temperaments and vivid imaginations, and a species of religious insanity is common among them. During the recent revival in the colored churches, so general throughout the South, men and women went into trances, fell in the streets in convulsions, and in some instances were so wild in their frenzies that they were arrested and locked in the station-houses by the police. What they believe they believe, and argument does not easily shake that belief. Negro converts dream dreams and see visions, and are realists in the fullest sense of the word. For them the devil literally goes about "seeking whom he may devour," ready at any moment to pounce upon the heedless sinner and carry him off bodily to the bottomless pit. Angels go to and fro upon earthly errands, visible sometimes to the "eye of faith"—a power granted always to the true believer,—and the supernatural is one of the elements of their daily lives. Of ghosts—disembodied spirits—and of hobgoblins they are much afraid; and he is a bold negro who dares pass a graveyard at night, alone. A genuine negro meeting, with a favorite orator in the pulpit—one who spares not the horrible, and who preaches freely of the wrath to come, the terrors of the law, and the tortures of hell,—is a scene to be remembered by those who witness it. Wild with religious excitement as with strong drink, men and women—women especially—shriek and moan, shout and leap, until the spectator is reminded of the tales told by travellers of dancing dervishes, or of the wilder performances of fetish worshippers in Africa. In such a meeting, held in Georgia and reported for a religious paper in that State, a whining voice rung out, "I'm gwine to hebbun pun a white boss." Another sprung up and shouted, "I see a pore sister agwine tu hell pun a black mule!" A woman raised her hands, and, staring upwards, screamed, "I sees Jesus! I sees Jesus a lookin' right at me!" "I sees Him, too!" yelled another; "I sees him lookin' outer de winder ob hebben!" "Bress de Lord," groaned a brother in

the amen corner; "tell Him to let down a rope, and we'll clime up to hebben." This idea seemed to strike a number with force, and they jumped up and down shouting, "Let's down de rope and we'll clime up to glory!"

Statistics show that a large majority of the colored race South are nominally Baptists; and in immersion, at least, they have implicit faith, regarding it as a mystic rite,—a sort of talismanic ceremony cleansing from all sin, past, present, and future. "Ef you wan' tu git clean," said one of their preachers in a discourse on the subject, "you is got tu wash all ober; dis here sprinkling," with scornful emphasis, "ain' gwine do you no good; you don' go and stan' in de rain when you wants tu wash ya haans, duz yer?" Once under the water they are safe for all eternity, and henceforth may lie, steal, and commit all the cardinal sins except murder. To dance or to sing worldly songs, however, are sins for which there is no remission; and the church-member who elopes with his neighbor's wife will, in most congregations, be less severely disciplined than his brother who has danced a reel or sung a corn song. At country neighborhoods, at the corn-shucking frolics so dear to the negro's heart, the company are usually divided into two groups—"Christian and sinners,"—singing, for the negro is always musical, the one hymns, the other corn songs; and one may, on such occasions, hear

"Do, Johnny Booker, help dat nigger,
Do, Johnny Booker, do!"

mingling in strange discord with, "Whar, oh whar, is de good ole Daniel?" or "Ole dog Bow-wow, stannin' at the gate, smell de meat a fryin' and can' git a taste," drowning with its outburst the lower notes of

"Fisherman Peter on de sea,
Climin' up Zion's hill,
Drop yo' nets and foller me,
Climin' up Zion's hill."

The history of these spiritual struggles must be narrated in full class-meeting, and has much weight, in their opinion, as to the piety of the candidate. One of these experiences, considered first-class by the jury to which it was submitted and of which the convert was so proud that he rehearsed it for the edification of the "white folks," will serve as an example. He was an old man, and his term of probation had been long and tedious. For months he had worn the longest of faces, had groaned at prayer-meetings, and wrestled in spirit out on lonely hill-sides; he had even gone to the graveyard at night, hoping that there, if nowhere else, a vision might be vouchsafed to him: At last he had triumphed over sin and the devil, had come safely through, and this is his story of the final throes: "I had done seek and seek, and I was mos' ready to gib up; but somethin' insider me say, 'Charles, git up en go down de hill en pray.' So I went down de hill, en I got down on my knees, en I say, 'Marse Jesus, oh! Marse Jesus, hab mercy 'pon dis po' ole sinner.' En I looked up, en de hebbens war ez black ez de back [i.e., of the chimney], en all on a suddin' I hurd a roarin', en I turn roun', en dar war somethin' jes' like a big black cow, with eyes like two balls of fire, en smoke en brimstone er comin' outen his mouf. En somethin' insider me say, 'Charles, dat am de debbil.' But my tongue felt jis' like a chip, en I couldn' say nuthin' to save my life. En de debbil he kep' on a-comin' en roarin'; en when he got mos' ter me I hollered out, 'Marse Jesus! Marse Jesus! jes es loud es I could; en de debbil he gin a loud ro' en runt off; en I seed a bright angel shinin' jes like a star, jest come down from hebben, stannin' right fo' me. En de angel put his han' pun my eyes and gin me de eye ob faith; en I seed intu hebben, and dar was Bruders Peter and Paul, and Brudder Moses, en all de 'posses settin' long side de Lord. En dey all had gole crowns pun thar heads and gole harps in thar haans. En I seed intu torment, en thar was a heap ov folks a strung up like de meat in the smoke-house, wid the ole debbil en his angels a-pilin brush under dem, ter keep up de fire. En one old ooman was hung up by de tip end of her tongue en burnt tu a coal, but she kep' on a burnin'. Den I knowed I had 'ligion, en I comed along home."

The colored folks have little confidence in the piety of the "white folks." They cannot comprehend conversions unattended by visions, and they are at a loss to understand how people can be Christians and not shout. To this skepticism is owing much of the spiritual darkness of the race, for it defeated the pains frequently taken by slave owners who wished to impart religious instruction to their slaves. In an instance known to the writer, a Pennsylvania elder—a wealthy slaveholder—used all means short of compulsion, which he wisely argued would be construed into religious persecution, and so do more harm than good, to induce his slaves to attend family prayers. The attendance, always scanty, grew smaller and smaller, until only the "head man" came, and he at last ceased his attendance also. Mortified and grieved, his master asked why this was, and, after much hesitation, was told that their colored class-leader had forbidden them to attend,—"white folks' prars and preachin' warn't a-gwine do um no good; dey didn't read de Bible straight nohow."

They have singular ideas on some other points. A young lady missionary was teaching a class of pickaninies the old catechism,—"Who made you?" "Who redeemed you?" etc. Drilling this one Sunday into the brain of a rather bright boy, she was horrified on the next to hear him give in answer to "Who sanctified you?" "De debbil." "Tom," she asked, "what makes you say that? Don't you remember what I taught you last Sunday?" "Oh, yes, marm, I knows you say de Holy Ghos'; but mammy she say de debbil." Seeking his mother and demanding her reason for such heresy, the reply was "Lor, Missy, you know dat boy ain' sanctify. All de sanctify he got the debbil giv him." This was

her theory, which no argument could shake, and henceforth that question was omitted in Tom's catechism. Negro theology is heterodox also on the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. A gentleman one Sunday morning caught one of their preachers with the bag holding his ill-gotten booty, in the very act of robbing his cornfield. Taken thus there was no loophole for denial, but the thief was ready with an answer, when the gentleman expressed his surprise that a minister should steal corn, and steal corn on Sunday. "Marse Phil," he said, "ain' all time de same wid de Lord? ain' yistiddy de same ez terday, and terday ez termorra?" "Marse Phil" assented without in the least perceiving the drift of the question. "Den of God forgiv my sin yistiddy, or las' year, or las' week, he done forgiv um once for all, en de sin I do is done forgibben, en ain' no sin." A mistress caught her cook in an open falsehood, and, in charging her with it, condemned such conduct as especially wrong in a church-member. "Lor, Misses," was the unabashed answer, "I reckon de Lord kin forgive me, ef I does tell a lie."

The negro passion for funerals is well known. "Is you gwine t' set up wid de corpse to-night?" asked one colored woman of another. "Naw; my husband 'on't le' me." "Lor' now; nebber see sich a husband' ez you got! don' man 'low you no plejure (pleasure) 'tal?" Sitting up with a corpse is by no means as sad a ceremony as the uninitiated Northern reader may imagine. When a negro dies, his church and society members—for every colored man or woman belongs to one or more secret societies—unite to hold what they call a "settin' up." All the friends of the deceased assemble, and, from dusk until dawn, all night long they sing and pray, the object being to keep away the devil, and to pray the departed spirit safely into heaven. These meetings are strictly religious gatherings, and have none of the characteristics of the Irish wake. "Marching out of Egypt" is another of their strange modes of worship. In this the congregation, male and female, march round and round through the aisles, until strength is exhausted, and he with the stoutest legs is accounted most pious.

It is difficult to enumerate or to account for all the vagaries of their faith. Vestiges of fetishism linger still among them, but these form no part of their religion; and the voodoo man or woman is always held accursed,—a witch outside of the pale of salvation.—*Boston Herald.*

SOUL IN LABOR.

With all our justly-felt respect for labor, and our universal participation in it, there is yet a general and well-grounded dissatisfaction with its quality and results. We are all criticising our neighbor's industries, and those of us who are not blinded by conceit are passing a still more severe judgment upon our own. There is a want of thoroughness and soundness very noticeable in the work of to-day, and the feeling of fear and distrust that creeps involuntarily into the minds of those who purchase it, in any form, speaks only too loudly of the lack of competence or fidelity in those who perform it.

There are two elements that belong to all labor, and must combine in harmonious proportions to ensure its real excellence. One is the external form into which the worker moulds it to adapt it to its purpose in the world; the other the internal spirit which he breathes into it from his own being, and which gives it life. The one is its body, the other its soul. Every piece of work, from the humblest to the highest, depends upon this dual nature for its worthiness, and doubtless the chief cause of the inferiority of so much human labor is that these two elements are not properly blended. Take the work of the mechanic, for example. He has been taught certain processes, which he performs with more or less exactness. He fashions the wood or the metal to suit the house he is building or the tool he is constructing. After the operations become familiar to him he can carry them on almost without thinking. If he continue to do this, and only this, his work may have form, but cannot have life. It may be fair in quality, correct in proportion, and accurate in detail, but it cannot grow, for it has no vital power; it will show no signs of increasing excellence; it will bear no marks of fresh thought or new energy. Another, following the same branch of labor, works not only from without but from within. He, too, observes rules, and becomes expert in the mechanical routine, but he does not stop there. He thinks as well as toils. He studies the points of his labor, that he may discover how to improve them. He revolves new methods by which he may accomplish more in a given time. He reflects on the ends which are to be met, and adopts those measures which are likely to be most efficient. Thus he breathes his own mental life into his labor, and what was dull, dry, and mechanical becomes a vital and growing existence.

The student, in like manner, may be an empty receptacle to contain the information that is poured into him. He may study according to the prescribed methods, and acquire stores of knowledge, which his memory may retain; and yet all his work may be only a cold and lifeless form. But let him throw himself into it, let his curiosity be awakened, his mental appetite be sharpened, his thoughts engaged in fresh and original explorations, and study at once becomes real and vital, its body is animated by a soul, and the true work of education has begun.

So in every employment it is not enough that painstaking industry shapes the form; mind and heart must also infuse their own vitality into it, and make it glow with warm and earnest life. The best that is in us must enter into our work, if it is to be truly excellent. Not only mental power, but moral earnestness, must permeate it. Not only thought, courage, patience, and zeal, but fidelity, must animate

it; not only fidelity to petty details, but that fidelity of soul to its ideal which in itself contains the essence of all superior labor. Whatever be the work, let an image of its highest excellence be cherished in the heart, and made the mark at which all the powers are to aim.

This will preserve labor from that deterioration which so frequently takes place in routine work. Labor, like character, cannot stand still; if it is not rising, it is falling; if it is not growing, it is withering. He who puts not his soul into his work; who cares only to get it done, that he may reap some external benefit; who cherishes no image of it as it should be; who feels no shame if it be inferior, no joy if it be excellent, cannot even keep it up to its present standard. Not caring to do more than will make it pass, he will gradually sink into doing less; not actuated by pure and high motives, he will become more and more a slave to low and sordid ones.

It is this want of soul that pulls down the character of work; that makes labor done by the day slow; and that done by the piece poor; that adulterates manufactures, puts deception into trade, and dishonor into politics; that substitutes trickery for art, and superficiality for culture. If we would avoid these deep disgraces to our national and individual character, we must not only shape our labor into an external form, well adapted to its immediate purposes, but also keep it vital, fresh, and growing, by infusing into it deep resolves, high purposes, noble aims, and lofty ideas.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

PUBLIC CAUTION AGAINST ADULTERATIONS.

At a special meeting of the "Massachusetts" Grange, P. of H. No. 33, held at their headquarters in Boston, June 20, 1878, it was unanimously voted that the Master of the Massachusetts State Grange be requested to send the following Cautionary Circular to the local Granges of Massachusetts and to the State Granges of the United States:—

Brothers: We think it our duty to caution Granges against the increasing sale of poisonous articles in our markets.

Arsenic is now sold at wholesale at about five cents a pound.

There has been imported into this country in a single year two millions three hundred and twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds. A single pound contains a fatal dose for about twenty-eight hundred adult persons. What becomes of it?

We answer, a considerable portion goes into our wall-papers, figured and plain, glazed and unglazed, the cheapest as well as the more expensive. It is found in white, blue, red, yellow, green, and other colors. The pale colors frequently contain more than the most brilliant.

The editor of a leading Boston paper has recently stated that about eighty-five per cent. of all wall-papers now manufactured contain arsenic, and advises his readers to abandon their use, and paint their walls. The *Boston Journal of Chemistry* states that the manufacture of these papers is increasing. Arsenic is also used in tickets, paper curtains, covers of boxes, papers containing confectionery, and other papers.

Arsenic and other poisons are also now used in the coloring matter of ladies' dresses, gentlemen's under-clothing, socks, hat-linings, linings of boots and shoes. They are found in woolens, silks, cottons, and leather.

Prof. Nichols of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found eight grains of arsenic in each square foot of a dress.

Another of our chemists found ten grains of arsenic in a single artificial flower.

A child recently died in Troy, N. Y., by taking arsenic from a veil thrown over its crib to keep off flies.

The *Boston Journal of Chemistry* states that they are now putting arsenic into toilet powders used in nurseries and by ladies, it being cheaper than starch, of which they were formerly made.

It would be well, also, for farmers to be careful in buying new kinds of cooking utensils. It was discovered last year that "marbleized iron ware," which had come into extensive use, was, in the words of the Harvard University chemist, who analyzed it, "alloyed with poison," the enamel being largely composed of oxide of lead in soluble form. We are assured that other poisonous ware is still sold.

Let Grangers refuse to buy new ware unless guaranteed harmless.

Many flavoring oils and syrups contain poisons. It is well to avoid them so far as possible.

Tea, coffee, cocoa, and chocolate are all liable to be adulterated, and to some extent with dangerous articles.

It is well to buy only of the best and most experienced dealers.

Drugs are largely adulterated. It is well to buy only of the most experienced and reliable druggists.

Sewing silks and threads are made heavy with lead, and poison those who use them.

Thousands of barrels of "terra alba," or white earth, are every year mixed in various forms with our sugars and other white substances. Its use tends to produce stone, kidney complaints, and various diseases of the stomach. A large part of our cream of tartar used in cooking contains fifty per cent. or more of "terra alba."

It is also used extensively in confectionery, and various poisons are used in coloring confectionery.

Mills in various parts of the country are now grinding white stones into a fine powder. It is stated that they grind at some of these mills three grades, soda grade, sugar grade, and flour grade.

We think it would be a paying investment for the Grangers of each State to employ a competent chem-

ist to detect and publish adulterations, and then withdraw all patronage from those who manufacture or sell such articles.

We think there is quite as much need of organizations in all our States to enforce laws for the protection of public health as there is for organizations to catch and punish horse-thieves.

In conclusion we can congratulate the Granges that farmers are exempted from some of the dangers to which other classes are subject.

We make our own vinegar. It is stated in the *Scientific American* that probably half the vinegar now sold in our cities is "rank poison."

We make our own pickles. A Massachusetts chemist, who analyzed twelve packages of pickles put up by twelve different wholesale dealers, found copper in ten of them.

We have pure milk and genuine cream, and not the manufactured material which so largely supplies our cities and populous towns.

It was estimated by a medical commission of the Boston Board of Health, in 1874, that nearly \$500,000 was paid in that city, in that year, for what purported to be, but was not, milk.

In a similar period of time there were four hundred and eighty-seven deaths of "cholera infantum" in Suffolk county, while in the same population outside the city there were less than one hundred.

And lastly, we are not compelled to eat oleomargarine cheese, or any part of the ninety million pounds of oleomargarine butter which it is estimated will be made in this country this year, in which, as we are told by the *Chicago Live Stock Journal*, Professor Church has found horse fat, fat from bones, and fat such as is principally used for the making of candles, and in the preparation of which, as has been recently widely published, upon what seems to be reliable authority, not sufficient heat is used to kill the parasites which enter and breed in human bodies.

BENJAMIN P. WARE,

Master of the State Grange of Massachusetts.

The above paper was prepared by brother Geo. T. Angell, chaplain of the "Massachusetts" Grange, of Boston, and who is also a director of the American Social Science Association, and President of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.—*Circular.*

Poetry.

ON RECEIVING A DAISY FROM SCOTLAND.

BY "A. M."—A LADY NEARLY EIGHTY YEARS OLD.

I.
Hail! "modest crimson-tipped flow'r,"
A wandering waif from Scotia's shore,
Immortalized by Scotland's bard
When his rude ploughshare turned thee o'er,

II.
As carefully he raised thee up,
Thy tender rootlets torn and bare,
And mourned the fate that wooed thee forth
So early in the frosty air.

III.
Had it but been some hardy flower,
With roots fast anchored in the mould,
My ruthless coulter turned aside,
It might ha' braved the blast cold;

IV.
But thee, thou modest little flower,
Just lifting up thy snowy head
To greet me at this early hour,
And I, alas! ha' laid thee dead.

V.
If I could right thy cruel wrong,
My little, faded, bonnie gem,
The flower should live in simple song,
That wears the crimson diadem;

VI.
And you and I no more would part
While wave the broom and purple heather;
Our home should be the Scottish heart,
And we would dwell for a' together.

VII.
Then when the merry lasses came
To gather flowers fresh and fair,
The mountain daisy should be first
To nestle in their sunny hair.

VIII.
And when the May-pole for the dance
Was twined with garlands fresh and green,
Each lad and lassie should advance
To hail thee as their fairy queen.

IX.
But, Scotland's loved and cherished bard
Has touched thee with his magic power,
And dear to every Scottish heart
Is his "wee, crimson-tipped flow'r."

—*Waltham Free Press.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 31.

Harvey Brown, \$2; Thomas Harrison, \$6.34; H. H. Cray, \$1.50; L. H. Stockbridge, \$3.20; Meritt Peckham, \$3.20; Asa C. Pierce, \$3.20; Mrs. E. P. Robeson, \$3.20; William Little, \$3.20; Jon. F. Barrett, \$3.20; Mrs. J. W. Scammal, \$3.20; H. Balcom, \$3.87; William Newman, \$3.20; John D. White, \$6; W. J. Lewis, \$8.54; W. C. Little, \$3.20; Capt. P. S. Crowell, \$3.20; Kirsch & Schless, \$3.20; C. M. Denison, \$3.20; H. H. Hatch, \$3.20; Henry Townsend, \$3.20; Dr. Erich, \$3.20; N. E. Mulford, \$3.20; H. L. Higginson, \$3.20; H. F. Marshall, \$3.20; John Curtis, \$25; Dr. N. T. Clevenger, \$3; K. Schmemann, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPT. 5, 1878.

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

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTEE,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERRY, GEORGE JACOB
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MILLS, W. D. LE SURVE, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KELSEY, Editorial Contributors.

F. R. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakemad, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTEE, Secretary.

IN RESUMING our editorial duties, we cannot forbear to express our hearty thanks to Mr. Stevens for the faithful and successful manner in which he has discharged them during our recent absence. It was a pleasure to know that our place was so well supplied, and that our readers would be equally pleased to hear from their and our old friend once more. The many earnest words he spoke in THE INDEX in former years found a warm response, to our certain knowledge, in many hearts; and his fresh utterances in its columns, so full of cheerful optimism, serious thought, and abidingly high aims, must have been peculiarly grateful to them all. The undeserved generosity of his allusion to us last week embarrasses us not a little in acknowledging our gratitude to him for his assistance this summer, since nothing is so "flat, stale, and unprofitable" as mutual-admirationism; but we must leave here at least one little word of cordial and sincere thanks for the friendly labors which enabled us to secure a short release from wearing responsibilities.

IT APPEARS that Mr. Wright was unable to get this pungent and forcible note printed in the Boston Transcript except as an advertisement—a fact which is only reluctant testimony on the Transcript's part to its incisive truthfulness:—

A Case for the Courts.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRANSCRIPT:—

Quoting from my remarks in Faneuil Hall, as reported in full in the Globe of yesterday, you kindly commend my motives, but condemn my logic. Bad logic is dangerous. It brings men to beggary and nations to the dust. Yours seems to assume that courts never make mistakes, and, therefore, the Comstock law is constitutional and Cupid's Yokes is an obscene book. Let that be true, and what follows? By chapter 105, section 15, of the General Statutes, the possession of an obscene book is an offence, punishable by imprisonment and fine. I possess Cupid's Yokes, and mean to do so, whatever the courts have decided or other people think. If the district attorney of Middlesex, knowing all these facts, does not prosecute me as soon as possible, he will violate his oath of office. Will you show your readers where the flaw is in this logic and oblige,

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

MEDFORD, Aug. 3, 1878.

CATHOLICISM IN CANADA.

It would be very instructive to those who think of the Catholic Church as a mere transatlantic institution, incapable of acquiring great power or influence in the United States, if they were to visit the Province of Quebec and observe for themselves what a tremendous hold this Church has obtained in a country contiguous to our own. They would discover that there is no magical charm or spell, in the mere fact of distance from the original seat and source of this formidable religious despotism, by which its stealthy advance can be checked or its activity for evil paralyzed. They would learn to appreciate the danger of encouraging, through exemption from taxation, the growth of a vast and consolidated money-power directed by ecclesiastics whose ideas and purposes are irreconcilably hostile to the existence of free thought and progressive institutions. They would learn to understand the necessary connection between popular ignorance and superstition, on the one hand, and insecurity of the most precious individual rights, on the other. They would learn to understand the deadly antagonism between the Church and the Republic in their respective ideas, tendencies, interests, objects, and destinies,—the absolute impossibility of these rival institutions continuing to grow and flourish side by side in the same community without coming at last to a bitter and perhaps frightful collision. They would learn to understand that the Republic, aiming to protect the equal individual rights of the whole people as its one supreme duty, cannot without suicide yield to the Church, which aims to establish an omnipotent ecclesiastical theocracy on extinction of the equal individual rights of the whole people. They would learn that the final and decisive battle between these two great rival institutions has got to be fought out on the field of education,—that the Republic, conscious of its own independent right to exist and to govern itself according to the laws of its own being, must insist on educating the rising generation thoroughly in all that concerns the intelligent discharge of the duties of citizenship, in utter disregard of all claims of the Church to interfere in this matter. They would learn to understand that secular education is the foundation of the Republic, just as ecclesiastical education is the foundation of the Church; and that if the Republic fails to exercise the right of requiring all children born within its limits to be thoroughly instructed in all the secular knowledge necessary to render them good citizens, then it endangers its own existence and paves the way for its own practical absorption in the Church. All this, and much more of the same sort, they would learn to understand, if to observant eyes they added penetration into the causes of what they observed.

Through the cordial invitation of friends of THE INDEX in Montreal, to whose exceeding hospitality and kindness we owe a delightful week's visit to that city and its environs, we have recently enjoyed the opportunity of seeing something of Catholicism in Canada. Its pomp and wealth are visible on every hand; its power is exercised and felt throughout the whole social fabric. It would be too long a story to describe in detail all that we saw and heard, but it may not be uninteresting to our readers to mention a few of the things which were most prominently presented to our attention.

The public buildings belonging to the Catholic Church in Montreal are very numerous, costly, and imposing. The new Cathedral of St. Peter's, of which as yet only the outer walls have been erected, is to be of enormous proportions, being three hundred feet long and in the transept two hundred and twenty-five feet wide,—the whole to be surmounted by five domes, of which the largest and central one is to rise two hundred and fifty feet into the air. A magnificent portico, two hundred and ten feet long by thirty feet wide, is to be erected in front of the cathedral, which will cost many millions of dollars and take many years in completing.

The old Parish Church of Notre Dame (sometimes called the "French Cathedral") is at present the largest and most splendid of all the Montreal churches. Standing on the Place d'Armes, it presents to view two massive square towers of over two hundred feet in height, behind which lies the main body of the church, two hundred and twenty-five feet by one hundred and thirty-four. In one of these stately towers hangs an enormous bell known as the Gros Bourdon, weighing over eleven tons, and giving forth, when rung (which is not very often), the richest, deepest, and most ponderous sound we ever heard from any bell. From the top of this tower one can obtain an extremely fine view of the city, which

lies below and around it in all directions. Inside, the church is gorgeously painted, frescoed, and ornamented, and fairly glitters with gilding in all its parts. Here, on Sunday forenoon, we witnessed the dazzling theatrical pageant of High Mass, with three officiating priests at the altar clad in magnificent garments and flanked by crowds of inferior clergy, choristers, and acolytes. The church is said to contain ten thousand persons, if crowded to its full capacity; probably not far from half that number were actually present on this occasion. During the services, officials passed through the entire audience, exacting fees of five cents each from all who occupied "free (?) seats" and contributions from all who sat in rented pews. The money-side of religion, it was evident, is never here forgotten; though we confess to having had the weakness of supposing that Catholic churches did not tax all present at their services in this rigorously universal way. But it must have cost not a few five-cent pieces to pay for all this show, the spectacle was cheap at the price, and there is Scriptural warrant for "spoiling the Egyptians."

Still more interesting to us than this High Mass was the noonday service at the little chapel of the Convent of the Gray Nuns, or Foundling Hospital. Thirty or forty visitors had assembled, to be shown over this very large establishment; and this noon-service was the first thing in order. For fully ten minutes before it began, one of the nuns was busily employed in trying to adjust with sufficient nicety and exactitude a great gilt crown on the head of a white statue of the Virgin, in front of the audience. When this important object had at length been effected, a noise of chanting voices was heard approaching the door of the chapel through the corridor; and presently a procession of women slowly entered and passed down the aisle. The novices came first with their white veils, followed by the black-veiled nuns themselves, marching two by two, and kneeling down four abreast in the aisle when they reached the altar rail. The aisle was at last filled with them, all kneeling in rows of four till the service was ended, and then executing with all the skill of military evolutions a manoeuvre by which the procession passed out at the door two by two as they entered, the novices still in front. During the whole time, with loud, harsh, and monotonous voices, and with all the unity of a machine, they chanted prayers at regular intervals, in response to the nun who read the service at a desk near the door, in the rear of her kneeling sisters. Not an eye in the whole procession was raised during the performance; all gazed down fixedly before them, all held their hands pressed together, all wore on their faces the same look of stern self-repression and fanaticism, varied only here and there by a sadness which irresistibly excited the compassion of the beholder. Some of the faces were rather pleasing, but by far the greater part were heavy, ugly, unintellectual, and uninteresting. The effect of the scene was, at least on one mind, that of a wreck—a wreck of sweet humanity on the fatal reefs of superstition. The entire spectacle was one of human sacrifice—not the bloody, brief sacrifice of human bodies, but rather the bloodless and life-long sacrifice of human souls, with all their natural affections, all their natural hopes and thoughts and desires and ambitions, passed through the fire to Moloch. A dreary, profitless, pathetic crime against human nature itself!

But the blighting influence of Catholicism has other ways of manifesting itself. Not content with extinguishing all freedom and spontaneity in the souls of its own devotees, it must needs seek to crush out all that tends to foster freedom, science, progress, in the community at large; and the only limit of its activity in this direction is the limit of its power. Especially is its hostility aroused by all educational projects and institutions which are not submitted to the guidance, oversight, and control of the Church authorities. The Church arrogates to itself the right of educating the world, and enforces this right to the utmost limit of its ability, knowing well that control of education is the key to all permanent empire. Hence its inveterate hatred of all secular and scientific institutions which it cannot manipulate to suit its own purposes. An instance of this came under our own observation in the Canadian Institute (L'Institut Canadien), which we visited and were very politely shown. This is simply a reading-room and library managed by a literary and scientific society, which allows all thoughtful and valuable works equal privileges on its shelves, without regard to their theological bias. This broad toleration is the head and front of its offending. Being a centre of

honest mental enlightenment in a city where Catholics and Protestants alike abhor all that smacks of "infidelity," no matter in how feeble a degree, the Institute long since excited the bitterest hatred of the Catholic hierarchy in Montreal. Whoever is known to be a member of it must face the extremest and most unscrupulous opposition to his success in every conceivable direction; he cannot hope to rise to any public position, to any social distinction, nay, even to any lucrative employment. Many a young man has come with tears to the Librarian, and declared that he must take off his name from the books, because he found it impossible to get work while he remained a member. Many of the best friends of the Institute stand aloof from it before the public, because, as they say, they could not otherwise attain any position in which they could aid it. It may be that, by all rallying together and boldly fighting out the battle for equal rights, they might command so much respect by their courage as to increase gradually the number of their supporters and at last establish a recognized place for themselves in the community. Be this as it may, there is not in Canada a more useful institution in its way; and it ought to receive the sympathy of all liberals, as a gallant little outpost, maintaining itself with difficulty against overwhelming odds in the struggle for spiritual freedom. If any one should be moved to send a contribution, large or small, in its support, it may be addressed to "M. A. Boisseau, Supt. L'Institut Canadien, Montreal, P.Q."

The animosity with which the Catholic Church pursues this benevolent and harmless Institute, simply because it is a little fountain of liberalizing educational influences in the midst of an arid waste of superstition, gave rise, as will be remembered, to the famous Guibord litigation a few years since. Joseph Guibord, of whom a fine portrait hangs in the reading-room, was a member of the Institute, and owned a lot in the Catholic cemetery. When he died, Nov. 18, 1869, his body was refused burial in his own lot, because he had died a member of the Institute, the "principal ground" for condemning which, as the Bishop himself declared, was that it "establishes the principle of religious toleration." The case was carried from court to court, until the Queen's Privy Council, Nov. 21, 1874, overruled the adverse decisions of the Canadian courts, and ordered the interment of Guibord in his own lot. This was not effected without delay and public rioting at the funeral; the Catholic roughs forced a postponement of it, but nevertheless, poor Guibord was laid finally at rest, in November, 1875, in a grave protected by thick walls of cement and covered above with an immense block of limestone weighing several tons. The Bishop, however, solemnly revoked the blessing which consecrated his last resting-place, carefully circumscribing the territorial limits of his curse, that it might not penetrate to Madame Guibord, who had died a good Catholic and whose remains were buried beneath those of her husband! We visited Guibord's grave, and found that the marble tablet inserted in the huge stone block above mentioned, and bearing a simple memorial inscription, had been wantonly defaced; the entire inscription had been daubed with black paint, and the tablet itself had been evidently pounded and partly broken with cobble-stones. Such is the blind and insensate fury with which religious fanaticism pursues the objects of its hatred.

The village of Oka, on the bank of the Ottawa River about forty miles from Montreal, is another illustration of the bitter persecution with which Catholicism punishes all heretics within her power. Oka is a settlement of a few hundreds of Iroquois and Algonquin Indians. Those of the former tribe having become Methodists, they have been relentlessly persecuted by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which has defrauded them out of the title to their land, is endeavoring to drive them away, and at this very time is attempting to lodge them in the penitentiary on the false charge of having burned the Catholic church, which the best-informed believe to have been burned by the Catholics themselves in order to crush these helpless victims by perjured testimony. The case is still in the courts. This modest little village we viewed with great interest and sympathy, for the Indians have conducted themselves with great moderation and self-restraint, and deserve to be efficiently protected from their enemies.

But Montreal furnishes more melancholy evidences still of the virulence and cruelty with which Catholicism fills the mind. The large and solid doorway of a dry-goods store on Victoria Square, near the statue of Queen Victoria herself, bears witness to the

powerlessness of Canada to protect her own subjects against the fury of Catholic fanaticism. Here, on the twelfth of July, 1877, young Hackett fell pierced in a shower of pistol balls for the heinous crime of wearing an orange-colored ribbon; and we saw with a shudder the marks of these balls in the numerous blackened indentations of the solid stone. Nobody has ever been punished for the dastardly murder, or probably ever will be. In the sight of such terrible mementos of her crimes let not the Catholic Church boast of her care for the public morals; it is she that demoralizes the people till even the murder of an unarmed boy appears service to God!

We do not forget the brighter side of Catholicism—still less would we refuse to give it the praise that is its due. But an indictment for crime is not the place for panegyric, however well deserved in some respects it may be; and our recent observations have convinced us more than ever that, despite all the real services to mankind in some directions which this Church has rendered and still renders, she more than offsets these benefits by mischiefs so enormous that truth, striking the balance, writes "Public Enemy" on her brow.

ABNER KNEELAND.

It is well known to all who are conversant with the course of freethought in America, that the person whose name appears above was a notable example in the long list of those who have suffered for opinion's sake. Forty years ago, Abner Kneeland was consigned to prison, in Boston, because of his offence to Christian bigotry and intolerance through the utterance of his convictions in respect to prevailing religious conceptions.

On July 4, 1838,—the day on which we are accustomed to glorify our peculiar birthright and national liberties,—this brave, honest, truth-loving confessor passed in close confinement in a cell appointed for felons.

The anniversary of his release from that incarceration occurs on the 17th of August. It is the custom at Paine Hall, in this city, every year, to commemorate the event in a public way. It is a most fitting observance. It is well to keep the memory green of those who have thus suffered and sacrificed for intellectual freedom.

The exercises of last Sunday, just referred to, were introduced with an interesting and lucid account of the circumstances of Abner Kneeland's trial, and an eloquent and appreciative delineation of the prominent traits of his character, by Mr. Horace Seaver, the venerable editor of the *Boston Investigator*.

Mr. Kneeland was in the sixty-fifth year of his age at the time of his sentence. A few years before this occurrence, while a Universalist clergyman, and settled over a church of this sect in Charlestown, Mass. (the church with which Dr. E. H. Chapin and Starr King were afterwards connected), he underwent a radical change of thought in respect to religion, and was compelled, as a consequence, to abandon the pulpit and ministerial profession.

Mr. Kneeland was a person of great mental vigor,—a rare dialectician. He saw clearly the road he was travelling. He had not jumped at his conclusions, but patiently thought them out; they were sincere convictions, and he was conscious of ability to defend them,—certainly, at least, with any disputant that he was then likely to meet. That he might even more effectually do this, he felt the need of a paper; no movement or cause can prosper in this age of reading and inquiry without its representative journal. Accordingly he founded the *Investigator*, which we rejoice still lives, in the forty-eighth year of its age, to fight it out on the line which he so courageously initiated.

The step which he had taken involved him in a controversy with the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, editor of the *Trumpet*, a paper devoted to the interests of the Universalists. Mr. Kneeland was charged with not believing in a God, or with atheism. This he denied, and made the following answer to the imputation: "The Universalists believe in a God, which I do not." The answer was construed into a different meaning from that intended. He rejected the name of atheist, and claimed to be what he defined as a pantheist, a believer in all Nature as God,—the being and expression of conscious intelligence.

The turning-point of the judgment against him was the comma after the word God, in the statement above given, which Mr. Kneeland maintained had been inadvertently inserted, and hence should be left out, as it admitted an interpretation of his views which misrepresented them. But his plea was unavailing. His accusers and prosecutors would not

yield the vantage-ground thus possessed. He was arrested, tried, and ultimately convicted on this as the principal indictment. There were other counts against him, but these were thrown out. The charge was blasphemy; and under a statute which imposed a penalty for the offence, and which we believe, to our shame, has never been expunged here in Massachusetts, whose wild waves have sung "the anthem of the free," he was convicted and sentenced to Leverett Street Jail, in this city, where William Lloyd Garrison, a few years later, found a refuge from the mob thirsting for his blood.

The final conviction of Mr. Kneeland was made on his third trial. On the first, all the jury but one were against him. This person who voted for his acquittal was Charles G. Greene, for many years editor of the *Boston Post*. On the second trial, Loring Dunbar cast the solitary vote in his favor. Mr. Greene and Mr. Dunbar are entitled to grateful remembrance for their noble firmness and persistence under such circumstances.

An effort was made to carry the case to a fourth trial before the Supreme Court, but without success. The term of imprisonment was sixty days. For two months of midsummer weather, from the 17th of June to the 17th of August, 1838, this aged man, whose life had always been blameless and unstained, was doomed to the discomfort and gloom of a criminal's lot, for his fidelity to what appeared to his mind the truth. And this in the name of a religion of professed forbearance, charity, and sincerity!

There were on the bench of the court that convicted Abner Kneeland, it is recorded, four judges. Three of these were Unitarians, the other Orthodox. By a strange though not entirely surprising inconsistency, in view of similar coincidences sometime since, the Orthodox judge favored the acquittal of the prisoner, while the Unitarians were decided for conviction. This anomalous position of the judges became more reconcilable subsequently by the two petitions which were put in circulation. The one drawn up for the release of Mr. Kneeland was headed by the eminent Dr. Channing, one of the truest representatives of humanity and freedom which the Church of Unitarianism has produced. A counter-petition, the emanation of outraged Orthodox piety, was circulated for the infliction of the full severity of the law.

Abner Kneeland was in every respect a remarkable personage. He was of large physical proportions and commanding presence, with a face, as the portrait of him displayed at Paine Hall bore evidence, expressive of ruddy health, firmness, conscientiousness, and benevolence.

The cast of his mind was serious rather than vivacious. He was a scholar and student by nature. Though he had but small advantages of education in youth, he eventually attained acknowledged proficiency in eight or nine languages, enabling him to make telling use of his knowledge of Hebrew upon his trial.

He also invented a system of orthography which won him great praise from persons of learning. It was submitted to the president and professors of Harvard College. The president expressed great admiration of it, but frankly told the author that it would never succeed with the name of Abner Kneeland attached to it.

Mr. Seaver concluded his address with the recitation of a well-known poem by Charles Mackay, from which we subjoin a stanza as an appropriate close to this imperfect report:—

"The man is thought a knave or fool,
Or bigot, plotting crime,
Who, for the advancement of his kind
Is wiser than his time.
For him the hemlock shall distil;
For him the axe be bared;
For him the gibbet shall be built;
For him the stake prepared;
Him shall the scorn and wrath of men
Pursue with deadly aim;
And malice, envy, spite, and lies,
Shall desecrate his name.
But truth shall conquer at the last;
For round and round we run,
And ever the right comes uppermost
And ever is justice done."

D. H. C.

FOREIGN NOTES.

Bishop Caldwell, of the Anglican Church in India, does not appear to be good at figures.

At a missionary meeting held recently in London, he announced that upwards of seventeen thousand converts were made in Tinnevely last year. Whereupon a European gentleman, who has been a resident of the Ramnad and Madura districts, and is a staunch member of the Church of England, corrects, in the *Madras Mail*, his ciphering as follows:—

"It is not true there has been a large addition to

the number of the Propagation Society's converts in this district. I have seen some hundreds of poor ryōts obtaining famine-relief rice from the missionaries. They, of course, received also religious instruction; but the moment the congee was finished, these rice converts disappeared. I wish the missions every success; but these absurd conversion stories only do the cause permanent injury. I can honestly say that, after my long experience of the mission work done in these districts, I regard it as a failure."

"The *Mail* also discusses the matter editorially, and gives figures to show that such wholesale gains as the Bishop reported could scarcely be possible, as the entire Brahmin population of the district is but fifty-six thousand eight hundred and sixty-six."

Public benefactors are not the exclusive product of any special people or faith, as this notable instance of munificence shows:—

The Duchess of Galliera is about to lay out a beautiful public square in Avenue du Trocadero, Paris. She will build in this square a museum in which she will place all her pictures and curiosities. The museum will bear her name. It will be a street thirty-six feet wide on its eastern and western side. One of these streets will be called Rue Galliera, the other Rue Brignolles (her maiden name). The Duchess and her late husband made other munificent donations. They gave Brignolles Palace at Genoa to the city for a public museum. They also gave to Genoa (their birth-place) \$4,000,000 to improve the port.

A brilliant light in the literature and politics of Italy has gone out in the person of Count Aleardo Aleardi, who has just died at Verona, his native city, at sixty-five years of age. He was senator of the United Kingdom, and is described as "the purest and most finished of contemporary Italian poets." It is said of him that he was the embodiment of "Young Italy" in its feverish impatience of the Austrian; and, as a youth, at the University of Padua, his political lampoons and odes to liberty procured him the constant attention of the police.

In 1848 he represented Verona in the Venetian Republic, and went to Paris as diplomatic envoy. Upon the fall of the Republic he was made a political prisoner, and occupied a dungeon which sparingly admitted daylight for but five hours out of the twenty-four. After his release he underwent two other terms of imprisonment at Verona and Josephstadt. He represented the constituency of Lonato and Rezzato in the first parliament of United Italy and subsequently in the senate. He held the chair of æsthetics at Florence, and was noted for his genial presence, vivacious and versatile discourse, and happy judgments on contemporary art.

The empire of the Czar, which assumed to be the champion of Christianity in the late war, has need, it will be seen below, of putting its good professions into practice at home by the exercise of a better spirit of humanity and brotherhood:—

RUSSIA.—In an address delivered by Captain Burnaby at Birmingham, on Tuesday he said, "Now let us look upon Russia in another light, as 'the torch-bearer of civilization,'—an epithet that has been applied to her by Mr. Gladstone. Let us see how she treats one of the most industrious and orderly peoples in the world,—I allude to the Jews. There are three million Jews in the Russian Empire. They are only allowed to inhabit certain provinces of European Russia. The officials whose duty it is to carry out these restrictive measures are like most other of the Czar's officials,—corrupt. They tyrannize over the poor Jews, often force them to pay large sums of money, or otherwise turn them out of their houses and homes. A small Jewish trader cannot reside in St. Petersburg without paying the highest tax imposed by law on commercial houses. Finally, the Jews are prohibited by law from becoming proprietors of land."

Communications.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. BLAKE.

MR. J. VILA BLAKE:

My Esteemed Friend,—When I read your communication in THE INDEX of July 18, on "Heywood's Sentence," my first impulse was to give immediate expression to my surprise and grief that you could lend your influence in justification of the disregard and violation of the principle of freedom of opinion which has become established at a cost for which there is no measure. But sober second thought bade me remember that you were a true man, who would wantonly infringe no man's right, who would sacrifice much in any good cause, who would approach any subject worthy of your thought in the true thoughtful spirit; with a disciplined mind, but not wanting in a culture more complete than mental training alone can give; and therefore to hastily criticize would be unbecoming and unwise.

So I have waited until now, studied your communication with care, pondered the subject as well as I am able, and am compelled to the conclusion that the ground you take would, in practice, result in great injustice, and, if impartially and rigorously applied, would make you and me Mr. Heywood's companions in fortune. You say the sentence was unwise, though not wrong. I too think it was unwise, but mainly because it was wrong. It is usually wise to do right, and always unwise to do wrong. Many publications which you and I endorse, and which have perfect freedom of circulation with our assistance, are believed by many people, perhaps a majority, to be bad in their influence, subversive of the best interests of the individual and of society, and are excluded from their families with jealous care, as something to be guarded against like an infectious disease.

Their abhorrence of these is quite as honest and intense as can be excited in any mind by the social

theories advocated in Mr. Heywood's pamphlet. Millions of people of excellent character and average intelligence, upon reading even the title-page of books which receive our approbation, would treat them as you did the pamphlet in question, "throw them into the fire." This they would have a perfect right to do; but that does not carry with it the right to treat the author in the same way. That is just the distinction which I insist upon, and which I think you fail to make,—between the right to burn the book and the right to burn the author.

Your illustration of the toy-dealer using poisonous paints to beautify his wares has no proper application to this case. Poisonous pigments have been identified by scientific tests, so that it is a matter of exact knowledge; but by what analysis shall we know of the poisonousness of opinions? Or who shall be our accepted authority in such matters? Who shall be the infallible standard of decency or of doctrine? We may all hold most positive opinions, but while those opinions are so divergent, none may claim that his shall stand unquestioned.

With all that you say in favor of decency and purity of thought and expression I cordially agree. I have my opinion of decency and purity; you have yours. Doubtless your opinion and mine would very nearly, if not exactly, coincide; but others would differ from us, with equal right to an opinion. As you say yourself, "This is a matter upon which persons will differ, according to the bias of their minds, or the influence of circumstances." Who shall be the autocrat to decide in any special instance? With your knowledge of history I hardly think that you will consider a preponderance of public sentiment a safe rule. If so, yourself would quickly come under condemnation.

You say, "Intent to commit injury is not always necessary to the idea of crime"; and you assume that Mr. Heywood is criminal because he has committed injury, though perhaps heedlessly, and without intent. But the fact of injury is neither self-evident nor proven, and remains a matter of opinion, people of thought and culture and earnest desire for the prevalence of the highest morality taking opposite sides with equal honesty and ardor of conviction.

If you had been present at the trial, you would realize and acknowledge the outrage which was perpetrated. There were two prosecuting attorneys, the judge on the bench being the more active of the two. I venture to say that no one occupying that high position has acquitted himself so disgracefully since the time of Jeffries. Conviction was a foregone conclusion. The charge of indecency and obscenity was the flimsiest pretence. In the trial, passages which might be considered indecent were scarcely noticed, while all the stress was laid on such passages as most forcibly expressed the doctrine of the treatise, although the language was unexceptionable.

You say, "Not with the feeling that Heywood was a bad man, or that he intended to corrupt young persons, but that he had treated a subject of the first moment to public morals in a manner tending to confuse, and even to obliterate moral distinctions in the minds of the young and unprotected." Granted, if you please. So we believe that thousands of public teachers of recognized respectability and high social position treat equally important subjects in equally confusing ways, and with much greater mischievous effects from their prestige of position and broader field of influence. They must also be sent to prison. And doubtless you and I, in the minds of these same thousands, would fall under the same accusation. We too must go to prison.

One subject upon which the teaching, as I think, is almost uniformly of a confusing and practically pernicious tendency, is this very matter of the rights of majorities, including the right of society to enact a moral code for the individual, its acceptance to be enforced.

You say, "I do not hesitate to lay down the principle that society may claim rightfully, not only that the writer or teacher shall be responsible for what he intends to teach, so that he shall not inculcate lewdness, but that he shall be responsible also for the collateral tendencies of his style and manner of teaching, so that it shall be incumbent on him to use the language, illustrations, etc., the least likely to work injuriously on the imaginations of the young, the untalented, and the passionate."

That passage, I believe, contains the true and the false most confusingly commingled, for which I do not propose to hold you responsible to the extent of bolts and bars and prison fare and labor, but only in the way of free discussion; and I hope to be treated as justly for what I have here said, with which I know you cannot agree. Yours very sincerely,

J. A. J. WILCOX.

A WORD ON THE OBSCENE LITERATURE QUESTION.

For some time I have seen what I considered a dangerous tendency in liberalism, and have attempted to point out that danger in a few brief comments. These criticisms have been dictated by an earnest desire to see liberalism stand before the world as one of the great moral factors of the age. The recent conduct of many liberals in reference to the law prohibiting the sending of obscene literature through the mails confirms my fears that liberalism is in danger of becoming too lax in its moral code.

The readiness with which so many liberals embrace anything that claims to be for more liberty is of itself a dangerous sign. This unthinking demand for such absolute freedom as many liberals are clamoring for is the road to anarchy and ruin. Constitutional restrictions are just as necessary to the existence of true liberty as constitutional permissions; and those who lose sight of the right of society to protect the common welfare by wholesome legislative

restraint are as much the enemies of equitable freedom as the advocates of arbitrary despotism. Obscene literature is an enemy to society, and is as much within the sphere of legislative prohibition as theft or murder. The doctrine which some liberals advocate that the State has no right to legislate in the interest of morality because there is a difference of opinion among men as to what constitutes morality is as absurd as to maintain that no legislation of any kind should be attempted because some persons would be opposed to any such exercise of power. In fact, the liberals who deny the right of the State to thus protect itself from the worst enemies of society assume premises that lead to the destruction of all social compacts. Obscene literature is an enemy to that morality which the State is bound to protect, and the mails of the United States are not more sacred than the rights invaded by those vile publications, sent out to corrupt the youths of our country.

A more untenable position could not be taken than that of those liberals who demand an absolute repeal of the law prohibiting the sending of vile literature through the mails; and a few more such blunders on the part of many prominent persons in the party will give liberalism a bad odor to the friends of decency.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

OZARK, Mo.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

NO. XXIX.

It is the ORDINAL TRIO of fundamental ideas—*first, second, third*—which has been hitherto considered. It remains to consider the corresponding cardinal trio,—*one, two, three*. This elevates us into a higher metaphysical, speculative, and spiritistic realm. The cardinal trio holds a relation to ideal space, and, so, to the invisible universe, and, within the visible universe, to real space and to ether and air (breath, spirit), as infilling and occupying space; like that which the ordinal trio holds to time, with its *watery-currental* character, to matter at large (temporalities), to generation, as a *chain or currental succession* of beings, and to the creative and practical relations of God to the world and to man; as an on-going, the *grandis ordo eventorum*. The ordinary, or *temporal*, sphere of being is related to ordinality, among numbers; and the cardinal or spiritual sphere of being to cardinality, among numbers (see *Basic Outline of Universology*).

At this transition from the ordinal numbers to the cardinal numbers, and, so, from what is analogous with one to what is analogous with the other, we transcend all popular religious conceptions, and ascend to Hindu philosophy, Zoroastrianism, Hebrew Monotheism, and Hermetics; the aristocracy of theosophies or theological ideas; in other words to mysteries and occultism, the basis of that wide-spread older world-religion which preceded ordinary theological and ecclesiastical history.

From this point of view, and as now understood by the aid of the results of modern scholarship and discovery, the claims of the Catholic Church to authority, on the ground of its antiquity, are greatly diminished. Judaism has become almost modern, and Christianity altogether so. Eighteen hundred years is now no more to us than a century was, half a century ago. Abraham is just a little remote, and on the hither border of our present antiquity; while Jesus, Peter, and Paul are almost our fellows.

From this transcendent point of view; that of magic, of initiates and adepts; of Hermetics and Kabbala; of a back lying and profound metaphysic, originally the *philosophy* of ancient India,—from this point of view, allied with the cardinal number trio (one, two, three), the whole other trio—*ordinal* (first, second, third)—was esoteric, public, popular, plebeian, *womanish*, and predominantly false and evil (devilish or satanic); while only the *secret wisdom* was deemed esoteric, manly, and divine; or really worthy, true, and good. It will be shown presently how the ordinality and temporality series—the lower series—became permanently allied with Satan or the Devil.

From this pretentious, but reserved and really lofty, point of view—that of the older and quasi-universal philosophy and religion, communicated to learned initiates—God is not, now, the First (Cause), in any work of creation, in time, or in any historic sense whatever; but THE ONE (To Hen) in the logical or purely metaphysical sense; *not implying, but denying* all action or change,—without "variableness or shadow of turning" (James 1, 17). Still more rigorously, and somewhat otherwise conceived of, God in his absoluteness is the zero, back of one, out of which all number emerges; and hence the Nirvana, or Not-being, of Brahminism and Buddhism; and, again, the unknowable, of Spencer. It is with the Neo-Platonists, perhaps, that we find THE ONE, *abstractly conceived of*, most distinctly defined and insisted on as the supreme and absolute God,—*hyper and hypostatic*, or the source of all emanations (hypostases); but, concretely, it was the Jewish nation which embodied this idea as the one true God, and gave it practical authority. This absolute unity of God has descended from the Jews to the Mohammedans, and is subsumed by modern Unitarianism. The Jewish ceremonial of the synagogue of to day has this formula of *credo*:—

"I believe in one God, whose unity is perfect, and who can never be understood as distinct in different persons and personifications. There are no limits, either of time or of space, to his being and existence. He has never been, nor never will be, known unto man in any shape or form of bodily or physical appearance."

The Hindu and the Jew are reconciled in the philosophy of Hegel, who demonstrates, as his point of departure, the virtual identity of zero and unity; or

of not-being and being; or of negation and reality. This farthest back point of philosophy, this identification of opposites, was, however, conceived of by the old Hindus, and is their *Aum* or *Aun*; the ineffable or unpronounceable, the supremely sacred and unutterable, name; for a farther explanation of which, see farther on. In a less transcendental sense, however, making the transition to the more popular (vulgar) class of ideas (related to time, creation, and change), **THE ONE** may be taken as the type of the supreme God-idea.

THE TWO, as the opposite or "adversary" of **ONE**, is then, logically, the devil, or the embodiment of evil; and the **THREE** should, by the same logic be the representative of an integration or higher unity of good and evil, or of God and the devil, in a supreme harmony of some kind; but this ultimate reconciliation required a bolder stretch of reasoning than any of the old philosophies or religions seemed competent to. **THE TWO** hardly appears as a distinct individual embodiment; but instead of it we have, interposed between Brahminism and Judaism, the old Persian theology (Zoroastrianism or Zoroastrianism), which recognizes two opposite and coeternal principles, that of good and that of evil, as constituting the divinoid supremacy. This doctrine came into Judea from Persia, as the Hindu trinities came thither from India. It occupies, logically, the middle ground, in one direction between Hinduism, with its Three-God-idea, and Judaism with its One-God-idea; and in another direction between this last and Christianity, which readopted the Three-God-idea within the One-God-idea.

We can now see that Christianity was a blending and smelting of the oriental philosophic theosophies with the indigenous theology of Judea. From the point of view of the initiates in Hermetica it was a disastrous vulgarizing of "the secret wisdom"; from that of religious integration and evolution it was a prodigious lifting of the common mass of mind, immersed still in Polytheism,—many-god-ism; while from the point of view of Judaism itself it was a wicked defection from a higher and purer doctrine. Its great moral feature was that it introduced the *truly human element—the heart of flesh*—into the God-head, and so laid a powerful hold upon the sympathies and affectional sentiment of mankind.

The distinct representation of the evil principle was not then so consistently made by the single number two as that of the supreme good principle was by the number one. The reason seems to have been: That the whole cardinal trio (one, two, three) was, by another aspect of the symbolism, taken, as we have seen, to be relatively good, as compared with the whole ordinal trio (first, second, third), which was then taken to be bad. This ordinal series, representing temporalities, and, more primitively still, time (as the cardinal series represented spiritualities of the out-spreading heavens, and, primitively, space), and also being *successionoid* and currental, or elongated and broken into segments, coincided in character with the body of a serpent,—each fold of his body representing a successive age. So it came that the serpent completing a circle (with his tail in his mouth) was the universally accepted symbol of eternity or endless time; and (it would seem)—when the two ends were not so connected—of time merely, and especially of past or historical time; and, so, finally, of tradition or ancient habits and popular unphilosophic belief. At the same time, devotion to *temporalities* is *practical wisdom*; whence it happened that the serpent was both a symbol of the wicked or profane aspect of things and of wisdom; and was sometimes worshipped as divine. Thus the serpent, or the old serpent, or the old red serpent or dragon (a modified form of the serpent), was the symbol of evil, and of time or tradition; and exceptionally of wisdom. (Red is symbolic of the past, green of the present, and blue of the future.) The woman as inferior to man was also relatively evil, and was closely connected with the serpent. The sea, with its current of successive waves, its stream-like character, was again a special analogue of time, and so of historical tradition.

The symbolism of the third chapter of Genesis can be readily understood by the aid of these Hermetic solutions; but at present we are concerned rather with the origins of Christianity. We, with whom Christianity has now become in a great measure traditional, have difficulty in realizing that the great struggle of Jesus and the Christian apostles was with tradition,—the traditions of the elders." The devils over which he gave to them power were, especially, bad spiritual influences and false doctrines; and when he said "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," (Luke x., 18) it was, in the symbolic oriental phrase of his day, only what a reformer of our day would express by saying, in plain, unfigurative speech: "I see, as certain, the extinction of the traditional authority of the past." To really translate from the literature of an early people, we must be familiar with their *habitual methods of thought*, and especially avoid first rendering our *habitual methods of thought* into their language; and the greatest extremes in this respect are between the ancient oriental and the modern western orders and states of mind; so that it may be said, with no little propriety, that "the Scriptures" have never yet been translated. The same idea is rendered in Luke as follows: "Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (Luke xii., 31); that is to say, the dominant opinion, descended from the past, shall be utterly subverted.

The two specific enemies of nascent Christianity, in the first century after Christ, were the diffusive Hindu "Secret Wisdom," which either had taken or soon afterwards did take a modified specific form in the Jewish Kabbala, as we have it still in the Zohar; and the more rational Persian form of the same doctrine, which came somewhat later than the more primitive Hinduism. This modified Jewish Hinduism we may

for convenience refer to as the Kabbala, and the other as the old Persian philosophy. The old Jewish theosophy had had idolatry (Polytheism, many-god-ism), as its enemy to be overcome, and had thoroughly accomplished its task. Jesus and the apostles came most immediately in conflict with this common and triumphant Jewish doctrine (as Phariseeism, Sadduceeism, etc.). And the new movement either vanquished it, or separated itself from it. One or a few generations later, when the Apocalypse was written, the Kabbala and the old Persian philosophy were the remaining forms of tradition, with which young Christianity found itself arrayed in direct hostility. All this appears inferentially in the Apocalypse itself. It was still later that the new faith had its great battle with Neo-Platonism.

The Kabbala was already, at that day, traditional; its very name signifies *virtually tradition* (Kitto, *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, word *Kabbala*); and the revelator returns upon the old doctrine, "the secret wisdom," the complement of calling it that very old serpent, which it, in its palmy days, had pronounced all merely temporal or historical affairs to be, teaching the world to treat time-lore, or tradition with depreciation and contempt. The characteristic *schema* of the Kabbala was the propounding of ten *Sephiroth*, a sort of divine attributes and emanations, virtually ten fundamental points of doctrine. Of these ten Sephiroth, the first three belonged to the essence of God, and the remaining seven were merely *crowned heads*, an expression equivalent to cardinal principles (Kitto, *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, word *Kabbala*, p. 100). Among the ten, the first was also called the crown, as prominent or cardinal among themselves. The old Persian philosophy had its two fundamental principles merely, good and evil; and, being more philosophical and less traditional, had more ground to stand upon. There must have been recognized, also, three stages of the Kabbalistic tradition, an older one, the serpent (of the sea), more purely traditional, a later one, more philosophic, represented by the dragon, a lizard type of animal transitional to the land beast or true animal, and finally the beast, as the finally constituted philosophy.

Let us now quote from John, the revelator: "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she, being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And there appeared another wonder in heaven: and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, . . . and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man-child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God and to his throne. . . . And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world (Rev. xii). And I stood upon the sand of the sea and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns. . . . And I saw one of his heads, as it were, wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed; and all the world wondered after the beast. And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast; and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast who is able to make war with him? . . . And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and [but] he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed (Rev. xiii). And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornications. And upon her forehead was a name written, mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of earth. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and when I saw her I wondered with great admiration" (Rev. xvii).

For the fuller exposition, really the true translation of this, for us, mystical literature, in the light of the principles stated in what precedes in this article, the reader is referred to the article which will follow this.

JEFFERSON'S CUP OF TEA.

In the anecdote of Washington in THE INDEX for Aug. 1, Jefferson finds his tea too hot and cools it in his saucer; whereupon Washington suggests an analogy to illustrate the necessity of a second chamber. But suppose Jefferson's tea had been already of the desired temperature, or even, say, too tepid? Unfortunately for Washington's argument, tepidity is the usual condition of our worthy congressmen; and some may agree with J. S. Mill in thinking that a single chamber (especially if it be composed of Anglo-Saxons) is more in need of the spur than of the bridle. Besides, too, with the cheap press and the telegraph, the public answers all the purposes of a first chamber, being yet free from the attendant dangers of tyranny and obstruction of the bicameral system.

The unicameral system brings the power as close as can be to the people; and that is where it should be; not because a man of the people is wiser or purer than a senator, but because the people is the people, and hath its own interest at heart.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

WOMAN AND CHRISTIANITY.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Aug. 2, 1878.

FRIEND GREEN:—

I have waited until after our Rochester anniversary before replying to your note of invitation to attend the Watkins Free Thought Convention. I enclose you our resolutions,—the most liberal ever going forth from a woman's rights convention. The press has attacked them, and the clergy, which is pretty sure evidence not only that they are right, but that they are needed. The very underlying principle of woman's demands is the right to self-development. Without this right and this power there can be no freedom. The more deeply I examine history, the more fully I see the influence ecclesiasticism has had upon law. As far as woman is concerned, she has not only been debarred from the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures, but in her case there is already a union of Church and State. After the Norman Conquest canon law had a very powerful influence in modifying and changing common law, especially upon all points where woman was most interested, as marriage, children, inheritance, etc. In taking English common law, with all its restrictions upon woman, as the basis of American law, this country has already, as far as woman is concerned, that union of Church and State against which all thoughtful persons are arrayed. So woman, if she but knew it, has far more at stake than man, not only in prevention of greater union, but in the breaking up of that already fastened upon us.

Writers upon law have been very blind in discovering the influence of ecclesiasticism upon legislation. Not until the seventh edition of his famous *Criminal Law* did even Wharton discover its bearing upon the law for crimes. Amos has not yet recognized its effects upon civil law, although closely interwoven with it; and I know of but two writers who have at all noted the especially restrictive influence of Christian legislation upon woman. These two are, Maine in his *Ancient Law*, and Canon Charles Kingsley in a letter to John Stuart Mill. A little thought and a little study bring these effects clearly to light.

The time has fully come for woman to think for herself in religious matters; and, deeming your association for free religious thought one of great importance and benefit to woman, I shall gladly avail myself of your invitation to be present and take part in the Watkins Convention.

Truly yours, MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE.

CANADA IN WANT OF A LIBERAL LEAGUE PARTY.

SALAMANCA, N. Y., Aug. 5, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I take the following from the *Albany Law Journal* of August 3, which shows that a Liberal League party is wanted in Canada:—

"Held, That Christianity is a part of the recognized law of this Province (Ontario), and, therefore, that an action for breach of contract to let a public hall, a plea setting up that the purpose for which said hall was intended to be used, was for the delivery of certain lectures containing an attack upon Christianity was a good defence, and plaintiff was not entitled to recover.—Ct. Queen's Bench, Ontario, Easter Term, 1878."

Therefore a "Christian government" sustains its "Christian" subjects in deliberately violating their contracts with "infidels." In Canada it seems "infidels" have no rights that Christians are bound to respect in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It seems the "Queen's Bench" is a bench of superstitious idiots, and they may learn that by such decisions they make an "attack upon Christianity" far more effective than Mr. B. F. Underwood, with all his learning, could have done in the hall for six months. "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad." H. M. GREEN.

SCHOOL MEETINGS.

In each school district there will be held in a few weeks the regular annual school meeting. It is important that friends of education, and especially those who are in favor of the separation of the Church and State, should be sure to attend these school meetings, where not only the general questions in regard to the school for the coming year are decided, but the officers are elected who are to hire the teachers and transact the business of the district. Let every liberal remember to be present at the annual meeting, and, when there, in the election of school officers to vote only for men who are free from the yoke of the priesthood, to vote only for men who will conduct the school in the interest of education, and not to build up the Church. This occasion, the election of school officers, will be one of the best opportunities for secularists to resist the union of Church and State.

CYRUS LEE.

MAPLE RAPIDS, Mich., Aug. 11, A. R. 103.

ONE CANNOT but reflect on the striking contrast between Imperialist Germany and republican France at this moment. Seven years ago Germany seemed more democratic than France. The constitutional empire had just entered upon what promised to be an era of self-government, national growth, and cultivation of the arts of peace. France was republican, but who did not tremble for the republicanism of a people just liberated from Bonapartism? Seven years have passed, and behold the blighting influence of the empire and the tranquillizing and elevating effect of the republic. Germany has retrograded and drifted back into arbitrary assaults on personal liberty, press prosecutions, and assassination. France has steadily advanced to the greatest and most real exercise and enjoyment of democracy ever witnessed on so large a scale on the continent of Europe.—*Springfield Republican*.

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- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fairs shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

A SUBSCRIBER in Bristol, England, has just sent us this little message: "You are right as to the Comstock business. How is it acute American people do not see with you? Best wishes!"

GOVERNOR BISHOP, of Ohio, has issued a proclamation calling "all Christian people in the State of Ohio" to assemble in their churches on Friday, September 13, to pray for the cessation of the plague at the South.

THE EPISCOPAL House of Bishops have unanimously deposed Bishop McCookrey, of Michigan, on account of his scandalous misconduct and his flight from the country. Similar energy would win for other churches a respect they do not always receive.

BISMARCK'S coquetry with the Papal Nuncio at Kissingen is explained as possibly arising out of the necessity of making peace with the Church in order to render the Imperial Exchequer independent of Parliamentary grants. One thing is at least certain: no military despotism can be trusted as a sincere friend to intellectual liberty. Despite their mutual rivalries, all despotisms have a profound sympathy with each at bottom, and are ever ready to make coalitions against the common enemy—freedom.

THE RAVAGES of the yellow fever at the South, terrible as they have been, have revealed afresh the kindness of the human heart in a most touching manner. There is something very impressive in the spontaneity and heartiness with which contributions for the sufferers have been poured in from every part of the North. Sectional animosity cannot long survive when the people thus demonstrate the warmth of their sympathies for each other. The black cloud of pestilence itself is gilded with light by the radiance of humanity.

THE *Advertiser* of last Monday published this curious item of news from Lynn, Massachusetts, which will interest many of our readers: "The Oxford Street Chapel is advertised to be sold on account of non-payment of taxes. The chapel is owned by the Free Religious Society, and the Hon. H. W. Paine, of Boston, has given it as his opinion that the chapel, being church property, is not liable to taxation, and therefore cannot be sold. City Solicitor Harmon is of opinion that it is not church property." This is the chapel in which Rev. Samuel Johnson formerly preached. If churches must be exempted from taxation at all, let us at least have impartiality and exempt all alike.

THE ARREST of several persons at Watkins for retelling Mr. Heywood's pamphlet is a repetition of the wrong committed in his imprisonment. Poor in substance and style as the pamphlet is, it cannot be suppressed without violating freedom of discussion; and no greater folly could be committed than that of giving factitious importance to a work of this character by attempting to suppress it. Nothing remains but to insist that thought and discussion shall be free, and to vindicate the general rights trampled upon in the persons of these arrested parties. The question is unfortunately a mixed one, and liberty cannot be effectually protected if passion rather than reason controls the action of the liberal party.

LAST FRIDAY NIGHT Denis Kearney made a speech to eight thousand people on Union Square, New York. The *Tribune* said in its report: "The speaker raised great applause by saying: 'The honest workmen will run this country if they have to walk through blood up to their knees, and die in the pool.' The place for holding the meeting was praised, and Providence was declared to have favored the meeting with a favorable night for holding it in the open air. 'In fact,' said Kearney, 'God has followed me all over the country.' Three cheers were given for Butler at the speaker's request. A reference perhaps to a premeditated attack upon the Chinese was made in

this sentence: 'There may be trouble in California soon, and some of you may be sent there in a regiment of soldiers. My advice is that you shoot the first man that commands you to shoot your brother.' The President of the Third Avenue Railroad was denounced for receiving a large salary. This denunciation brought forth cries of 'hang him.'"

THERE WAS A CURIOUS EPISODE at the Kearney meeting of last Friday, in New York city, which is worth noting. Denis Kearney mounted the railing, and "nominated for chairman Patrick Ford, and said that no one should be elected chairman who was not honest. A man in the crowd said: 'How do we know that Ford is honest?' Ford was elected by a show of hands, but when called for by Kearney did not answer. Kearney then said: 'I nominate George Blair for the position.' Justus Schwab waved his hand excitedly at the chairman and said, 'He betrayed us in '74.' A large number of persons in the crowd echoed Schwab's assertion, while Kearney was putting the motion whether Blair should or should not be chairman. Kearney declaring that the show of hands indicated the election of Blair, Schwab called out, 'He is a traitor.' Kearney, pointing at Schwab, said, threateningly: 'You will be put in prison.' Schwab's face flushed, and he fiercely replied: 'You threaten me with a prison! So, you talk prison, too, do you?' Kearney answered: 'You will have to submit to the will of the majority.' Kearney then put the vote over again. There was a great show of hands against Blair, but he was declared elected. As Blair mounted the railing he was soundly hissed. He repudiated the charge of being a traitor, and then made a short speech of the usual labor reform pattern." Here was an exhibition of character which tells volumes to those who can understand it.

THE CYNICAL REMARKS of the *New York World* on the arrests at Watkins have just enough truth to make them uncomfortable reading for liberals of cool-headedness and good sense: "No less than four members of the convention contrived to get arrested for selling a book to which one of the good citizens of the town invoked the attention of a magistrate as indecent literature, and the three men and the girl who had distinguished themselves as active agents in behalf of scientific impurity are now martyrs, if not in the cause of truth, at least in the cause of free discussion. It is plain that these amateur book-peddlers went to work deliberately in the hope of making themselves conspicuous through suffering, persecution, and prosecution; after the manner of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant; and, indeed, the secretary of the convention did not hesitate to say in his exultation over the affair that he hoped all the freethinkers would be arrested. Such an alacrity in seeking martyrdom is beyond anything in story except Gibbon's account of the zeal of the early Christians, who, according to that freethinking historian, went about making themselves generally obnoxious by their profession of faith and their denunciation of paganism until they irritated the tolerant Romans into crucifying and burning a few of the most urgent of them. It is a pitiable thing, however, that the martyrdom of freethinkers is commonly incurred for the circulation of an indecent book. What necessary connection is there between freethinking and peddling indelicate writing upon delicate topics? Why do these reformers always come in contact with society upon this topic of the relation of the sexes? It cannot be that they choose this theme deliberately as their best battle-ground, and we must conclude that they drift towards such discussion in obedience to some prurient propensity inherent in the freethinking mind. Certainly if there be any cause in which martyrdom is not heroic, it is in the assertion of the right to peddle an indecent fifteen-cent pamphlet, with the indecent passages carefully marked to draw the attention of the reader."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Creed Religions as Cultivators of Political Hypocrisy.

A PAPER READ AT THE CONVENTION OF FREETHINKERS, AT WATKINS, N.Y., AUG. 25, 1878. BY HON. ELIZUR WRIGHT.

By political hypocrisy I mean professing to be a Republican or a Democrat without regarding the rights of other people as equal to one's own—not doing as one would be done by. And by creed religions I mean associations of people who undertake, by pains and penalties, to compel belief in regard to supernatural persons and a state of existence after death. With creed in itself I have no quarrel. A man who believes nothing, is good for nothing. Faith is not a matter of will, still less a thing to be enforced by fear; it naturally follows after evidence, and often it takes, and must take, its evidence at second hand; that is, believe on authority. Every political system must have some creed. If it had none there would be no such persons as political hypocrites. Every religion must have some creed, or it would not be represented by any association or organization. The difference between politics and religion as to creed is, that the former regards only natural men in this world, where evidence is attainable at first hand. The latter regards beings and things above or beyond the senses, of which the evidence, at least for common mortals, is at second hand or resting on authority, and which is often beyond comprehension. To say that one shall believe on authority, without questioning the title of that authority, is to say that one shall not reason, shall not think. One cannot well help thinking sometimes.

I have no quarrel with religion, any more than with the human imagination. Religion, as the term is generally understood, includes a system of morals along with a theory of supersensual beings and a future existence. But really the system of morals cannot be considered as part and parcel of the religion, for the two may be inconsistent or conflictive. Religion, distinctly considered, is one of two things. It is either purely an exercise of the human imagination, or it is a miraculous, supernatural impartation of knowledge, otherwise unattainable by the human faculties. Whichever it is, let the individual freely indulge his imagination or cling to his faith in revelation, and freely declare it, in poetry or prose. If he is sincere, it will do him good and hurt no one else. But if he puts it on paper and with a bludgeon compels another to sign it, that is another matter. Not to go into other religions, but to take the Christian as an example of all, as long as the Christian said, "Believe Jesus is the Christ or you shall be damned in the next world," he was to be tolerated, whatever might be thought of the moral tendency of his doctrine. But when he got political power and began to damn people in this world for not believing it, he became an intolerable nuisance himself. It took a millennium or more of deep woe and degradation to abate him, even tolerably.

Though Christianity professes to be founded on Jesus, there is no evidence that Jesus held its creed, but much to the contrary. Many sayings are attributed to Jesus which he cannot have said. He is said to have commanded his disciples, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." Whether we are to believe he ever said this depends not only upon the character of the man as exhibited in other parts of his brief biography, and the veracity of the writer, but on the question of fact whether he lived after being crucified. This fact is assumed, but by no means proved. I cannot believe it. The most reasonable conclusion seems to me to be, that Jesus never said such a thing, and consequently was not himself a Christian.

Considering that the moral teaching of Jesus was not wholly rejected by the Christian dogmatists, it is conceivable that Christianity may have been useful to mankind, rather than otherwise, while it abstained from wilful falsehood and temporal penalties to compel faith. But this would be due altogether to its moral side, which it has in common with many other religions, and by no means to its dogmatic side.

Both history and observation of human nature teach us that uniformity of faith in the Christian creed as laid down in its studied formulas is simply impossible. Uniformity of belief in regard to natural laws is hardly possible. But when we come to the supernatural, when we undertake conceptions of the infinite, the unbeginning past and the unending fut-

ure, how is agreement possible? The misfortune of Christianity, or perhaps I ought to say its crime, was, that it did not content itself with other-world penalties for unbelief, but the moment it acquired political power it resorted to temporal penalties. When and where the promise of intolerable evils in the world to come did not command faith, Christianity set itself at work to make this world intolerable. It succeeded wonderfully in the means, but failed in the end. It far worse than failed; for to every mind capable of reasoning at all, the attempt to enforce belief otherwise than by facts and arguments, went to disprove the truth of the Christian creed. Temporal penalties, from the very nature of the human mind, could produce only the semblance of faith, not the substance. For ages and ages, from the days of Constantine to the present day, the semblance has been largely produced; but just in proportion to the prevalence of outside worldly pressure has been the tendency in the minds of the intelligent to accept Christianity only with the lips. And as human reason is always struggling to develop itself, eyes are always open to the stars, and ears to the voices of birds and running waters, what an enormous crop of insincerity has been raised by the ploughing and harrowing of the Christian priesthood with the great political teams at its command! Not only science but common-sense has always been specially opposed to Christianity, not only from the inherent incredibility of its creed, or difficulty of believing it, if you please, but from the propensity of its disciples to inflict temporal penalties for unbelief.

Now political power, under whatever form of government, must necessarily be exercised by men, to say nothing of women, who belong to the intelligent classes,—whose intelligence is above the average. It is the intelligent classes that Christian ecclesiasticism has been training for at least fifteen centuries to insincerity in religion. If this insincerity could be strictly confined to religion, it would damage only the individual himself. But this is impossible. Every man, and especially every intelligent man, is a significant factor in society. He is eminently political. If his religion is insincere, so may we expect his politics to be.

Why, politics is both a science and an art. As a science, it is the science of society, of man as gregarious. As an art, it regards the practical methods of government, which may be divided into two classes: one of which regards men simply as machines, and perhaps totally depraved machines at that, and the other as immaterial personalities, normally capable of harmonious self-government.

Now, it hardly needs to be said that all science, or accumulation of the knowledge of the true relations of things—for the essence of things we are incapable of knowing—rests on absolute sincerity. Of course a man who is capable of stating as a fact what he knows to be false, can add nothing to science, or the common stock of known relations or natural laws. But science enacts more than this. She excommunicates the man who is capable of stating as a fact what he does not know to be a fact; and she even disclaims the man who does not rigidly discriminate between theory and law. She does not assume to visit with the pains and penalties of either this world or the next the exercise of the imagination as disclaim of law, but she sternly excludes it from that function. The *sine qua non*, the absolutely indispensable qualification of the scientist is, readiness to give up any theory whatever when the facts require it. You may hold it as a theory till then; but if you profess to hold it at all afterwards you are either a blockhead or a scientific hypocrite. Science, if possible, owes less to its hypocrites than religion does. And as it punishes them only with scorn, and never with faggots, it is not much afflicted with them.

Since there is such a thing as political science, it is quite manifest that like all other science it must be founded on sincerity, absolute scientific truthfulness. And if political science, since its birth, whenever that may have been, has discovered and settled anything, whether inductively or deductively, by history, observation, or experiment, it is that man is capable of harmonious self-government. In other words, that the art of governing produces the best results—the happiest development of society—when it proceeds on the theory that man is not a mere machine, but a living personality inhabiting a machine, who, as an average fact, will govern himself, when left to himself, better than he can be governed. Government on this theory deals with exceptional cases, abnormalities; relies on the honesty and competency of the many to live happily and harmoniously, provided they are protected from the greed and disorderly violence of the few. On this theory of the science of government the art of government leaves entirely without law many subjects, which, under the other, are loaded with penal statutes. The difference of proceeding constitutes the difference between political liberty and political vassalage. The form of government has really nothing essential to do with it. Any form is capable of adopting the demonstrated theory of political science, and any form is capable of rejecting it, or in other words, of being run by political hypocrites, who, professing the truth, or at least not denying it, act on the falsehood that the mass of mankind are mere machines to be governed for the benefit of the governors.

It hardly need be said that some of the leading minds who laid the foundations of our independent federal republic accepted the truth of political science and intended the practical government should, as far as possible, proceed according to it. They expected to secure this end by adopting the form most favorable to it. But it still less needs to be said that the success has not been complete. And the question arises, Why? Why have persons exercising a perfectly innocuous liberty of thought, speech, and act, been persecuted by pains and penalties? Why

have persons living honestly and industriously, on their own labor, been over-reached, cheated, and ruined by privileged corporations, or the interference of laws professing to protect industry? In saying that it is because our government has been largely run by political hypocrisy, if not the direct and necessary offspring of religious hypocrisy, yet as nearly related to it as a nephew to an uncle, I may be saying what needs proof; and as far as I think your patience will bear it, I will give what I presume to think proof.

There is everywhere throughout Christendom ecclesiastical as well as civil government, whatever ligature may exist between the two. Temporally as well as spiritually the Christian Church, more or less, governs itself, and attempts to govern the outside world. There is nowhere a church having a creed which does not to some extent use temporal or present-world coercion in its governing. It is either a kingdom or a republic of this world as well as of another. And in spite of that great principle of human brotherhood, the Golden Rule adopted from the previous ages and anterior religions, which makes governors servants of the people and not masters, which assumes as the true theory of political science that men are not machines, the practical government of the Church, from the loftiest Catholic to the humblest sect, has proceeded and proceeds mainly on the other theory that they are machines. Not that the practice as well as the preaching of service and self-sacrifice is not to be found in the lower stratum of ecclesiastical government as well as in civil. It is found there largely in both, to the infinite credit of human nature and the overwhelming confirmation of political science. But among the principalities and powers of the Church, nothing is less at home than the Golden Rule. It dwells there only in a restricted sense, as honor does among thieves. Possibly this is a necessity of the case, and that without it ecclesiastical government could not exist. And why might it not as well be allowed to *non-exist*, provided we could have political government conducted with a good degree of regard to the Golden Rule? What I wish to direct particular attention to, is the hypocrisy by which the Church falls of being governed according to the Golden Rule. This hypocrisy is the fruit not of the Golden Rule, which is not original with the Church, but of the creed, which is. If not the creed itself, the enforcement of it, is the natural and inevitable nurse of the very hypocrisy which always assumes and maintains the government of the Church itself. Do we not here see a reason why hypocrisy has largely invaded and pervaded civil government? Christian morality, as distinct from its creed, is not at fault, but its creed is. In every powerful church in Christendom its creed is held by men capable of reasoning against the dictates of their reason, on the pretence that society would go to wreck if the masses should lose their faith, but truly because, by a confession of their real thoughts, they would forfeit power. But whoever mounts to power on the stepping-stone of a lie, must keep standing on that lie after he gets up; and how can he be depended on not to add other lies to his platform?

It is time now to look at two grand peculiarities of the Christian creed (I mean what is called Orthodox) which make it the nurse of insincerity, especially in this age. These are: 1. The natural depravity of man, or, technically, the dogma of "total depravity." 2. The dogma of atonement for sin by vicarious suffering. The truth of these dogmas rests in no degree on any scientific method of proof, inductive or deductive. They are said to be revealed. But the revelation is a pure assumption; hence so are the dogmas. Granting that the first human pair was created morally pure and virtuous, and fell from that estate, it does not deductively follow that all their descendants must be born totally depraved. And the induction of facts goes everywhere to contradict such a conclusion. Here theology is more irreconcilably at war with modern science than even in the cosmogony of the planet, and with even the Founder of Christianity against it, who admits the maxim that the tree is to be known by its fruit. Theology, when utterly unable to deny the goodness of the fruit, persists in pronouncing the tree bad, till it is regenerated through faith in the atonement. Here is a downright falsehood, in the light of common sense and reason to begin with. Nothing under heaven can be more certain than the character, as good or bad, of certain human actions. For example, suppose a Christian finds an infidel and an enemy in distress, and relieves his wants without asking any remuneration. There can be no dispute that the act is a good one, whether we account for it as a fruit of Christianity, native goodness of heart, or any other motive. Suppose the case reversed, and it is the infidel who relieves the Christian. The character of the act is the same, and as a fact it is fatal to the doctrine of depravity; for from a nature totally corrupt no good action could proceed. Partial depravity nobody denies. But while it is partial, there exists a moral vitality which may grow into a prevailing virtue, of its own force, as society in all ages and countries testifies. A creed so utterly false and contradictory to patent facts as the Christian, in this point, and yet held by men in possession of wealth and power, cannot but make an abundance of hypocrisy. If total depravity were possible to the human race, such a creed would be the thing most likely to bring it about.

If human salvation means anything worth having, it means the acquisition of a noble character, a union of the highest powers with perfect rectitude. Now, self-evidently, this cannot be bestowed from without. It must spring from an effort of the personal, conscious will of the man himself. All the metaphysical hair-splitting of theologians, and tragedies contrived for dramatic effect upon the feelings, cannot change

this truth. They can no more create goodness on a subject of total depravity than manure can create corn by being applied to deadly night-shade.

So much for the dogma of total depravity. The dogma of the atonement, or vicarious suffering for sin and imputed righteousness on the condition of faith and repentance, has two sides to it. One may be called the human, and the other the super-human. On the human side it is a mere tragedy, in which an earnest and good man encounters pain and death to benefit his fellow-men, in vindication of the right, and resistance to the wrong. Of its moral force and value there can be no doubt. It is only because the Christian dogma of atonement shows this human side, with all the pathos that poetry and art can give to a tragedy, that it can subsist for a moment in this age of the world without the utter execration of all cultured minds. But on its super-human or divine side, whatever it may have been or may now be to human reason in its twilight, to the reason which begins to read the bible of Nature, with or without glasses, it is sheer blasphemy, derogatory alike to the justice, the moral power, and the intellect of God. That God should insist on one being suffering for the sins of another, makes him a tyrant. That he should be obliged to admit of its being done in order to secure any degree of obedience to his laws, makes him an incompetent. That he should impute the virtue, obedience, or righteousness of one person to another, makes him an idiot. How can blasphemy go any further? Is it any wonder that free human thought denies the existence of such a God? Is it any wonder that before such a creed a man should be willing to be called an atheist? To such an atheist the crucified man, Jesus, may be as dear and precious as Socrates, or Giordano Bruno, or John Howard, or John Brown, while he regards neither of them as a Christ or Lord of Conscience.

An "atheist" may be a very religious man. Perhaps no man was ever more religious than Spinoza, and he was called an atheist. But his religion had absolutely no creed that extended beyond his knowledge,—no creed, either positive or negative in that outside region. Beyond the limits of reason he neither affirmed nor denied. But instead of being really an atheist and having no God, he had more God than any other man. He felt himself immersed in God, as a swimmer is immersed in the ocean. He is called by Novalis the "God-drunken man." Always too near to God to pray. Doubtless there are infidels who have a negative creed, and deny beyond their possibility of knowledge. And this is a bigotry about as unreasonable as any other.

What human society wants above all things is sincerity. Christianity which started with an incredible creed, threatening damnation to unbelievers, however sincere its apostles may have been, had no sooner gained ascendancy over the effete religion which it encountered, than it madly organized itself with instruments of torture to crush out dissent. It not only set itself against theological dissent, but against all scientific thought which happened to contest its dogmas. Modern science was born in spite of it. It had its martyrs,—men who wrote and spoke quietly, let what would come. Their thinking sapped the faith of all men of culture in the old creed. But the government of the Church madly persevered, and does to this day, in anathematizing all who dispute its dogmas, little as it now dares to persecute. Where it cannot browbeat it bribes. But what caps the climax of the infamy is, that Christianity, Catholic as well as Protestant, now claims to have been the nursing mother of science and civilization! We are not indebted to Christianity for the morals of Jesus, which are also the morals of Confucius and of Socrates. We are only indebted to it for the doctrine of eternal damnation in the next world, for the conception of a God without either justice or sense, in other words an *immoral* God, for the ineffectual faggots and fires of persecution, and, what is probably the worst of all, a dominant brood of political hypocrites.

Now this same Christianity pretends that it is indispensable to human welfare. That without it, virtue, honor, order, government would cease from among men. That its dogmas are all that stand between us and hell upon earth. A Protestant doctor of divinity charging Anthony Froude with having published "an affront to Christendom," says: "Well, Mr. Froude, what are you going to give us in their place? Before we consent to abandon the Rock of Ages, which now underlies all true civilization, and on which rest all the greatness, the goodness, the heroism, the moral beauty, and the social order and well-being of past ages and of the present, we must see something before us besides the quagmire of utter agnosticism, which you are pleased to spread out before us as if you deemed it an abyssum."

Considering the facts, the impudence of this is truly sublime. As if science, with its great departments of astronomy, chemistry, geology, and zoology, born against the will of the "Rock of Ages" represented by the Christian Church, as much as Moses was against that of Pharaoh, had contributed nothing to make the world better than it was when that church had undisputed sway! As if what science has added to our knowledge of force, heat, light, electricity, worlds, animals, men, over what the Bible teaches, is a "quagmire of utter agnosticism"! Pray, what do the Rev. Ray Palmer and the other reverend gnostics who write for the religious press know about God? Nothing whatever which is creditable to Him, unless they have learned it from science. Their tri-personal, theological God is simply an inconceivable monster, clothed with attributes which make him really responsible for all the sin and evil in the world. He is impossible. The men who, being saved by his grace, could be happy looking over into his hell, would be the meanest sinners in his universe. The man who

has once opened his eyes to what science has revealed of the world, must have every atom of "greatness, goodness, heroism, and moral beauty" perish out of him before he can believe in such a God. No, no; all the hope of society is in the sincerity of science. It is science that reveals the only effective, ennobling rewards, and the only useful punishments. It is here on earth that one must win heaven, if he would expect it anywhere. And surely there is hell enough to shun here. As old Lucretius says:—

"For all the dismal tales that poets tell
Are verified on earth, and not in hell."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT FOUNDED ON NATURAL LAW.

BY HON. CLINTON ROOSEVELT.

The foundation of all science is in the fact established by experience that like causes always must induce like consequences.

The higher law is necessity in the nature of things. Truth consists in the nature of things.

The evidence of truth must be consistency under the higher law necessity, because the witness who contradicts himself or Nature nullifies his own testimony.

The chief good is happiness. The happiness of man results from reason based upon his instincts of self-preservation, as too near a fire we feel the pain of burning and shrink away instinctively; while too far from even source of heat we feel the pain of cold, and then shrink back, and thus discover genial warmth which we consider good as being best adapted to our constitutions to effect long life and happiness.

Vice and folly alike consist in seizing little present pleasures, regardless of the greater good or evil in the future.

The one great law by which the All-wise rules the universe is that from which an intermediate action is produced, all good being made of evil by this law,—one force acting alone invariably producing chaos by accidents and death of being; as in astronomy the counter action of centripetal and centrifugal forces producing the orbital motions of the planets, and in chemistry, which is the science of creation, the poisonous, suffocating gas—chlorine—united with another poison—sodium—produces the healthy salt of our daily food.

As all things in Nature are balanced, the mind of man becomes insane if not balanced in accordance with all nature.

The doctrine of the coexistence in the civilizing order of mankind of a selfish, "carnal mind" and spiritual mind" is based on a sound and universal principle. For as amongst the lower orders of creation there are beasts and birds of prey and poisonous reptiles, so also with the genus homo some are cannibals and lower in moral sense than any other mammal.

There is no truth in the assumption that all mankind have been created either free or equal.

The distinction to be made between civilizing men and men of prey is simply this: the man of prey is purely selfish, and cares not how the man of genius and industry may suffer if he only may enjoy the forbidden fruits of others' toil or ingenuity without yielding in return a just reward for labors of the mind or body.

Whoever will not admit these first principles cannot be held to account as a reasonable being, but must be met upon his own false ground, that might or cunning makes all rights.

Thus with what measure he metes, so may it be measured unto him again. This is the first instinct of the sense of justice. Let us repeat:—

The science of government is founded on natural law.

Laws are known to exist in Nature by the experience of mankind in the uniformity of sequences; and all true science is founded on the fact that like causes always induce like consequences in like circumstances.

The higher law is necessity in the nature of things.

The rule of faith in evidence of truth must be consistency under the higher law; the witness contradicting himself, or the nature of things charging himself with falsehood.

The chief good being happiness.

The highest wisdom possible consists in actions to produce the greatest happiness of all sentient beings possible in the nature of things.

All order in creation from which happiness may be created is the resultant of opposing forces.

All knowledge of the difference between good and evil in creation in mankind is the resultant of fear as the repellent of all causes of pain or premature decay and death on the one part, and hope of life and happiness upon the other, when from any accident or lack of due development of organs all if any subject is not properly presented to the understanding. Hence the mere specialist is generally idiotic or insane.

The affections of mankind are balanced scientifically only when due weight is given to both the social and the selfish instincts.

By natural law no rewards are offered to either indolence or ignorance. Want of all the means of happiness being the result of indolence and superstitious fears, the consequence of ignorance in terrified imaginations.

The pains of superstitions to indolent, cowardly minds, and the pains of hunger, cold, and nakedness, the results of indolence of bodies, are equally necessary to arouse to seek for the true means of happiness. In nature without action, all being dank and cold and still.

It is true in science that if there ever was a time in all eternity when all was dank and cold and still, in chaos the first act of intelligence was the command,

"Let there be light." Light being the result of motions or vibrations of the one omnipresent element by which we discover worlds in spaces infinite, and chemistry the science of creation, we discover the true means of creating something out of nothing, or good out of evil.

While all beyond the reach of man has been created perfect, all within our reach is made improvable by genius and industry. On the other part, all things in nature are created to punish indolence and ignorance, as the offal of cities creates malaria, disease, and death; if let alone produces flowers, fruits, and cereals for the support of life and happiness if transported to the country, and covered in the soil with proper seeds according to the art of agriculture. So also in the country, barren sand must be transported to the barren clay and tempered to overcome sterility; so also in hygiene the medicine which is best to one in the asthenic condition, becomes the worst for him as his constitution changes to the asthenic state; nor is there any one panacea but wisdom in adaptation to conditions.

The true reason why all empirical systems to overcome want and superstition have failed hitherto to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and make peace on earth and good-will to all mankind, is that while in the mind of man, as naturally constituted, there are co-existing two opposing forces termed the selfish and the social instincts, so also certain species of the genus homo are cannibals and lower in the scale of nature than any other mammal. Such civilizing men destroy. But in society termed civilized, an intermediate class exists who hold that might or cunning makes all right, and such unite in clans or corporations to overcome just laws. Hence even in religion's corporations we discover men of prey described as follows by Lord Coke:—

"The Established Church of England is much to be applauded that they always had of their counsel men of the most astute and subtle judgment who, however the legislature might enact laws against them, always found means to circumvent and destroy their force."

They reap that they do not strow, and gather that they do not strew. They are purely selfish, and care not how much others may suffer if they only may enjoy the forbidden fruits of others' toil or ingenuity without yielding in return a just equivalent.

But in the country boasting most of its intelligence and freedom, the worst dispositions of the Old World have been adopted. Its credit systems and contempt of honest industry and genius—from which alone all good on earth must arise if ever,—unjust force and cunning, making nothing but destruction to themselves and the indifferent.

False creeds and false measures of values and falsehoods are all equally destructive. The man holding that heaven is like a corrupt legislature granting monopolies and special privileges to an select and precious few of chief of sinners least any one should boast of his own righteousness, is most inclined to say unto himself, when he has made his calling and election sure by his grimaces and negation of all human reason as mere foolishness, and believing that good morals are disgusting, is naturally led to the belief—since imitation is sincerest worship,—that it is all right to persecute those he holds as non-elect and fitted for destruction for the glory of the God of his diseased imagination.

But Providence provides that when their interests clash they shall be ever ready to destroy each other, as two pairs of lions will not live at peace in the same forest.

The good of beasts and birds and men of prey and poisonous reptiles is to destroy the halt, the lame, and blind, who if preserved perpetuate inferior and indifferent creations, and all such as are suffering from accidents resulting from sheer carelessness of all natural laws. The government and religion of Great Britain is thus shown in poisoning and slaying the old and worn-out Asiatic nations, while it hoards up the plunder of the earth.

But of all the imitations of Great Britain, said Thomas Jefferson, the bank mania is the most threatening. It has raised up a moneyed aristocracy among us which has already set the government at defiance. Nor is this rebellious disposition confined entirely to any party. For there are men of prey in all, and all such seek alike to flourish without any useful social instincts. As ex-Representative Landers, in a speech before a Democratic meeting in Indiana, last Saturday, said: "There is little or no profit to the government in coining gold or silver, because of the cost of the bullion; but paper money is made of an article of but little value. Hence the government or bank issuing it makes a great profit out of it, because they never part with a dollar of it unless they receive one hundred cents in return. Therefore, when these facts are considered, you will readily understand why there is a contest as to who shall issue the paper money."

But the ex representative has told only half the history of paper money; for infidel and Christians who agree upon no other ground, agree in this. Some workmen and some men also of capital without so much as a single thought of any measures to prevent it when in power to tax the multitude, exhort the simple to give them the power and they will show the world what they will do. But said their apostle to Gentiles, while residing at Ferney, Voltaire, here am I living in a way suited to my habits and caring little for to-morrow. For I have a friend, a director in the Bank of France, who writes to me whenever money is to be made in the public funds. Sometimes he writes to me desiring me to sell, because the bank is going to withdraw its notes. At other times he bids me to buy for we are going to issue a quantity of notes. And so through the kindness of my friend I always make money, though living two hundred miles from Paris.

This is a system of indirect taxation without representation, worse in its effects than any other ever yet devised, as it gives an appearance of excessive production and excessive population where neither actually exist. It extends over the whole earth, and makes the Rothschild Jew of the kings rather than king of the Jews; so that now it is difficult to discover the difference in principle between the free-trader in money and free-booter.

To correct this crying wrong a kind of labor bill of exchange and a new monetary system is indispensable. But it can only be established on a scientific order in a society of honest citizens, for the dishonest will never yield up a false system of finance voluntarily.

But in the order of nature a great folly can be met most directly only by a greater folly, since idiots are not open to sound reasons. The cure must be homoeopathic. So also with superstitions; they should be allowed to fight them out amongst themselves without involving the whole commonwealth. Hence the Scotch paper-money banking system has been found hitherto the best,—wherein every director and stockholder is bound to the public equally for every fraud committed by their corporations. Such banks seldom fail. But when the whole government is rotten at the core, there is no possible redress but in revolution. That no worse results have followed than we have experienced in the United States may be esteemed a providential miracle. Why there has not been a civil war in every State individually is the mystery, as great as any other miracle.

But the experience of some men proves that in some cases there are actually direct interpositions of an overruling and benevolent Providence; and the experimental form of the government of the United States of America is an example of the possibility of a vast number of individuals living in one country with the worst principles possible to be conceived rampant; the worst being that men have only to be let alone, to buy cheap and sell dear, and things will regulate themselves; selfishness and avarice being the source of countless vices, while cheapness and dearneess being made by many at the will of the most avaricious and most selfish, and affording no criterion by which to judge of things to nations. The very means pretended to be used in order to protect domestic industry in connection with the American credit system, raising prices in America and throwing her own citizens out of employment to starve while importing excessively and pledging the national securities to pay for balances of trade against America, and thus rendering the people tributary to foreign nations by an enormous pledge of bonds, ready to be thrown back upon the market should the nation's honor require war for its defence. But the projectors of the American system have only one opponent worthy of his opposition; namely, the free-trader, who has bought the votes of tariff-men in Congress on the free-trade principle and sustained free trade in slaves. We are required therefore to begin again at the beginning in order to finish at the end.

Thus endeth the first lesson.

The science of government.

The science of government is the science of motive powers.

Motive powers are of two kinds.

First, metaphysical, as mind, governs matter.

Second, physical, as matter, reacts on mind, sustaining or deranging, as when more or less consistent with all nature, action and reaction being equal between mind and matter, and whereas in physics motive powers act directly as the substance, and inversely as the squares of the distances in space, so also by the law ruling the will of man motives operate, not in direct proportion to the greatness of rewards or punishments, men really believing in everlasting punishment still yielding to the most trifling of temptations present.

Wherefore society should be so organized and conducted as that it shall be to the direct self-interest of every individual to act in accordance with the greater interests of all; as in an army in action every blow the soldier strikes is as much to the benefit of the whole army of which he is a member as to his own self-interest. In the mean time each has his own pay and share of spoils to use as best may suit himself without injury to others. And this is a grand desideratum.

The cause of every evil being want, all the wants of man must be supplied in that order in which wants arise in nature.

The first want of man is for subsistence. The acquisition of property by industry and genius invites aggression from the careless and necessitous and beasts of prey in human form; wherefore, the second want of man is for defence.

When men are secured in their possessions the third want of man is for refinement and true glory, if benevolent.

The means of subsistence first are, agriculture manufactures, commerce.

The means of defence are, war, jurisprudence, hygiene.

Third. The means of refinement and true glory are education in physics, metaphysics, politics.

It should be understood that almost every man has his peculiar excellences and defects, so that the defects of each naturally tend to union and coöperation for the greater good of all.

Officers should be chosen at first from those who have shown hitherto the most proficiency in every art and science, by those versed in the arts and sciences required to be practised.

In general officers should be chosen only for the lower grades, and thereafter rise by degrees, as in the army and navy now is practised, and thus learn the art and science of government as other arts and sciences are taught and practised.

When officers have passed through all the grades they should retire to a high court for the correction of errors and trial of impeachments, and there serve until disqualified by age or resignation.

In cases of unfitness for positions, any citizen should have leave to make application for some other place to which he or his friends might imagine him better qualified.

In cases of crime or misdemeanor, any citizen should be impeached and tried, and if convicted, punished, on his own principles. In crimes against the person by corporal punishment, and in crimes against property, the thief or robber should be forced to labor as a slave for the party injured until his earnings shall remunerate the party robbed.

The first principle of justice should be taught by punishment that with what measure one may mete, so shall it be measured unto him again; and all rewards and punishments should be immediate and certain to result.

By the division of labor experience has proved that the result may be increased a thousand-fold above the fruits of all lonely, selfish labors; and selfishness and that necessity which knows no law may thus be overcome,—the hungry being fed, and naked clothed, good will to all may result, and an *esprit du corps* created as an artificial virtue.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

REPLY TO "ORTHODOX."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I am moved to say a word or two in reply to the very candid and suggestive remarks of "Orthodox," in your paper of August 29.

The first remarkable thing about his article seems to be the series of very frank admissions, relinquishing much that his clerical brethren commonly insist upon as positively certain, and also sufficient as a basis for the demonstration of their body of doctrine. But the real wonder is that so few among the ranks of the Orthodox have shown equal candor, and (if he had given his name I should have added) equal boldness. For the frank utterance of such concessions among his own people would certainly have brought upon him as much persecution from the Church as the State now permits it to exercise.

The concessions to which I refer are the following, which I find in various parts of the article entitled—"WANTED—WHAT?"

"This faith [the Orthodox] is not now proving itself true by power such as it once had."

"We who still uphold the Orthodox Christian faith have decried reason as carnal, when we should have been seeking its aid."

"Men will think and study, and will apply their thought and study to religion as to all else. That is the existing fact, and it is a fact which we Orthodox are not prepared to encounter. It has been our fearful blunder to make 'freethinking' a term of reproach."

"How [are wanderers to be brought back to the fold] unless we can convince them that our religion is rational? But the sad truth is that at present we do not and cannot present it in that light."

"There is no evidence that the books of the Bible were written by men infallibly inspired, or inspired at all. They are mostly anonymous, and the unknown writers did not even profess themselves inspired, or intimate that they wrote under unusual conditions. Even as human compositions—not a few bear more than the customary marks of human limitation, ignorance, and error."

"Again, the doctrine of vicarious atonement is indeed absurd; a rational vindication of it, if it is looked at directly and considered simply in itself, is impossible."

These are the concessions which, frankly made by "Orthodox," make it seem strange to me that he should continue to hold as absolutely certain those points of the Orthodox system which his clerical brethren hold because (as they say) the arguments which "Orthodox" has abandoned as unsound are not only sound, but sufficient as a demonstration of the truth of their system.

Before going further, it seems fair to give "Orthodox" an idea of my stand-point. I am not an infidel, but a believer. I believe in God, in immortality, in inspiration, in duty, in responsibility, and in retribution. The degree in which I accept the doctrine called "Evolution" does not in the least interfere with my acceptance of the above ideas. And I accept these, not as demonstrated truths, but because they seem to me the most natural and probable of all the suppositions that can be made regarding those matters. Thus I am at rest upon the important points in question. Far more at rest than when I blindly accepted the whole doctrine of the Orthodox Church. Sundry points of that doctrine I gave up, by slow degrees, because examination assured me that truth and reason were against them. I do not understand how you can continue to hold so much, after giving up so much. And I will now touch upon some points in your defence which seem to me either unsound, or at least as having far less force than you ascribe to them.

When you say of Christianity that "it proved itself true by bringing newness of life to a death-stricken world," and when you say just afterwards that we "cannot doubt the moral resurrection of the ancient world at the call of the Christian gospel," you seem to me extravagantly to overstate the matter. The ancient world was not death-stricken, but passing through the slow process of education from wrong to right, from error to truth, from evil to good, just as we have all been going on ever since. Great and good teachers in various nations had preceded Jesus by centuries of years, teaching substantially a morality not unlike his, and pointing men, as he did, to a Heavenly Father who was to be revered and obeyed. You will ask me whether present results among their living followers bear honorable testimony to the

teachings of Confucius, Sakya-muni, Zarathustra, and the rest. I ask you in return, What one nation of all that call themselves "Christian" nations can be cited as being, in its government, its manners and customs at home, or its influence upon the nations with which it has commercial or other intercourse abroad, a true representative of the method of living which Jesus taught? Nay, more: What one of the sects calling itself Christian, either the Roman, the Greek, or the scores of Protestant sects, can show more than a small percentage of those who bear its name, who are justly entitled, by its own standards, to the full credit of the Christian name?

To give an instance: Jesus was announced by angels (according to the legend) as intending to bring peace on earth; and his followers still call him "The Prince of Peace." In spite of this, most of the wars that have been waged since his time have been provoked and declared by governments called Christian, advocated and consecrated by a clergy called Christian, and actually fought by people called Christian. Do any practices of Chinese or Indians or Persians depart further from the teachings of their masters than this?

The fact is, as I believe, that civilization is to be credited with a great deal which is ordinarily ascribed to Christianity. But their combined achievements do not afford much cause for boasting. The intelligent people who visit us from foreign lands, as from China and Japan, are surprised, and very justly surprised, that, with such instructions and opportunities, we are not better.

Christianity, I think, has had comparatively little influence on the world. The peoples called Christian have had a good deal of influence, and have for the most part used it very ill. Nevertheless, the professional and paid advocates of Christianity, by assuming civilization to be its child and product, have succeeded in making out a plausible case to those who accept their assertion as fact.

But you further suggest, as if the question were unanswerable, "Consider the power of the Bible in history. How do you account for this effect?" I answer, Very easily, by natural causes. In the first place, there is a great deal of merit in the Bible, both Old and New Testaments. However mixed with incredible legend, superstition, and triviality, and however proved unhistorical by a comparison of its parts with each other and with other contemporaneous literature, it yet contains the best information we have in regard to the origin and progress of two great religions, details of the words, actions, and character of some of the most remarkable men that have ever lived, and a body of moral and religious precepts superior, on the whole, to those found in the sacred writings of other nations.

But there is another cause, far more effective than the one just mentioned, for such acceptance and such influence as the Bible has attained; namely, the fact that for twelve hundred years, more or less, an order of men established as authoritative religious teachers of the people, and generally in alliance with the State governments, have been periodically declaring to the people that they must receive and believe what this book contains, under penalty of damnation. Thus, among the peoples called Christian, the Bible has always received a certain lip-reverence, and a tacit allowance of its right to their allegiance, even by persons whose lives are passed in general violation of its letter as well as its spirit.

The "power" which "Orthodox" claims for the early gospel, when confronted with fact, reduces itself to this: the conversion of a few thousands in the few years next following the death of Jesus; and of a few hundred thousands in the centuries preceding the reign of Constantine; and then, when the Church became allied with the State, the corruption of the system increased with the increase of its professors, so that in no long time the reform by Mohammed, in favor of the unity of God, was needed as much by the Christians as by the heathen polytheists of Arabia.

Even this amount of the diffusion of Christianity in a few hundred years, in opposition to existing religions, implies a good deal of power; and "Orthodox" asks, in a tone very like that of the prevaricating brethren whose faults he has been exposing, "Was such power in a lie?" By no means. The power was in the truth, taught by people who sincerely believed it true, and operating successfully to this extent in spite of the mass of error mixed with it.

But what puzzles me is that while vindicating "freethinking," and insisting, with the rationalist, that "reason" must help us to work out the problems of religion, "Orthodox" should still hold to the "absurd" doctrine of vicarious atonement, and to the monstrous doctrine of everlasting perdition, just as those of his clerical brethren do who still depend, as the sufficient basis of their conviction, upon the grounds which he has abandoned as insufficient. Perhaps he will enlighten us further upon that matter.

Sept. 3, 1878.

C. K. W.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 7.

Dr. C. W. Cannon, 50 cents; C. H. True, 25 cents; Wm. Engell, \$3.20; Ernst Prussing, \$4.40; J. H. Howland, \$3.20; Chas. H. Goddard, \$3.20; Jan. McDonald, \$10.00; E. A. Hodson, \$3.20; Howes Chapman, \$3.20; Dr. M. E. Zakrzewski, \$3.20; A. T. Lilley, \$3.00; Henry Lyons, \$3.00; L. G. Ball, 50 cents; T. B. Skinner, \$3.20; Arch Mc. Vean, \$3.20; Mrs. H. B. Bird, \$3.20; Mrs. C. R. Sherman, \$3.20; Benj. Breed, \$1.00; Dr. S. N. Whistler, \$2.00; D. S. Grandin, \$2.00; E. D. Sohler, \$6.40; J. W. Truesdell, \$2.25; J. V. Blake, \$5.00; Mrs. H. Watkins, \$3.20; L. W. Roberts, \$1.00; A. D. O. Nell, \$3.47; William Boyrer, \$3.20; American News Co., \$7.80; Mrs. S. W. Rathbone, \$3.20; H. R. Plimpton, \$3.20; T. B. Wakeman, \$3.20; E. E. P. Clarke, 80 cents; Wm. Edmondson, \$1.00; C. J. Buell, 50 cents; Isaac Russell, \$3.20; Harry Hoover, \$3.20; D. Bates, 10 cents; O. K. Crosby, \$2.20; S. Brooks, \$6.68; M. M. Pratt, \$3.50; A. C. Erikson, \$2.00; R. Wilkin, \$10.11;

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

CONTEMPLATION OF DEATH.

[Arranged from fragments of MS. found in the portmanteau of a young traveller who died suddenly at a wayside inn in Idaho, in the year 1850.]

When toward me bends the shade of death,
And friends deplore my waning breath,
Let woman, flushed in vernal charms,
Support me in her tender arms,
And kindly let her bosom swell
For one who loved her sex too well.

And when the solemn change has come,
Should sorrow hold my angel dumb,
And dim her eyes with humid veils,
And fix them on my features pale,
My spirit, raised on wing to go,
Will hover o'er her breast of snow,
And on her saddened lips impress
The seal of love's farewell caress.
Then, if a tear-drop chance to roll
Adown her cheek, my flying soul
Will snatch the gem,—for earth too bright,—
And bear it to the realms of light;
Nor there the sparkling pledge resign,
But hoard it as a thing divine,
And smile to see its feeble ray
Blend with thy beams, Eternity!

And now, dear spirit, gently press
Those lids that claim thy tenderness,
And hide those faded orbs of blue
That oft in rapture rolled on you,
And through the silent hours of night
Cradled your image in their light.
Now let thy loving fingers close
Those lips above their ivory rows,
And think, while you the task fulfil,
How oft thine own have made them thrill;
How oft, with youthful passion warm,
Their kisses told my heart's alarm.
Enough; retire, forever blest;
Let meaner hands perform the rest.

Next, let nor clown nor knave presume
To bear my relics to the tomb;
Let bards and sages, men of mind,
Convey it thence with bosoms kind,
And think, along the solemn way,
"We bear a brother's weight to-day,"
Let no grim priest of narrow view
My spirit's mystic flight pursue,
And o'er my corpse his terrors sound
To awe his trembling dupes around,
And stupidly profane the end
Of slandered Truth's devoted friend.

Now place me in my rayless bed,
And carve these lines above my head:

"This simple mound conceals from sight
A brother of poetic light.
His heart was Love's volcanic throne,
Love, the sole king he e'er would own;
All men of every hue of skin
He reckoned as his nearest kin;
He looked where'er oppression trod,
And felt the inward flash of God,
And prayed with an immortal hope
For Freedom's universal scope.
Titles and power by outrage won,
And handed down from sire to son,
He ever held in utter scorn,
And honored most the lowly born.
His follies, oh, the vast amount!—
Forgive them ere you stop to count,
And let oblivion's velvet pall
In charity conceal them all.

"Inquirest thou the poet's creed?
'Twas brief, but served his utmost need:
'Truth is divine wherever found,
On Christian or on Pagan ground;
Engraven on the hearts of men
Are God's commandments, more than ten;
The universe his laws proclaim,
To learn them be my constant aim;
Goodness and mercy, holy these
In Jesus or in Socrates;
The glory of an earthly span
Is service to our fellow-man.'
'Twas thus with chastened heart he thought,
Nor cared what theologians taught;
And if he erred to an excess
In not believing more, or less,
Ye who accuse, depart in fear,
And spare his bones your censure hers.
If your own merits far excel
The poet's troubled life, 'tis well.
If in a truer light you live,
Go! learn to pity and forgive."

MONTREAL.

GEORGE MARTIN.

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

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

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The Index.

BOSTON, SEPT. 12, 1878.

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

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

N.B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1878: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
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F. R. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlin, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

A CONVENTION of clergymen and others was held at San Francisco, August 26, in favor of securing a State Constitutional provision for the "religious observance of the Sabbath."

MR. EMERSON'S lecture on the "Fortune of the Republic," delivered in the Old South Church last March, has been published by Houghton, Osgood & Co., and will be read with as much interest as it was heard with delight.

NOW AND THEN a brave, intelligent, and conscientious clergyman follows out his thought unflinchingly, even to the sacrifice of his profession. The Canadian papers of September 2 state that "Rev. John R. Jones, pastor of Christ Church, Belleville, in the Province of Ontario, published his resignation Saturday, saying that he had come to the conclusion that the teachings of science, and not those of the Church, are true." Mr. Jones perceives the true issue; science is itself Antichrist and the maker of Antichrists.

THE *National Reformer* of July 28 had this among its "Rough Notes": "The correspondence in the *Manchester Examiner* on our recent lectures at Manchester still continues. The Rev. E. C. Towne, presumably a Nonconformist, writes: 'I was extremely desirous to leave my own service the other morning to attend Mr. Bradlaugh's lecture on what he calls "Atheism." Had I been able to do so, and liberty to speak given me, I should have maintained four propositions against Mr. Bradlaugh: 1st. That he does not know what Christianity is. 2d. That he does not know what Theism is. 3d. That he does not know what Atheism is. And 4th. That he is not an Atheist. Of course, by "does not know" I mean does not take a view of these things which can be proved by free and sound learning and thought to be the true view.' We have not the pleasure of any acquaintance with Mr. Towne, but are inclined to think that there would be no great difficulty in even now affording the reverend gentleman a full opportunity for maintaining his four propositions. Can our Manchester friends tell us anything of Mr. Towne?"

MAJORITIES IN RELIGION.

The present Constitution of California contains the following just and admirable provisions:—

"The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State; and no person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State."

This may be properly considered the characteristic American doctrine on the subject of religious liberty, though several of the States fail to carry it out so faithfully as to permit atheists to give testimony in the courts. Stated in other words, the American principle is that religious belief is purely an individual affair, and should be entirely beyond the cognizance of the State unless it leads to overt acts against the rights of other individuals or the public peace. All that the National Liberal League aims to secure, in agitating for the "Total Separation of Church and State," is the application of this principle to certain cases in which the European theory of the "Union of Church and State," supposed erroneously to have been wholly discarded here, still causes the retention of practices which really establish a State Religion to that extent. These practices are mere survivals of the European theory, which is obsolescent rather than obsolete. The entire tendency of American civilization, the obvious demand of its underlying political principles, the logical continuance of the process by which a vast secular republic, grounded on the recognition of equal individual rights among all its citizens, has been evolved on this continent out of preëminent sectarian commonwealths, alike require the removal of those anomalies in our political system; and it can hardly be doubted that in the end they will necessarily disappear. Either that, or else the whole course of national development will be reversed, and the secular Constitution under which we now live will be finally undermined by ecclesiastical bigotry and ambition. The National Liberal League is nothing but the nobler destiny of the republic struggling into self-consciousness in the minds of its citizens.

The American doctrine, then, is that the State, as such, has nothing to do with religious opinions, bodies, or institutions, but must treat all these as the private affairs of individuals. This is not to oppose them; it is simply to ignore them. The State has its own positive destiny and duty, deals solely with the secular interests of the people, and declines to assume any responsibility for any other interests they may have. Its secular policy is no more atheistic than it is theistic; to accuse it of atheism is irrational or perverse. Such a public policy is the only possible means of securing to all individuals their private religious rights, and emancipating them from the hard necessity of being taxed for the support of religious opinions not their own. The right of the majority to control the action of the State in all secular matters does not extend to the sphere of religious belief or worship; the right of each individual in this sphere is complete and wholly reserved, just so long as he forbears to overstep the limit himself by trespassing on his neighbor's equal right. In other words, majorities in political questions, from the nature of the case, possess the right of directing public action; in religious questions they possess no rights at all, for the reason that religious questions do not come within the province of the State. This, at least, is the American doctrine; and if it is set aside, the only alternative doctrine is that of the Catholic Church.

In the *Philadelphia Christian Statesman* of Aug. 1 we find the following:—

THE INDEX quotes at length some recent comments of ours on the incapacity of unbelief to beget generosity or self-sacrifice, or to unite its adherents into effective organizations, and adds:—

"Is it really true that the liberals, as a great class in the community, are incapable of forgetting themselves sufficiently to enter into combined action in behalf of their own common principles—in capable of that generous self-devotion and public-spirited cooperation in a great cause which are the loftiest traits of humanity? . . . We do not know how to answer these questions. What we do know is that the Christian party display that 'capacity for organization and for self-sacrifice' which the *Christian Statesman* claims for them, and which gives to them the easily maintained control of all public affairs. The Christians govern the liberals; and the latter either do not know the fact or are indifferent to it. The National Liberal League aims to emancipate the liberals from this political and social subjection; yet they take comparatively slight interest in the matter, and wear the yoke of their masters without manifesting any 'noble discontent' with their own serfdom. Such a phe-

nomenon perplexes and confounds us. We do not know how to explain it. Is the explanation of the *Christian Statesman* the true one?"

We are not willing even to quote in our columns, without protest, the affirmation contained in the above quotation from THE INDEX that Christians maintain over liberals a "political and social subjection," or that the maintenance of a Christian government, in a land where the people are preëminently Christian, is inconsistent with the principles of liberty and a violation of the rights of the minority. So long as men differ in opinions, it will be impossible to shape social institutions in accordance with the preferences of all. Those who find themselves in the minority must rest content with the rejection of their schemes so long as no attempt is made to punish them for disagreeing with their fellow-citizens, or to force them to profess different opinions. For example, a portion of our citizens believe that war is always, and in its own nature, sinful. The nation, however, believes that war is sometimes necessary, and so maintains a military establishment, and taxes all the people for its support. The Constitution makes the President Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, and requires of him certain military functions, so that no Quaker can consistently accept the office. No wrong or injustice is thereby done to the members of the Society of Friends. They are left free to hold and to disseminate their views, and to convert the whole nation if possible to their opinions. And they leave the nation free to act on its convictions. Never in our history have they complained that the maintenance of an army, by taxes which they bear in common with others, is a violation of their liberties and rights. So if the majority of a people believe that there is a God who is the Author, Preserver, and Judge of nations, that he has given the government of the world into the hand of his Son, Jesus Christ, and that his will revealed in the Holy Scriptures is supreme law for nations, by what right does a minority of unbelievers prohibit the nation from acting in accordance with these convictions? The secular programme is not neutral ground on which these two parties may fairly compromise their differences, for it is simply a proposal that, inasmuch as the being of God and the accountability of nations to him are disputed, the nation shall act meanwhile as if there were no God. It proposes that, pending the controversy over the truth of religion, God and religion shall be ignored by the government; in other words, that the atheistic scheme of government shall be adopted by the nation before atheism is accepted by the majority of the people. A more unfair, and we may add impudent, proposal falls not within the memory of living men.

Here we see the natural consequences of the assumption that political majorities have the right to settle religious questions. The *Statesman* holds that "the maintenance of a Christian government" is entirely consistent with the "principles of liberty" and the "rights of the minority,"—that the majority have a right to recognize by law the sovereignty of God, the authority of Jesus Christ as his viceroy, and the authority of the Bible as his "supreme law for nations," and to administer the government accordingly. What follows? That no public officer should be appointed, and no citizen should be allowed to vote, who rejects these doctrines; since it would be absurd to commit the direction of a "Christian government" into any but "Christian" hands. To stop short of these inevitable logical consequences of the theory,—to pretend that a Christian majority which should make Christianity a part of the fundamental law of the land could or would forbear to punish dissidents by disfranchisement and disqualification for office,—is to insult public intelligence. Make the government Christian, and you cannot help making the governors Christians.

What surprises us in this whole matter is that the *Statesman*, a really able journal, should not perceive that it in fact adopts the Roman Catholic theory of Church and State, and leaves itself not an inch of standing-ground to oppose the establishment of Romanism as the State Religion, if ever the Romanists become the majority. We put this question directly to the *Statesman*: "On what ground would you deny the right of the Catholics, on becoming the majority, to make Catholicism the State Religion and to administer the government accordingly? Would you concede the right of the majority, in such a case as that, to treat you as you would now treat freethinkers? And if not, 'by what right' would you Protestants, a 'minority of unbelievers' if judged by the Catholic standard, 'prohibit the nation from acting in accordance with these [Catholic] convictions'?"

We beg the favor of a full and frank answer to these queries.

The case of the Quakers is not in point. The question of "maintaining a military establishment" is not a religious question at all, nor does the majority now decide it as a religious question; they decide it as purely a secular question, and on this ground alone expect Quakers to acquiesce in their decision. The State acts strictly within its own province, and deals with secular affairs by its own positive secular standard. It claims no jurisdiction over religious belief as

such, but simply maintains its own right to provide for its own existence and safety by efficient self-defence against its enemies. That is all. What we insist upon is the *positive character* of the secular conception of government; what we deny is the right of the Church, or of any majority of religionists, to interfere with its positive secular functions. It is at this point that the assumed parallelism totally fails. To establish a "Christian government" is to overthrow the State's right to manage its own secular affairs by secular principles, and to establish a theocracy (no matter how cunningly disguised) upon its ruins. The State is for *all*, not for a "Christian" or "Infidel" majority; and to conduct its own business irrespective both of "Christianity" and of "Infidelity" is simply equal justice to both. To maintain the contrary is to accept the theory of government by which the Catholic Church annexes the State to itself as a mere adjunct and dependent of the Papacy; and we confess to no little curiosity to learn how the Statesman would try to evade this self-evident corollary from its own argument. Shall this curiosity be gratified?

THE ATONEMENT A BAIT FOR CRIME.

The Christian Church is standing aghast at the successive appearance of prominent defaulters within her sacred enclosure. The Winslows, the Teffts, the Gilmans, the Chaces, and the Tappans, whose crimes have affrighted the community with a sickening feeling of distrust, and whose fraudulent dealings have occasioned so much suffering, are men whose names have been synonymes of sterling Orthodoxy, and who have for years labored to "bring souls to Christ." One of the above-mentioned criminals, for example, was a contributor to *Zion's Herald*, and has written in the most bitter personal invective against the "blasphemous INDEX" and its honorable editor, Mr. Abbot. Another was most successful in conducting revivals. A third was an exemplary Sunday-school superintendent and cared for the "lambs of the fold"; while the fourth was regarded as a shining light and noble defender of the faith in the church wherein he made himself conspicuous. The list might be enlarged, but this suffices. Now how shall we account for this increasing scandal in the Church, which is justly leading men to exclaim: "Give us the morality of infidels rather than the immorality of Christians?" Shall we say of these men that they were all thorough hypocrites?

In some instances this would seem to be true. But there is probably a better explanation. It is hard to believe that some, at least, of these defaulters, whom men pronounce pleasant friends and kind neighbors in private life, are such double-faced knaves as to pray and exhort in public, while all the time laughing in their sleeves at their pious dupes, and lining their pockets with ill-gotten gains. No doubt there are such hypocrites, even among those few whose names have been already mentioned; but they cannot all be so depraved.

Another explanation of their conduct may be found in the *very doctrinal system which they profess*. The Orthodox Church teaches that the Son of God made atonement for man's sins. If the sinner only "believes on him" his sins are forgiven, his "debt is paid," and his salvation is sure; for there is no chance of his being "plucked from his Father's hand." After conversion, therefore, the future defaulter walks the street with the proud consciousness that he is one of the elect; it is "well with his soul"; he has "made his peace with God"; if he sins he has only to whisper a prayer to Jesus, and it will be forgiven him. At first, with the warm gush of emotion excited by his religious profession, his conscience may be tender. He then confesses his slightest "wandering from his Master." Gradually the emotion passes away. He still retains, however, the belief that Jesus has paid his debt for him, and that, however far he may "stray into by and forbidden paths," he is yet certain of coming out all right, for he has been accepted of God. What now is the motive to induce him to lead a thoroughly noble life? He believes in heaven and hell, but now no longer fears the latter since he is sure of the former. He has no great incentive to build up for himself a character upon whose substantial principles he may stand with a pardonable exultation of success, because he is taught that this would be not *his* doing, but another's; that his own righteousness is but filthy rags; that he is a worm of the dust; that if he does a good action it is because God prompted it; that he is "nothing"; "clad only in the robe of Christ's righteousness"! The only strong inducement left for him to strive ardently to lead a pure life would seem

to be gratitude to the person who thus had saved him and made him "something" by proxy. The mere feeling of gratitude, however, is not one which in the roar and rush of this busy life can ordinarily be of long duration. Accordingly, as this sentiment becomes enfeebled, the Christian, even when entering upon a course of known transgression, may still continue in it, finding some palliation with which to drug his conscience, and all the while promising himself and Jesus to have a fair understanding about the matter soon. None are then so strenuous about doctrine as he. No one sings with more fervor than the defaulter—

"Jesus paid it all,
All the debt I owe."

Heaven is secure to him, he fancies, because he has once repented and "believed on Christ." That was the "one thing needful." These present transgressions are perhaps grieving Jesus; but then Jesus loves him, will pardon him at any moment; and must meanwhile appreciate his services as Sunday-school superintendent or defender of the faith.

It is this *underlying consciousness of indubitable safety* which induces moral laxity on the part of so many Christians. With them the great duty is *belief on Christ, acceptance of him as Savior and Master*. This having been fulfilled they sing:—

"'Tis done, the great transaction's done;
I am the Lord's, and he is mine";

whereas a *life of blameless, upright conduct* should be the "great transaction" to be "done" only when the last breath is drawn. Here, then, in the doctrine of *substituted righteousness*, is the fatal weakness in the Christian system. Commencing with the precept that man is doomed to eternal woe unless he believes on Christ, and ending with the declaration that *having believed* he is forever saved, what can be more natural than the conclusion (not avowed so much as felt) that his life subsequent to his conversion is of comparatively little importance? There is a nobler faith than this. It teaches man to no longer grovel in the dust, but to stand erect. It assures him that he has within him all that is needful to lift him to heights of moral sublimity and usefulness. It bids him to no longer weakly depend upon some imagined Jesus near him, whose love and forgiveness he can tamper with, much as a child will see how far he can venture to disobey its parent, but rather to rely upon himself, feeling that his work depends upon his own *individual character*, unaffected by the death of Jesus, the blood of Calvary, or the belief of dogmas, but established only by the *reiterated choice of good rather than evil*. J. L. S.

THE WATKINS CONVENTION.

This noteworthy occasion, which has been to a very considerable number of radicals the great prospective event of the season, and looked forward to with a fervid anticipation, if not impatience, akin to that a Mohammedan feels in view of a journey to Mecca, a Jew to Jerusalem, or a New England Christian to the Boston anniversaries, is now a thing of the past. Most happily chosen and beautiful for situation, in its natural surroundings, was the spot of this assembling of American rationalism. Its projector, and the person to whom, more than to any other, it was indebted for the measure of success which attended it, was Mr. H. L. Green, of Salamanca, N. Y., whose zeal and energy in this kind of good work merit great praise.

It occupied four whole days of three sessions each, and though the attendance was somewhat less than was expected, it averaged, probably, five or six hundred at each session,—a sufficient number to be considered very satisfactory. Some of the meetings were held in a pleasant and well-shaded grove; others in convenient halls of the place.

The Convention was called to order on Thursday morning, Aug. 22, by Dr. T. L. Brown, President of the Freethinkers' Association of Western New York, who delivered the opening address. The theme was a very appropriate introductory one. It was an uncompromising and forcible defence of free thought as the all-sufficient and only safe dependence for the welfare and happiness both of society and the individual. Interesting and able addresses, followed by short speeches at the close, filled up the other sessions.

Among the most notable of the participants were Dr. J. M. Peebles, Rev. T. B. Taylor, Hon. Geo. M. Julian, James Parton, Horace Seaver, Rev. A. E. Copeland, D. M. Bennett, T. B. Wakeman, Giles B. Stebbins, G. L. Henderson, Mrs. Clara Neymann, Matilda Joselyn Gage, Rev. W. B. Bell, Mrs. Laura Kendrick, Hon. Elizur Wright. The Rev. Mr. Abby, a clergyman of Watkins, and one or two others, moved by the free spirit of the occasion, were induced

to attempt to controvert the principles of the Convention, and were granted a respectful hearing and courteously answered.

The sessions were enlivened by inspiring music, including the charming melodies of the famous Hutchinsons, Prof. Hudson, and other accomplished vocalists. Pleasant excursions to the Glen and on the Lake, and other points of interest, which Nature, at Watkins, offers for the entertainment of the visitor in great variety and number, served as restful interludes to the graver employment of the gliding hours.

The only unpleasant occurrence in connection with this interesting gathering that we have to record was the arrest of D. M. Bennett, editor of the *Truth-Seeker*, W. S. Bell, and Miss Josephine Tilton, on the charge of vending obscene publications.

While we sympathize deeply with these persons in the annoyance and sense of injury which they are thus made to experience (believing, as we are inclined to, in the purity of their motives), we frankly confess we question the wisdom of their course, and whether there is not equally good service that they may do their day and generation without exposure to such disagreeable consequences, or entailing upon themselves and the cause they represent so foul imputation and suspicion. Believe us, dear friends, you are recklessly expending your valuable energies, and needlessly soiling your good name.

A series of fifteen resolutions were drawn up and presented to the Convention by Mr. G. L. Henderson, which were adopted. Among the points upon which special stress was laid were the following: Condemnation of the sentence of E. H. Heywood; also of the arrests just mentioned, and the right of opening the mails delegated to Anthony Comstock; sympathy with the laboring classes, woman suffrage, with Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant for "the noble stand taken" "in favor of the emancipation of the common people from theology," and to "advance sexual purity."

The following resolution we regard as one of the wisest and most important in its suggestions: "We urge upon all liberals the duty of organization in every city, town, and village, so that a general coöperation of all for general liberal, or, if need be, political purposes may be had; and also for the reason that it is evident that liberalism is no longer simply *negative*, but *constructive*, and that it has social, educational, and political duties that require every emancipated man and woman to become a member of some liberal society."

The Liberal League and the liberal press were also cordially commended in the resolutions.

The committee on arrangements for the next annual session consists of Horace Seaver, G. L. Henderson, J. M. Peebles, D. M. Bennett, H. L. Green, Mrs. L. K. Coleman, Mrs. Amy Post, Mrs. Laura Kendrick, Mrs. Clara Neymann, Mrs. and Mr. F. W. Titus, and President T. L. Brown, M. D. At a subsequent meeting of the Business Committee, the Association was enlarged so as to embrace the whole State, and the officers of last year were reelected.

It was voted to hold the next meeting at Watkins.

The Convention may be regarded as significant of the growing disposition of radicals to make less account of their differences, and to emphasize more their points of agreement; to thaw out of their individual isolations into warmer sympathy and more cordial association with their fellow-workers; and to realize that in "unity there is strength." D. H. C.

WAIFS.

The Crown Princess of Germany is a freethinker.

What strange conceptions have been entertained of the use of existence!

"Two things most pernicious to man are lack of occupation and lack of restraint."

It is stated that upwards of sixty per cent. of the emigration to this country is Roman Catholic.

Coöperation seems the one thing needful for a more equitable adjustment of capital and labor.

There are signs of a revival of business. That is a kind of revival in which even radicals can rejoice.

There is nothing in this world more common than one-sided thinking, and nothing more mischievous.

There is a vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself and falls on 'tother side. Be careful then, Benjamin.

A woman is proposed for Vassar College. Where is the one to whom it would be wise to make the proposal?

"Not to be killed, and to have a good sheep-skin

coat in winter, was for many people in the tenth century the height of felicity."

The clergy of San Francisco are making strenuous exertions to insert a clause in the new constitution to secure a stricter observance of Sunday.

There are few who possess in a high degree mental equilibrium who are capable of recognizing all the considerations essential to a sound conclusion.

Rev. O. B. Frothingham has been summering at Manchester, Mass., where he has had for neighbors Rev. Dr. Bartol, James T. Fields, and the like select fellowship.

Louis Prang, a generous friend of THE INDEX, whose chromo-lithographs and various products of beauty and artistic taste have made him famous, has gone abroad for a short vacation.

The friends and neighbors of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore gave her a public "welcome home" from Europe, a few evenings since, at Melrose, Mass., where she has resided for the last ten years.

The Catholic Total Abstinence Union received, amid "great enthusiasm," at its late session, at Indianapolis, the "apostolic benediction" from Pope Leo XIII. What more does it need for its felicity?

Col. T. W. Higginson and Mrs. Mary W. Livermore were both attracted to Mr. Conway's South Place Chapel, on their visit to London, where each addressed, on different Sundays, large and deeply interested audiences.

Miss Amanda Deyo, of Salt Point, Dutchess Co., N.Y., is a new lecturer upon peace, temperance, and woman suffrage. She draws large audiences, and is highly commended by the local papers of New York and Pennsylvania, where she has spoken.

One of the latest suggestions of philanthropy is lunch-closets in schools, as a special provision for poor and underfed children. It is doubtless a good one. It is the first requisite to mental and moral vigor that the creature comforts should be cared for.

A school for art needle-work is one of the newest educational enterprises in this city. Similar schools already exist in Europe, from which the idea is borrowed. It is thought it will do much to advance the progress of decorative art in this country, beside opening a profitable occupation to woman.

Fra Bartolomeo, "the painter of devotion," as he was called, was induced by Savonarola to renounce his profession and burn up his pictures, because of the supposed perilous influence of such interests to his soul's salvation. After the martyrdom of Savonarola he entered the convent of San Marco.

The semi-annual Convention of the Michigan State Association of Spiritualists and Liberalists were to hold a four days' session at Luce's Hall, Grand Rapids, beginning Thursday morning, Aug. 29th, ult. The programme provides for three meetings each day, and appears well planned and attractive. The increasing number of such gatherings is an encouraging sign of the times.

Lucretia Mott, now in the eighty-fifth year of her age, lent interest to the recent Woman's Suffrage Convention at Rochester, N.Y., by her benignant presence and sympathetic greeting from its platform. It is now upwards of fifty years since her voice was first heard in an anti-slavery meeting, and in her advanced years she still retains unabated zeal in the same great principles of humanity and freedom in their application to the reform of the day.

There have been for the last twenty-five years Sunday meetings of freethinkers, for free discussion, at Hospitaler Hall in this city. As the building is about to be converted to business purposes, the last of these meetings at this place was held last Sunday. They will not, however, be abandoned, but continued at new Hospitaler Hall, Odd Fellows building, corner of Washington and Kneeland Streets. Such meetings are certainly a more profitable use of Sunday than the misuse that is often made of it in the name of piety. If properly conducted they must afford in no small degree a mental and moral stimulus.

The Hon. Carroll Wright made some very sensible remarks before the Congressional Labor Committee the other day. This is his view of some of the unemployed who herd in our large cities: "There is a class in all large cities who, even if you stocked farms and presented them to them, would not occupy them, provided they had to till the soil. They want what they call 'society,' and they will have it at all hazards." Contrary to the common notion of unthinking people, he maintains that machinery tends to the improvement of the laborer's condition as well as the general welfare: "The condition of the workmen has been much improved by machinery. If all machinery were stopped and the work done by manual labor, the whole wealth of Massachusetts would be eaten up in less than a year, and the condition of the people would be as bad as that of the Chinese or the people of the East Indies. It would take four thousand horses and four hundred thousand men to do the work; and the work now done for \$20,000,000 would cost \$400,000,000. Machinery enables a much larger number to subsist on a smaller area than they possibly could subsist on without it." He did not believe the population of the world would become so dense as that even with machinery it could not exist.

Communications.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. JOHNSON.

TO OLIVER JOHNSON, ESQ., Orange, N.J. :-

I have read in THE INDEX of the 8th August your letter to Mr. Abbot criticising his course as an editor in regard to the "National Reformers," as they call themselves, who seek to interpolate the United States Constitution with a set of religious dogmas that would make it a national confession of faith, and the government under it a persecuting power.

I like the tone of your criticism. It is offered in good temper, and tends to free discussion, which, sooner or later, brings the truth to light. I don't see why all good men who are engaged in the same good cause, and have confidence in each others' devotion to it, cannot criticise each others' views without giving or taking offence. But, in opposition to what you say, let me direct your attention to two considerations which you seem to have overlooked.

1. It is true that the Covenanter Church is the parent of this movement for revolutionizing and Europeanizing the government. It is a remnant—according to the election of grace—of the Covenanters, who, in the times of the Stuarts, originated the Solemn League and Covenant which declared the religion of England, Scotland, and Ireland to be Presbyterian, and, by forcing the Westminster Confession of Faith upon their necks as grievous to be borne as any ever imposed by the Pope and his myrmidons. When the battle of the Boyne drove James from the English throne, and placed William III. permanently on it, the vast majority of the Scotch Church, who had all been Covenanters, swore allegiance to his house. But a small minority held out against him, and maintained their adherence to the Solemn League, declaring that it bound not only their fathers, who signed it, but all their posterity to the end of time. A number of these Covenanters migrated to this country, bringing their principles with them, and have steadily refused to acknowledge the government of the United States, to vote, or hold office of any kind, because the government was not in league and covenant with Almighty God. They moreover refuse to hold communion with any of the other sects of Christendom, believing that they, and they only, are God's witnesses for the truth, and that all the rest are heretical and unfaithful to such a degree that they are barred from their communion. These are the men who, with a zeal and policy rivaling the Jesuits, have gotten up this movement for making the nation "Christian." It would be really contemptible, were it confined to the Covenanters themselves, for they are in point of numbers a mere handful. But they have succeeded in winning to their enterprise Episcopal bishops, Methodist bishops, Presbyterian ministers, presidents of colleges, governors and ex-governors of States, judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, judges of State courts, members of Congress, and a long array of other distinguished names which command respect and attention. When we see how a handful of capitalists in 1873 succeeded in demoralizing the silver dollar by the votes of Congress; when we remember how another handful of slave-holders in Congress ruled the nation, and dictated its foreign and domestic policy through its whole history up to 1861,—he is not a wise man who shuts his eyes to the danger arising from this quarter. Our people are not so enlightened but that they may be made the blind tools of cunning and persevering men. The theory is that the majority rules; but the fact is that a few men rule the majority.

2. But the most alarming consideration in the case is the logical character of the claims of the Church. It is never safe to trifle with principles, either good or bad. When they are incorporated into a system, either of Church or State, they will show their formative power in time. One dead fly in the pot of the apothecary's ointment will cause it to send forth a stinking savor. The principles of slavery got into the United States Constitution, and it cost half a million of lives, and two thousand millions of dollars to get it out. Now the churches, one and all, Catholic and Protestant, claim that Jesus Christ is the King of nations, by virtue of the eternal covenant of grace,—that he is head over all things to the Church,—that the world and all it contains were made for the Church,—that ministers of the Gospel are ambassadors of the Lord Jesus Christ the King, to the guilty rebels of mankind,—and that they are commissioned to open or shut the doors of heaven to all comers, to remit or retain sins, with the divine assurance that what they bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and that what they loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,—that all the powers and principalities of the earth are, *de jure*, subject to Christ as Mediator, and under law to his will as contained in the Bible,—that the Church is the expounder of this will, being the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, and the State the executor of this will thus expounded.

These are the principles of the Church organization. These are her claims, and these claims have always been enforced by fine, imprisonment, and death, whenever she has had the power to do so. See what the Episcopalians in England did under Archbishop Laud. See what the Presbyterians did in Scotland under the Solemn League. See what the Congregationalists did in Massachusetts under Puritan rule. As the love of blood is in the tiger's cub latent, even when it laps milk, so the *animus* of persecution is in every man and every church, who hold that a belief in their creed is necessary to salvation. It is the natural and legitimate outcome of the principles or claims enumerated above, and held by every honest churchman.

You say "the drift of thought and opinion in the churches is away from this project" of the Covenant-

ers, and therefore there is no danger that it will be carried out. That is to say, that the Church is *infidel* to her mission, and *infidel* to all her leading principles and claims; that she has degenerated into a mere association for giving employment to a class of men called clergymen, who amuse the people a few hours every Sunday with good music and poor preaching. You were bred a Quaker, and you know nothing of the pertinacity with which the clergy hold on to their dignity and authority as ambassadors of Jesus Christ. You seem content as a citizen of the United States to hold your liberties of free thought and free worship on the presumption that the infidelity of Christians will never enforce the Church's claims. But suppose there should come a *universal revival*, and the Church and clergy should wake up, under the quickening of their dying and dead faith, and enter with new and fiery zeal upon the work of fulfilling the Church's mission, would you not like to have a secular Constitution and government to stand between you and them? I hate the idea that my liberty, and that of my children, must depend on the secret infidelity of the Church to her own vital principles. I want my countrymen to feel now, and in all time to come, that the divorce between Church and State is in this land so complete and eternal that every soul is and will be safe from the encroachments of those who would interfere with their right to believe and worship as they please. This safety can only be secured by secularizing the general and State governments. History teaches us that religious faith may languish and die, and that it may be revived again; and that when kindled into fiery zeal it may sweep all before it into destruction. I wish to keep myself and posterity out of the sweep of so mighty and blind a power, and therefore cooperate with Mr. Abbot in his efforts to thwart the project of the "National Reformers," and preserve and strengthen the secularity of the Constitution. You remember that when, forty years ago, the abolitionists, through press and platform, and in opposition to the almost entire Church, exposed the projects of the slaveholders, their words seemed to their countrymen as idle tales, and they believed them not. So, when Mr. Abbot, as a keen-eyed watchman, stands upon the walls of the republic, and sounds the alarm that a traitorous principle and party are at work undermining the Constitution, you cannot wonder if, in the language of the prophet he should repiningly say, "All day long have I stretched forth my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people."

A. B. BRADFORD.
ENON VALLEY, Penn., 15th August, 1878.

THE ROCHESTER RESOLUTIONS.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX :-

As a member of the Committee on Resolutions at Rochester, allow me to take this opportunity to disclaim my share in the praise you so generously accord to the women who passed them at the Convention of July. I opposed in committee the (so-called) religious resolutions, because I thought them both unjust and inexpedient. It is not wholly true that the doctrines taught woman by the Christian Church have been "fatal to her own highest interest and through her have dwarfed and degraded the race." The Christian Church, or religion, is no more to blame for the present social condition of woman than the Jewish, the Mormon, the Buddhist, or the religion of the followers of Confucius.

It cannot be said that the Christian Church as a body is now against the interests of woman. True, there are narrow denominations in it who do not follow the example of the great Teacher in their treatment of the woman question; but there are others who deserve praise rather than condemnation. The Quaker, the Methodist, and notably the Unitarian Church, are invariably on the side of woman's advancement. More than one great question affecting woman's social condition has been started by societies connected with the Unitarian denomination; and two or three of these church organizations (in Massachusetts) have gone so far in this direction that they have come to be known (or called) "woman suffrage churches." In my own labors for the cause of equal rights, I have received help many times from this quarter. Though I have no desire to uphold the Church any farther than she deserves, for I am a liberal in religious matters, and belong to that wing of the suffrage party, I am willing to do her justice, and to receive any farther help she may be disposed to give. The suffragists, as a party, cannot afford to make war upon the Church, because by so doing they will array against them a large class of women whom they desire to convert. These women believe in their Church; to them it is daily bread and comfort and a guarantee of something better beyond this life. It is the dearest thing they have. In attacking it the suffragists rouse every feeling of disgust and animosity against themselves and their cause. They can no more win these women to their own way of thinking by striking a blow at their church than they could win a mother's love by striking her infant child. The aim of the suffragist should be not to frighten but to convert, and, without regard to difference of opinion on religious matters, meet the women of the churches on their own plane of thought, and convert them as they are. Religious belief is of small importance compared to the belief in human or individual rights.

Many elements of society, as well as the religious, have helped to dwarf and degrade woman. Law, medicine, politics, and education, all deserve condemnation. Woman herself is to blame in that she has tacitly consented so long to her own degraded condition, and that she has never until this generation struck a blow for liberty. Why not attack all these causes individually? It would be the old story of the mouse and the elephant. What is the use?

The demand of the woman suffragist is for

equality of rights with man; and they should stand on the firm ground of this principle. They have the greatest fight of the century on their hands, and they cannot afford to spend their strength or weaken their forces in making onsets upon every windmill of doctrine that lies in their way.

Let the Free Religionists make war upon the Church and deminish Christianity if they can. It is not (as a party) the fight of the woman suffragist. They should not lower the standard of equal rights to the level of common causes. They need all the help they can get honorably, from every known source, and it is inexpedient and unwise for them to put themselves in a hostile attitude toward the Church or any other existing institution. "Make your enemy serve you" is a good rule,—at least, until such time as you can get the proper weapon in your hands with which to fight him.

I fully agree with you as to the courageousness of the resolutions, and in your admiration of the brave women, with whom on this point only I have ventured to differ. As some of the newspapers which have noticed the matter have expressed the desire to know how different wings of the suffrage party view the question, I hope you will permit me through the columns of THE INDEX to express my opinion on the subject as one of the minority.

HARRIET H. ROBINSON.

MALDEN, Mass., Sept. 5, 1878.

THE WATKINS CONVENTION.

NEW YORK, Aug. 29, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Mr. Abbot,—You have received probably various reports of the Watkins Convention. Your absence was much regretted by many friends, who hope to meet you soon at the yearly meeting of the Liberal League.

There were a great many things said and done which would have been better unsaid and undone; but some excellent speeches were made, and the spirit of the meeting was throughout friendly and cordial. Though the Convention was not what we might have wished it to be, we consider it a success and of great benefit to the liberals who were there assembled. The different shades and grades of freethinkers must have felt what an incongruous, diversified, incoherent aggregate of parts they are. A few more such meetings, where no business and no practical work is attempted, must convince them of the impossibility of accomplishing any real good until they can unite and organize under one common principle. Until our Liberal friends have learned to subordinate their eccentricities, hobbies, and untimely theories under some general principles upon which organization is possible, the Orthodox need have no apprehension of their gatherings. Mr. H. L. Green, who is liked and respected by all, and who has proved an indefatigable worker in the cause of liberalism, deserves much credit and thanks for his labors.

The social feature of the Convention was its most interesting and important aspect. It facilitated the exchange and interchange of ideas among liberals, so beneficial and pleasant in itself. Those who had never seen or heard from each other became friends, and many fruitful and lasting acquaintances were formed. If we were only more and better acquainted with each other, we should gain much in mutual appreciation, and derive a juster estimation of each other.

The purposes and aims of most of our liberals are good and honest; if they err, it is much more the fault of the understanding than of the heart. Nothing, however, is so apt to produce a better understanding and a true appreciation as a free discussion among those who hold opposite views. Well, the occasion was most favorable to those who knew how to profit by the given opportunities. We returned home richer in thought, fuller in experience, and withal more hopeful for the future of American liberalism.

The beautiful glen, the charming lake, the many attractions of the place, the friendly gatherings on the piazza of the Glen Park Hotel,—from which a most beautiful view upon the park before the house and the surrounding hills and mountains was obtained,—added to the enjoyment of the Convention. Nature wore her most beautiful attire; the sun smiled upon us, not in burning rays, but in all the softness, sweetness, and brightness of autumn days.

The arrest of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Bell (who had only handed over the books to the purchaser from their adjoining stand), and the arrest of Miss Tilton, sister-in-law to Mr. Heywood, for the sale of *Cupid's Fokes*, was the dark and sad feature of the Convention. While most of those who were present thought that it would have been much wiser not to offer the book at present for sale, and at such an occasion, as having given so much offence recently, and upon which the decision and action of the public is by no means closed, every one was indignant at the outrageous and malignant attacks aimed at free thought and free expression. Such attacks and such arrests are sure to arouse the indignation of the American people; they strike a severe blow upon the liberty of the press, which it is our duty to defend and force upon all liberals the necessity of decided action. While our foremost and ablest liberal thinkers would have preferred to fix their attention upon more general and more vital issues, the questions of "What is obscene literature?" and "How far is its suppression a benefit or a detriment to public morality?" are forced upon us. If we will or not, we have to take our stand and give our decision.

The question of the postal laws, the freedom of the press, and questions connected with these, will probably find expression at the next yearly meeting of the National Liberal League. May all those who attend—and we hope that every true liberal will make it his

duty to be there—come prepared for the issue. The better the different delegates are prepared and posted, the easier will be the final action and decision. May all those who come forget personal offences and grievances! May the unkind and ungenerous attacks which have circulated through some of our liberal papers, upon the character and integrity of veteran reformers, give way to the spirit of kindness and good-will. Let us be forbearing with each other's mistakes; let us employ sneering irony, cutting satire, and sharp words for the denunciation of wilful enemies of freedom; but let us be liberal, truly humane, and cordial towards those who are engaged in the arduous and thankless task of reform work. The reformer's task is severe and bitter enough; it is an unpleasant, cheerless duty to fight against our own kind. The reformer needs sympathy and warm and hearty assistance upon his cold, lonely path. Sympathy and a recognition from the few is his only reward here and elsewhere; let us give it fully and with grace!

Yours truly, CLARA NEYMANN.

EXCLUDING ATHEISTS FROM THE WITNESS-STAND.

SABETHA, Kan., Aug. 5, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The New York *Observer* of Aug. 1 makes a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio the text for a column of the most daring and intolerant attacks upon the constitutional rights of citizens that bigotry has for a long time promulgated. It quotes a portion of the language of the court, and, with the lip-smacking unction of bigotry, construes it as the righteous denial of the right of an atheist to be sworn as a witness in a court of justice. It says: "Thus, for example, we suppose that Robert Ingersoll, who is understood to deny the existence of a Supreme Being, could not be a witness in a court where the property or the life of another was at stake."

Then this editor, whom Robert J. Ingersoll publicly convicted of being a garbler of authorities, and a puritanical slanderer of the dead, goes on to say that "this exclusion is not an impeachment of his veracity." What, then, does he base the justness of this exclusion upon? Not on a difference of religious belief, because the quotation which he makes from the Ohio decision negatives that idea in the opening sentence. Further than that, it is presumable that even this hide-bound pharisee, who in his prospectus makes a virtue of his non-progressiveness, has an inkling of constitutional guarantees that protect the rights even of atheists. Let him speak for himself, that the measure of his infamy may be fully understood: "In other words, the idea underlying the whole framework of human society is that men must have faith in God, or no confidence can be had between man and man. It is important to keep this judicial decision in mind at the present moment, when the whole tendency of modern unbelief is to the construction of a system that excludes the existence of a personal God, and substitutes law and force, whatever they may be, in the place of an intelligent cause. The pseudo-scientist, or the sciolist, who aims at accounting for the existence of the world of matter about him without introducing the agency of a thinking Creator, does not stop to reflect that he is undermining the foundations of society, and making a race of beings who are already pronounced to be unworthy of belief when put under oath."

The irreconcilable positions taken are sufficiently apparent. The affirmation that the exclusion of a man as a witness is not an impeachment of that man's veracity exhibits the sickly quality of the logic of a self-stultified religionist. Nobody with an ounce of sense would argue that a man should be incompetent to testify except for reasons that affect his credibility. The last sentence italicized shows that the *Observer* man gets back to this ground of exclusion, and attempts to show that atheism disqualifies, because it renders men "unworthy of belief." I have italicized the first sentence because I agree with the *Observer* so far that, if such a decision has been made, it ought to be kept in mind. It ought to be printed in the blackest type and in the most conspicuous places in the columns of liberal journals.

I have not the decision before me, and have some doubt as to whether it would, when examined, sustain the construction put upon it by the *Observer*. Every lawyer knows from experience that it is not safe to quote the mere dictum of a judge, and rely upon it as authority. Language used in reference to things outside of the point expressly considered and decided is not regarded as a judicial determination of those matters. The decision so far as quoted, merely says that "every one offered as a witness in a Court must take an oath or affirmation before giving testimony. A person who believes in the existence of a Supreme Being who will either in this life or the life to come inflict punishment for false swearing, may be sworn as a witness." It is an altogether unwarranted construction of the language quoted to claim that it holds that a person not believing in a personal God may not affirm as a witness in court. Such may have been the decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio; but such is not the necessary meaning of the part quoted.

At present I have only to do with the *Observer's* eager approval of its own construction of the decision. If this would be persecutor for opinion's sake knew, what is a matter of common observation to lawyers constantly in court, that a profession of belief in a personal God is as frequently accompanied with a faculty for false swearing as non-belief, he would perceive how little force there is in this plea for the exclusion of atheists. Does he suppose that, if he were a witness in court where the rights of property were at stake, that his belief, or the mere announcement thereof, would add one jot to his cred-

ibility in the estimation of court or jury? Does he suppose that the Orthodox lawyer opposed to the party in whose behalf he testified would relax his vigilance, or neglect to employ the usual means of ascertaining whether his testimony was true or false? If he does, he greatly overrates the weight which court and bar attach to Orthodoxy as a test of the veracity of witnesses. There is one thing that the *Observer* should know: and that is, that a just and upright life,—that manhood,—has more weight with juries than mere "faith in God," and that Robert Ingersoll, who has no belief in God, but believes in the "liberty of men, women, and children," would be believed by a jury before some man-enaving bigot who believes in God, but not in the equality of all before the law.

By advocating this doctrine, worthy only of a religious knave ready to light a fagot or forge a chain, the editor of the New York *Observer* has placed himself outside the pale of courteous discussion or criticism. He deserves to have his infamous doctrines cut from his paper and pasted upon his back, that the world may know him as the Judas Iscariot that would betray humanity, out of no greed for money, but from "pure cussedness," as Josh Billings would term it.

It is time that judges upon the bench should be taught that the precedents of dark ages are not to be blindly followed in our time; and if they are to be the servile tools of the priesthood for the destruction of civil rights, then let every vestige of that judicial discretion that is always dangerous to the interests of litigants be taken from them by the mandatory force of positive statutory enactments.

We have abandoned a multitude of fictions in law which the enlightenment of the age has outgrown; but it seems that somehow we have engrafted upon our laws the old notions of the witch-burning days. The dangerous spirit of proscription lurks invisible in the land until brought out by weak subservency of courts that seem to have undergone a Rip Van Winkle sleep ever since the formation and adoption of our Constitutional Amendment and bills of right.

R. C. B.

TRINITY CHURCH.

NEW YORK, Aug. 15, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—The offer made through your paper to have the title to the property of Trinity Church of this city fairly and honorably settled has not been accepted.

There is now being published the following article: "The original conveyance of the estate, now Trinity Church property, was in 1671. It was the Roel van Jans farm, of sixty-two acres, a grant confirmed to the heirs of Roel van Jans' widow, who sold it in 1671 to Colonel Lovelace. It was afterwards incorporated into the King's farm, and in 1703 was presented by Queen Anne to Trinity. Eight years after the sale to Colonel Lovelace we read of Mr. Wolley, chaplain of the British forces, hunting bears in John Robinson's orchard, between what are now Cedar Street and Maiden Lane. Before Trinity held its present property the graveyard must have been begun where it is to-day; for just north of the church and but fifteen yards from Broadway are two stones, one over Richard Churches, buried in 1681; the other tells us: 'Here lies the body of Anne Churches, aged 17 years and 3 quarters. 1691.'"

I would here state that Trinity Church Corporation has no legal title to the property in question. They have been and are now only holding the said property as trustees.

I further state, they never could legally acquire a title, and am prepared to meet them on this issue, if they will meet it fairly and squarely without evasion or quibbling.

If their title is good, they cannot honorably decline this offer, which will forever place the subject at rest.

Yours respectfully, D. GROESBECK.

O. A. PHELPS.

Mr. Phelps is a new freethought champion who has recently entered the lecture-field. He spoke at this place on Friday evening, Aug. 23, upon the subject of immortality. He handled this old-time subject with rare skill and ability, and advanced many ideas new to those present. Mr. Phelps is an enthusiastic worker in the cause of freethought, and should be kept constantly employed. He has recently spoken at West Liberty, Cedar Rapids, and other points in this State, and has given excellent satisfaction. He has a superb lecture upon the relations of State and Church, which he will be at all times ready to deliver before Liberal Leagues or other freethought societies. Mr. Phelps is a lawyer by profession, but has determined to devote his entire time and talents to the cause of mental freedom. He is a clear, analytical reasoner, very careful in his statements, but merciless in his logic. We need scores and hundreds of such lecturers; and if the liberal world would but do its duty in the way of encouragement and support, the old decaying citadel of superstition would soon totter and fall before the vigorous assaults of these brave young champions of rationalism.

E. C. WALKER.

FLORENCE, Iowa, Aug. 28.

A BOY OF FIVE years was "playing railroad" with his sister of two and a half years. Having her upon a footstool, he imagined himself both the engine and conductor. After imitating the puffing noise of the steam, he stopped and called out, "New York," and in a moment after "Patterson," and then "Philadelphia." His knowledge of towns was now exhausted, and at the next place he cried, "Heaven." His little sister said eagerly, "Top! I des I'll dit out here."

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THE PATRONAGE

of the liberal advertising public is respectfully solicited for THE INDEX. The attempt will be honestly made to keep the advertising pages of THE INDEX in entire harmony with its general character and principles, and thus to furnish to the public an advertising medium which shall be not only profitable to its patrons, but also worthy of their most generous support. To this end, all improper or "blind" advertisements, all quack advertisements, and all advertisements believed to be fraudulent or unjust to any one, will be excluded from these columns.

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Prof. MAX MULLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America—that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,—is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large." And later still "I read the numbers of your INDEX with increasing interest."

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2. Shall the National Liberal League nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the present time?

3. How can the National Liberal League most effectively promote the cause of State Secularization, and foil the schemes of those who are seeking to pervert the government to sectarian purposes? What action shall it take with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation?

4. How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?

5. Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the "obscene literature" question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?

The last two of these questions are peculiarly im-

portant at this time, and will inevitably come up for settlement by the approaching Congress. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia were as follows:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognised principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

The future growth, prosperity, and influence of the Liberal League movement will depend largely on the action to be taken by the Congress on these two questions. Any weakening of the stand taken at Philadelphia will work great and perhaps fatal disaster to the National Liberal League.

In order, therefore, that these vital questions may be fairly and wisely decided, it is recommended that all Local Leagues elect their delegates with special reference to it. The Congress will not be an irresponsible mass meeting, but a convention composed of delegates and members duly accredited, and seats for them will be reserved. Delegates from Local Leagues will receive Certificates of Membership of the Second Annual Congress by forwarding at once the proper credentials, signed by their own local officers, to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston"; charter, life, and annual members who intend to be present will receive theirs by simply forwarding their names and present addresses. These Certificates must be presented at the door and exchanged for Tickets of Admission to the reserved seats, the rest of the hall being open to the public at large. By this arrangement all confusion will be obviated. The Congress will be composed of accredited members, who alone ought to vote on questions of business affecting the League; every member will be admitted to the reserved seats; and the Committee on Membership will be enabled to make an accurate report to the Congress.

Liberals are urged everywhere to organize themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues and elect good delegates, in order to give this Congress a large local constituency and an influential delegation, and thereby to increase the weight of its decisions with the general public. The questions to be acted upon are of the gravest consequence to the whole liberal cause, and ought to be dealt with by a responsible representative body. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay, if addressed to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

By order of the Board of Directors:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*

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GLIMPSSES.

ALL LIBERAL journals are respectfully requested to publish the "Call" for the Syracuse Congress and the Directors' "Card," in full.

WHAT CRUEL IRONY there is in superstition! New York city has a Sunday-Sabbath ordinance which prevented the proprietors of the Grand Opera House from giving a performance for the benefit of the yel-

low-fever sufferers. Will the people endure such idleness forever?

LET ALL Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues hasten to elect at once their delegates to the Syracuse Congress, and secure for them in season the certificates of membership necessary to admit them to the reserved seats. Every League ought to send a full delegation; all liberals are interested in the questions to be acted upon. Let us have a large body of delegates, and prove that the liberals have as much business sagacity as any other class of the community.

READ CAREFULLY the debate concerning the freedom of the press and the mails which we republish this week from the report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals. It is timely reading now. The position on this question assumed by the National Liberal League at its birth was wisely taken; it was the result of full and frank debate, and will be the result of similar debates everywhere and always. Shall the League now be dragged backwards to take the foolish attitude of fighting a windmill? It must answer for itself at Syracuse.

THE DECISION of the United States Supreme Court respecting the power of Congress over the mails, which we reprint this week from the *Albany Law Journal*, is a paper of permanent value. Do not omit to read it. Is it worth while to knock one's head uselessly against fixed facts? If editors and authors are to be left in jail till the Supreme Court can be induced to reverse its decision, what becomes of liberty meanwhile? The triumph of "repeal" has become an empty "point of honor"; the cause of absolute mental freedom needs nothing but "reform." Shall this cause be sacrificed to whims or crochets?

HERE IS a new and most striking proof of the strength at the polls of the party which favors "Christian government" and opposes "secular government": "NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept. 16.—At the school district election to-day, the issue being an attempt to re-establish devotional exercises in the public schools, the ticket favoring reestablishment was elected by 2,900 majority. The Catholics united with the Protestants to bring about the success of the Bible ticket." Observe that Christians, whether Protestants or Catholics, vote solidly together to arrogate dominion over the schools of the whole people, and force the Bible upon all tax-payers. The National Liberal League is a demonstrated necessity. The people must be educated to understand the principles which alone secure *Equal Rights in Religion*, or the Constitution will yet be Christianized and its glorious secularity destroyed.

IT IS STATED by the *Boston Advertiser* of September 13 that "Mr. Justice Clifford, of the United States Supreme Court, who sentenced Ezra H. Heywood in May last to imprisonment in Dedham jail for two years for sending obscene literature through the mails, having looked into the matter further and modified his opinions somewhat concerning the law on this subject, has signed a petition to the President of the United States asking for Mr. Heywood's pardon." We hope that this statement is true. If so, the fact is very significant. If people would only keep their heads clear on this question, it would be easy to convince the entire public that no opinions as such ought to be suppressed as "obscene," and that Mr. Heywood is wrongfully imprisoned. But when one-sided partisans wildly insist that freedom of thought cannot be protected without a wholesale repeal of all restrictions on vile literature, what wonder that the public say no to so absurd a demand? The opening of Judge Clifford's eyes is a very hopeful sign; though the *Advertiser* ought to feel pretty cheap at being obliged to record the fact. In spite of all blunders, the truth will make headway; but it would advance so much faster without the blunders that its friends cannot but regret them.

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Debate on Freedom of the Press

BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, AT THE CENTENNIAL CONGRESS OF LIBERALS, HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, July 1 to July 4, 1878.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT. Seventh Session, Monday Evening, July 3.

The second resolution was then read and offered by Mr. Andrews as follows:—

“WHEREAS, There are many symptoms of a growing intention on the part of the religious power to re-establish a virtual censorship over the press and the post-office, by influence exerted over the several legislative bodies, under the pretence of zeal for the public morals, but really in behalf of religious and ecclesiastical despotism; as for instance, in procuring a body of loose, dangerous, and oppressive legislation against the circulation of ‘obscene literature’ under which, it is believed, some of the purest and best men of the land are at this hour suffering in prison, or stand in danger of their liberties; therefore,

“Resolved, That we recommend to the members of the League and to the public the utmost vigilance and the closest scrutiny, in detecting and unweaving any such conspiracy or conspiracies against the liberties of the people; and that they should thus commence the accumulation of facts upon which the League may, if found requisite, act specifically to procure the entire repeal or righteous modification of all such laws.”

MR. MCARTHUR.—There is a statement of fact embodied in this resolution. I am not aware of any such fact.

MR. ANDREWS.—I will make a statement in regard to that.

THE PRESIDENT.—There is no motion before the house.

MR. UNDERWOOD.—I will make a motion for the adoption of this resolution.

MR. MCARTHUR.—I would ask the mover of the resolution to furnish us, if he can, the exact facts in reference to the case. He makes an assumption of certain things being in existence of which I am not aware.

MR. ANDREWS.—It is because, Mr. President, I believe that this audience and the public at large are not aware of the silent and continuous efforts made to bring the post-office and the literature of the country under the control and censorship of certain persons, that I wish this resolution to be brought forward.

MR. MCARTHUR.—I would ask the mover of that resolution to furnish the facts he alleges.

MR. ANDREWS.—I am coming to this. Certain acts have been passed by the Congress of the United States, under the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association, by which an agent or inspector has introduced a system of opening mail matter. This is complained of; it tends to that for which a minister in England was driven out of office. This agent, Mr. Comstock, has prosecuted and procured the conviction of some six hundred men, and sent them to the several penitentiaries in this country within the last two years; and the radical men of the country know nothing of it. One of the best friends I have on earth is lying in a penitentiary,—John Lant. They have established a system of espionage. Another gentleman, Dr. E. B. Foote, the editor of Medical Common Sense, a work that has done as much to reform medical ideas and practice as any published in this country, has been on his trial, and been convicted, and will be sent to the penitentiary unless the courts interfere. The medical profession in New York State is becoming alarmed at this, and Hon. Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, has given his opinion that these facts are scandalous. I want the resolution not framed especially for the cases I have mentioned, but only so as to turn attention to the subject.

MR. MCARTHUR.—I would like to ask further. I do not yet understand Mr. Andrews to give the substance of the law cases, under which conviction has been obtained, specifically enough to warrant adoption of this resolution. I am aware that convictions have been made very properly for passing obscene matters through the mail. That does not come within the scope of the objects for which this Congress was assembled. We come here to secure the separation of the Church from the State, to secure the absolute

and total separation of the two. It seems to me we are travelling away from the objects for which we come together. I intended to have made some similar remarks on the first resolution, but I was not recognized at the time. As a point of order, I raise that question first. If it should be decided that the resolution is in order, I should like to know something more about it. Before adopting a resolution so sweeping, the Congress ought to know all about that which it is asked to indorse.

THE PRESIDENT.—What is the point of order? The Chair did not understand it.

MR. MCARTHUR.—It is that the resolution does not come within the scope of the objects for which this Congress is convened.

THE PRESIDENT.—That is for the Congress itself to decide. It would be improper for the Chair to rule any resolution out of order on that ground.

MR. MCARTHUR.—The Congress decided, before they adjourned this afternoon, that it was not within its scope to decide a question of Indian policy. It seems to me that this is a parallel case.

THE PRESIDENT.—The first question is on the point of order, and the Chair feels obliged not to sustain it technically. The resolutions are entirely in the hands of the National Liberal League. The Chair does not possess authority to rule any resolution to be out of order, if the League sees fit to admit it, as has been done in this case.

MR. MCARTHUR.—I move that the resolution be laid on the table.

The resolution was seconded, and stated by the Chair.

MR. UNDERWOOD.—I hope the resolution will not be laid on the table. I think the resolution is not only relevant as it now stands, but appropriate. I should be sorry to have this Congress fail to pass a resolution so well defined, and appropriate as that. There is not a word in it in approval of any wrong act, or of any obscene work. It does not make the least reference to John A. Lant or to E. B. Foote; but it does recognize that there is an influence of an ecclesiastical character at work, exerted by the Young Men's Christian Association, to inspect our mails unjustly, and to subject everything in them to the supervision of a special agent. It does recognize that fact, and therefore suggests and urges upon members of this Congress to be vigilant in watching the efforts made in this direction, and, if they should see anything requiring their definite action, to proceed accordingly. While I myself believe that some of these six hundred persons richly deserve their punishment, I nevertheless believe, nay, I know, that some of those parties were convicted when there was no real offence deserving punishment,—when the prosecution was instituted largely out of spite and bad feelings—cases in which these men are just as much entitled to their liberty as we are. I think it our duty, under the circumstances, to sustain this resolution, and I hope it will pass.

THE PRESIDENT.—The question is, shall the preamble and resolution of Mr. Andrews lie on the table?

The question being put, it was decided in the negative.

THE PRESIDENT.—The question is still before the house on the adoption of Mr. Andrews' resolution.

MR. KILGORE.—I do not think that resolution is quite germane to the business of the League. At the same time I do think there is a tendency of the "religious power" to search too carefully into the private correspondence of the citizens. I think the time has come for them to be vigilant. I do not see any objection to the citizen's exercising eternal vigilance on every approach of tyranny, and we must do that, or they will soon have the law in regard to the mails so stringent that there will be no safety for free men in this country.

MR. COLEMAN.—I think the difficulty rests right here. The first observation of this gentleman was substantially that Mr. Andrews failed to put forward his "facts" before us with sufficient plainness. He put emphasis upon the fact that the publication of certain medical facts had been interfered with. Probably the most recent case was that where Dr. Foote's work was objected to, not so much upon the ground that Dr. Foote sent out medical works as that he made use of them for the dissemination of notions and opinions which were considered to be against religion. I think that was the main reason. Then, again, Mr. Andrews referred to attempts to exclude from the railroads in the State of New York works which were liberal in their character and opposed to the popular theology. He forgot to discriminate between two things that should be distinguished,—suppression of obscene literature and violation of religious liberty. So far as this resolution bears upon the latter, I think it is relevant. I think it is time the League should take action in the matter; and I think it will be well done in this way.

DR. BROWN.—I have only a word to say, and that is to ask—after you have passed these resolutions, and others,—what influence have you had upon the community? My idea is: we are attempting to do exactly what Christian men are attempting to do,—fly our own kite in their faces. I am in favor of letting the Constitution entirely alone. They are trying to change it and put God in the Constitution.

MR. ANDREWS.—I call the gentleman to order; he is not speaking to the question.

THE PRESIDENT.—The Chair decides that the point of order is well taken. Dr. Brown should speak to the resolution.

DR. BROWN continued to speak.

MRS. KILGORE.—I rise to a point of order. The gentleman has not said one word germane to this question. He is out of order. When the Chair decides him out of order, he forfeits the floor.

THE PRESIDENT.—Dr. Brown is not entitled to the floor, unless he confines himself to the question.

DR. BROWN.—Will you read the resolution again? The President then read the resolution.

DR. BROWN.—Well, sir, I will admit it does not say anything about the Constitution; but I beg to say it will have little influence upon the public. I will say nothing more at present.

MR. FRASER.—I will say one word in reference to the passage of obscene matter through the mails. I certainly think it is a great wrong, and I think this Congress ought to pass a resolution against it. It is true that there has been a large quantity of obscene literature sent through the mails, which has done a great deal of harm. At the same time the great Bible societies are sending it broadcast all over the land through the mails, and there is not one word said about it. It is the most obscene literature ever published.

MR. ANDREWS.—George Francis Train was confined in prison seven months simply for publishing obscene extracts from the Bible.

MR. MCARTHUR.—I move that this resolution be referred to the Directors of the National Liberal League to be reported upon at the next Annual Congress.

MR. UNDERWOOD.—I hope that will also be lost.

THE PRESIDENT.—Is the motion seconded?

It was seconded by several.

The motion was then stated by the Chair.

MR. CLARK.—I do not think we have specific information enough to act on this matter as a League. I do not think the facts are clearly proved. If they were clearly proved, there would be a general feeling of dissatisfaction at such a law. The question is whether this condemned matter was really what it is claimed to be, medical publications for the purpose of advancing medical knowledge, or whether it was really obscene literature published under the pretence of advancing medical knowledge; in short, whether it did or did not really possess the objectionable character which the law properly condemns. That is the question; and I think we are not able to decide it. I cannot vote intelligibly upon that question myself, because I do not know enough about the books. I really believe that there are books circulated through the mails, professing to be books written as scientific medical books, which are written merely for the profit of the circulators, and to corrupt the imaginations of young people rather than for the purpose of doing good. I think it would be very well to refer this matter to the Directors. There are, perhaps, attractions in the street, on this evening of the Centennial Fourth of July, that some of us would be interested in; and, as we have had a good deal of discussion, and as it is not specially relevant to the main object of our gathering, it seems to me it would be well to lay it aside on this occasion.

MR. WHEELER.—We can afford a great many things; we can afford to go out into the street; but we are fighting for life for our opinions and ideas. I think we should take action upon this very resolution, and take favorable action. It is not a question, Mr. President, as to whether certain books circulating through the mails are obscene or not; it is a question whether the mails themselves should be violated by an authorized agent of the government. I hope this resolution will pass, and pass unanimously.

MR. POTTER.—I have only a word to say on the main resolution. I had hoped that it would be brought before the convention directly on its merits, and be voted down. Yet I would favor the motion now before the house as a compromise; that is, that it be referred to the Directors to report upon at the next Annual Congress. The reason why I oppose the main resolution is that it is a mixed question, as has been said here. I think that there is something in the resolution that properly might come under the consideration of this Liberal League; but it appears to me that, if this Liberal League is to have any great success, that success is to come from its keeping very closely to the line of objects marked out in its Constitution. This afternoon, I think very properly, the convention voted that the subject of the general Indian policy of the government was not germane to the objects of the Liberal League; and therefore with a great deal of unanimity that portion of the resolutions was voted down. Now I think that this resolution also contains something that does not come within the sphere of this League. There is a class of literature sent through the mails, as I am informed, not circulated at all because the works are scientific or medical, but because they are obscene works, emanating from centres of most corrupting influences, and issued by men who probably would not dare to have their names made known anywhere, least of all in this Liberal League. I have never seen any of these books, but I understand they are constantly mailed—little works, pamphlets, and circulars,—sent into the public schools of America for our children to read, and fitted only to corrupt the minds of the boys and girls. Now that is something which our laws, if we are to do anything by way of law, certainly ought to suppress. To suppress vice and crime, certainly our laws have their appropriate sphere there, on the ground not of religion, not of theology, but of morality. Just where we should place the abstract limits of government may be doubtful; but so far as the resolution tends to protect the circulation of this vile literature (and it does seem to tend to protect that, though it may not be intended so to do)—but so far as it does tend to protect that kind of literature,—this convention would certainly not wish to do anything in opposition to any movement or to any law that would suppress that crime against the innocence of our children. Under cover of this general desire for the security of virtue, religious bigots may be attempting to influence the law-makers so as to secure entrance for their theology, and to strike at the circulation of the liberal literature which they must be opposed to.

So far as anything of that kind is attempted, I think it is certainly to be watched most carefully; therefore I shall vote decidedly against the passage of such a resolution as this, and shall for the same reason vote in favor of referring it, as the next best thing, to the Board of Directors for a report at the next meeting.

MR. MILLS.—I hope Mr. President, that the resolution to refer will prevail. I can see plainly that there may be work for the Liberal League in the manner suggested in the resolution of Mr. Andrews. I see also, as I think, that it is necessary, whatever we may say or do in that matter, that our actions should be so carefully guarded that there will be no room for suspicion, even, that we fall ourselves to promote jealousy the preservation of the public morals, and whatever pertains to that preservation, as my friend Mr. Potter has pointed out. I think that, as members of the Liberal League, we have a deep interest in this whole question, and we should place ourselves in that position; against anything that looks like ecclesiastical dictation or interference with free discussion, or the free dissemination through the mails of all decent treatises on the vital problems that belong to human welfare and human life, we should always set our faces like a flint. But the maintenance and protection in all fitting ways of the public morals,—that is our chief concern.

MR. WHEELER.—I never knew that morality was corrected by crime. It is a crime for anybody to open a letter or package which has been sealed and deposited in the mail. It is the business of the parents and guardians, and of those who are put to look after the young children, to see what their correspondence is after it is opened, and not to send a minion of the Young Men's Christian Association to search through the mail-bags of the United States. Now if any obscene letter is received by a young man or young woman, if they will only show that letter to their guardian, then the authorities can take that open letter, and trace it back to its nefarious origin, and set the law at work to bring down condign punishment upon the offender. But just so long as any excuse is made for the violation of the mails, just so long will there be a searching among the private papers of the people. The plea of the protection of the morality of the public is what they base their action upon. And this is why we ask you to pass this resolution now, and not defer it to another year and another century.

MR. POTTER.—If the resolution pointed very clearly to one thing that this gentleman refers to as occurring, the opening of the mail-bags, I think everybody here would agree to it; but let him bring forward the facts. He tells us here that there is a man in the post-office department who does this thing.

MR. WHEELER.—The gentleman's name is Comstock.

MR. POTTER.—Will you tell us some facts in relation to this matter that we can act upon, before we pass a resolution of this kind? It seems to me that we have not the facts; and, further, the resolution does not point emphatically to that clear statement. Let us have an investigation of that, if necessary; but I think that underneath the resolution there is something else,—something with which the laws are not connected, and with which we here, as a Liberal League organized for the purpose of the secularization of the State and the school, are not concerned,—something that concerns social morality,—something that concerns the purity of our homes; and I should stand by my friend, and say that, whatever else we do in this Liberal League, let us by no means do anything that will corrupt the purity of our children. Whatever else we do, let us stand by society in its integrity; let us stand by the right of society to protect itself against the criminal class, and the right of the government to protect itself against the criminal class. I agree perfectly with those who have spoken here upon the criminality of this examination of the mails by the government. I will go the farthest in protesting against the assumption by anybody of the right in the United States to open the private mails of citizens. That was done in the pro-slavery times, when they did not allow "abolition" papers to go down South. But there is another question here, and a question which ought to be decided seriously. Let us have this matter referred to the Directors, that they may investigate and bring forward the facts, and have this matter presented in a somewhat clearer manner at the next Annual Congress.

MR. KILGORE.—I perfectly agree with the last speaker. I think there should be an investigation, and a thorough one. Let us pass upon this by a vote; we shall not do any good by further discussion. It is now eleven o'clock, and there are notices to be given, and we want to do a little more business. I hope that investigations will be made, and, if the Board of Directors are not the proper persons to do it, I would move the appointment of a special committee. I now call for the previous question.

THE PRESIDENT.—The previous question is called for and seconded. Shall the main question be now put?

Agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT.—The question is now on the motion to refer Mr. Andrews' preamble and resolution to the Board of Directors, to be reported on at the next Annual Congress.

The vote being taken on this question, the motion prevailed.

Eighth Session, Tuesday Morning, July 4.

MR. UNDERWOOD.—I have now another resolution to submit on behalf of the committee:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefinite-

ness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

With regard to these resolutions, I would say that many members regret the non-passage last evening of Mr. Andrews' resolution. Some action of the sort ought to be taken at this time, and these resolutions have been so framed as to obviate the objections then expressed. They seem to embrace everything that is desired. As the time is very short before we must adjourn, I hope there will be little or no discussion upon them, and that we shall act upon them at once.

MR. ANDREWS.—I move the adoption of the resolutions.

The President then stated the question on the resolutions.

MR. POTTER.—I supposed that this whole subject had been referred to the Directors by the resolution instructing them to report on this subject at the next annual Congress. This resolution is somewhat similar to the one then rejected; I think it is much better than that, but still it is objectionable. I think the whole matter should be referred to the next Congress.

MR. McARTHUR.—I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered. The main question being then put, the resolutions were adopted.

[The above is quoted from *Equal Rights in Religion; Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals and Organization of the National Liberal League, etc.* Copies of this invaluable book can be had by addressing the "National Liberal League, 281 Washington Street, Boston." Price, cloth, \$1.00; paper covers, 75 cents.]

POWER OF CONGRESS OVER THE MAILS.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER TERM, 1877.

MATTER OF JACKSON.

1. The power vested in Congress to establish "post-offices and post-roads" embraces the regulation of the entire postal system of the country. Under it Congress may designate what shall be carried in the mail, and what shall be excluded.
2. In the enforcement of regulations excluding matter from the mail, a distinction is to be made between different kinds of mail-matter; between what is intended to be kept free from inspection, such as letters and sealed packages subject to letter postage; and what is open to inspection, such as newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and other printed matter, purposely left in a condition to be examined.
3. Letters and sealed packages subject to letter postage in the mail can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued upon similar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing to be seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search in one's own household. The constitutional guaranty of the right of the people to be secure in their papers against unreasonable searches and seizures extends to their papers thus closed against inspection wherever they may be.
4. Regulations against the transportation in the mail of printed matter, which is open to examination, cannot be enforced so as to interfere in any manner with the freedom of the press. Liberty of circulating is essential to that freedom. When, therefore, printed matter is excluded from the mail, its transportation in any other way cannot be forbidden by Congress.
5. Regulations excluding matter from the mail may be enforced through the courts, upon competent evidence of their violation obtained in other ways than by the unlawful inspection of letters and sealed packages; and with respect to objectionable printed matter, open to examination, they may in some cases also be enforced by the direct action of the officers of the postal service upon their own inspection, as where the object is exposed and shows unmistakably that it is prohibited, as in the case of an obscene picture or print.
6. When a party is convicted of an offence, and sentenced to pay a fine, it is within the discretion of the court to order his imprisonment until the fine is paid.

On petition for writs of *habeas corpus* and *certiorari*.

Mr. Justice Field delivered the opinion of the court. Section 3,894 of the Revised Statutes provides that "No letter or circular concerning (illegal) lotteries, so-called gift-concerts, or other similar enterprises offering prizes, or concerning schemes devised and intended to deceive and defraud the public for the purpose of obtaining money under false pretences, shall be carried in the mail"; and that "any person who shall knowingly deposit or send anything to be conveyed by mail, in violation of this section, shall be punishable by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars nor less than one hundred dollars, with costs of prosecution." By an act passed in July, 1876, the word "illegal" was stricken out of the section. Under the law as thus amended the petitioner was indicted, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, for knowingly and unlawfully depositing, on the 23d of February, 1877, at that district, in the mail of the United States, to be conveyed in it, a circular concerning a lottery offering prizes, inclosed in an envelope addressed to one J. Ketcham, at Gloversville, New York. The indictment sets forth the offence in separate counts, so as to cover every form in which it could be stated under the act. Upon being arraigned the petitioner stood mute, refusing to plead, and thereupon a plea of not guilty was entered in his behalf by order of the court (Rev. Stat., § 1,032). He was subsequently tried, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dol-

lars, with the costs of the prosecution, and to be committed to the county jail until the fine and costs were paid. Upon his commitment, which followed, he presented to this court a petition alleging that he was imprisoned and restrained of his liberty by the marshal of the Southern District of New York, under the conviction; that such conviction was illegal, and that the illegality consisted in this: that the court had no jurisdiction to punish him for the acts charged in the indictment; that the act under which the indictment was drawn was unconstitutional and void; and that the court exceeded its jurisdiction in committing him until the fine was paid. He therefore prayed for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to the marshal to bring him before the court, and a writ of *certiorari* to be directed to the clerk of the Circuit Court to send up the record of his conviction, that this court might inquire into the cause and legality of his imprisonment. Accompanying the petition as exhibits were copies of the indictment and of the record of conviction. The court, instead of ordering that the writs issue at once, entered a rule, the counsel of the petitioner consenting thereto, that cause be shown, on a day designated, why the writs should not issue as prayed, and that a copy of the rule be served on the Attorney-General of the United States, the marshal of the Southern District of New York, and the clerk of the Circuit Court. The attorney-general, for himself and others, answered the rule by averring that the petition and exhibits do not make out a case in which this court has jurisdiction to order the writs to issue, and that the petitioner is in lawful custody by virtue of the proceedings and sentence mentioned in the exhibits, and the commitment issued thereon.

The power vested in Congress "to establish post-offices and post-roads" has been practically construed, since the foundation of the government, to authorize not merely the designation of the routes over which the mail shall be carried, and the offices where letters and other documents shall be received to be distributed or forwarded, but the carriage of the mail, and all measures necessary to secure its safe and speedy transit and the prompt delivery of its contents. The validity of legislation prescribing what should be carried, and its weight and form, and the charges to which it should be subjected, has never been questioned. What should be mailable has varied at different times, changing with the facility of transportation over the post-roads. At one time only letters, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and other printed matter, not exceeding eight ounces in weight, were carried; afterward books were added to the list, and now small packages of merchandise, not exceeding a prescribed weight, as well as books and printed matter of all kinds, are transported in the mail. The power possessed by Congress embraces the regulation of the entire postal system of the country. The right to designate what shall be carried necessarily involves the right to determine what shall be excluded. The difficulty attending the subject arises, not from the want of power in Congress to prescribe regulations as to what shall constitute mail-matter, but from the necessity of enforcing them consistently with rights reserved to the people, of far greater importance than the transportation of the mail. In their enforcement a distinction is to be made between different kinds of mail-matter; between what is intended to be kept free from inspection, such as letters and sealed packages subject to letter postage; and what is open to inspection, such as newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and other printed matter, purposely left in a condition to be examined. Letters and sealed packages of this kind in the mail are as fully guarded from examination and inspection, except as to their outward form and weight, as if they were retained by the parties forwarding them in their own domiciles. The constitutional guaranty of the right of the people to be secure in their papers against unreasonable searches and seizures extends to their papers, thus closed against inspection, wherever they may be; whilst in the mail they can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued upon similar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing to be seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search in one's own household. No law of Congress can place in the hands of officials connected with the postal service any authority to invade the secrecy of letters and such sealed packages in the mail; and all regulations adopted as to mail-matter of this kind must be in subordination to the great principle embodied in the fourth amendment of the Constitution.

Nor can any regulations be enforced against the transportation of printed matter in the mail, which is open to examination, so as to interfere in any manner with the freedom of the press. Liberty of circulating is as essential to that freedom as liberty of publishing; indeed, without the circulation the publication would be of little value. If, therefore, printed matter be excluded from the mails, its transportation in any other way cannot be forbidden by Congress.

In 1838, the question as to the power of Congress to exclude publications from the mail was discussed in the Senate, and the prevailing opinion of its members, as expressed in debate, was against the existence of the power. President Jackson, in his annual message of the previous year, had referred to the attempted circulation through the mail of inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various publications, tending to stimulate them to insurrection, and suggested to Congress the propriety of passing a law prohibiting, under severe penalties, such circulation of "incendiary publications" in the Southern States. In the Senate, that portion of the message was referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Calhoun was chairman; and he made an elaborate report on the subject, in which he contended that it belonged to the States, and not to Congress, to determine what is and what is not calculated to disturb their security, and that to hold otherwise would be fatal to the States; for if Congress might determine

what papers were incendiary, and as such prohibit their circulation through the mail, it might also determine what were not incendiary and enforce their circulation. Whilst, therefore, condemning in the strongest terms the circulation of the publications, he insisted that Congress had not the power to pass a law prohibiting their transmission through the mail, on the ground that it would abridge the liberty of the press. "To understand," he said, "more fully the extent of the control which the right of prohibiting circulation through the mail would give to the government over the press, it must be borne in mind that the power of Congress over the post-office and the mail is an exclusive power. It must also be remembered that Congress, in the exercise of this power, may declare any road or navigable water to be a post road; and that, by the act of 1825, it is provided 'that no stage, or other vehicle which regularly performs trips on a post-road, or on a road parallel to it, shall carry letters.' The same provision extends to packets, boats, or other vessels on navigable waters. Like provision may be extended to newspapers and pamphlets, which, if it be admitted that Congress has the right to discriminate in reference to their character, what papers shall or what shall not be transmitted by the mail, would subject the freedom of the press, on all subjects, political, moral, and religious, completely to its will and pleasure. It would, in fact, in some respects, more effectually control the freedom of the press than any seditious law, however severe its penalties." Mr. Calhoun, at the same time, contended that when a State had pronounced certain publications to be dangerous to its peace and prohibited their circulation, it was the duty of Congress to respect its laws and cooperate in their enforcement; and whilst, therefore, Congress could not prohibit the transmission of the incendiary documents through the mails, it could prevent their delivery by the postmasters in the States where their circulation was forbidden. In the discussion upon the bill reported by him, similar views against the power of Congress were expressed by other Senators, who did not concur in the opinion that the delivery of papers could be prevented when their transmission was permitted.

Great reliance is placed by the petitioner upon these views, coming as they did, in many instances, from men alike distinguished as jurists and statesmen. But it is evident that they were founded upon the assumption that it was competent for Congress to prohibit the transportation of newspapers and pamphlets over postal routes in any other way than by mail; and of course it would follow that if, with such a prohibition, the transportation in the mail could also be forbidden, the circulation of the documents would be destroyed, and a fatal blow given to the freedom of the press. But we do not think that Congress possesses the power to prevent the transportation in other ways, as merchandise, of matter which it excludes from the mails. To give efficiency to its regulations and prevent rival postal systems, it may perhaps prohibit the carriage by others for hire over postal routes of articles which legitimately constitute mail-matter, in the sense in which those terms were used when the Constitution was adopted,—consisting of letters, and of newspapers and pamphlets when not sent as merchandise; but further than this its power of prohibition cannot extend.

Whilst regulations excluding matter from the mail cannot be enforced in a way which would require or permit an examination into letters or sealed packages subject to letter postage, without warrant issued upon oath or affirmation, in the search for prohibited matter, they may be enforced upon competent evidence of their violation obtained in other ways, as from the parties receiving the letters or packages, or from agents depositing them in the post-office, or others cognizant of the facts. And as to objectionable printed matter, which is open to examination, the regulations may be enforced in a similar way, by the imposition of penalties for their violation through the courts, and, in some cases, by the direct action of the officers of the postal service. In many instances those officers can act upon their own inspection, and from the nature of the case must act without other proof, as where the postage is not prepaid, or where there is an excess of weight over the amount prescribed, or where the object is exposed and shows unmistakably that it is prohibited, as in the case of an obscene picture or print. In such cases no difficulty arises, and no principle is violated in excluding the prohibited articles, or refusing to forward them. The evidence respecting them is seen by every one and is in its nature conclusive.

In excluding various articles from the mail the object of Congress has not been to interfere with the freedom of the press, or with any other rights of the people, but to refuse its facilities for the distribution of matter deemed injurious to the public morals. Thus, by the act of March 3, 1873, Congress declared "that no obscene, lewd, or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, print, or other publication of an indecent character, or any article or thing designed or intended for the prevention of conception or procuring of abortion, nor any article or thing intended or adapted for any indecent or immoral use or nature, nor any written or printed card, circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind giving information, directly or indirectly, where, or how, or of whom, or by what means either of the things before mentioned may be obtained or made, nor any letter upon the envelope of which, or postal-card upon which, indecent or scurrilous epithets may be written or printed, shall be carried in the mail, and any person who shall knowingly deposit, or cause to be deposited, for mailing or delivery, any of the hereinbefore mentioned articles or things . . . shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall, for every offence, be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, or imprisoned at hard labor not less than one year nor

more than ten years, or both, in the discretion of the judge."

All that Congress meant by this act was, that the mail should not be used to transport such corrupting publications and articles, and that any one who attempted to use it for that purpose should be punished. The same inhibition has been extended to circulars concerning lotteries, institutions which are supposed to have a demoralizing influence upon the people. There is no question before us as to the evidence upon which the conviction of the petitioner was had; nor does it appear whether the envelope in which the prohibited circular was deposited in the mail was sealed or left open for examination. The only question for our determination relates to the constitutionality of the act, and of that we have no doubt.

The commitment of the petitioner to the county jail until his fine is paid was within the discretion of the court under the statute.

As there is an exemplified copy of the record of the petitioner's indictment and conviction accompanying the petition, the merits of his case have been considered at his request upon this application; and as we are of opinion that his imprisonment is legal, no objection would be subserved by issuing the writs; they are, therefore, denied.—*Albany Law Journal*, June 8.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK—HIS WORK AND WAYS.

The fourth annual report of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, or rather the report of Anthony Comstock, who is the society for all practical purposes, gives the record of a very energetic raid upon the panders of the meanest vices which sap the virtue and strength of human kind. The vignette of the report indicates in very unmistakable terms the spirit and purpose of the crusade which Mr. Comstock is leading. Two scenes appear. In one, Comstock is handing over to the flames the tons of corrupt literature which he has seized. In the other, the manufacturer or vender of the same, with hands pinioned behind his back, fronts a prison cell, into which he is pushed by a vigorous policeman. Grim punishments for vile offences constitute in brief the policy of the society. The report of matter seized during the last year shows that the traffic has been reduced or driven into more secret places than it occupied before, and that there is some possibility of making the world too hot for any open attempt to debauch the young.

There is nothing pleasant in the subject. However necessary it may be to uncover the hideous secrets, which are always to be found if one will go deep enough after them, there is nothing agreeable in the process by which they are brought out to infect the sweet air breathed by the innocent, and to make even the sunshine seem to lose its purity. To some extent, it is necessary to probe society to its most sore and unclean recesses, in order that those who will may cooperate in taking away the causes of disease. To some extent, it is necessary to expose in all their hideous deformity the wretches who, without passion or scruple, in cold-blooded covetousness, put lures to catch the innocent, and through the power of wholesome natural impulses lead them on to pernicious indulgences.

The work is unpleasant, but it is necessary; and we hope that Mr. Comstock may be sustained in doing the legitimate part of his work. We say the legitimate part, because we see a danger which has already threatened his influence. No one can see him, and note his manner of speech, without marking the intense, dogged determination, and the instinct which rejoices in battle, that make him so formidable an enemy of these wretched creatures. He hates them and their works, and is in danger of hating those who do not come to his help against them. But he not only hates these men who are guilty of criminal practices, but he also regards with abhorrence those who differ from him in opinion on matters of morality and religion. The danger is that he will attempt to carry on his crusade against all manner of delusions and vagaries of opinion; and, by confounding erroneous beliefs and vicious practices, alienate the sympathies of those who believe in liberty of thought and speech in all matters of opinion. We quote a few lines from the report to show what we mean:—

"Another class of publications issued by free lovers and free thinkers is in a fair way of being stamped out. The public generally can scarcely be aware of the extent that blasphemy and filth commingled have found vent through these varied channels. Under a plausible pretence, men who raise a howl about 'free press,' 'free speech,' etc., ruthlessly trample under feet the most sacred things, breaking down the altars of religion, bursting asunder the ties of home, and seeking to overthrow every social restraint."

When the agent of a society for the suppression of vice begins to put into the same list of things to be suppressed, not only obscene literature and other vile matter which is made and sold with direct intent to debauch the young, but also whatever he considers to be pernicious in tendency or blasphemous in expression among the works of free thinkers, he may, if he be a bigot, very easily slip into a course of action which would, in the end, rob him of all power, even in his legitimate calling.

Objection is made to his work or manner of working for various reasons; namely, and for example:—

1. They object who do not believe in prohibiting any sin by law, excepting in cases where the evil effects of it cannot be warded off by the free will of the people. They believe the evil is exaggerated by the efforts to suppress it, and would rely upon education to make temptation powerless.

The answer to this might be that if the devils who do this vile work addressed themselves only to adults, there would be force in the objection. But so long as they deal with children who have not reached the age

of discretion, their victims are as defenceless as if force were used.

2. It is objected that Mr. Comstock uses deceptions, lies, and stratagems,—traps to catch vermin,—that he commits a crime to catch a criminal.

Our comment upon this must be that the informer is always in danger of becoming a liar, but that it is better to let the vicious escape than to catch them by lies. Caution, secrecy, wariness, craftiness even, are essential to the work of a good detective. But better that the infamous Madams Restell should be alive now than that she should have been snared and driven to suicide by a lie told by a Christian.

3. Objection is made that Mr. Comstock is excited by sectarian rancor, and that his real object is to drive out of the mails all the literature of infidelity or free religion. We do not believe this is anything but an incidental danger; and we think Mr. Abbot in *THE INDEX* has nobly met the issue, showing that liberals of every sort will serve their own cause best by making it clear that they can have no sympathy with vice or its agents, while they will resist any encroachments upon the liberty of speaking, writing, publishing, or circulating any honest opinions, however erroneous they may be.

We find in this work what is always the case: those who from a higher level of culture and purity go down to the depths of any sinful practice, to investigate and to redeem, are likely to become impressed with the idea that it is a growing and well-nigh fatal disease. We believe the fact to be that there is with each generation, taking civilized society at large, less wickedness, open or secret; and that in time good education will drive corruption out of the secret places of literature, as it has already cleaned its high places and public shrines. Rightly used, Mr. Comstock may be one of the efficient agents of such good education; and we heartily wish that he may have vigor, discretion, and justice sufficient to give him a lasting and shining success.—*Christian Register*.

BISMARCK AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO.

It has not been easy to understand the change in the attitude of Germany toward the Papacy. From a position of antagonism so positive that Germany has come to be looked upon as the European champion of social and civil liberty against Papal encroachment, the scene shifts of a sudden, and we find Bismarck coquetting at Klessengen with the Papal Nuncio. There is talk of compromises, demands, concessions, conferences, arrangements, and what not, with statements of what the Pope insists upon, and what he will or will not accept. All this is apparently as much of a surprise to the Germans themselves as to people who view what is going on at a greater remove of interest and distance. The comments of the German press reflect something of curiosity and something of indignation at the unwonted spectacle of Bismarck negotiating with the Ultramontanes. The principles involved are the same as formerly; there is just as much reason for opposing the control of the Church in affairs of State as when the Falk laws were passed; the spirit of the Papacy has not essentially changed; and the popular regard for liberty has certainly grown no less. Why, then, has there been a change in the attitude of Bismarck toward the Vatican?

The answer is to be found in the difficulties—political and financial—which the necessity of maintaining an immense war-establishment has entailed upon Germany. These difficulties are very clearly stated in the Berlin correspondence of the *London Times*. The cost of the military and naval departments is defrayed by the Empire, and by the Federal arrangement the entire income from customs and excise was surrendered to the Imperial authorities. At the same time the empire was denied the right to raise direct taxes, and it was provided that in case the revenue proved insufficient to cover the military expenses, the extras required should be contributed by the individual States. Military expenses have been steadily increasing, and the extras which had to be claimed of the individual States rose from 70,000,000 marks in 1872 to 81,000,000 marks in 1877; and if it had not been for the expenditure of the remainder of the French indemnity, they would have been 109,000,000 marks in the latter year. This led, of course, to an annually recurring debate in each of the State Parliaments, with a certain amount of hostile criticism against the policy which entailed such an enormous expenditure upon a people suffering under industrial depression. The aggregate expenditures for the army and navy have risen from 263,000,000 marks in 1874 to 323,000,000 in 1878, and the volume of popular and parliamentary complaint has swollen in direct ratio.

Bismarck has therefore sought for devices to make the imperial exchequer independent of parliamentary grants. The transfer of private railways to the government, the imposition of a petroleum tax, and the establishment of a tobacco monopoly are measures which have been persistently urged, in turn, only to be abandoned when it appeared that it was impossible to secure their adoption. Next came the suggestion of a general increase of the tariff. The dissolution of Parliament was resolved upon in order to secure a conservative majority for the government's support; but the liberals, though losing thirty seats, remain the dominant party. The present negotiations with the Papal Nuncio appear to have for their object the arrangement of a coalition between the Conservatives and the Ultramontanes,—the government to make certain concessions to the Catholic interests and to receive in return the Ultramontane vote for army and navy supplies. In other words, the maintenance of the existing war establishment is recognized as the first necessity, by which alone the dominant position of Germany in European politics can be maintained, and the religious question is to be put in the background as of secondary importance.

This interpretation of the Klessengen conference may be incorrect, but it at least serves to explain what otherwise would be almost inexplicable. The scheme is a bold one and involves many contingencies. There is a question how far the crown will go in ratifying concessions to the Vatican; and there is a further question how long or how firmly the Ultramontanes could be held together in voting grants to cement a power which they have learned to hate. There is at least a good chance that the projected coalition may drop to pieces before it is once fairly formed.—*Boston Journal*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

THE GERMAN MUSE vs. THE ENGLISH.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KLOPSTOCK.*

Glowing with rivalry, I saw the Muse
Of German-land with Britain's Muse contend.
Two goals of emulation dimly rose
Afar erected at the arena's end.

One goal with orient palms o'ershadowed stood,
While Druid boughs above the other sighed;
Inured to conflict, and of haughty mood,
The Britoness her crownless rival eyed.

Over the lists had oft careered her feet,
For 'gainst the Muse of Hellas she had run,
And with Rome's loftiest genius dared compete,
And in the contest bays immortal won.

Her rival there before her trembling stood
With eagerness, not fear, for she was bold.
The rose of victory on her flushed cheek glowed,
And o'er her shoulders waved her locks of gold.

Her breath scarce in her heaving breast she held;
She thought the herald's trumpet pealing rung;
Glistened her eyes with joy; her bosom swelled,
As towards the goal she bending forward hung.

Proud of her rival, of herself more proud,
With haughty glance the Britoness surveyed
Tulaco's glorious daughter; then aloud,
Ah! yes, we grew together in the forest's shade.

Old bards about our cradles darkling sang;
Their boughs above us waved the oak-groves hoar;
But in mine ears an idle rumor rang
Long since, that thou, my sister, wast no more.

Pardon, if thou art an immortal too;
At yonder barrier I the truth shall learn.
It standeth there, the goal of oaks in view;
And, farther on, canst thou the goal of palms discern?

Thou standest mute; but ah, full well I know
That daring scarce repressed, that silence proud,
Those looks of fire, which, darting earthward, glow,
Are each more eloquent than utterance loud.

Yet ere his perilous note the herald sound—
And ere thy breast the trumpet's signal thrills,
Bethink thee; I invincible was found
By Her of Hellas and the Seven Hills!

She spake; the herald with his trump drew near
The signal of the struggle dread to peal;
Daughter of Albion to me most dear,—
For thee profoundest loyalty I feel.

Warily I love thee; but 'e'en more than thee
The imperishable bay, the conqueror's meed;
Seize, if thou wilt, the wreath of victory;
A moiety of renown at least to me concede,
How throbb' my pulse! hapy the goal sublime,
Ye powers immortal, I may first attain!
Feeling thy breath, O Britoness, meantime
Stirring my locks, as I the triumph gain!

Madden the trumpet sounded, and they flew,
As flies an eagle o'er the vast career;
But dust-clouds rising wrapt them from the view,
As they unto the goal of oaks drew near.

B. W. BALL.

*The above almost forgotten ode of the German Milton, as Klopstock was called, was written in the eighteenth century before the great German poets and philosophers had been universally recognized, before Goethe was acknowledged as the peer of Shakespeare, and Kant as the supreme thinker of the modern world and the vindicator of human reason against dogma and authority. The German Muse did not enter the lists till late, until after her English rival had won triumph after triumph, from Chaucer to Milton; but she at length showed herself to be the peer of her elder sister of Albion. Germany was stigmatized as the land of learned stupidity till the last part of the eighteenth century, when Madame De Staël showed that the intellectual primacy of Europe belonged to her. Her supremacy now in the domain of thought is unquestioned.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 14.

George Lieberknecht, \$3.47; Maggie B. Stone, \$3.30; Lucy Smith, \$3.20; Rev. Ch. Hedden, \$9.60; Isaac Sherwood, \$6.40; S. C. Ingraham, 65 cents; Cash, \$3.30; Lizzie Richards, \$2; Jerry Brockway, \$1; New England News Co., \$4.04; Prof. A. Magni, \$6.40; E. W. Korner, \$1; G. F. Towle, \$2; Judge K. W. Frazer, \$3.20; Miss A. C. Richards, 60 cents; L. Slimmer, \$2.14; Julia E. Tanner, \$2; Clemens Vonnegut, \$3.20; J. W. Wheeler, \$1.25; W. A. Leonard, \$5.13; F. E. Guilwits, \$1; F. F. Morton, \$1.60; Rev. J. S. Gilbert, \$3.06; W. H. Pangborn, \$3.20; E. R. Potter, \$3.30; J. W. Graham, \$5.20; Jas. M. Lawton, Jr., \$2.70; George Engler, \$3.20; Joseph Cook, \$3.20; Jno. Alexander, \$4.50; G. H. Adams, \$9.07; Hugh Wynjman, \$7.90.

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPT. 19, 1878.

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

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

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

N. B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
 OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CARY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIEUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

F. R. A. REPORT.

The Eleventh Annual Report of the Free Religious Association, printed in pamphlet form, is now ready for distribution. It contains the reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer; essay by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on "The Religion of Humanity, and How it may be Organized"; essay by Rev. W. H. Spencer, of Haverhill, on "The Religion of Supernaturalism, and How it is being Disorganized"; and addresses by O. B. Frothingham, George W. Curtis, Anna C. Garlib, Maurice Ellinger, and Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith (the latter including a poem).

Members of the Association who have paid the annual fee of \$1.00 within the last twelve months will receive the report free, in all cases where their post-office addresses are known. To others the price is forty cents single copy; four or more in one package, twenty-five cents each.

Address "Free Religious Association," 231 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD will lecture next Sunday at Paine Hall, on "A View of the Situation."

"REFORM, to be successful, must be impartial and complete." So says the *Tribune*. That is precisely the purpose of the National Liberal League, which gathers up all the "Demands of Liberalism" in the one comprehensive principle, "Total Separation of Church and State."

MR. STEVENS' tribute to the memory of Rev. W. H. Knapp is exceedingly just. Though not intimately acquainted with Mr. Knapp, we never met him without great pleasure, nor left him without having heard something worth remembering. A good man has gone to his rest; he will not be forgotten.

PROFESSOR JAMES E. OLIVER, of Ithaca, N. Y., kindly permits us to add his name to our list of editorial contributors, and will send such articles as his time and strength allow. His fine letter to the Watkins Convention, published this week, will make our readers wish for frequent messages from him.

GOVERNOR BISHOP, of Ohio, whose proclamation summoning all Christian people in that State to pray for the stay of the pestilence at the South has already been referred to in these columns, was called upon by Messrs. D. Wolf and B. Simon, Israelites of Cincinnati, to explain whether he meant to leave out all but "Christians" in his exhortation. The governor replied (and the correspondence is published) in a way which will exasperate the theologians to a pitch of fury—for he includes Jews under that word! This is what he says: "The word 'Christian' was used by me only as a general term, intended to embrace all who recognized and relied upon divine protection in the hour of need, and was by no means intended to exclude any of any sect, creed, belief, or school who would give a prayer for the alleviation of a plague, and, least of all, to exclude a people of whom you are members, who are recognized and illustrious for deeds of mercy and charity." The governor ought to get a patent on his new definition of Christianity.

A CARD.

We, the undersigned, Directors of the National Liberal League, offer ourselves as candidates for reelection at the Second Annual Congress of the League, on the following platform of principles:—

1. The right of absolute individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, on all political, religious, social, or other questions, and the right of being wholly uninterfered with by the courts, no matter what opinions as such may be advocated or promulgated.

2. The right and duty of Congress and State Legislatures to pass, and the right and duty of the National and State courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails; provided, that the offence known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.

3. The flagrant wrong of intrusting the execution of the laws for the suppression of obscene literature to any official or officials who shall not scrupulously confine their action within the limits here clearly defined.

And we decline to be candidates for reelection if the principles of the above platform shall fail to be approved by the National Liberal League at this Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, President.
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, Secretary.
 J. A. J. WILCOX, Treasurer.
 D. G. CRANDON, Chair. Fin. Comm.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION vs. SECRET PLOTS.

From numerous independent sources during the past few months, we have received information that a secret movement is on foot to surprise and capture the National Liberal League at its next Annual Congress for the purpose of making it reverse its record, and come out in favor of the total repeal of the obscene literature laws as opposed to their radical reform. A private letter, dated September 7, conjectures the following programme of operations:—

I think we ought all to make one resolute stand, and strive to our utmost to save the League from falling into disaster and utter wreck. Let me tell you what I think. First, there will be an attempt made to seize the organization of the convention, displacing yourself from the Presidency of the League, and putting in that position either Bennett or some one in affiliation with him. With their own man in the Chair, they will have, as they did at Watkins, a Business Committee, so far as the majority is concerned, of their own sort and kind. Falling in the first step, if they should, they will endeavor to secure the Business Committee on Resolutions, and should they perchance fail there, they will resolutely seek to have a large enough representation on hand in the convention to vote down the resolutions they do not want and to vote up those they do. I apprehend that the delegates from New York city may vote solidly one way; and the danger is that from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, in all which cities, as I think, the Free Love doctrine has obtained among liberals a considerable foothold, the convention may be overborne and swamped. Then there is more or less of an infusion of this virus all through the country. But I believe that, if the people at large were fully posted in regard to what is up, and would send in their delegates, we should find the declaration would be on the right side.

The success of this secret movement would be the utter perversion of the National Liberal League from its original objects, and the certain destruction of its growing influence. At the time of its birth, the League assumed a firm and wise position on this "obscene literature" question; and it needs now to maintain this position with increased clearness, vigor, and emphasis. If it should now abandon or in any degree weaken this position—if it should consent to parley or compromise with the "free-love" folly, or surrender itself to the management of those who are deluded by its feeble sophistries,—the National Liberal League will simply commit suicide. Those of its members whose character, ability, and reputation have commanded for the League no small measure of public respect will speedily retire from its membership. The organization will soon tumble to pieces, and one more monument will be erected to the executive incapacity of liberals as a class.

The Directors of the League have, therefore, felt it their duty to act with boldness and promptitude. Instead of stooping to tricks or opposing plots by counter-plots, they have resolved to lay the whole case candidly before the liberal public, and abide by their deliberate, well-considered decision. The success of every plot depends on its secrecy; and the

Directors have put it within the power of the League, by informing them fully of the vital issues at stake and providing effectually against any attempt to pack the convention, to defeat the present plot utterly, and to settle these issues with freedom, wisdom, and dignity.

In addition to the "Call" for the Second Annual Congress of the League, the Directors also publish this week a "Card," to both of which we invite special attention. Persistent attempts have been made to obscure and cloud the real issues at stake, and to convince the liberals that they must either surrender their liberties altogether or else demand the total repeal of the "obscene literature" laws. To scatter this fog and to bring out the real issues with clearness, the Directors have announced in their "Card" a platform of principles identical in substance with those proclaimed by the League at Philadelphia. Further, in order to concentrate public attention upon these principles, and ensure a careful and deliberate public judgment of their real value, the present Directors offer themselves as candidates for reelection, to stand or fall with the principles thus put forward. It is needless to say that they are not at all anxious for reelection; they will be glad to be released from public service, if a new and well-chosen Board of Directors shall be elected on the same platform; they will cordially and earnestly unite in sustaining such new officers to the best of their power. But meanwhile they feel it their duty to represent these principles before the public, and to bear the standard till it can be put into better hands; they despise the affectation of coyness and false modesty, and say publicly that these principles are too vitally important to the welfare and progress of the liberal cause not to be represented for the time being by candidates who will avowedly share their fate. For this reason alone they take the somewhat unusual, though not unprecedented, step of volunteering their own candidature; and they know that their motives will be misconstrued by no generous or just mind.

Now let the platform and candidates of the "repeal" party be presented to the public with equal frankness. If it possesses better principles than those of the "Card," let it not hide its candlestick under a bushel. Let there be no miserable personalities, but a strong, fair, frank discussion of both sides of this subject. We call upon the advocates of "repeal" of the laws in question to show by argument, without distortion or misrepresentation, wherein the principles set forth in the "Card" are either false, or inadequate, or to be improved; and to state without verbiage or ambiguity exactly what principles they themselves propose instead. If they are unable to do this, the public will find it out and act accordingly.

We "take the bull by the horns." We propose to fight darkness with light,—secret plots with public discussion; and if the "repeal" party expect to carry their point at the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, we give them warning that they must do it by fair, open, and honorable means, and by these alone. If by such means they can convince the League that "repeal," and not "reform," is the measure needed to protect freedom of the press and the mails, well and good; the only object of the Directors is to secure for the Congress the conditions of a fair debate and vote on the merits of the question, and to prevent any underhanded operations by which such a fair debate and vote would be cut off. Let the Local Leagues understand that the delegates they send will be called upon to act on this question; and let them therefore choose such delegates as shall best represent their views. The fate of the National Liberal League is in its own hands; it may commit suicide, if it chooses to do so; its present officers have no object whatever but to protect it from being waylaid and assassinated. Meanwhile, they boldly and frankly state the principles of "reform" by which they themselves propose to stand or fall in this Congress; and they call upon the advocates of "repeal," if they have any principles which they dare set forth in opposition to these, to give them to the public with equal frankness, and to name the candidates who are to represent them. The liberal public will think none the worse of them, if they abandon the tricks of intrigue, misrepresentation, and abuse, manifest a little courage, and rely henceforth on the power of truth to win her own way in a fair field. Come, gentlemen who insist on "repeal" and scout "reform" as insufficient for the protection of freedom, publish your platform and your candidates to an anxious world!

IN MEMORIAM.

Rev. W. H. Knapp died in Cambridge, Saturday morning, September 7, after a protracted and distressing illness of nearly six months. He was born in Norton, Mass., September 19, 1811.

This death closes a most eventful and interesting life, stretching through a period of nearly seventy years; and yet a life passed almost wholly in New England, and indeed within a radius of less than one hundred miles of Boston. Those who have read Mr. Knapp's *Autobiography*, published anonymously about five years ago, a little book very characteristic of him in every way, so full of natural humor, combined with as great natural seriousness, abounding enthusiasm, and most charming candor, are already in possession of the leading facts and incidents of his noble and useful life. He commenced his manhood career as a minister of the Universalist denomination, being assisted and introduced to that ministry by Rev. Hosea Ballou, who was greatly impressed with the young man's hopeful promise. Mr. Knapp had been educated in the strictest Calvinism, but his naturally radical mind resisted the claims of that stern theology, and with manful struggles and pains he fought his way out of it into what was then the glorious light of Universalism. He remained with the Universalists only about three years, advancing from that denomination into what seemed to him the more philosophical and comprehensive one of the Unitarians. But Mr. Knapp was a born independent,—one who never stopped thinking and growing; and he soon found himself at variance with all fixed formulas of faith, even this last most rational one of Unitarianism, in which he discovered as many things to dissent from as to agree to. He however persisted in remaining in the Unitarian ministry until the last year of his life, yet maintaining at all times the most independent relations toward that body; his philosophy being so broad, and his spirit so truly liberal, that he always could include in his cordial fellowship genuine and honest men of the most diverse ways of thinking.

Mr. Knapp's robust individualism and independence in the ministry cost him the usual price demanded for such intellectual virtues. During his professional life of nearly fifty years he was probably the most itinerant clergyman that the Unitarian denomination ever tried to hold in its leashes. In the first thirty years of his ministry he "moved twenty-nine times; six times in four years." Not every one of these removals, however, was identical with a change of pastoral relations; and yet these changes run up into astonishingly large numbers. The longest settlement he had was that in Nantucket, which lasted seven years; and this, as he testifies, was the happiest part of his long ministerial service. Here he found an audience suited to his capacity,—intelligent, cultivated, and liberal.

Mr. Knapp was far more than an ordinary preacher. Without much grace, he had unusual *strength* as a thinker and speaker. Very thoughtful and thorough himself, his preaching made others think (if they were capable of it), and think thoroughly: While he was copious in illustrations from history, he did not go back into history for the subjects of his sermons. He did not preach about the sins of the Jews, and neglect to preach at the sins of Yankees: He spoke out of the living present, all affairs with the intellectual and moral issues of his own time. Slavery, Temperance, Transcendentalism, Parkerism,—none of these escaped his trenchant logic, his keen spiritual insight. He was every way a live preacher; and live people could not comfortably doze under his clear, ringing sermons: they either were made mad or made inspired by them. Fortunately, the Nantucket society liked just such a preacher; and with them Mr. Knapp might have remained for an indefinite time, had not reverses come upon the business of the place and ruined the prosperity of his parishioners.

His professional life before and after this delightful Nantucket period was full of bitter and painful vicissitudes. Few men could have held out through them all with such undaunted faith, such indomitable courage, such hopeful and even exulting spirits. But Mr. Knapp persevered with the gospel in his hand,—his gospel, not somebody else's; the gospel that the living God inspired him to preach, not that fixed up for him by some semi-defunct ecclesiasticism. And in the preaching of this gospel he had great joy as well as great trial; he never "went back on it" for fear of any sacrifice or for hope of any worldly gain. We do not say that the bitterness which entered into the cup of our friend's experience did not at all enter into his spirit. This perhaps would be saying too much. A tender and faithful lover he surely was; if a vigorous

hater sometimes, what wonder? He could denounce as well as extol; and why not? He met a good many things in his life that seemed to him despicable, and he was a man always to say what he thought, not somewhat else. But much as he may have despised and denounced some human actions, he had never anything but humble and adoring gratitude and praise for the great Friend in whose integrity he ever trusted, and on whose strong arm he ever leaned. No sentimentalist in his piety was our friend; but his faith in God was ruddy and robust enough to include all the facts of this life. Where he could not see with outward eye, his inner vision climbed above all doubt and despair, and found sure footing on the antecedent probability. An optimist he was,—an optimist of reason and of faith.

During the last few years of his life Mr. Knapp has lived in Cambridge, in retirement, peace, and comfort, where the writer of this has known him well as a friend and neighbor. He was ever an ardent lover of Nature, a keen observer of her ways, and a most intelligent and careful cultivator of flowers, plants, and fruits. Children and youth, too, were his delight, and he had bestowed not a little of wise thought to the subject of their right education and training. Mr. Knapp altogether was a man only to be appreciated by those who knew him most intimately. Social, generous, sympathetic, and faithful in his nature, he was a man warmly to be valued and loved by his family and friends. His life, sickness, and death have given a signal triumph for that religious philosophy which is gaining ground in our modern thought, and which is full of intelligent and rational faith.

A. W. S.

PROFESSOR OLIVER'S LETTER.

TO THE FREETHINKERS' CONVENTION, HELD AT WATKINS, N. Y., August, 1878:

Dear Friends,—Will you receive a written "testimony" from one who is unable to be present with you?

As freethinkers, our mission is twofold. First, we must maintain the right and duty of absolute freedom in thought and in discussion; provided always that what we say be truthful, courteous, and decent, appealing to the intellect and not to the passions, and that each of us endeavor to be kind and noble in his thoughts. And, secondly, we must use this freedom for the discovery and spread of truth; and especially of such truth as pertains to religious, political, or social science, and is likely to benefit mankind.

Upon each of these two topics I would submit a few ideas for your consideration.

I.

Thought and speech should be free. But are they free? If any one, whether Atheist, Calvinist, or Romanist, whether Communist or Tory, is ostracized, or even unkindly ridiculed, for opinions which he thoughtfully and conscientiously holds, then in the name of free thought let us protest against this offence, whether it happens to be committed against ourselves or against our opponents.

Distinct from, yet in spirit akin to, free thought and free speech, is the complete *secularity of the State*. The fundamental law, the levying of taxes, the precious weekly holiday, the yet more precious public schools, should be utterly without bias for or against any combination of religious sects. The State cannot undertake to bolster up a slowly-dying faith; and a live faith is better without its corrupting patronage. The State will best promote the highest interests of mankind by not prejudging questions upon which the best and wisest cannot as yet agree, and which hitherto have been treated chiefly by mere appeals to emotion and to conflicting authorities. In several ways this principle is now habitually violated in the interest of those who regard the Church, the Sabbath, and the Bible with almost superstitious reverence, and who cannot see that independently of these there can and *should* be high moral influence, moral teaching, moral enthusiasm,—and nowhere more than in the public schools.

This, as it seems to me, completes the liberal *creed*. Whoever earnestly and practically believes in "freedom, fellowship, and character," in every one's duty of fearlessly seeking and uttering the truth, and in holding the State to a policy of strict non-interference in religious matters,—he is a liberal and freethinker, and belongs with us, no matter what may be his faith concerning God or Christianity. If we stand consistently upon this broad ground, good men and women from all sects will at last unite with us, and the battle of all thoughts will be won. But the battle is *not yet won*. As long as good men

say to us confidentially, "Your demands are just; but if I join you in urging them I shall grieve or alienate my friends and injure my worldly prospects," so long have Liberal Leagues and Free Thought Associations a work to do. With cheerfulness and dignity let us accept and live down the odium which others are afraid to share with us.

II.

Our second great duty as freethinkers is earnestly, fearlessly, yet carefully, to seek for truth; and to make known to others whatever truths we think are most needed and most certain. This duty rests directly upon us as individuals, and we are not committed by one another's utterances.

Great problems are before us. Let every one of us contribute his mite toward the solution of some problem, though it be but a single fact or suggestion; and let us be content to "hasten slowly," and to test and retest our work in every way until a doubt of its soundness is no longer possible. That is the method of science, and it succeeds.

Perhaps never in the world's history till now could the same method be well applied to religion; for thought cannot be scientific until it is free. The overshadowing authority of Church and Bible, the fear of hell, the notion that credulity is a virtue and scepticism a sin, have for centuries made religious science in America and Europe almost impossible. Its very foundations may be hardly recognized, lying underneath the rubbish, deep in the permanent needs and adaptations of the human soul.

Besides, religious science has had to wait for the emancipation of woman. Many of its data are connected with the affections and with moral idealism, and therefore can best be studied by her; but her mind must first be freed from superstition and accustomed to scientific methods.

Even now these studies must be slow, partly because one cannot well pursue them except in connection with his own maturing character; for the materials which we are to sift by scientific methods must be largely gathered from within ourselves.

Nor can the results be as yet foreseen. They may confirm whatever is most consoling and inspiring in the old religions. Some of the deeper analogies of science seem to me to point in this direction; while the popular notion that science has already answered the questions of God and the future life in a materialistic sense, I think is quite unfounded. It is true, however, that science has in three ways helped to discredit certain narrow creeds; namely: by disproving the Bible cosmology and enlarging our ideas of the universe; by raising a strong presumption against what are called "miracles"; and, above all, by teaching us to examine all things in a candid and impartial spirit. But however this may be, these studies will at least conduce to truth, and truth is better than error.

All this will come in time; but, first, let us deal with the urgent problems of to-day, such as: how to rescue men from drunkenness and vice, and lead them to a higher life; how to purify trade, politics, and the civil service, and stop the success of fraud and demagogism; how to raise the condition of the laborer; how best to educate our children; and how to inspire woman with so intelligent an interest in all that concerns the public welfare, that her advent into politics, instead of being feared as a new danger, shall be hailed as a deliverance.

Nor are we, meanwhile, without a religion. We have, or may have, the religion of unselfish devotion to others and to our own highest ideals,—the religion of character, of abiding and intelligent enthusiasm for humanity, and of complete intellectual honesty. Into our little human lives it will bring something of the grandeur of those infinite surroundings and high purposes amid which, and for which, we live. This religion the world needs now; and it may be providential that, until its lessons are learned, no certain knowledge of any future life is given us to divert our thoughts from the duties of this.

Friends, the night is passing. May all our lives and efforts be worthy of the coming day!

J. E. OLIVER.

AT THE weekly conference meetings, the Rev. Dr. Blank was a good deal pestered by a zealous brother who was very much edified by his own exhortations, and it was often deemed necessary to "head him off," by calling on somebody else to speak or pray just as he was about to begin. On one occasion, as he rose to speak, the pastor gently interrupted him by saying, "Brother, will you lead us in prayer?" The brother hesitated but a moment, and made answer: "I was about to offer a few remarks; but perhaps I can throw them into the form of a prayer."

Communications.

MILWAUKEE LIBERAL NOTES.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

There are no positive movements of liberal thought to report from Milwaukee. The Liberal League is making no advance,—is seemingly self-satisfied to exist. The fact that the mere existence of men and women is in these times of financial depression an exhaustive struggle, will account largely for the lack of energy in the League movements. A business revival might induce a revival of radicalism; at least in this hope we must abide.

Liberal sentiment found a somewhat free expression at a Conference of Unitarian and Independent Societies held in this city, beginning August 23, and continuing over Sunday. Several of the essays read upon the occasion were of a higher order of merit than usual at these Conferences. They indicated an advance in keeping with the progressive thought of the day, but were rather strictly confined to subjects with which Unitarians, as such, could readily sympathize, and did not broaden out to take in other of the vital issues with which the time is fraught, and which need the coöperation of all liberal thinkers.

The Conference on the whole was indicative of a growing interest in the development of free religious ideas. Its social influence was helpful and inspiring to the circle of people immediately interested, and in some degree to those outside of it.

Among the most pleasing features of the Conference programme was a discourse by Rev. J. L. Dudley, of Boston, formerly pastor of Plymouth Church, Milwaukee, and now working with the society once under the care of Theodore Parker. Nothing could more plainly prove the fact that environment makes the individual than did this sermon of Mr. Dudley's. In the old place, Plymouth Church, the individuality of the man, although at all times marked, was not complete. There was a plain case, in the one instance, of a catering to prejudices, a policy as pastor of Plymouth society; at least, this was the pretty generally expressed public opinion. There was at the same time a plain case of chafing at this position. In the present instance there is manifest evidence of an escape from all this, and a growth in freedom of expression in consequence. Mr. Dudley made, indeed, an acknowledgment amounting to this effect, in presence of a large audience made up mostly of his old parishioners and hearers.

The entire discourse of Dr. Dudley was characterized by a frankness which was a matter of rejoicing to those friends who had always admired his fine, poetic nature, his cultured expression of free thought, and his genial, healthy atmosphere; who at the same time deplored that he could not be more loyal to the convictions which he was known to hold. This recent discourse was a source of great satisfaction to this class of admirers, who were pleased to find that the new environment was not at all cramping, but allowed the most outspoken freedom. The quality of Dr. Dudley's thought is of the finest, and, when united to liberty of expression, and lofty motives for the good of men and women, cannot fail to be productive of great good.

The Milwaukee Sunday Lecture Society has entered upon the third season of its work with an enthusiasm born of courage and former success. A fine programme of lectures and entertainments has been arranged, including the best talent in the country. The efforts of this society have been very creditable. It is altogether an unselfish undertaking. No profit accrues to any one, save the public and those who are engaged to appear upon their platform. The benefit is entirely a public one. The highest order of talent, both musical and literary, is afforded at the low price of twenty cents the single admission, and somewhat less than this by the purchase of season tickets. The attendance is usually large, and any special attraction fills the Academy of Music to overflowing. It gives an opportunity to a large class of persons, who would on any other day and at any higher price be denied it, to hear the best lecturers and the finest musical performers in the entertainment field.

The past summer has been remarkable for the lack of the ordinary Sabbath observances. The streets of our city are alive on each Sunday with pleasure-seekers. Unusual advantages have been afforded for these in the way of cheap excursions by rail and steamer. The river is also a scene of animation on Sunday afternoon and evening. Barges, steamers, and row-boats are constantly plying between the city and the summer resorts situated on its banks. The parks—such as we have—are filled with promenaders, and the lake shore boulevard is lined with equipages of every variety. All this, of course, runs counter to the notions of Christian churches; but the sympathy with Sunday pleasure-seeking is so universal that it may almost claim to be endorsed even by church-members, for many of the latter participate in the pleasures to a certain extent. Still, as they say, "they must stop somewhere." One lady of high standing in the church said, the past week, "she did not think it at all wicked to take a boat-ride up the river on a Sunday afternoon, with a party of friends, but thought it decidedly wrong to go on a regularly advertised excursion." This is a sample of the average consistency of the average church-member. Sabbatarian prejudices are rapidly disappearing under this new régime of Sunday recreation. The coming religion is to be not of deeds as related to days, but of deeds as related to the general good of mankind. A healthier sentiment is rapidly evolving, the Mosaic law being superseded by one the object of which is to enhance the worth of a man or a woman by whatever means can be made available for this purpose. "Happiness is virtue," said the father of modern ethics; and we are

testing the truth of this to a degree, when to all alike, the poor as well as the rich, is given the chance to obtain restful recreations at a cheap rate. It is high time that religionists should cease to impose their particular methods of being or becoming good upon the world at large. Religion aims at results. The wisest plan, it seems, would be to say to men and women, "Worship in your way, provided that way leads toward individual improvement, and inflicts no real injury upon any other man or woman." It is but a fancied injury which differences of opinions and methods inflict. It is safe, I for one should say, to allow to the individual complete liberty of thought and action in matters of religion, for I am assured that, sooner or later, every man and woman will, out of their own experiences, evolve the knowledge that goodness is the goal to strive after,—"the only investment," as Thoreau has said, "that pays."

AMELIA W. BATE.

"UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE."

The "Failure of Universal Suffrage," by Francis Parkman, in THE INDEX of Aug. 15, if not written to provoke criticism, is a criticism on itself, showing that a person of the educated class has no clearer idea of suffrage than the workingman whom he denounces, and also that he draws his inspiration from prejudice rather than from reason. It is calculated to discourage where encouragement is needed. It is headed "The Failure of Universal Suffrage." How can a thing fail until tried, and when was universal suffrage ever tried? Throughout the article, however, he calls it "indiscriminate suffrage," which is an entirely different thing, and is what he really means. To attribute the present political chaos to indiscriminate suffrage, or to attach blame to the workingman when his adversary has had it all his own way, is, as before intimated, the prompting of prejudice.

In his long article, female suffrage is not mentioned. As it is one-half of universal suffrage, and as it is also the antidote always brought forward for the ills of which he complains, it should have been mentioned. The refining influences so much talked of in connection with female suffrage will cause the abolition of the "ward room, the pipe, and the tobacco juice." This of itself ought to insure its success. But one reform always brings another, and this will do away with "dropping that piece of paper called the ballot in the box, and with it the illusion, or superstition," and make registered voting necessary, so that every person can sit at home and vote; and this in its turn removes the fraud connected with the box and the crowd. The time when woman will vote will be when she makes herself necessary. This she can best do now by solving some of the political problems of the day which have baffled the other sex.

But to go back to the cause of the present political troubles which he "wildly attributes" to indiscriminate suffrage: the cause, the one cause, unassisted by any side issue, is the fatal mistake of the Republican party in causing the collapse of the Democratic party. There are two ends to every stick, and every inside has an outside; and when the Republican party got the inside, and then kicked away the outside, they should have foreseen there would no longer be any inside. The business of life on this planet in every department of Nature is to create. For this purpose every thing that is created is dual. The union of two opposites produces a third unlike either. This is not only the law of matter, but of mind. Thoughts are created in this way. Whoever can unite his thought with that of another, so that it shall suggest to them an entirely new thought, is an intelligent person, whether educated from books or from Nature.

This law preserves the balance of the universe; not only keeps the planet in its place, but the exact balance of everything on it. So long as we keep ourselves in harmony with this law, everything runs smoothly; but when we attempt to defy it, then we are in trouble; so that in politics, if we run the government by party we must have two healthy, honest, well-balanced parties, so evenly balanced that either can be made to kick the beam at the first lapse of political integrity; but neither must be allowed to destroy the other. A republic is supposed to have a democratic form of government. When the democratic party failed, democracy was not dead; only a few men who tried to represent it had failed,—went out of sight. The principle remains. It was best expressed by Theodore Parker as—"A government over all the people, for all the people, by all the people." Other issues are identified with democracy, such as free trade, direct taxation, rotation in office, and everything that tends to take the government in among the people.

In a republic we must have a Democratic party, and must have it healthy and honest. So, too, we must have an opposition party to prevent the other from overdoing and destroying itself. It must be composed of the conservative element,—the aristocrat, if you will. Some people object to aristocracy in a republic; but a community without it would be a one-sided place to live in. Here, then, is the disease and where the cure must be applied. To-day the honest man seldom votes; he has nothing to vote for. The only question presented to him is, Who shall divide the spoil? Literally he "don't care." Let two new parties be organized by honest men not at present identified with office, and put forth a set of principles that take hold on the times, and they can turn the tables and lift politics so high that the bumper and rough will find nothing to vote for and lose all interest, especially if put to the test of the register. In this way "the better part of the community is able to outweigh the worse." "Intellectual development and high civilization are not favorable to fecundity." As creation is both the cause and effect of our brief existence on this sphere, and as intelligence and civilization are aids to the same, if they produce no fruit, then is

your intelligence a fraud and your civilization a humbug.

Speaking of the young Irish voter, Mr. Parkman says: "He reads nothing but sensation stories and scandalous picture papers." Some twenty years ago two disgustingly obscene papers were published in Boston, of the eight or ten that fell in my way. Each and all were taken by the gray-haired sires of respectable families, some of them with the full knowledge of grown-up daughters. Vice is your genuine communist, the great leveller of all classes, and claims the royal prince, the noted divine, and— Well, the harlot of the North End often came of respectability, and not poverty or ignorance. The virtue of the poor may have none of the prudishness of the higher classes, but is necessarily made of stronger material by rougher surroundings.

"Those who bray the loudest for inalienable rights extol the ballot as an education in itself." When two new parties are formed they will be found to be schools, the graduates from which will be the independent voter, who will hold the balance of power at the price of holding no office, sinking all prejudice, and standing firmly for political integrity. When we talk of cutting down the suffrage, there immediately arises the delicate question of which of us two goes. This was settled in the beginning in the only way that it could be settled, and the government was launched on a sea of equality, and trusted to the average selfishness of the people, or rather to that eternal law of balance that every wrong would produce a right to balance it.

The proposition that is sometimes made to take the ballot from the Catholic, on the ground of allegiance to another sovereign, is illogical until we get God in the Constitution and Church and State united. To-day the government has no right to know that such a thing as a religious sovereign exists. If the time shall ever come when universal suffrage shall be no longer compatible with republican institutions, when the mighty Niagara of freethought and open discussion shall roll back on itself, seek a level, and become a dead sea, then, if ever, may we try voters with the plumb and square of conceit and prejudice.

R. G. T.

DORCHESTER, Mass.

THE CAUSE OF WOMAN.

CANASTOTA, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Soon after the adjournment of the Woman's Suffrage Convention which met in Rochester in July last, the Rev. Dr. Strong preached a sermon in which he criticised the ground assumed on that occasion, and proceeded to demonstrate on Scripture grounds the natural and accepted position of the (I must call it) accursed sex.

The discourse was evidently kindly and judiciously meant, and is worthy of comment as representing the Church or Orthodox party upon this position assumed by the women of the country in making their plea for suffrage. The reverend doctor bases his argument entirely upon the Bible as the foundation of any possible view entitled to acceptance or respect. This would seem to be natural from the profession of the speaker.

It would occupy too much space to go deeply into the theological points of the question, and I may as well say briefly, that we do not base our claim for equality of human rights upon any Scriptures, either Jewish, Christian, or Pagan, though we profess to find endorsement for it more or less in all, wherever and however may be found embodied in them the principles of justice, beneficence, goodness, truth.

In the Jewish cosmogony we find the genesis of our world divided into six eras, progressive eras, in which the more perfect is evolved or created from the less perfect. On the sixth day, it is recorded in Genesis 1, beginning at the twenty-sixth verse, that God, well pleased with these gradual advances towards the more beautiful and more intelligent, be thought him to create a being who should, still better than any others, reflect the power and majesty of the creative element. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness"; and farther on it is said, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him" (the genus homo, including man and woman); "male and female created he them."

In the twenty-eighth verse we find a pleasant endorsement, a sublime content following this last day of work. Man and woman were here crowned with the beauty of the divine image, majestic as the incarnated power of God himself over all inferior developments. "And God blessed them." No curse on the woman here; no man to be "head"; no subordination of office; nothing more than a sweet acceptance of their existence; an injunction to be fruitful; and a final declaration, "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was very good."

Now whatever may be the conclusions of science, whatever may be the dicta of theology, this Bible cosmogony is full of fine suggestiveness. The scientist may say that the first product of this pair was a diminutive, flaccid, helpless little lump, which the anxious parents proceeded forthwith to lay upon a board, covered with moss, and bind down with ligaments to keep it from utterly falling to pieces; the uncivilized woman still does this. On the contrary the theologian will tell you that the first product was a vicious boy, accepted as a curse, whose first act was to take the life of a brother somewhat younger than himself. These points we leave to science and theology.

Now, if the Bible is to be literally interpreted, why do our theologians ignore the genesis of the first chapter, which completes the creative work from the lowest upward, and leaves the man and woman to the great onwardness of the race with a divine bene-

diction sweetening all their career? Why do they from the time of that beautiful episode of the Garden of Eden (whenever it was written, and by whomsoever), down to the era of St. Paul, through all the consolidations of churchly power, Catholic or Protestant,—why do they persist in fixing the status of woman from a period indexed by a curse upon her head?

I will yield to no one in admiration of this poem, this myth, this attempt at solving the question of how evil was introduced into the world; this subtlety of the serpent as the agent from some pre-existent state of evil-doing, and this impeachment of woman, as the dupe of this serpent principle, misled by no beastly appetite, but only by a desire of wisdom natural to her intelligence. The Scriptures of no other people present so poetical an attempt at reaching this incomprehensible subject; but why is it cited to the neglect of the six days' genesis of creation as the one in which our theologians find such a field for their dogmas, and such fruitful authority for belittling and subordinating woman?

The story of the Garden of Eden is evidently an afterthought,—the speculations of a theorist swamped under a sense of the enormity of evil in the world; some poet, some Miltonic mind of thousands of years ago, replete with masculine assumption, piqued, perhaps, by feminine superiority, exasperated by the absence of this very subordination in his wife, which the reverend doctor so strenuously insists upon as the normal condition of the sex; and hence the curse given with such fearful unction is the natural language of an agonized theorizer, and the natural expression of baffled despotism.

The woman suffragists make no war upon the religious sentiment of mankind. They insist upon it that their claim is altogether a secular claim; but if, in making this claim, we find any book, any class of writings, any body of men arraying themselves against us upon any religious stand-point, and using these writings as weapons against us,—if the Bible is to be the prime weapon to be hurled against us,—we say then, emphatically, that we must go outside of its teachings, outside of all the dogmas of the Church, and plant ourselves upon that "higher law," which Sophocles, thousands of years ago, affirmed to be "written in the hearts of men," and not to be annulled by any human legislation.

Strange, in this enlightened and progressive age, that men should search the Scriptures, not for the seeds of eternal truth, but to find arguments by which they may subordinate their wives and mothers. They call themselves Christians; and yet in all the teachings of the divine Master there is not one word affirming this subordination, not one word re-declaring the curse, not one word questioning the entire equality of the sexes. Many a woman has held herself in the background, and forborne to demand her right to entire equality before the law, out of sheer shame that husbands and fathers and legislators should be found so blindly unjust to the authors of their being and the partners of their love. It would seem as if the boasted magnanimity, to say nothing of the chivalry, of man would at once have prompted them to yield the ground to a question of such import; and the simplest expressed desire on the part of woman to be accepted in the republic on the basis of her citizenship, would have been her "open sesame" to the ballot-box. It is too late to talk about the sphere in which we ought to move; God himself marks out the sphere in which his creature shall move by the amount of capacity he bestows upon him. The measure of capacity is the measure of sphere, and all the talk in the world will not subordinate the greater to the less, the superior to the inferior.

The reverend doctor implies and fears that our doctrines will overthrow the relation of marriage and impair the sanctities of the household. Every woman who is tolling for the enfranchisement and elevation of her sex will feel the hot glow of pride cover her cheek at such imputation. We are, almost to a unit, wives and mothers of honorable households, whose husbands, brothers, and sons take worthy rank in the community. It is because we respect the relations of the family that we would find some help for the wife of a brutal husband, some protection to the mother in the sacredness of her maternity, some enlightened public opinion that shall compel men, as well as women, to social purity.

Again, it is well known that the leaders in this suffrage question are not fanatics, are not ignorant, embittered women, outlaws in society; those into whose soul the iron of wrong has entered, and they come forth rasped, degraded, pitiless, because of injury that has been inflicted upon them, because of the pain of the fiery furnace through which they have been compelled to pass (though God knows if it were thus with them, every manly heart ought to go forth with awe, and every manly ear be opened to this human wail). But it is not so; these women are cultured women, well-to-do women, upon whose faces is the impress of benevolence as well as thought, and they make their claim to be heard because of the myriads of the sex who have no way of finding redress for inflicted wrongs,—the wives who toil for drunken husbands; the mothers robbed of their children by unjust litigation; the helpless victims of social sins, where the conditions of society allow the one sex to escape even blame, while the other is crushed and branded, and driven to ruin and death.

It is for equal remuneration for equal amount and quality of work; it is for the protection and representation of the property of widows and spinsters, who are taxed and not recognized in the body politic; it is for education commensurate with our intelligence; it is to give to man the test opportunity to show that he is not afraid of the woman beside him,—is not afraid of being eclipsed or subordinated by her.

If these claims that we make were only for ourselves, I fear little effort would be made; but we feel

the imbecility, the selfishness, and meanness of resting content in our superior favorable condition, while the thousands and millions of our sex are borne down under disabilities and oppressions which can be, and ought to be, relieved.

Respectfully,
ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH.

WHAT AND WHY.

Let us try to get at the core of the matter. What is it that makes an act, a thought, or a thing obscene? There is no clear and sufficient dictionary or legal definition. It is plain to start with, that obscenity in some way is connected with sex. We do not think or speak of any thing or act not relating to sex as obscene. Either sex itself is obscene, or in some way leads to obscene acts. Surely no free-thinker, no thinker, will say that the natural acts of sex are obscene; or that to think, or speak, or write of them is obscene. If natural manifestations of sex are pure and good, as who will deny? It must be that it is unnatural or abnormal acts which are obscene.

To think of sex as low and unclean, and of sex actions as vile and degrading, and to represent them so by word or pen, is to be obscene.

All sex actions or manifestations which are abnormal, or contrary to the natural laws of sex, are obscene; and it is only when we discover these laws that we can surely know what is and what is not obscene. It is only through study and discussion that we can discover these laws; and it is for a brave and manly attempt to do this that Ezra H. Heywood is now suffering imprisonment in Dedham Jail.

Disguise or dodge it as we may, the Christian Church has taught that sex is obscene in itself; that woman, as the representative of sex, is, and ought to be, degraded,—the only redemption or sanctification coming from the sacramental offices of the Church. We have been taught that clothes are not firstly for warmth and ornament, but primarily to conceal the obscenity of sex; and only secondarily for use and pleasure, not having been required or used before the fall.

These old superstitions die hard. The Church, through the Young Men's Christian Associations and their worthy agent, Anthony Comstock, is doing their very worst to maintain the old darkness, to exclude the light, to retain the degradation of woman as the basis of their institutions; and, most mortifying of all to us, they have, with some success, induced liberals to play into their hands.

They are playing the old trick of the Indians to draw the enemy's fire by putting a cap on top of a stick, while they aim directly at "stamping out free-lovers and free-thinkers." The pretence of putting down what liberals regard as obscene literature, that class of books which represents sex and its acts to be as low and vile as the Church has taught that they are, books addressed, like the teachings of the Young Men's Christian Association, to the emotions and sentiments and not to the reason, is so mere an empty cap on the end of a stick that it should deceive nobody.

There is but one radical and permanent cure for any evil, and that is "the absorbent substitution of the opposite good." Whatever danger there is to our children from really obscene literature and ideas, either in the street or the Church, can only be met by teaching them the truth that they ought to know about sex, and by so filling their lives with labor and love, that dirt and disease could find no place therein.
F. S. C.

THE ENGLISH INQUISITION.

The editor of the London *Times* approves the decision in the Besant vs. Besant case, upon the ground that to be educated, not as an heretic, but simply without prejudice (as J. S. Mill was educated), that is, without a bias in favor of Christianity, is a clear and considerable disadvantage to an English child, and, more especially, for a girl. Perhaps it were too much to expect the editor of the (well-named) *Times* to consider that a mind cultured, imbued with the enthusiasm of justice, and free from trammels of superstition, might not be too dearly bought by the loss of wealth and luxury, or even by the much severer hardship of a too confined circle of acquaintance; but, at least, it is not difficult to understand that a delicate girl, not yet past childhood, is likely to fare better under a tender mother's care (she, too, being a woman of elegance and knowledge), than in the hands of a young man in a dangerously anomalous situation, and whose society consists principally of a crowd of bores whose ideas extend not beyond their turnip-fields. However, notwithstanding the protestations of some liberals to the contrary, I am afraid that the influential personage whose opinion I am quoting is so far right as this: that the good, kind people, of whom he is an excellent representative, do really practice the one form of cruelty which they are now pleading in justification of another. In a second particular, also, the *Times'* gentleman deserves credit for acumen. He is evidently not so absurd as to suppose that Christianity would have any chance to hold its own if fair play were the rule.

By the deed of separation the reverend plaintiff in this case was allowed to have his daughter with him for one month in each year; but he would not wait. He dragged his child from her sick-bed, reckless of consequences. A notable instance of his fond affection! Certainly he could not suppose that a few months of her mother's nursing in the period of infancy could endanger the girl's prospects. Therefore this circumstance proves to demonstration that this zealous pillar of the holy faith (who has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage by signing away his liberty of thought and speech) was not actuated by honest motives, but by spleen and malice. Here

have we the prosecutor's animus exposed, and this is quite a point in the defendant's case.

However the private interests involved in this suit may move us, it is in its public aspect that it concerns us chiefly. The doctrine which Mrs. Besant teaches, and for which she suffers, was first propounded by an Anglican priest of sober habits and conservative, and a man of a very domestic disposition. It is now held by nearly the whole school of the Manchester politicians, and also by a majority of those who have given their attention to the human system and the social fabric. But the fault is that Mrs. Besant has not confined herself to the bare enunciation of the doctrine. Well, neither have physicians and economists confined themselves within the narrowest bounds. Neither did Malthus himself. Although not exempt from the prejudices of his cloth or of his caste, he yet spake brave words which did him credit as a clergyman.

If Sir George Jessel's decision is quietly suffered to pass into a precedent, agreements like that by which Mrs. Besant has been pricked (not to use rougher language) will no longer be worth the paper they are written on. The law, as it now appears to stand, is more ridiculous than the famous *et cetera* oath. It ought, of course, to be as precise as language will allow of. Is a mother's peace of mind to be accounted a matter of so little moment as to be left at the mercy of any dozen blockheads whom the sheriff may drive into the jury-box? Admit that the child's interests are to be held supreme; but are we to assume a supremacy of wisdom in twelve Englishmen picked at hazard from the multitude, or even in the learned judge himself? If not, upon what principles, except those of the inquisition, can we deprive a woman of her child merely on account of her speculative opinions, her life's conduct being far above suspicion of reproach?

Judge Jessel thought fit to heap wanton insult on the lady who stood before him at his mercy; yet, after all, the meeter object for our pity was his lordship rather than the defendant in the suit; for her character can well defend itself; but of all men the most pitiable is he by whom those sentiments which most enrich our nature are unknown or unregarded.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

WAS IT A BURLESQUE?

A correspondent in THE INDEX of August 29, who signs himself "Orthodox," says of a certain doctrine: "Therefore, I say, the more contradictory to reason it is, the more reason in a higher sense to believe God's truth is in it." And he favors what he calls "conclusion by repulsion from the premises."

Now reason is the only faculty by which men can arrive at any truth of any kind; and whatever truth reason cannot grasp is utterly unattainable by man unless it be intuitive; therefore, whatever is the proper exercise of consciousness, common sense, the nature of things, legitimate definition and obvious meaning of language, utility, indispensability, and demonstration, the human reason is able to establish as truth. For example: take the heliocentric doctrine of our planetary system, the globular form of the earth, or the law of gravitation, and establish them to be true by this test; then according to "Orthodox," by "conclusion from repulsion," they are proved false by proving them true, and *vice versa*.

I am not surprised that "Orthodox" says that he is "incapable of expanding these suggestions into a system of philosophy." We should think so. Had not the temporary editor endorsed the writer as a man of candor and one who occupies "the highest standing in the denomination to which he belongs," it would be hard for any reader of common sense to believe his communication was not intended as a burlesque upon Orthodoxy, self-styled, which, as a matter of fact, it really is.
D. S. G.

UPPER GLOUCESTER, Me.

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NOTICE.

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X.

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1. **EQUAL RIGHTS IN RELIGION.** Contains an Historical Account of the Liberal League movement; a full Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1 to 4, 1876, with Essays by F. E. Abbot, James Parton, B. F. Underwood, and others; the Constitution of the National Liberal League, List of Charter Members, etc., etc. Octavo, pp. 150. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 75 cents.
2. **PATRIOTIC ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,** adopted at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876. With Resolutions of the Congress, Extracts from Letters by Distinguished Citizens, Constitution of the National Liberal League, etc. Adapted for gratuitous distribution by friends of the cause. Octavo, 24 pp. Single copies, 3 cts.; 10 copies, 15 cts.; 50 copies, 75 cts.; 100 copies, \$1.50.
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The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, SEPT. 26, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 457.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

National Liberal League.

CALL.

Boston, Sept. 13, 1878.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1-4, 1876, will be held at Wisting Opera House, Syracuse, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 26 and 27, 1878. Further particulars as to speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter.

In addition to the hearing of reports, election of officers for the ensuing year, and other ordinary business, questions of the utmost practical importance to the liberal cause will come up for decision at this Congress. Among them the following may be specified:—

1. What efficient measures can be adopted for securing a great increase in the number of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, and thereby winning for liberal ideas the public influence to which they are justly entitled?
2. Shall the National Liberal League nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the present time?
3. How can the National Liberal League most effectively promote the cause of State Secularization, and foil the schemes of those who are seeking to pervert the government to sectarian purposes? What action shall it take with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation?
4. How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?
5. Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the "obscene literature" question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?

The last two of these questions are peculiarly im-

portant at this time, and will inevitably come up for settlement by the approaching Congress. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia were as follows:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

The future growth, prosperity, and influence of the Liberal League movement will depend largely on the action to be taken by the Congress on these two questions. Any weakening of the stand taken at Philadelphia will work great and perhaps fatal disaster to the National Liberal League.

In order, therefore, that these vital questions may be fairly and wisely decided, it is recommended that all Local Leagues elect their delegates with special reference to it. The Congress will not be an irresponsible mass meeting, but a convention composed of delegates and members duly accredited, and seats for them will be reserved. Delegates from Local Leagues will receive Certificates of Membership of the Second Annual Congress by forwarding at once the proper credentials, signed by their own local officers, to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston"; charter, life, and annual members who intend to be present will receive theirs by simply forwarding their names and present addresses. These Certificates must be presented at the door and exchanged for Tickets of Admission to the reserved seats, the rest of the hall being open to the public at large. By this arrangement all confusion will be obviated. The Congress will be composed of accredited members, who alone ought to vote on questions of business affecting the League; every member will be admitted to the reserved seats; and the Committee on Membership will be enabled to make an accurate report to the Congress.

Liberals are urged everywhere to organize themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues and elect good delegates, in order to give this Congress a large local constituency and an influential delegation, and thereby to increase the weight of its decisions with the general public. The questions to be acted upon are of the gravest consequence to the whole liberal cause, and ought to be dealt with by a responsible representative body. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay, if addressed to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

By order of the Board of Directors:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*

WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary.*

GLIMPSES.

A NEW Liberal League has just been formed at Syracuse, New York, in affiliation with the National League.

THE ESTATE of James Lick, of California, is still in litigation between the Trustees and the Academy of Sciences, one of the residuary legatees.

LOCAL LIBERAL LEAGUES should elect their delegates and secure certificates of membership for them

without delay. These are necessary to obtain admission to the seats reserved for members of the Congress.

THE CHINESE of San Francisco contributed \$1200 to the relief of the yellow fever sufferers. What a withering rebuke to the persecutors of those poor people, who return good for evil in this touching manner!

WIETING OPERA HOUSE has been engaged at Syracuse for the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League. It is the best hall in the city, will seat fifteen or sixteen hundred persons, and is excellently provided with conveniences for such a convention.

MR. B. F. UNDERWOOD has engagements to lecture at Chagrin Falls, O., Sept. 28 and 29; at Parkman, O., Sept. 30 and Oct. 1 and 2; at Cambridge, Pa., Oct. 4 and 5; at Meadville, Pa., Oct. 6. He will be present at the Syracuse Congress, Oct. 26 and 27, where he will give an address.

IN ORDER to remove all possible ground of misunderstanding, let us say explicitly that the "approval" referred to in the last paragraph of the "Card" of the Directors of the National Liberal League means simply a majority vote. The League must adopt some positive policy, either for "repeal" or "reform," and this will depend simply on the vote of the majority. There is not the slightest wish anywhere to change the Constitution or to exclude anybody from the League.

THE CHURCH needs nothing so much as a conscience for truth. Dr. Döllinger has addressed the following letter to one of his friends with reference to a report that he had made his peace with Rome: "The reports in the paper sent to me are malicious lies, both as regards me and Professor Friedrich. It is now the fourteenth time that Ultramontane papers have announced my submission, and this will happen still oftener. I shall not dishonor my age with a lie before God and men,—of this you may be sure."

IT IS SUGGESTED that the regulation respecting "certificates of membership" at the Syracuse Congress may have its origin in an "intention to throw obstacles in the way of the admission of delegates"! Not in the least. The certificates must be issued by the National Liberal League to whatever delegates the Local Leagues may elect. There is no discretion on this point. Proper credentials from Local Leagues will ensure certificates to the parties named. It is superfluous to say that the directors are not scoundrels, and will resort to no trickery on behalf of their principles.

SAYS THE Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican* of September 21: "The National Liberal League holds its second annual convention at Syracuse, N. Y., Saturday and Sunday, October 26 and 27. President F. E. Abbot has been warned that there is a plot to capture the convention, depose him, and put into the chair D. M. Bennett, editor of the *Truth-Seeker*, or some other of that wing of the League which wants the law against circulating obscene literature in the mails repealed. Mr. Abbot and the other principal officers of the League face the conspiracy with exposure, and offer themselves for reflection on a platform which, while claiming the right to free expression of opinion, also upholds the right of government to suppress obscene literature, 'provided that the offences known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.' This is perfectly just ground, and the Liberal League will be tested by the answer they make to Mr. Abbot's manly challenge. The convention (the call for which is published in this week's INDEX) will discuss the above question, among others; and may perhaps nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States in 1880."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Religion.

A DISCOURSE.

BY L. K. WASHBURN.

We ought to make religion a larger word. When we hitch it on to some sectarian enterprise or some ecclesiastical attempt, we dwarf its true dimensions. To limit religion to Christianity or Mohammedanism is to cut down its real proportions. There is something in this word that exceeds all of our definitions. It is not a little, mean, bigoted word that is no larger than a denominational piety; it has a colossal meaning. There is about it a splendor which attaches only to what is regal. It stands for a superlative relation. It is the word that connects us with God. I know that religion has a catechism definition, but we are not obliged to accept it. We have tried to put religion into a creed, but it overflows in its grand import all of our efforts in that direction, and in its large, divine sense remains free and unrestricted.

Religion must be given its pure meaning, and be shorn of the superstitions and impertinences that have dimmed its natural lustre. There are tints in this word which we have not caught in our attempts to define it. It is like those rare stones that seem possessed with new light and beauty every time we look at them. It has infinite depths. Some think religion is only a finer poetry, a sort of rhythmic motion of the spirit whose harmony is seen in the life lived at the feet of that Supreme Existence which is light in the sun, beauty in the flower, and virtue in the heart of man. We cannot go back to this spot or that and say religion started there. The first idea of God did not take the form of trinity or unity. The first religious emotion that stirred the depths of human nature did not clothe itself with praise or prayer. The original of religion would be found in a long-forgotten feeling, as the source of humanity is buried in extinct species. The fine, beautiful meaning which robes religion to-day, when detached from all ecclesiastical import, is the flower of a thousand centuries, and the roots, which have gathered the elements that are united in this wondrous production, run through unnumbered and unknown generations. The relation which exists between man and God has not been established by any human act. It is one of our many natural ties which centuries have been revealing. Our connection with God is not an arbitrary union; We are not joined to the Deity by any visible bond. It is not our body that hints the divine likeness, but that mysterious something which we call our soul. I would not try to make religion other than it is. We can add nothing to truth. It seems to me that religion is not a question of churches and priests and worship, but of right thinking, right living, and right acting. Religion as between man and God needs no third party. It is surprising how far what is called worship has been substituted for religion. The importance of church-services has been magnified to such an extent that many have come to think that religion is only speaking God's name with a pious accent. Thousands, whose knees have callous grown beneath their holy duty, show their piety in kneeling to their God. The devout worshipper, in tracing the outlines of the cross upon his breast, answers the demands of reverence as far as he has been taught. The strict sabbatarian, who makes his religious duty consist in rigid observance of the fourth commandment in the decalogue, pleads this performance as a sufficient excuse for not observing so scrupulously the remaining commandments. Religion has become little more than offering an apology to the Lord for not living as we ought. People want religion put into prayers and sermons and hymns; into forms and ceremonies and signs, because it is easier to put it into such things than to put it into good lives and good deeds. Human suffering and want seem to be of little account in this Christian world. God must be worshipped properly if men and women starve.

I would not have the churches closed, and the minister forbidden to preach in the pulpit. I believe we need preaching, and that we shall need it for ages to come; but if what is done in churches is to stand for religion, and brotherly love is only to be chanted and sung, and not go out a living fact into the world, then had we better shut every church-building in the land, and write over it the word deceit, for it would be a lie and a sham. If we were to choose one of

two things, and could have but one, our churches, with their present style of worshipping, or our charity with its large, open hand, it would be better to say let the churches go; save the God-like feeling that seeks to sweeten and soften the hardships of life. The holy purpose which goes with our hands in their deeds of love is what consecrates human acts. What I want to say is, that religion is not anything else, and that nothing can be substituted for love of God and man. Some persons think religion is merely taking off one's hat to the Almighty, politely acknowledging his presence. It is treating Deity with the courtesy and deference due from one gentleman to another. It is remarkable how high up certain people can get in their pious conceit. They act as though God must feel flattered to see them come into church to worship him. When they bow or kneel it is with an air which seems to say, I hope that God can appreciate my performance. They assume a manner of condescension in their attitudes as though it manifested their superiority to treat God with a show of respect. They acknowledge the Deity as a sort of poor relation whom they are bound to visit occasionally for look's sake, and because they are related; but they cannot help showing that they are ashamed of the kinship. A man can no more hide his religion than he can hide his person. It is a part of him, and the most prominent part. It is proclaimed in every deed he does. A man does not need to profess his religion; it is the one thing he cannot conceal. Our religion is shown in our dealings with men; it is not such a fine feeling that it cannot find expression in this world. A great many use their religion as though they were afraid they should get out if they did not economize closely; they have not enough to let their neighbors have any, so they expend it all on themselves. These people usually are very pious. They talk about God and the blessed kingdom, and go into ecstasies over the beauties of the redeeming grace whereby men may be saved, but not a finger will they move to lift the burden from the world. They will pray for the salvation of a man's soul, but do nothing towards making it easier for him to get a living. There has been so much sanctimoniousness passed for sanctity, so much hypocrisy for holiness, so much cant for goodness, that the world has become sick of everything called religious. Religion has become so associated with superstitions and nonsense that men cry out, "Let us get rid of the word." But I believe that the word is a good one, and that we should only get rid of the associations,—of the superstition and nonsense. There is nothing diviner that man has learned than how to give happiness to the human heart; and I would make religion into the bright and beautiful image of tender feelings and kindly action. When man is hungry, religion is giving him something to eat; when he is naked, giving him something to wear; when he is homeless, giving him a shelter.

Religion is too great to be represented by any ecclesiastical art,—too great to set traps for men, too great to be the usher of sectarianism. Popular piety is only a pious masquerade. There is no righteousness in crossing one's self, in kneeling, or in any devout posture. It is not the attitude of the body, but the condition of the soul that reveals religion. It is not observing the ordinances of the Church that makes one religious. The meanest man alive may say the contents of the *Book of Common Prayer* from one end to the other, may attend church weekly, say amen to sermon and prayer, know all the tricks of piety, and make every gesture in the right place and at the right time. The best man in the village may spend his Sabbath at home, or in the woods and fields, may never enter a church, never read a Bible, never talk religion. A man's piety is not worn on the sleeve. When religion sticks out of a man in every place, when it is seen in look, manner, and speech, it is that revival kind that works only on the skin. Religion, like everything else, is often exaggerated. It is not easily worn at first, so we have to make up what the world requires; and as it is believed to be something that is recognized on the street by its pious manner, we soon learn to look religion; something to be discovered in conversation by its saintly expression, we soon learn to talk religion; and something to be seen in church by obedience to rites and ceremonies, we soon learn to act religion; and it is acted, talked, and looked until it has become a name without the thing. Religion is silent, true, holy; it does not brawl; it is not great in its splendor, but in its humility.

We must make religion great enough for every human soul in its own life. It must be something that one heart can do for another. It must be the saving word spoken when the word will save; the helping hand offered when the hand will help; the service which one man can do another.

The common notion is that religion is a very easy kind of virtue; that it looks well and pays well. It is regarded as rather beneficial to a man, and a commodity of earth quite as much as of heaven. The value of religion is variously estimated. In some neighborhoods it is convenient; in others, necessary; while there are some that hold it merely respectable and genteel. The religion of most people is their regard for so-called holy things,—for the Bible, the Sabbath, the Church. A man may be honest, truthful, chaste, and "all that is lovely and of good report"; but unless he belongs to the Church he is regarded by pious people as a mere moralist, quite without God and the hope of divine things. This opinion is held by the larger and less intelligent portion of every town and city in the United States. It has become the implied conviction of too many ministers who should know better and preach better. This base understanding of religion comes from a base desire. People want religion an easy thing,—a show before the world though a lie behind it. If we only wear the dress of piety we pass for righteous. The religion that is only preached and prayed is a very poor article; it is shoddy piety,—an imitation of religion. We

judge a man by the house he lives in, by the horse he drives, the clothes he wears. We judge a religion in the same way. Man is stultified by his belief, dead in his faith. He has sold himself for a theological promise and counts *ons* in a parish rôle. He believes in religious selfishness, and acts a pious indifference. Piety has no large meaning when it is confined to the Church; it is only a kind of you-help-me and I'll-help-you religion,—an exchange of good favors within its own circle. It makes God say, "Love me, love my dog-mas." It is the notion with the churches that religion is not good works, doing something, but good faith, believing something. They consider it, or prefer to consider it, a great exhibition of piety to stand up and tell how you feel; but self-degradation is not humility, and making a fool of one's self is not being religious. This degrading practice in our Christian churches cannot be too severely condemned. Pious profession is the counterfeit currency of religion, but a good deed is a check on the bank of God for happiness and peace. Religion has no claim upon the world unless it better mankind. Its object is to improve,—not abase; to teach man to be independent, self-reliant, and to "stand erect,—not to be kept erect by others." It is a false idea that hangs about the neck of society the virtue-jewels of some great and good man to show its regard for right. Such charms merely reveal what church we attend. This artificial habit of reverence is an index of that cheap religion which is got by profession, and kept by hypocrisy. It makes piety the mark of meanness, falsehood, and fraud, and stands only for moral inability. We have the idea that the nature in man must be defeated; that some miracle must be wrought to make him good, fit for heaven. The *right purpose* in the soul, the *right conduct* will be in life. It is but a *move* from *wish* to *deed*. It is *thought acted* that makes action. The behavior of a man is the principle of his life carried into effect. There is a notion among religious denominations, not discovered so much in their words as in the tendency of their expressions, that God is pleased with the magnificence of worship which is shown in ceremonial grandeur, in formal prayers, in uniform kneeling, in response, and in that silent awe which such performances usually inspire. The heart does not throbb its natural sympathy surrounded with these trappings of worship. The one idea impressed upon the mind is that religion is an *awful* thing, that reverence consists in holding the breath, and that God is a being accessible only through solemn music and wonder-creating forms.

Religion is not church parade. When pomp comes in at the door piety goes out at the window. Church fashions are not religious examples. There is no *particular* piety in gowns and prayer-books. Goodness is not dependent upon costumes. You can bless a man without striking a pious attitude, and benedictions are best said where people do not look for them. Churches should not be set apart from the world. They should be built out of man's wants and wishes.

They should be made to show human aspiration. There are churches in which one can never think of the goodness of God, only of the terrible images of his wrath and cruelty which the Bible contains. They seem to whisper of dark deeds. The stained light which comes through the windows seems to look guilty of some crime. It has the color of blood. The whole space within the church appears haunted with martyr forms. Ghost-like figures rise before the imagination, and the walls around echo the dying words of those brave men whom Christians put to death for trying to bring more light into the world. This style of churches is common to that religion which mistakes gloom and darkness for piety and devotion. There are some churches that look like a man on his knees.

They appear to have done something for which they are ashamed, and are kneeling for man's pardon. This endeavor to build piety into a meeting-house is a parody on what is too holy to be travestied by art. A high steeple on a building makes it look like a Pharisee saying, "I thank thee, God, that I am not as other buildings are." We want all kinds of a church in one, not a church where one religion is let in and all others kept out. There is no great goodness in a religion that sees not goodness in all religions. Christianity does not monopolize the Deity, and though its ministers try to make mankind believe that they are on the very best terms with the Almighty, and that they are in his confidence more than anybody else, we find great men and good men who do not hold the Christian faith.

The soul wants room to go out of itself and grasp a brother-hand of feeling, without asking if it believe *thirty-nine* things about the universe or everything in heaven and earth. Religion needs no ornaments to make it beautiful. When unadorned it is adorned the most. The robes of priest, the mitre and mace, are the rags and straw of religion, the very ends of her authority. The parade of holiness calls up a doubt of its purity. Advertising piety is offering heaven at a discount. We do not want a longer confession of faith, but longer hours of feeling and love, when all the world comes within our horizon of sympathy. We do not want to prolong our worship with prayer and praise, but we want to prolong those moments of true religion when man is seen as a moral being, as a soul of divine destiny, as humanity, brotherly love, and all the noble sentiments which human life in its truest and holiest hours has made divine.

We do not wish to be good by obeying ten commandments, but by obeying all the commandments of our nature; not by making public speeches to God, but by doing private deeds to man. We do not care to imitate the piety of some brave and hopeful heart that loved mankind well enough to tell it of its faults and how to correct them; but we want to learn the religion of nature which inspires every soul with its own justice and mercy.

It is obedience to God, to the laws of their beings, that makes the creatures of earth happy and perfect. We must find our law within us, or forever go wrong. We look at the stars and their bright paths and long for the freedom of the sky, for a being not hooped in with laws, for a life not hedged with moral duties; but it is the *morality* of the sky that we long for; it is obedience to right that we admire; it is the rectitude of the stars that excites our wonder.

It is when we love right well enough to *do right*, when we love man well enough to be a man, when we quit the low life by living higher, that we do what religion requires. The enthusiasm of worship which is common to most religious systems is not a symptom of piety. There is a frenzy of religion, a pious madness, which confounds noise and excitement with religious fervor. I believe no man, woman, or child was ever benefited by conjurations.

The real estate of the soul is not changed by any black art. Revivals are relics of heathenism. They are the witchcraft of all ages. Religion makes no noise. When the heart is moved deeply it is silent. Words are less than sighs. We speak in tears truer than in words. What welcome like a smile! What sarcasm like a look! What grief that does not break down in speech and take to weeping! The soul but half speaks when it utters its thoughts aloud—

"The silent organ loudest chants
The Master's requiem."

We pray without speaking; we condemn without words; we approve with a gesture or a nod. Many creeds are used when little is felt. We make up in seeming what we lack in being. The pretender of piety is louder than the *great man of piety*. Peter made more noise than his Master, and all his disciples clamored when Jesus was arrested; but he himself was silent.

Religion is yet mostly of the senses. We still talk of seeing God. The soul is not as large as the body. Mankind stands for little more than moral ugliness. Most of our saints dream of celestial pots and kettles. They think the millennium will be announced by a dinner-horn. God is known as the butcher and baker of the world. Food enters largely into man's idea of heaven. Most men pray to-day, "Give me *my* daily bread, and my neighbors, too." This religion is born of the sensuality of mankind which still holds the spirit bound to earthly things. Religion is not all great moments or heroic deeds. It is always natural, and Nature must have her rest as well as her action. The boy's complaint, that there is no fun in religion, is a reproach which we would do well to consider. We must have a religion with some *fun* in it.

The prince of jesters is next to the prince of peace. Everybody will trust the man who has fun in him; and the religion that has faith in wholesome mirth is a good religion. Religion is not making a "joyful noise unto the Lord" so much as making the life of man joyful and free from bitterness and pain. The Church has adopted religion and baptized it with its forms and meanings; but a careful observation reveals the fact that many of our best men and women do not seek it there. When intelligent men and women shun the Church it behooves us to ask what ails it? It is not uncommon to hear a man say, "I prefer to stay at home on Sunday and read some interesting book rather than go to church and hear a theology preached which I do not believe in true."

This criticism of the Church is not to be lightly passed over. There is a great deal of religion in not going to church in this age. The man who refuses to support or sanction the preaching of a theology which he believes to be false and pernicious is to be praised. There is honesty in his act. Such a man sets a good example to the world, which is the utmost of human action. This kind of independence is needed to-day in society.

There is a servility which is shown by certain persons that is not to be honored. I have the greatest reverence for whatever is true, and for everything that is holy in man's nature. But I have no respect for mere outward formality, and no regard for forms that are sacred only in their relation to a special theology. If the Church is a help to the world, we do a great injury to mankind when we neglect to aid it; but when a theology is preached in the Church that makes God unworthy our reverence and undeserving our worship, and when a morality is inculcated by the minister that we cannot practice without violence to our moral sense, we serve mankind far more by refusing our aid than we could by granting it.

I believe in all the religion there is in the world, and believe that we should do everything within our power to make men and women religious. But I do not believe in sustaining and perpetuating a lie even though the Church has baptized it sacred. There is falsehood in the Church's creed, and they who have any high regard for truth will not repeat it. The cardinal difficulty with the Church lies in its false theology. There is one universe, and there is one spirit that animates it all. The doctrine of a triune God is a theological fiction. There is but one person in the Godhead. The Father is the only part of the trinity that has any existence. A Holy Ghost is a holy absurdity.

It is a monstrous invention and is unworthy serious consideration. The common notion of Christ makes virtue unessential, and in this respect is a dangerous doctrine. When we tell man that his salvation depends upon his own manhood, we shall have a higher humanity on earth. But as long as ministers preach the false and injurious doctrine that believing a theological dogma will save man, we shall not elevate human life nor reform human society.

This crawling behind another man's goodness for salvation is cowardly and contemptible. If there is one thing needed in this age it is a manly acknowledgment of our faults, and a willingness to abide by the consequences of our deeds. We cannot shift the

responsibility of our actions upon another. No man's life or death can remove the just penalty of our acts. We are held to the fate of our own deeds, and there is no getting away from justice. The whole system of religion founded upon the crucifixion of Jesus is pure manufacture. No one can accept it without rejecting facts and stifling reason and conscience. It is a priestly invention, and is outside of truth and morality. Religion must appeal to the common-sense of man. The Church has called man infidel for denying its dogmas; it has called him irreligious for deserting its altar; and a Sabbath-breaker for not going to its meeting on Sunday, or for going somewhere else. Little good is done by calling names, and priestly condemnation in this age is harmless.

There are more ways to heaven than there are churches. There are more preachers of truth than there are ministers. The world needs something besides theology to make it good. We must be entertained and amused as well as fed. The way to heaven is not all toil and sweat. There are some flowers along the road. Let us not make religion too cold and dreary. I believe that man should enjoy all that God has made. Human nature must not be overlooked in our dealings with men. There is a laugh in the soul, and to stifle it is to put out the sun in the sky of human life.

The religion of the Church has had nothing in it that men could enjoy. God has been pictured with no kind look in his face. I believe in people who enjoy themselves and who try to get the good out of life. There is something wholesome and cheering in a man or woman who says life has brought more pleasure than pain; more joy than sorrow; more good than ill. There is a better idea of God in the heart of a happy person than in the Church's creed. It was once thought that a man was not religious unless he was solemn and ugly. But there is usually more hypocrisy than religion in a long face. There is no religion in what makes men sour and gloomy. Those persons are religious whose sunny faces make the pathways of life brighter and sweeter, not those who make you shiver when they go by. The Church teaches that they who give up the enjoyments of this life which are called earthly vanities shall wear the crown of glory hereafter. There is little in the picture of the Church's saint to encourage an ordinary mortal in the way of saintliness. I know of no one more to be pitied than an Orthodox saint. Most people would prefer to be a little bit bad if that would make them more attractive and agreeable. We need to drive away the pain from human faces. Fear of God should never have crept into the heart.

The gloomy gospel of Christianity is being displaced. Brightness is entering the human heart. We have learned that God does not frown when man smiles, and that happiness is founded upon virtues and not vices. A better day hangs in the skies of the future, and the coming man will dare be joyous before the Lord.

If there is one thing needed to-day it is a sensible idea of religion. The many substitutes for right-doing which are put upon the world in the name of piety should be called by their proper names. There is too much humbug passed for religion. The idea that anything short of telling the truth, dealing honestly with the world, living an upright life, being clean inside and outside makes a man a religious man, is a pious speculation which is preached to build up a denomination.

It is with impatience that one waits for the coming of that era in religion when the substance of piety shall be more honored than the form. The body conceals the spirit rather than reveals it to most of mankind. And the world without an outward symbol of worship would be unable to trace a sacred emotion in the feelings of the heart or the deeds of the hand. So readily does custom produce conviction, that an argument framed upon existing habits is almost impregnable to the stoutest logic and firmest proof; and the presence of a church-building in a town or city is taken as evidence of the piety of the place, even though a righteous man be not within its territorial limits. The mind, trained to ways of thought and fixed in habits of judgment, is not assailable by reason or truth. The crust of bigotry on a man shuts him in from all influence of conduct or persuasion of character. Nothing is more wanted than to free the spirit from superstitious regard, and leave it to those inculcations of divinity which in good moments possess the soul. Religion must rest upon a general education of the human faculties, and not upon the feelings alone.

A more serious way of looking at what is useful to mankind would divest many things of the fictitious holiness that surrounds them. Human relations are to be kept sacred; and when there is a true appreciation of each other's rights and duties, and a willingness on the part of each to do what is right and best, we shall have nearly solved the religious problem, and put the seal of sacredness upon what God made holy. I would prefer to see the homes of America improved instead of the churches. Domestic comforts tend to conserve religious forces more than costly and richly-furnished places of worship.

Let us no longer confound the doing of a thing with the manner of doing it. Form has so long been taken for substance that the world has set that religious value on ways of worshipping which belongs to deeds of kindness and love. Religion is a word that stands for something so deep down in man's nature, that we can hardly touch it with our definitions. It is that beautiful passion that binds spirit to spirit; that fine obedience that yields itself to the embrace of God. Could we surrender ourselves to this inner faith, that commands as though it had fast hold of truth; could we respond when this quick part of us receives a communication from on high,—we would walk the earth with a halo around our heads. Religion is a kind of outside feeling, sensitive to the finest influence. In

its pure sense religion is emotion; but it must be emotion in action to bless the world.

When religion rises to the lips it is laid in forgiveness upon the head of sin. Religion is the sweetness of a smile, the sympathy of a tear. It is that blessed kindness that goes on its unpaid errand of mercy. It is that quiet service that offers its love and charity without reward. Religion is that fine doing of the human soul which is ordered by the inner voice. It is the feeling of the heart that lies nearest to God. It is that deep living whence the finer harmonies flow. *It is the soul of life.*

BENEDICTION.

Now may hope, faith, and charity, the bud, the blossom, and the fruit of true righteousness, be in our hearts and lives forevermore.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

ÆSTHETIC SENSE OF ANIMALS.

Until recent times it was the almost universal opinion, and dogmatic opinion too, of men, educated as well as uneducated, that animals, all below the genus *homo*, were not endowed with intelligence, memory, reason, and will; but that these attributes were distinctive of the human species alone. It was also believed that all those actions of animals, which had the appearance of emanating from a conscious, intelligent, and reasoning being, were really not intelligent, but instinctive. Nor did the word instinct have a very clear and definite meaning, when a rational explanation of the various mental phenomena of animals was desired. It was thought, also, that because animals do not have an articulate language they were not endowed with what we understand by intelligence and reason.

Before men were in the habit of basing their conclusions as to the truth or falsity of the propositions of any given subject upon the results of careful investigation and generalized experience; and before they understood much about the nature and growth of intelligence, of reflex action, of instinct, of memory, of reason, of will, and of mental phenomena in general, it is hardly surprising that they should have held the multitudinous, inconsistent, and untenable ideas about the mental phenomena of animals which were current. Now, however, we are beginning to understand that reflex action, instinct, memory, reason, and will all insensibly shade off into each other, so that it is impossible to draw any absolute line of demarcation between them. But in the discussion of mental phenomena, each of these terms has a distinct and definite meaning, which cannot be lost sight of without confusion. An animal may perform an act which most would probably agree in calling instinctive; and another act which most would probably agree in calling intelligent; and yet another about which there would be doubt as to whether it should be called instinctive or intelligent. And the same remark would apply to many of the actions of human beings. No one who has carefully studied mental phenomena, will likely contend that all the actions of human beings in the possession of their normal faculties can be called intelligent, for there can be scarcely a doubt that many of them are reflex, instinctive, or automatic.

That animals are intelligent, remember, reason, and communicate to each other their desires and aversions, is, I think, too well established to require here any illustrative arguments. Mr. Darwin, who has made a life-long study of the mental phenomena of animals, and of animal life under its various phases, and who has had the amplest opportunities of forming correct conclusions on the subject, has, in his recent works on the *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* and *Descent of Man*, brought together a great number of facts of the highest importance to those pursuing this line of thought. Some animals display, in my opinion, well-marked traces of the egoistic and perhaps ego-altruistic sentiments. The dog, after an achievement of some difficulty, shows a greater degree of self-satisfaction than if failure ensued. Again, the dog that guards an object, and shows some self-gratulation in guarding it until his master returns, certainly displays a spirit of altruism whether the mental state which prompts him to act thus is instinctive or representative. It seems probable, however, that it is representative, for there can be scarcely a doubt that dogs and many other species of animals learn by constant experience that certain kinds of their actions result in their receiving from their masters kind attentions; and that certain other kinds of their actions result in their receiving pain, and in producing in their masters manifestations of displeasure, harsh sounds and gestures or motions, such as usually accompany the infliction of pain. One animal not only quickly interprets the language or expression of the emotions as manifested by another animal of the same or a different species, but also as manifested by human beings. Nearly every field sportsman could probably relate how well the young pointer remembers his chastisement for disobedience in flushing the game when first taken afield.

Now if those actions of the dog which cause displeasure in his master become representative, or are remembered, will not those actions which cause pleasurable states of consciousness in his master, followed by acts of kindness, also become representative, or be remembered? Most assuredly. And the tendency must gradually be more and more to cease from those actions which cause painful states of consciousness to others and, by reaction, to self; and to strive more and more to do those things which cause sunny expressions and pleasurable states of consciousness to others and, by reaction, to self. Much evidence could be presented showing that animals are endowed with feelings of sympathy and revenge and various mental attributes not generally conceded as belonging to

them; but perhaps a sufficient number of illustrations have been brought forward to indicate that there is no absolute line of demarcation between animal psychology and human psychology. And this is all that is required for our present purpose. If animals are endowed with intelligence, memory, reason, and will, and various other mental attributes common to the human species, as is now generally admitted by the best and safest authorities, we may next properly inquire whether they show any evidences of the æsthetic sense,—any appreciation of the beautiful.

It is contended by some writers of great ability, and who are well acquainted with the literature of modern science, that the æsthetic sense does not belong to animals, nor even the uncivilized man; but to the civilized man alone. But most of those thinkers who believe in the evolution of life and mind, I suppose do not deny the æsthetic sense to animals. To those whose intellectual training has led them into the habit of pursuing questions of this nature either backwards or forwards, until they elude the mental grasp, I think that there must arise insurmountable difficulties in establishing a line, on one side of which should be placed all sentient creatures of given species and orders as being entirely without a sense of the beautiful; and on the other side of which should be placed all sentient creatures of other given species and orders as possessing a sense of the beautiful from zero to the nth power.

For if we say that the æsthetic sense belongs to the civilized man alone, then it is at once required to show just at what point in civilization the æsthetic sense makes its appearance first; just how much a man must be civilized before he has an æsthetic sense,—questions upon which I think it is utterly hopeless to expect any general agreement. Nor does the difficulty end here. We would also require an infallible judge to point out to us at what stage of intellectual development, between the man who can count only as high as the fingers on one hand, and surrounded with the rudest implements of art, and the man of science of to-day, with his highly complex instruments and appliances, civilization commences. If we examine the matter closely, it will be found that we arrange, for convenience' sake only, peoples into groups of civilized, semi-civilized, and barbarous, meaning by these terms merely the stage of social evolution reached, and not that one group possesses faculties, emotions, and mental attributes absolutely distinct in kind, but only in degree, from the other groups. No one now doubts, and it should be strongly impressed upon the mind, that uncivilized as well as civilized man is endowed with all those senses through which sensations and perceptions are translated into æsthetic emotions and other emotions, as sympathy, pity, etc. So also are the higher orders of animals endowed with these senses, but of course in their *ensemble*, in a far less developed state than in man. Unless a creature has such an organization as will enable it to receive numerous and complex tactual impressions, the impressions received through the other senses will never enable it to adjust its actions extending very far in space or time, or to very complex environing conditions. Hence being deficient in good tactual and manipulatory organs, in the appreciation of complex relations and conditions, neither of the senses can ever become very highly developed in animals.

One of the senses much used, through a great many generations, for a specialized purpose and highly beneficial to an animal in its struggle for existence, may be unusually developed in a given direction. The sense of sight in an animal, for instance, may be so developed that it will see as far or even farther than a human being; yet its power of appreciating differences of color, of forms, of motions, etc., is quite rudimentary as contrasted with ours. So an animal's sense of hearing may enable it to get impressions from sounds inaudible to us; yet it will not appreciate, as we do, those complex combinations of sounds in music of the higher order. After a little reflection it will be seen that nearly all our æsthetic emotions are excited by sensations and impressions received through the senses of sight, smell, and hearing,—gustatory and tactual impressions playing no important part. Every one knows that animals discriminate creatures that are friends or enemies, by their color, forms, motions, etc., and by their sounds and odors. Does any one believe that a harsh sound at a very low or very high pitch will produce in an individual of the higher orders of animals a state of consciousness just like a soft, liquid sound at a medium pitch, or that one kind of odor is as pleasant to it as another? It seems incredible.

WILEY BRITTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THEORIZING NOT CRIMINAL.

BY OLIVER JOHNSON.

When the *Christian Union* takes time to consider a question we always expect it will treat it fairly and candidly, and that above all it will be careful not to pervert the words or sentiments of those from whom it differs. We were therefore not a little surprised by its comments upon a resolution adopted recently by a meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, called to protest against the imprisonment of Mr. Ezra H. Heywood through what is deemed a false construction of the law forbidding the transmission of obscene publications through the mails. The resolution, as quoted by the *Christian Union*, and which has not elsewhere fallen under our notice, is as follows:—

"That the right to think and to publicly express, by tongue or pen, the results of thinking, is the dearest right which American citizens possess; and to deny its exercise is subversive of natural justice, contrary to constitutional provision, dangerous to public welfare, and corrupting to public morals."

Is not this a resolution that should command the hearty assent of every American citizen? Does the principle it embodies involve the right to libel anybody's character, or to corrupt society by obscenity in any form? Can that principle be fairly refuted without an utter denial of the American doctrine of the freedom of the press? Misrepresented, perverted, consciously or unconsciously, it may be, as the commentary of the *Christian Union* shows:—

"To which [the resolution above quoted] we have simply to say that no principle is more absurd than that which is apparently claimed here, that no man may be called to account for his words. The right of free speech is a right to say and write what one will without censorship beforehand; it is not a right to say and write what one will without giving account afterwards to society for what he has spoken. Every man takes his own risk. Liberty makes him his own censor. But if he slanders his fellow-citizen he is liable to answer to him in damages. If he libels him he is responsible in a criminal prosecution. And if he uses his pen or his press to defile society and to disrupt the family, he is liable to answer to the society which he is endeavoring to destroy for his crime against it. The notion that a man cannot commit an offence against an individual or the commonwealth by voice or pen is only equalled in absurdity by the notion that he ought not to be punished for it if he does."

Of course, as any one may see upon a moment's reflection, the resolution neither asserts nor implies any such foolish "notion" as that "a man cannot commit an offence against the individual or the commonwealth by voice or pen"; and when the *Christian Union* demolishes that "notion" it simply strikes at a creature of straw set up by itself, and misleads and confuses its readers upon a subject in respect to which they need light, and does a cruel injustice to men whose aims and purposes are as pure as its own. To say that men have the right to think, and to express publicly the results of their thinking, is that to claim a right to libel men and to debauch society?

What is the point at issue in this case? Is it claimed that Mr. Heywood or any one else has a right to corrupt society by the circulation of obscenity? Not at all, if we understand the matter. It is denied that Mr. Heywood's pamphlet is obscene within the true meaning of the statute under which he was convicted. In other words, it is affirmed that the law has been erroneously interpreted, so as to impose a dangerous restriction upon the freedom of speech; and it was for this reason that the Faneuil Hall meeting was held. Even if those who made the protest are mistaken upon this point, justice requires that their position should not be misrepresented, but fairly and justly stated.

Having read Mr. Heywood's pamphlet, we are prepared to say that while its doctrine of "free love" is unspeakably revolting, and while there are in it phrases of an indelicate and vulgar character, it does not, in our humble judgment, properly come within the true definition of obscenity. We believe in the family as a divine institution, and abhor any doctrine subversive of it; but we cannot deny the right of men to "think" about that institution and to "express the results of their thinking," however contrary to our own belief. So long as they simply seek, by appeals to the reason of men, to show that the family relation, as it exists at present, is contrary to the laws of Nature and subversive of human welfare, we do not think the government has any right to interfere with them; but if they proceed to carry their theories into practice, to live in immoral relations, or to disseminate obscenity, set Mr. Comstock to catch them as quick as you please. We believe in man's birthright of liberty, and that to enslave a human being is a crime. But we do not deny the right of men to "think" on the subject of liberty and to "express the results of their thinking," even though they came to the shocking conclusion that slavery is a divine institution. It is not long since some of the most eminent divines of the country held that very doctrine, and "tortured the pages of the hallowed Bible" to defend it; but nobody thought of sending them to prison on that account. So long as they contented themselves with asserting and maintaining an immoral theory, there was no suggestion that they ought to be punished. True, slavery was a very Sodom of uncleanness, and practically far more subversive of the family relation than the modern doctrine of "free love"; but its champions were allowed to rave on, because it was believed that any attempt to silence them by law would be an infraction of the right of free speech. But if "Southside" Adams, or Moses Stuart, or Dr. Nathan Lord had put their hateful doctrine in practice on the soil of New England by reducing men to slavery and selling them on the auction-block, the Abolitionists would have found a Comstock to hunt them down and hale them to prison. A Mormon apostle may come to New York, hire the best hall in the city, and proceed to unfold and defend by argument the doctrine of polygamy, and not even the editor of the *Christian Union* would think of molesting him. He would simply laugh at the idea that a system so revolting could make headway in such a community by argument, and would see instinctively that any attempt to put the speaker down by law would do great mischief by enabling him to appeal to popular sympathy as a persecuted man. But if his speech were obscene, appealing not to reason but to the lowest passions of human nature; or, if he should bring his harem with him and set it up in New York in defiance of law, everybody would say, let him be arrested and punished.

The distinction here drawn is palpable as a mountain, and as important as it is palpable. Dr. Channing understood it when, though shocked as much as any Christian could be by Abner Kneeland's cool denial of God's existence, he yet stood forth to denounce his imprisonment and to maintain the inf-

del's "right to think and to express the results of his thinking." Milton understood it when he declared that truth could not be worsted in the "open encounter" of argument with argument. Jefferson understood it when he wrote, "Error of opinion may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." Paul virtually recognized it when he said, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." John had a glimpse of it when he wrote, "Try the spirits, whether they be of God." The freedom of the press, won for us by martyr blood and by the sublime courage of men who, for the sake of a great principle, were willing to endure reproach and persecution, is too rich a legacy to be surrendered on any pretence of temporary advantage to be thereby gained. There is no middle ground between the freedom which permits the utterance of the most pernicious error and the audacious assumption of divine authority and power which led Calvin to stain his otherwise honorable name by conspiring with the civil authority to burn Servetus at the stake,—all because that "heretic" while saying with all his heart, "Jesus is the Son of the Eternal God," could not conscientiously assent to the postulate, that Jesus was "the Eternal Son of God."

It is a poor tribute that men pay the truth when they yield to the fear that it may be overturned by the breath of free speech; a poor compliment to the Bible, the Church and the family, when at the very moment that they assert them to be divine, they betray a fear lest they should be upset if infidels are allowed to assail them. Every Protestant sees how ridiculous the Catholic makes himself who in one breath affirms the infallibility of his Church, and in the next would fine and imprison men for denying it. The desire to stop by force the mouths of those who deny our faith reveals the scepticism that lurks in our own hearts,—an atheism that is treacherous alike to truth and God. The zeal that makes us willing to persecute or disown men on account of their opinions is not of God, though often cloaked under that pretence. When Abraham, according to the Persian story, entertained the aged fire-worshipper, and the stranger refused to join in saying grace according to the Hebrew custom, the patriarch arose in wrath and drove him from his house. But a swift-winged spirit stood before him and said, "Abraham! for a hundred years the divine bounty has flowed out in sunshine and rain, in bread and life, to this man; is it for thee to withhold thy hand from him because his worship is not thine?" There is a lesson here which shows how tolerant we should be of the erroneous opinions of our fellow-men,—how willing that they should enjoy the utmost liberty of thought and speech. Of course this liberty does not imply immunity for men who outrage every principle of good morals and decency in their daily practices. Against such sin, open or concealed, we have a right to wage unceasing war, and to appeal for its suppression to the civil power. It is not for the State, however, to make inquisition into men's opinions, or to concern itself with their theories. They may set up any doctrine, however absurd, and support it by any line of argument that to them may seem good. They may even question the foundations on which the State itself rests; they may frame arguments in favor of vice and crime; they may plead for polygamy or the unbridled license of "free love"; but so long as they confine themselves to talk and respect the decencies of debate, they cannot be rightfully molested. But, the moment they proceed to incorporate their vile theories into their lives, they bring themselves within the legitimate grasp of the law. Of this freedom of debate we need have no fear in the long run. Many will perhaps be deceived and misled for a time; but the evils on this side are as nothing to those which would follow any attempt to prevent the expression of opinions by force. The tares of error must be left to grow in the same field with the wheat of truth "until the harvest"—that is until they bear their natural fruits, and their true character reveals itself in actual deeds,—when they may be rooted up, in the persons of those who illustrate them, and cast into the fiery furnace of the law!—*Orange (N.J.) Journal, Aug. 24.*

FETICHISM.

In *Macmillan's Magazine* for July, Professor Max Müller discusses vigorously the question, "Is Fetichism a Primitive Form of Religion?" Herbert Spencer and his disciples, who explain all religion as the evolution of fear, wonder, and awe excited by the sun and stars, by trees, animals, and inanimate objects, will positively dissent from the conclusion the professor reaches. Yet the reasoning is valid, and shows the logical weakness of bringing a lofty sentiment from a low one with nothing but material elements at work. Mr. Müller clears away at the entrance of his theme the obloquy which has rested upon the word "fetich." Too much ignorance and depravity has been charged upon the negroes of Africa in comparison with the Christianized whites. By repeated illustration he establishes two positions: "That there is hardly any religion without something which we may call fetich-worship, and that there is no religion which consists entirely of fetichism." Fetich means, in common speech, some visible object of worship. Professor Müller shows that the African negroes have the clear idea that their fetiches are only symbols, and that there is an invisible, omniscient, omnipotent spirit behind the representation. He says: "Though our knowledge of the religion of the negroes is still very important, yet I believe I may say that, wherever there has been an opportunity of ascertaining the religious sentiments even of the lowest savage tribes, no tribe has ever been found without something beyond mere worship of so-called fetiches. . . . What I maintain is, that fetichism was a corruption of religion; that the negro is capable of higher religious ideas than the worship of stocks and stones; and that the same people who believed in fe-

tiches cherished at the same time very pure, very exalted, very true sentiments of the Deity. . . . The more I study heathen religions, the more I feel convinced that, if we want to form a true judgment of their purpose, we must measure them as we measure the Alps, by the highest point which they have reached."

Many African tribes believe in a Supreme Being, though in several cases his name is the same word as that used for "sky" or "clouds." In such cases the view can be well supported that the idea was transferred from the Supreme Being to the greatest boons which he gives to his children in a thirsty land. It is not certain that the word was first used to mean "sky" or "clouds." On the gold-coast the negroes believe in spirits, or "wongs," which inhabit the many objects which are worshipped as fetiches. After a review of many varying forms of fetich-worship, the writer asks: "Is there the slightest evidence to show that there ever was a time when these negroes were fetich-worshippers only and nothing else? Does not all our evidence point rather in the opposite direction, viz., that fetichism was a parasitical development, intelligible with certain antecedents, but never as an original impulse of the human heart?" It is of moment in the discussion to see how pertinently Professor Müller puts upon ancient and modern civilization the charge of fetich-worship; and we must plead guilty if reverence for an object and religious care for the emblems of the unseen is to be labelled and advertised as superficially as the manifestation of like sentiments by the blacks of Africa. Pictures, altars, and images may be fetiches as truly as trees, snakes, and stones. The necessity of the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," and so on, is seen in this warning generalization of the learned professor: "One of the lessons which the history of religions certainly teaches is this: that the curse pronounced against those who would change the invisible into the visible, the spiritual into the material, the divine into the human, the infinite into the finite, has come true in every nation on earth. We may consider ourselves safe against the fetich-worship of the poor negroes; but there are few of us, if any, who have not their own fetiches, or their own idols, whether in their churches or in their hearts."

The end of the study of fetichism in its development in Africa is thus clearly set forth: "Fetichism, then, far from being, as we are told by almost every writer on the history of religions, a primitive form of faith, is, on the contrary, so far as facts enable us to judge, a secondary or tertiary formation, nay, a decided corruption of an earlier and simpler religion. If we want to find the true springs of religious ideas we must mount higher. Stocks and stones were not the first to reveal the infinite before the wondering eyes of men."

To leave no stronghold of the enemy untaken behind him, the professor, as he advances into the opposing theories, meets the argument that at greater or less antiquity the growth of belief in supernatural power was evolved from physical objects. His position is, that the evolution theory utterly fails to account for the predicate "God," which the savage puts into the sun, stars, or other things. From the ideas furnished by the five senses no concept "God" could ever arise. Whence, then, comes the tendency to predicate divinity of natural objects of unusual power? The discussion is thorough and logical. It reveals again the ever-recurring truth that man, with only his senses for aid, could never have reached the moral conceptions and development he now has. Higher than the visible is the invisible, which both the Christian and heathen, philosopher and savage, agree in calling "God."

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

"TRUE LOVE CASTETH OUT FEAR."

LINES BY YSOLDE DE QUELSE.

What matter that, when life is o'er,
And all our joy and all our pain
Is ended, we but fall asleep
And never wake again.
I am content since I have loved,
And I can feel that with my latest breath,
When over me shall fall the shade of death,
My thoughts shall be of thee, as thine of me;
And through eternity we two shall rest,
Sharing the same long sleep.

CHENE-BOUGERIES, September, 1878.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 21.

Mrs. Jno. J. Bagley, \$3.20; H. C. Southworth, \$2; Anton Brasch, \$10; L. F. Robinson, \$2; J. Ross, Jr., \$1; Mrs. H. S. Mason, \$1.30; D. Bates, 25 cents; W. Campbell, \$3; E. D. Israel, \$6.40; E. A. Sawtelle, \$3.20; E. O. Parker, \$4.53; E. C. McKinstry, 10 cents; S. B. Zeigler, \$3.20; Charles Churchill, \$6; Dr. W. C. Priest, \$3.20; C. T. Pratt, \$1; T. B. Skinner, 10 cents; T. P. Gere, \$5; Chas. H. Hamilton, \$6.40; D. C. Crandon, \$4.40; C. H. Phillips, \$3.20; W. M. Kennedy, \$3.20.

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

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

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, SEPT. 26, 1878.

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

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

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

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

N. B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER,
WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB
HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH
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MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT
WARREN KESEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

REFERRING to the Watkins convention, the Norfolk (Va.) *Landmark* painfully illustrates what an injury to the liberal cause is done by anything which tends to confirm the popular misconception that free thought and indecency are inseparably allied: "These people are not to be judged by the utterances of Mr. Parton; for their 'principles' seem to involve anything but morality—that is, if some others of the assemblage are to be deemed true exponents of the free-thinkers' doctrines. Unfortunately three free-thinking men and one free-thinking girl have got into trouble, having been arrested for selling a book characterized as 'indecent literature.' The general belief is, that such people compose the vast majority of these free-thinking philosophers, whose reputation for the vilest immorality is, we have no doubt, most justly deserved."

THE NEW YORK *Graphic* sees both sides of the shield: "While all good citizens desire a vigorous suppression of impure literature, the Society for the Suppression of Vice would do well to move cautiously in suppressing works which are merely expressions of opinion. Touch upon the right of free publication, and hundreds and thousands of people become interested at once upon the side of the accused. The prosecution and imprisonment of Heywood was, in this sense, seemingly a grave mistake. It has given him and his pamphlets a notoriety and his views a circulation which would otherwise never have been obtained. The trouble is, that when an organization is once formed the superintendents and agents are under a constant spur to call attention to themselves and their work, and after they have successfully attacked really objectionable publications they are very apt to proceed against persons who only hold objectionable opinions. Then, too, the methods by which Comstock gets his evidence are not such as commend themselves to public morality. Tempting people to do wrong and then arresting them is not the kind of business any law-abiding community can countenance. It inevitably leads to abuse. The Society for the Suppression of Vice would do well hereafter to be more discreet in the prosecution of cases which bring up the right of free discussion, for by straining the law they only injure the cause they have at heart." Such comments as these show how easy it will be to arouse a powerful public opinion in favor of vindicating the imperilled freedom of the press, if its friends are only wise enough not to outrage the moral sense of the community by demanding total repeal of the Comstock laws. With common discretion on the part of liberals, those laws can easily be reformed; but they can never be repealed.

THE BAPTIST *Watchman* thinks that there is "A Cat under the Meal": "The papers a few days ago told us that Father Somebody had been appointed to do Catholic service at the new State Prison in Concord. We presume this action is taken without any State authority, and is a little step in the line of papal

progress. It is evident that the Catholics mean to control our penal institutions, to thrust their priests into prisons, forts, and naval vessels as chaplains. The quiet way in which these things are done shows that they know how to do it. It may be that a large proportion of the criminals in the State Prison are Romanists, but certainly other sects are represented there. And if they are not represented there they are in the tax-paying and the voting outside. But it does not follow that every sect should appoint a chaplain for the prison. Confusion confounded would be the result. The Catholics have appointed a chaplain. Now suppose the Methodist Conference appoints another. And then the Baptist State Convention appoints a third. And then the Unitarians designate a man. And then the Congregationalists, who certainly are very respectable, if not numerous, represented within those walls of stone should send one. What would the result be? The theology of the State Prison would be as heterogeneous, conglomerate, nondescript, Babel-like, as Mr. Murray's church of the future. Why, after all, would it not be a good thing, as Mr. Murray has this same idea, to elect him bishop of the prison, and let him try his experiment there, before he launches his theological monstrosity on the outside public? But, seriously, unless Protestants are awake, the Catholic Church will have its chaplains, authorized or unauthorized, in all our penal institutions. The Catholic Church is an institution that will bear watching. Its aggressive spirit pushes its plans into every possible avenue, and while Protestantism is asleep it does its work. The appointment of a chaplain for the State Prison means the entire control of the religious instruction there in the end. If there is any principle involved worth contending for, it is time we were looking out for it. There are some things you can never mend after they are broken; some things you can never find after they are lost."

THE VINELAND (N.J.) *Independent* forcibly exposes the attacks on free thought which have been covertly made under the dangerous Comstock laws, and will continue to be made until those laws are radically reformed: "The Freethinkers' Convention, which closed at Watkins, N.Y., on Tuesday, broke up in the arrest of D. M. Bennett, of the New York *Truth-Seeker*, and several other persons, for selling a book which it is claimed was obscene. The free-thinkers, on the other hand, say it is mainly composed of extracts from the Bible. We have but little sympathy for that radicalism which will spend days and weeks hunting for some paragraph in the Hebrew Scriptures which will be offensive to delicate and refined ears, while they pass by the better things in the Bible. A thousand years of this negative kind of teaching will never convert the world to a tolerant liberalism; and those who are converted by this method will, in all probability, be tenfold more the child of hellish bigotry after their conversion than they were before. A man who can find nothing better to do than to hunt for crude and obscene passages in the Bible has a good deal of dirt about his own moral constitution which will require but little searching to find out. But, despite all this, the Orthodox people of Watkins showed themselves possessed of a considerable amount of the old Inquisition spirit, when, in order to vent their spite against the freethinkers for the radical utterances made in their meetings, they aimed this blow at freedom of speech. The Church people ought to know by this time that the 'blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church,' and they only help augment the forces which they seek to destroy by this exhibition of intolerance. The freethinkers have a right to hold meetings and express their radical sentiments; and to attempt to infringe upon that right is a blow at our free institutions which every citizen who is truly an American must loudly condemn. Crawling behind ever so many claims about 'obscene literature' will not hide the fact that the real end aimed at is the liberty of opinion vouchsafed by the Constitution. When the Orthodox power seeks the arrest of the numerous parties who are circulating the most vile and obscene literature and pictures, for the express purpose of demoralizing the youth of the land, then we may believe that it is real obscenity they wish to 'destroy,' instead of liberty of conscience. But as long as they confine their arrests to some indiscreet radical who foolishly thinks he is serving his cause by publishing 'picked' paragraphs from the Bible, or some radical scientist who publishes a book that had better be guardedly handled, then the public has the right to presume that it is the opponents of Orthodox theology which these intolerant enthusiasts are trying to exterminate, and not obscene literature."

A CARD.

We, the undersigned, Directors of the National Liberal League, offer ourselves as candidates for reelection at the Second Annual Congress of the League, on the following platform of principles:—

1. The right of absolute individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, on all political, religious, social, or other questions, and the right of being wholly uninterfered with by the courts, no matter what opinions as such may be advocated or promulgated.

2. The right and duty of Congress and State Legislatures to pass, and the right and duty of the National and State courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails; provided, that the offence known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.

3. The flagrant wrong of intrusting the execution of the laws for the suppression of obscene literature to any official or officials who shall not scrupulously confine their action within the limits here clearly defined.

And we decline to be candidates for reelection if the principles of the above platform shall fail to be approved by the National Liberal League at this Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President*.
WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary*.
J. A. J. WILCOX, *Treasurer*.
D. G. CRANDON, *Chair. Fin. Comm.*

TWO PHASES OF "REPEAL."

We solicit the most candid and dispassionate attention of the liberal public to a consideration, in a series of articles, of the grave issue to be submitted to the approaching Syracuse Congress: namely, shall the National Liberal League declare itself in favor of the repeal or the reform of the United States laws prohibiting the transmission of obscene literature through the mails? It is true that on this exceedingly important subject the League has already declared its mind and taken its position; but this fact for the present we will altogether waive. Since the Centennial Fourth of July, when the League adopted the resolutions which still express its sober and deliberate judgment, new occasion has arisen for the exercise of that vigilance which is the price of liberty. Let us suppose, then, that the whole question is opened afresh, and inquire whether any better position can be taken now than was taken at Philadelphia two years ago.

It will be found on examination that three main positions are held on this general subject. One of these is represented by Messrs. E. H. Heywood and Benjamin R. Tucker, another by Mr. Thaddeus B. Wakeman, and a third by THE INDEX. What are those positions? How far do they agree, and how far do they differ?

I.

Mr. Tucker is "editor *pro tem.*" of the *Word*, a monthly journal formerly published by Mr. E. H. Heywood at Princeton, but now, during Mr. Heywood's imprisonment, published by Mr. Tucker at Cambridge. At the top of his editorial columns, Mr. Tucker raises this flag:—

"Our Present Platform.

"Immediate, unconditional, and permanent repeal of all laws against obscenity, whether Municipal, State, or National."

We do not imagine that Mr. Tucker is any more in favor of obscenity than anybody else; he is only inexorably and fearlessly true to the logic which alone justifies the demand for "repeal." He follows out unflinchingly the principle of Mr. Heywood himself, who wrote in the *Word* for last January:—

"Since there is no half-way house between Comstock and Liberty, we demand the immediate and unconditional REPEAL of all Federal and State laws to force love or purity."

Now we entertain great respect for logical consistency, which is far more closely allied to moral courage than is generally believed. Messrs. Heywood and Tucker are simply faithful to the logic of "repeal," and scorn to evade or shirk the inevitable corollaries of that position. They clearly see that the very same protest which they make against the Comstock laws must lie against all State or municipal laws on this subject; they see clearly that, if national laws to suppress obscene literature necessarily violate the freedom of the press, State and municipal laws against it must be exactly as obnoxious for the very same reason. Hence they alone, of the whole party of "re-

peal," take the intellectual lead; they alone follow out the principle of that party with an admirable valor; they alone stand before the public as the exponents of a clear, self-consistent, and positive idea; they alone have a logical right to protest against the Comstock laws in the name of freedom. For this we must respect them, however irrational their fundamental position appears to us; and, if the agitation continues long enough, they will yet behold their associates compelled, by the sheer stress of reason and the logic of events, to come forward and stand at their side.

Nevertheless, we hold it little less than absurd to affirm that to punish the vendors of really obscene literature involves a violation of the freedom of the press. The "freedom of the press" must share the limitations of all other freedom: namely, that no man shall use his freedom so as to infringe upon the equal rights of others. Hence libel is forbidden by law, without any violation of the freedom of the press, because libel is a crime against the personal rights of the person libelled. We hold it to be no less a crime to mail really obscene literature to school-children—a crime at once against the children, their parents, and society itself; and we therefore hold that to punish criminals of this disgusting class involves not the slightest violation of the freedom of the press. Messrs. Heywood and Tucker must disprove the criminality of this hideous offence before they can succeed in proving that just regard for the freedom of the press demands the total repeal of all laws against obscenity. Mere wholesale assumption is no proof; we suggest to them the necessity of strengthening their position at this, its weakest point. We wait for proof.

II.

Mr. Wakeman is an able and respected member of the New York bar, and made one of the chief speeches at the "Indignation Meeting" at Faneuil Hall on the first of August. Full of an eloquent enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, this speech was mainly an argument against the constitutionality of the Comstock laws, and a criticism of the Supreme Court, which has recently decided those laws to be constitutional. The pith of his argument is that the Constitution simply confers on Congress the power "to establish post-offices and post-roads," together with the incidental powers "necessary and proper" to execute this purpose; that, rightly construed, this grant only empowers Congress to make such regulations as are necessary for the mere safety, efficiency, and convenience of the postal system, but no such regulations as establish distinctions between mailable and non-mailable matter on any other ground; that to prohibit the mailing of obscene publications as such, or to exclude anything else from the mails "for non-postal purposes and reasons" is a "sheer usurpation" on the part of Congress; and that the supposed power of Congress to exclude for non-postal purposes cannot be reconciled with those clauses of the Constitution which guarantee the freedom of speech and of the press, and which protect the people from unreasonable searches and seizures of their persons, papers, and effects. On these grounds Mr. Wakeman demands the total repeal of the Comstock laws, or such modifications of them as shall strip Congress of all power over the mails except for postal purposes only—which would be equivalent to their total repeal.

Now this argument is partly technical and partly substantial. Nobody but political theorists would care what powers Congress exercised over the mails, provided the substantial rights of the people were not affected or prejudiced thereby. By its recent decision, the Supreme Court has unanimously declared: "The power possessed by Congress embraces the regulation of the entire postal system of the country. The right to designate what shall be carried necessarily involves the right to determine what shall be excluded." By the construction of the Constitution contended for by Mr. Wakeman, Congress has no right to exclude anything except for strictly postal purposes and reasons. This question is purely one of theoretical constitutional law. The Supreme Court may be right, or Mr. Wakeman may be right; opinions may differ on this point, though, unfortunately for Mr. Wakeman, the authority of the Supreme Court will have a preponderant weight on a question of interpretation, not only with the legal profession, but also with the general public.

But, besides this merely technical point of Congressional jurisdiction, Mr. Wakeman urges that the Comstock laws are unconstitutional because they violate the freedom of the press; and this point is substantial. The Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press"; and it contains no provision

more precious than this. We entirely agree with Mr. Wakeman that the Comstock laws as they have been administered,—nay, more, as they can scarcely fall to be administered, so long as they retain their present dangerous vagueness and indefiniteness,—flagrantly violate the freedom of the press, and are certainly for that reason unconstitutional. His argument is powerful and unanswerable, so far as it relates to these laws in their present form.

But it would be neither powerful nor unanswerable, if these laws should be so amended as to be jealously restricted, in the scope of their operation, to really obscene literature. If they could not be interpreted so as to punish any one, nominally or really, for the publication or dissemination of his honest opinions, no matter how obnoxious or unpopular these might be,—if they were made wholly inoperative except for the punishment of the human hyenas who prey on helpless childhood,—then they would not in the least infringe upon the just freedom of the press, or violate the constitutional guarantees of that freedom. Mr. Wakeman proceeds throughout on the assumption (and this is the fatal flaw which runs through the whole of his otherwise very able and admirable paper) that the issue lies between the existing laws against obscene literature and none at all,—between national laws which can easily be made to exclude from the mails publications devoted to the advocacy of men's honest convictions on great questions, and the repeal of all national laws against that vile traffic in moral poison which seeks the mails as its chief channel. Mr. Wakeman expresses this assumption very clearly in his letter to the Third Liberal League of New York city, dated August 8:—

"We are told that, if you dare to oppose these laws, you will 'fall into the trap' of allying yourselves and all Liberalism with 'obscenity.' But suppose you do not oppose them? Do you not then ally Liberalism with bigotry and fatal betrayal of liberty? Is not the latter 'trap' the worst of the two?"

It is evident here that Mr. Wakeman has only two alternatives before his eyes—those of opposing, or not opposing, the Comstock laws as they are. From a writer of his ability one might fairly expect a nicer discrimination. We are not shut down to the necessity of either opposing or refusing to oppose those laws as they are; it is perfectly possible to approve the good they do and yet to oppose the evil—in a word, to amend them. Is not that the dictate of common sense? Is not that what wise men do with all other imperfect legislation? When a tariff is too high, is there no mean between leaving it as it is or abolishing it altogether? Why not make it what it ought to be? It looks very much like losing one's intellectual equipose to jump at conclusions in this rash and illogical way.

We warmly sympathize with Mr. Wakeman's zeal for liberty, but cannot possibly go with him when he declares: "In the true point of view, this is not a question of obscenity, but of liberty." Unfortunately, IT IS A QUESTION OF BOTH; and all the special pleading in the world will fail to get rid of either side of this question. The problem is, how to protect the young by efficient legislation against really obscene literature without violating the freedom of the press. No philosopher, certainly, will wilfully shut his eyes to either of those two sides; he will leave to the shallow and thoughtless the childish expedient of rubbing out the figures which "will not add."

But let us concede to Mr. Wakeman that there is no question here but one of liberty,—that it is a violation of freedom of the press for Congress to exclude any class of publications, on any grounds whatever, from the United States mails. This either means something or nothing. If it means anything, it means that it is just as much a violation of that freedom for a State to interfere with obscene literature as it is for Congress. When Mr. Wakeman declares that the "public protection from actual obscenity" is "reserved by the Constitution to the people and the States,"—that "as to grown people and public decency, the matter will be taken care of, as now, by the State and municipal regulations,"—that we "have long-standing and sufficient laws on the whole subject in Massachusetts," and that, "if Mr. Heywood had been found guilty under them," he "would never have come here to enter a protest,"—he overthrows and demolishes absolutely everything in his own argument except its purely technical part. What does Mr. Heywood care, or what does any friend of liberty care, whether he is imprisoned under national or State laws, if he is imprisoned for no offence except pleading his dearest convictions before the public? The wrong is in the fact of imprisonment for such a cause,—not in the technical authority by which the wrong is wrought. This sort of inconsistency,

this playing at fast-and-loose with the freedom of the press, is not going to satisfy anybody. Those whose demand for repeal of the Comstock laws rests on a principle, and not on a mere legal technicality, will insist that the State has no more right than the nation to curtail the freedom of the press,—that it is no more a violation of that freedom for Congress to exclude obscene publications from the mails than it is for a State Legislature to prohibit their sale in the shops. Mr. Wakeman concedes either too much or too little; he must go to school to Messrs. Heywood and Tucker to learn what the logic of "repeal" really and rigorously demands. He must make a new argument, and plant himself on broader principles, if he expects to sustain himself against the logic of "reform"; for those who accept his own position that a State may rightfully suppress really obscene literature, and in no degree infringe thereby upon the freedom of the press, will put to him this unanswerable question: "How does Congress any more infringe upon freedom when it does precisely the same thing?"

The fact is that Mr. Wakeman has not thoroughly thought out his subject in all its bearings; he has treated it in too narrow and technical a manner. The powers of Congress are nothing but the powers of the people itself, as a whole; for Congress is only a representative body, deriving all its powers from the people it represents. To limit its powers, therefore, is to limit those of the people. Now the postal system is and can be subject to no control except that of Congress; the States have no control over it whatever, and the people have control over it only through Congress. Any construction of the Constitution which forbids Congress to exclude really obscene literature from the mails lays the people at the mercy of individual malefactors, bound hand and foot. In the very act of denying power over the mails to Congress, Mr. Wakeman confers it upon unscrupulous and villainous individuals, who would be rejoiced to accept his unintended assistance in compelling the nation to become the tool and accomplice of their own crime. He will discover that this is a question of "obscenity," no less than it is of "liberty." It must be decided by the American people whether or not they will treat the mailing of infamous circulars, books, and rubber goods to unsuspecting children as a crime. If they decide that it is (and they have already done so), then Congress alone can have power to prohibit and punish this crime; and the Supreme Court has only accepted the necessities of the case in construing the Constitution accordingly. If they have stretched the Constitution in this construction (which we do not believe), they have only done so in the interest of the people; they have only protected the people from being made the helpless and unwilling tools of social deprecators in committing a hideous crime against the people's own children. Mr. Wakeman hugs a delusion to his bosom, if he fancies that the Supreme Court will ever substantially reverse their decision, or that the majority of the people will ever wish them to do so; his argument is altogether too narrow in its scope, too technical in its treatment, too oblivious of the great leading considerations which compel the opposite conclusion. If he had only seen and understood that this is a question both of "obscenity" and "liberty," and had devoted his talents to showing how liberty may be absolutely protected without giving the smallest encouragement or protection to obscenity, he would indeed have risen to the height of the occasion. As it is, he has consented to look only at one side of the shield. In consequence, he neither does justice to the side of "reform" nor to his own side of "repeal." For a strong and unflinchingly logical statement of the "repeal" position, the public must look to Messrs. Heywood and Tucker, not to Mr. Wakeman.

Next week we shall present the "reform" side of this subject, in comparison and contrast with that above presented. We only add that Messrs. Tucker, Heywood, and Wakeman are cordially invited to reply in these columns to our criticisms, if they choose to do so and will grapple earnestly with their real substance. Let us have no more "men of straw."

IF THERE IS ANY WAY of dodging the moral law, human depravity will find it out. "Edward, don't you go out of that gate." He was found thirty minutes after forty rods off playing marbles, and winning another boy's last agate. "Didn't I tell you not to go out of that gate?" said the irate parent. "Well," was the reply, "I didn't go out of the gate; I climbed over the fence." That kind of logic is circulating pretty freely nowadays.—*N. Y. Herald.*

THERE is infinite pathos in unsuccessful authorship. The book that perishes unread is the deaf-mute of literature.—*Holmes.*

Communications.

PRINCIPLES, METHODS, MEN;
OR, THE SCIENTIFIC FORMULA OF ORDERLY SOCIAL PROGRESS.

III.

Methods.

Everything is involved in method. If one thing can be said to be most important where three are indispensable, it is method. Method determines and fixes results more immediately than either principles or personal character: for if methods do not always represent the principles and character of their projectors, they do, and of necessity must, determine the nature, form, and quality of manifestation; in other words, results. Method is the middle term or pivot on which rests the right solution of every problem in social science. It is the haunting genius or fate which decides all the issues of life.

The so-called bad man, acting by methods of justice, though devoid of the sentiment, does the will of God; while the good man, acting by false and unjust methods, is an offence to God and man alike. Methods should be adapted to ends, and be homogeneous with them, as the mechanism of the body to the uses of the mind.

It is here, precisely, where theologians, statesmen, and philanthropists have altogether blundered. They have been quarrelling with the soul, man's passionate nature, as being corrupt, rather than the conditions under which those passions should find their true manifestation. They have tried to reform the individual without reforming the institutions of society which dominate him and demonize him in spite of the protestations of those very passions against which they have waged their ceaseless but impotent war. They forget that the individual is to society but as a speck of granite to the eternal hills; that he is the sport of laws, customs, prescriptions, relations, associations, and institutions, both governmental and ecclesiastical, which, individually, he is as powerless to control, as is a grain of sand to sway the solar system. They fail to see that he is weak and without real character save as he is harmoniously related to society. They have not conceived that humanity has a collective destiny, to achieve which can be accomplished only by the friendly cooperation of all its members. They tell us this life was intended for warfare; and we have been going on as if we believed them, fighting our way into heaven as other legions are said to have fought their way out. But for ourselves we do not admit that society is plunged into its existing miseries because mankind have not an instinctive love of right. No; the soul goes out to the good spontaneously as to every other form of beauty. We have not seen that our proper part in the solution of the social problem is to devise a social system in which the free play of individual character will be made to subserviently necessarily the social welfare.

The relation of institutions to individual character and their influence upon it has not been properly estimated. The Church is busy converting persons, but has not a word about a conversion of the systems of industry, trade, finance, or any other instituted social obliquity as a necessary element in the real conversion of individual men and women. It has forgotten to teach that social regeneration has anything to do with individual regeneration, and vice versa. Hence men may be and are converted to the faith and fellowship of sects, and are at the same time slave-holders, monopolists, usurers, or other extortioners, and may steal the fruit of other men's toil under the name of profit, interest, or dividends, without disparagement to their church-fellowship or social standing.

The Church makes it no part of its concern to look after the social or collective regeneration, the rectification of the social relations and institutions, our systems of production and distribution, legislative and judicial administration. Indeed it has no conception of such work as any part of its duty. It is forever inculcating the necessity of a conversion of individuals as the all-important end to be sought; averring that a community of regenerated men will necessarily form the regenerated social state. Every existing institution contradicts this assumption. Either there are no regenerate men, or else the regeneration of the individual has not extended to the social institutions. There is not a single religious sect which does not allow that its most pious communicant may, without hurt to his moral character, be an active participant in a system of trade the instinct and first principle of which are, to get profit without an equivalent; and whose primary maxims are, "Every man for himself"; "Look out for number one"; "There is no friendship in trade." If one were to steal a dime from his neighbor's pocket he would find himself in the lock-up. But he may steal a fortune in the way of trade—by stock-gambling, the plundering of investments and franchises, or by the unjust exploiting of labor through the wages system,—without interfering with his chance of being elected to the first deaconship. There is not a single sect or class of religionists, from the oldest and most conservative to the latest and professedly most liberal, of which this declaration is not equally true. Catholic and Protestant, Orthodox and Unitarian, Free Religionist, Spiritualist, and Infidel, are each and all either openly or silently the advocates of *laissez faire*.

Not one of these has ever done or said the first thing to indicate that they have any idea that the regeneration of the individual necessarily involves that of his social relations. Hence not one of them has ever announced the reconstruction of society in accordance with equity as any part of the work to which the Church as a teacher of morals should ad-

dress itself. They are all alike ignorant or contemptuous of METHOD, if not of PRINCIPLES.

Hence the work of reformation, from that of Luther to the last revival spasm, born of that teeming mother, Protestantism, with all of our anti-slavery, temperance, peace, moral reform, woman's rights, and labor reform agitations, though prompted by right instinct, is but a repetition of the struggles of the giant with the hydra: for every head lopped off, a score or more hideous ones rise up. It is like cutting in a noxious tree in early autumn, which hardens the fibres against the rigor of winter, and sends the sap back to the roots to increase their vigor. Thus the nuisance we would gladly be rid of is prolonged by the methods intended to effect its destruction. There is a parable of the gardener who cut at the twigs of the evil tree, instead of laying the axe at its roots.

What rational hope of reform so long as our evil tree, a false social system, transforms to hatred the love of upright souls, making that love not less baneful than the malice of the ungodly? Why attempt the cure of intemperance while men and women are subjected to brutal toll on the one hand, and the only way to wealth or competency is through selfish gain-getting at the neighbor's expense on the other? The stupendous robberies of the stock-exchange; the plundering of public treasures; the vile arts of the political tricksters and lobby thieves; and the perjuries of office-holders,—could never be perpetrated and men retain their sanity without resort to rum and tobacco. So long as rascality is the road to wealth and social position, while honesty leads to the poor-house; so long as idleness can roll in luxury, while industry stifles amidst the filth and malaria of tenement-houses,—rum and tobacco will continue to solace and inspire more souls than religion or love.

There was never a greater puerility than to fancy that prostitution will ever be remedied while woman, as to property, political and social rights, is man's inferior. So long as she is excluded from the most lucrative employments and professions, or is unequally paid with men, for such as are open to her; while corrupt and licentious men make the laws, regulating love, marriage, parentage, and divorce; and while only men sit in the judges' seats and in jury boxes, and plead as lawyers in the courts,—the degradation and debasement of woman are inevitable. Until woman is accorded every right which man has; nay, until she is vested with powers which man can never rightfully exercise, her complete emancipation is impossible.

The whole question of love and maternity ought to come under her jurisdiction. It belongs to her because she is woman. Here she should be supreme. She feels and endures what man does not, and what from his organization he cannot know. But she can never attain this position under the existing social system.

What will the abolition of negro slavery have done for us or for the negro himself if we go no farther? Already the enfranchised negro man opposes the enfranchisement of the very women who have broken his own chains. We shall at least have exchanged iron chains for deluding silver ones. The *hiring* is still a slave, whether in the pulpit, the cotton-mill or field, in the globe or in the editorial chair. Thomas Carlyle's famous epic of our great civil war, though it stirred our national bile to nausea, comprised in a dozen words the story of antagonizing capital and labor, of manhood cringing, cowed on the one hand, and of tyranny rampant on the other. That was the story of the war.

What signifies the eight-hour law agitation? It is a boy's game at cricket. It amuses the boys who play and the politicians who turn the game to their own account. It settles no question of principle. It ameliorates the condition of no class. It is only cutting a piece off one end of the string to tie it upon the other. What the laborer is to save in time will be deducted from his already insufficient pay, while reduced production enhances the cost of living. Employers in States where there is no such law, will drive to the wall those in States where the law exists and is enforced; and the latter must suspend business. Their laborers thrown out of employment must find it elsewhere, if they can, by competing with others of their craft who deem themselves fortunate in having to work eleven hours a day. The effect will be to depress wages everywhere while enhancing the cost of living.

But if labor is rightly a barterable commodity, both purchaser and seller should be equally free parties to the contract. What signifies this useless tussle about a matter which might be conceded by every legislature under the sun, without lifting a single burden from the backs of the working-classes, or adding an iota in their emancipation, from a system under which degradation must be permanent and hopeless?

The real question for the working-man to consider is, not the number of hours he works, but how he works. If he works as a free man, is neither a chattel nor a hireling; if he works by right and from choice, not by compulsion or permission; if the work is agreeable and the worker gets all he earns instead of having a third or a tithe of his earnings absorbed by another or others who do nothing but boss him; if his work is education, and education is work,—what matters it whether he works four hours a day, or fourteen? Such labor is free, joyous, compensative, honorable, and there is no danger of there being too much of it. And one hour of any other labor is too much.

If labor reform is ever to succeed, we must have done with quackery in ideas and methods. There is no adjustment of antagonisms. They must be neutralized. Therefore we have no time to palter with eight-hour laws, but we attack the whole system of wages as at bottom a fraud and a crime. We de-

mand that labor shall be obligatory upon everybody from the nature and form of our social arrangements; that it shall be adapted to aptitudes; made lucrative, honorable, and thereby, a thing to be desired, not shunned; that every laborer shall be a capitalist and every capitalist a laborer; and that faithful service and capacity shall be the ground of all promotion, social and political.

Do we therefore oppose these partial reforms as without any use? By no means. We fall to see in them what their advocates think they see. We hail them as symptoms of awakening life. They are so many voices in the wilderness, proclaiming the need of the true integral reform, which is to come. They are steps in the process of education into true methods. They are not the method, but will lead towards it.

IV.

The failure of past religions and civilizations, to establish the reign of justice and order, and thereby of love, comes from blunders in methods; the adoption of partial instead of integral methods; or those which are generated in selfishness, instead of those homogeneous with love, and normal to the spirit of justice. We have attempted to pluck the golden fruit of love from trees of discord,—grapes from thorns, figs from thistles. Is it likely that we shall get the genuine fruit? Had we not better take a lesson in comparative physiology?

Coöperation reveals the gamut of social harmony,—is the clew which leads from the labyrinth of our miseries. The existing social system rests upon the isolated family, and is characterized by general incoherence, antagonism, and competitive interests. The results are industrial feudalism, commercial monopoly, and stock-jobbing, by means of a vicious system of finance, which enables a middle class to live without labor by exploiting,—robbing both the producer and consumer.

The isolated family, with its exclusive interests and sympathies, is the first or basic form of social selfishness; and while the social structure rests wholly upon that basis, any permanent social improvement is impossible. You might as well expect that the rattlesnake will not secrete venom under his fangs as to suppose that the isolated interests will not generate selfishness. So long as the physiological structure remains intact in the snake venom will distil; and though the reptile's heart be converted to the original guilelessness of his fabled great progenitor, his bite will be as fatal as if inspired by the most fiery malignity.

Science tells us that the primordial cell determines the nature of every organic structure. The law is as true in the structure of society as in all things else. The isolated family, nursing its exclusive, petty interests, is a nest of selfishness; and our social system is a vast bundle of such nests or cells,—the centres of perpetual antagonisms, strife, and conflict in themselves and with one another. They are the glands in our social system which do and ever must, from their organic structure, secrete the adder's poison; and all the waters of the sweet skies would be turned to deadly bane distilled through this serpent's fangs.

No principle or fact in science or comparative physiology is better understood, or rather known, than that of the power of organic forms or structures to transform the nature of substances. The same juice or sap, which passing through a homogeneous structure of roots, trunk, branches, and leaves, becomes a quince; rising through those of the pear-tree becomes a pear. The simple difference of atomic arrangement or structural organization, in trees of the same family, creates the infinite variety of fruits, as regards form, flavor, odor, color, and texture. The white, milky substance in the stomach known as chyle, which is perfectly homogeneous, becomes scarlet blood in the lungs and arteries, and crimson blood in the veins, nervous fluid in the brain, bile in the liver, and gastric juice in the glands of the stomach. Such is the transforming power over substance of structural arrangements,—the magic of method in phenomenal manifestation.

It is then a philosophical necessity that an order of society which is the normal form of selfishness should yield as its fruit ignorance, injustice, and crime, and could not produce intelligence, honor, justice, and truth.

Our method then is plain. To produce the peaceable fruits of righteousness, society itself must undergo *regeneration* or reconstruction; and that, too, integrally, not partially. We have got to see that there are holier ties than those of blood; that being born of the same parents does not necessarily make us of one family, or kindred even; but that we become truly kindred and of one family by doing the will of God,—which is to establish in the structure of society itself, as well as in the hearts of its members, the reign of justice and love.

Can we fall to see that the method of love and wisdom is coöperation, not antagonism? Would one be likely to arrive at the truth in an equation in algebra if he were to add when he should subtract, and divide when he should multiply?

Love seeketh not her own, but another's good; gives all things, and thereby gets all things. Coöperation in production and exchange is the way of redemption for the working-classes and all classes,—white and black, bond and free, male and female. It leads to the ennobling of labor and the laborer. It gives him a direct interest in his labor; awards to him his whole earnings; guarantees the right to employment adapted to his tastes and aptitudes; multiplies the means of making his labor easy, agreeable, and ten-fold more remunerative. It will make labor attractive by making it social instead of solitary, as now; and by making it the sphere of practical education and of all honorable promotion. It will be a source of honor and truth because it will open to men and women alike all spheres of industry, emolument,

and preferment; and will dispense with, or absorb into the ranks of industry all the idle, speculative, and other vicious classes, who are now the lice and locusts, the frogs and flies of our social Egypt.

Exchange will then be easy and economical, and will be made directly between one body of producers and another; and thus will be ended the senseless cackle we are now crazed with about resumption of specie payment and the greenback panacea. The currency will not be the shameful fraud it now is in every civilized nation. It will be neither gold nor a sham in the shape of a bank-note "based on gold," in the phrase of the bullionists; nor the 3.85 interchangeable greenback; nor that shadow of nothing, the national bank-note, redeemable in greenbacks, which are themselves redeemable "nowhere, never, and in nothing." But it will be a certificate of deposit representing any and every kind of labor products, deposited in a public warehouse, under the management of capable and responsible persons and the strict supervision of the people; each certificate of deposit being redeemable in the specific commodity which it represents: if wool, redeemable in wool; if hides, in hides; if corn, in corn; if iron, in iron; if gold or silver, then in one of those metals. The currency will then be under the immediate control of the people instead of a patented monopoly; and every man can have as much money as he has goods to make it good withal, and no more. The pothor and noise about inflation will end; and the trade of the usurer, banker, or extortioner, as you will, will come to a righteous end,—an event which will be hailed with joy by every toiler on the globe.

Society so organized, with such a medium of credit or exchange no class could live without work or useful service. Whatever one would enjoy, that must he earn. All agitation about rum-selling, prostitution, woman's rights, and eight-hour laws would be settled by the spontaneous consent and concurrent interests of the people.

Is it said that such a method presents so broad an issue, with existing facts, that it cannot be successfully adopted? Is there any other method which can give success, and which if adopted will prove a salvation? Is there any other method but the selfish one, which we have been trying through all the rising and falling civilizations of the past? There is none. Give up cooperation as the basis, form, and method of our social life, adopt anything else as a substitute, and you will continue in the future, as in the past, to contend with heaven and fate alike. If our aim be that of ideal justice, we shall come short enough of it, with our best methods and doings; and we shall be fools if we expect grapes from a pumpkin-vine.

Coöperation is the divine way or method of social harmony. It coordinates interest with duty, the love of self to the love of others. It demonstrates how a life of justice and honor is possible for men; and that it is more profitable for all than a life of injustice and falsehood. Is it not clear that principles are barren until conjoined with true methods, and that there is a science of methods by which alone the growth and conservation of the social welfare can be insured, and that universal coöperation is that method, the only complete method satisfactory alike to faith and reason, and meeting alike the demands of science and religion? JOHN ORVIS.

A WORD FOR KEARNEY.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—In this week's INDEX I have read several scraps in relation to D. Kearney.

I find that every paper in the country that I am in the habit of reading (with the exception of the *Investigator* and *Evolution*) are continually vilifying this man. Of course I could form no decided opinion about him, having never seen or heard him previous to last Wednesday; but I was confident that every Democratic and Republican sheet in the country would vilify any man that dared to lay bare the rascalities of his employers. Consequently I paid no attention to their *shrieks*. But when I see a liberal paper like THE INDEX quoting from J. Gould's *Tribune*, then I must say something, particularly after listening to this Kearney for fully two hours last Wednesday in an address on "Labor and the Rights of Man."

This lecture—I can call it nothing else—was given in the presence of fully fifteen thousand persons, in an open field four miles from this city. The Democratic and Republican press of this city never alluded to it. They dare not lie about him, knowing the lie could be nailed on their foreheads; consequently they were dumb. And it's no use for *Tribunes*, *Heralds*, and *Times* to waste printers' ink in vilifying him any more. Very soon the whole American people will have their eyes open. They have been blind, deaf, and dumb long enough; and I consider that Kearney came to this section none too soon to strike terror into the "parasites of the human race" in this miserably-governed nation.

They say he uses "bad grammar"! Well, whose fault is that? Were the heroes of Bunker Hill thorough grammarians? Were the men who boarded the ships in Boston Harbor and destroyed the tea,—or those who fell at Lexington,—were they grammarians? In State prisons you can find hundreds of splendid grammarians, college and university-bred at that.

They also say that he uses coarse and disgusting language. In the two hours that I was listening to him I heard nothing of the kind. Every word was proper, and placed in its proper place, and he struck the target every time.

He called a thief, a thief; a robber, a robber; a hypocrite, a hypocrite; a liar, a liar. This was all proper; it was calling things by their right names. If men will be only just and fair in their dealings

with one another, they will escape being called these vile names.

Christ, the *Christian's God*, but in my opinion a mere monk or ascetic,—what did he call those whom he came in contact with? Why, I consider that he outdid Kearney in calling names.

However, he is doing his allotted task. The times require just such a man; and, in my opinion, the time will come when he will be considered the savior of his race.

In speaking of gold, he said: "I hate a coward! The rankest coward I ever knew is gold! Whenever danger menaces a country, it runs away; when all danger is past, it comes sneaking back, like a nasty cur as it is; but when danger comes again, away it flies again." This I give merely from memory; and I never listened to truer words.

If Kearney, in color, were as black as ink, I would respect him after listening to him last Wednesday. And if I had his brains, I would assuredly take the field myself in the cause he is engaged in; for, in my opinion, it is a holy cause.

The people now cannot be hoodwinked any longer. Prejudice and bigotry cannot divide men any longer; at certain periods man takes a long stride forward. That is, "necessity," or natural law, compels them to progress, in spite of all opposition.

A mere insignificant tax on a cup of tea gave mental and political liberty to man a hundred years ago, and only from that date can we say that tyranny received its first repulse. Now there is a greater grievance still. It's not "tea" this time: it's bonds; it's monopolies; it's ruination; it's liberty or death. But liberty will win; it won before, and it will again.

The American people sacrificed a million of men to free an African, and they are prepared to do better to liberate themselves.

No doubt you will find this letter "ungrammatical," for I have no more education than Kearney. But if so it is not my fault, but the fault of others.

Respectfully, THOS. DUGAN.

ALBANY, Sept. 14, 1878.

[The *Cambridge Word*, in its issue for September, takes another view of Kearney, though itself a radical "Labor Reform" journal: "Seldom do we read so sensible an article as that which we copy from the *Boston Pilot*, in rebuke of Dennis Kearney, the brainless demagogue who comes from California to advise Massachusetts workmen to 'pool their issues,' forgetting that men can be permanently and effectively united only by ideas, and that to abandon ideas is to commit suicide. Kearney's opposition to the Chinese long ago branded him as a know-nothing in policy; his incoherent utterances on Massachusetts platforms show him to be a know-nothing in fact. We do not object to hard names, and nowhere can they be applied more deservedly than to American capitalists; but indiscriminate and unintelligent abuse, founded on neither sense nor reason, is a weapon that is dangerous only to those who use it. In the name of 'Labor Reform,' we protest most earnestly against its friends connecting themselves with, or in any manner countenancing, a man who can see no connection between ideas and the workingman's stomach, and denounces all reasoning beings as Utopian contractors with the man in the moon."—Ed.]

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

EDITOR INDEX:

Mr. Stevens, in THE INDEX of August 29, speaking of the woman question, says much that is true; but I must dissent from what seems almost a sneer at the "exceptional" women who have so violated Nature's purposes as to lead a public life.

Probably, if all men were good and able to provide quiet, secluded homes, and each woman could be supplied for life with a protector, Nature's plan, as indicated by Mr. Stevens, might be carried out. But the reverse of this is so obvious, that it seems cruel to put the stigma of "exceptional" or "strong-minded" on women who are necessitated (and they are not the few but the many) to labor for themselves and others. Would Mr. Stevens kindly define what he means by masculine manners? Many men, probably the majority, and many women, too, think it is masculine for a woman to talk on any other subject than dress, or the immediate worries of housekeeping. To be interested in the "Eastern Question," the "Silver Question," or the "Woman Question," is to be considered, in their estimation, a masculine woman, and much to be condemned for departing from her "heaven-appointed sphere."

Mr. Stevens rather implies that to be "exceptional" destroys the tender, domestic feelings; but it cannot be said with truth that the "strong-minded" women of this age have neglected their motherly, wifely, or sisterly duties. Miss Anthony, who has received so large a share of abuse for her ideas, certainly proved herself a womanly woman when she went to Leavenworth, several years ago, to nurse her brother through a severe and protracted illness, and edited his paper at the same time! Was she any the less sympathetic or kind because of her ability to edit the paper, as well as care for the invalid?

Nature's plans and forces are not to be so easily eradicated. More knowledge and more individual freedom for women will not do away with the institution of marriage; but, if the ideas of Herbert Spencer and his school on that subject are to prevail, the best women will hardly like to try such a dangerous experiment.

In the *Popular Science Monthly* for September, 1877, Mr. Herbert Spencer says, in an article on "Do-

mestic Retrospect and Prospect," page 521: "In respect of domestic power, the relative position of women will doubtless rise; but it seems improbable that absolute equality with men will be reached. Legal decisions from time to time demanded by marital differences, involving the question which shall yield, are not likely to reverse all past decisions. Evenly though law may balance claims, it will, as the least evil, continue to give, in case of need, supremacy to the husband, as being the more judicially minded. And, similarly, in the moral relations of married life, the preponderance of power, resulting from greater massiveness of nature, must, however unobtrusive it become, continue with the man."

Again "F." in the *Popular Science Monthly* for March, 1873, on page 559, says, in discussing the marriage contract: "Take the following set of questions: 'Shall we live on this scale or that? Shall we associate with such and such persons? Shall I, the husband, embark in such an undertaking, and shall we change our place of residence in order that I may do so? Shall we send our daughters to school or have a governess? For what profession shall we train our sons?' On these, and a thousand other such questions, the wisest and the most affectionate people might arrive at opposite conclusions. What is to be done in such a case?—for something must be done. I say the wife ought to give way. She ought to obey her husband, and carry out the view at which he deliberately arrives, just as, when the captain gives the word to cut away the masts, the lieutenant carries out his orders at once, though he may be a better seaman and disapprove them. I also say that, to regard this as a humiliation, as a wrong, or as an evil in itself, is a mark not of spirit and courage, but of a base, unworthy, mutinous disposition,—a disposition utterly subversive of all that is most worth having in life." And more to the same effect.

I am afraid "F." would regard poor Mrs. Besant as of a "base, unworthy, mutinous disposition" for daring to appeal against one of the "more judicially-minded"—namely, her husband,—to regain her child! For the recent decision in that famous case is the logical outcome of the doctrine that justice is to be a question of sex. Yours respectfully, ENON, Pa., Sept. 8, 1878. M. R. B.

A "RATIONAL CHURCH."

EDITOR OF INDEX:

I heartily endorse the views of H. Clay Neville that appeared in THE INDEX of the 6th of June, in reference to a rational Church. Liberals are greatly in need of an organization for the cultivation of their moral and ethical nature, and the encouragement of practical righteousness.

I have no doubt but there can be found among the liberals plenty of talent and earnestness to found such an organization upon sound principles.

A church wisely constructed so as to meet the needs of the nineteenth century would be a grand asylum, a refreshing and religious home for all liberals who are socially inclined.

It might be somewhat difficult to formulate a set of principles that all could accept and endorse. They could safely allow a great deal of latitude about things not absolutely demonstrable, assert the positive importance of the chief pillars of society, and make their organization a great highway of natural help to all parties journeying from old fogy ideas to the elevated plains of free thought and substantial enjoyments.

In a later number of THE INDEX, Mr. Walker, in commenting upon Mr. Neville's position, seems to think that the whole ground is covered by endeavoring to secure justice between man and man. To this we would say, there can be no question as to the importance of meting out exact justice. To enable mankind to do this most desirable thing, there are a great many auxiliary matters to be looked after; and an important one is to build up a strong character that can stand up and defiantly demand that justice be dispensed with an impartial hand.

We readily admit that all great geniuses and some strong men with cold natures can do this, and also get along very well without the aid of church organizations; but such is not the case with the great mass of men and women, who feel the need of an abundance of social encouragement.

If all the timid and faint-hearted liberals of our land could have a church where they could go and realize that it was a real home, large additions would be made to the valiant warriors for the truth, and this class would no longer be seen wending their way on Sunday to some Orthodox church (in whose creed they have no confidence) in search of social fellowship.

A few strong-minded men and women of high culture may answer as an effective entering wedge in liberating the human mind from the thralldom of superstition; but, to make a work of that kind effective, there will need to be provided suitable machinery for the mass of us to work in companies. For this reason I second the motion of Mr. Neville, and hope that at no distant day we shall realize the fulfilment of our hopes. Yours for the right, E. G. THOMAS.

IT ALWAYS PAYS to be polite. As the steamer "Magenta" was descending the Hudson River recently, being crowded with passengers, an old gentleman was unable to find a seat. A young man, noticing this, gave the old gentleman his chair and went forward. Two minutes afterward the boiler blew up and the old gentleman was killed, while the man who had given up his seat escaped unhurt.

LET PLEASURE be ever so innocent, the excess is always criminal.—St. Evremont.

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- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

National Liberal League.

CALL.

BOSTON, Sept. 13, 1878.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1-4, 1876, will be held at Wisting Opera House, Syracuse, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 26 and 27, 1878. Further particulars as to speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter.

In addition to the hearing of reports, election of officers for the ensuing year, and other ordinary business, questions of the utmost practical importance to the liberal cause will come up for decision at this Congress. Among them the following may be specified:—

1. What efficient measures can be adopted for securing a great increase in the number of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, and thereby winning for liberal ideas the public influence to which they are justly entitled?
2. Shall the National Liberal League nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the present time?
3. How can the National Liberal League most effectively promote the cause of State Secularization, and foil the schemes of those who are seeking to pervert the government to sectarian purposes? What action shall it take with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation?
4. How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?
5. Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the "obscene literature" question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?

The last two of these questions are peculiarly im-

portant at this time, and will inevitably come up for settlement by the approaching Congress. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia were as follows:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

The future growth, prosperity, and influence of the Liberal League movement will depend largely on the action to be taken by the Congress on these two questions. Any weakening of the stand taken at Philadelphia will work great and perhaps fatal disaster to the National Liberal League.

In order, therefore, that these vital questions may be fairly and wisely decided, it is recommended that all Local Leagues elect their delegates with special reference to it. The Congress will not be an irresponsible mass meeting, but a convention composed of delegates and members duly accredited, and seats for them will be reserved. Delegates from Local Leagues will receive Certificates of Membership of the Second Annual Congress by forwarding at once the proper credentials, signed by their own local officers, to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston"; charter, life, and annual members who intend to be present will receive theirs by simply forwarding their names and present addresses. These Certificates must be presented at the door and exchanged for Tickets of Admission to the reserved seats, the rest of the hall being open to the public at large. By this arrangement all confusion will be obviated. The Congress will be composed of accredited members, who alone ought to vote on questions of business affecting the League; every member will be admitted to the reserved seats; and the Committee on Membership will be enabled to make an accurate report to the Congress.

Liberals are urged everywhere to organize themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues and elect good delegates, in order to give this Congress a large local constituency and an influential delegation, and thereby to increase the weight of its decisions with the general public. The questions to be acted upon are of the gravest consequence to the whole liberal cause, and ought to be dealt with by a responsible representative body. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay, if addressed to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

By order of the Board of Directors:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*

WILLIAM H. HAMLEN, *Secretary.*

GLIMPSES.

A NEW Liberal League has just been chartered at East Dennis, on Cape Cod. It embraces many of the most influential persons of the place. Captain D. S. Chapman is President, and Mr. R. Chapman is Secretary.

WE DECLINE to be drawn into any personal controversy over the Syracuse Congress. Measures and

methods are one thing: personal assaults are a very different thing. This is no personal issue at all; it is an issue of principle, and he who resorts to personalities proves that he has no case in reason.

WE ARE CHARGED by the plotters with attempting to "capture the convention." We confess it. The plotters are doing the same thing. But the difference between them and us is this: they are trying to "capture the convention" by a conspiracy of calumnies, tricks, and shameless falsehoods; while we are trying to capture it by fair, open, and honest argument on the issues at stake, addressed to the intellects and consciences of the members, and submitted to the decision of the majority in free and public debate. Let the right prevail!

A NEW YORK correspondent writes: "Let me express now my satisfaction that you and other officers of the League have so earnestly declined to be candidates for reelection, except the Congress take a pure and many course regarding the question of freedom of thought, speech, and the press, as it affects the suppression of obscene literature in the mails. As liberals, we owe it to ourselves to take no step which leads not in the direction of purity, and we must be sure our every weapon is untarnished. We seek *liberty*, but not at the expense of *honesty* or *purity*. With sincere hopes that the Congress may be wise and courageous," etc.

THE BOSTON *Advertiser* of Sept. 30 had this editorial paragraph: "The second annual congress of the National Liberal League, whose object is 'to secularize the republic,'—that is, to remove from the laws and the Constitution all recognition of religious obligation,—is to be held in Syracuse late in October. The congress is threatened with a schism; the conservative wing now holding the organization, Mr. Francis E. Abbot of Boston, president, desiring a great modification of the laws relating to obscene literature, and a stricter definition of what constitutes 'obscenity'; the radical, or extreme free-love wing, seeking the immediate and total repeal of all laws restraining the publication and distribution of obscene books. Mr. Abbot and his friends charge the free-lovers with a purpose to Butlerize the league, by means of a secret movement to surprise and capture it. And the summons has gone forth to all the members who wish to save the 'liberal cause' from such a suicidal fate to be ready for the contest."

THE PUBLIC ought to understand the spirit of the men who are trying to force the National Liberal League to abandon its former position in favor of "reform" and take a new departure in favor of "repeal." The *Truth Seeker* unblushingly accuses us of "fabricating" and "concocting" the private letter we quoted in our issue of September 19,—of making deliberately "false" statements on the same subject,—of "threatening" the League,—of intending to refuse certificates of membership to all delegates except those who will vote for us,—of being about to "steal an office,"—of meaning to "pack the convention" and "put it in our pocket,"—of "forestalling its action,"—of "dictating," etc., etc. It declares explicitly that our position on the Comstock laws "unfits" us for the office we now hold, and nominates Hon. Elizur Wright for our successor—as if, forsooth, our faithful and honored friend did not take substantially the same position! Such absurd slanders, considering their source, are simply beneath contempt. We only refer to them as transparent proofs of the plot which we have exposed, and proofs of the rage into which exposure has thrown the plotters. They remind us of what Mazzini wrote, in reference to similar slanders against himself: "It was a terrible revelation to me of the future of base suspicion, distrust, and calumny, reserved for those who, in all purity of soul and faith in others, consecrate their lives to any great undertaking."

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

"The Free-Religious Movement: ITS PAST AND FUTURE."

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY OF BOSTON, SUNDAY MORNING, SEPT. 8, 1878. BY FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY.

It is a very interesting fact when you think of it, friends, that the great ocean steamers, and even those of smaller make, which ply along our shores, never mark their courses by objects external to themselves, but carry within, in their charts and compasses, the internal evidences of their position. That chart and compass—the latter originally invented outside Christianity—what important things they are! On the voyage from New York to Liverpool the question is not, Where is this place, or that place? the question is, What does the chart say? what does the compass say? Without these, navigation would be aimless drifting; with them, it is intelligent progress. I think the time has come when we may do well to take our bearings in the free-religious movement; to look into the internal evidences of our condition; to ask not, Where is Orthodoxy, where Unitarianism? but Where are we? What are we doing to enable man to perfect himself? What to enable humanity to perfect itself? In other words, I ask you to consider the past and future of free religion. First, of the past: What has our movement done? Of course the causes which produced what is called free religion are very subtle, and extend very far back. In the evolution of ideas always going on, never sudden, but logical and sure, the time always comes when some upheaval, some outward convulsion, seems to challenge public attention. Such challenge is usually considered the beginning, the birth of the idea. In reality it is only the occasion which called it forth. Now the occasion which summoned the free-religious idea to the front, and gave to it an organized form, was a certain drawing-in of the more liberal sects, and especially the adoption by the Unitarian body at Syracuse, in the year 1868, of an article of faith affirming the Lordship of Jesus Christ. This article or preamble was as follows:—"Whereas the great opportunities and demands for Christian labor and consecration at this time increase our sense of the obligations of all disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ to prove their faith by self-denial, and by the devotion of their lives and possessions to the service of God and the building up of the kingdom of his Son; therefore," etc. The latent fire of religious liberty slumbering in many a bosom needed only such an act to fan it into a brisk flame; and, whatever may have been the quiet, unnoticed tendencies before, from that time on the work of disintegration was apparent to all eyes. Mr. Frothingham, in his opening speech as president of the meeting held in Boston, May 30, 1867, at which the Free Religious Association was organized, in voicing the prevailing sentiment, used these words: "It has been said lately that the time for a new religious departure has come; that the old parties in Christendom have drawn within their lines; that the doors are open by which people from the outside can come in; but they are not doors by which people from the inside can go out; and that the time has come, therefore, for a new departure." Mr. Weiss, at a more recent meeting of the association, said: "I felt perfectly free in Unitarianism up to a certain point. That fatal point came with the National Convention of Unitarians at Syracuse. I do not believe there is a man on this platform who would not, to-day, be a zealous inmate of the Unitarian church if it had not been for that one thing." But the one thing took place, and the Unitarian body was rent in twain. From that hour on it lost some of its ablest thinkers, and a large and constantly increasing number of its rank and file. The same process was going on in Spiritualism, Universalism, among the Quakers,—in fact, everywhere,—and free religion has received large contributions from all quarters, not excluding Orthodoxy, although Unitarianism was originally, and is still, its chief source of supply; so that, whether looking back to its first and silent causes, or to the

occasion which gave them public exhibition, free religion is seen to have been primarily a protest against ecclesiasticism and dogma. So long as it was the revolt of isolated individuals, and for some time after there was a degree of concert of action, it kept this form. But there was that in its nature which went beyond mere negation. The men who dissented when the church issued its decrees were positive men, with positive ideals and positive everyday lives. It was not enough for them, the throwing off the yoke of sectarian tyranny; they were more than ready to become willing servants of the free spirit; and so the constructive work began. Seeing the pulpit in chains, free religion said, We must have a free platform. That of itself meant a revolution. Church government had permitted a certain degree of freedom, but had always set somewhere a limit. You must recognize the divinity of Christ, said one creed. You must recognize his Lordship, said another. You must preach total depravity, said one. You must preach religion, not politics or reform, said another. The popular minister had come to be one who could talk learnedly of the past without troubling the present; mumble over the old phrases without much regard to their significance; and "compound for sins his congregation were inclined to by damning those they had no mind to." Of course the more polished such a pulpit, the better it reflected the sins of the pews. The expounding of Scripture texts, the creation of the world, the original fall of man, and all the suggestive topics, under the preaching of which many a good old soul slept away a comfortable half-hour—or the stern berating of dead men for sins supposed to have died with them—were, perhaps, equally harmless and prolific subjects of discourse; and if now and then some brave man ventured to hold a conviction, or to express a sentiment, inconsistent with the business of one brother, or the prejudices of another, he was speedily turned upon the world with neither food nor shelter. But following the brave lead of Theodore Parker, and in some respects bettering his teaching, as coming later in the history of thought it was bound to do, free religion started on a new basis. It threw away all the gags; it recognized but one leader, the spirit of truth; it insisted upon the right of private judgment; it taught each man to say, The only supreme authority, the court of final appeal for me, is my conscience. Uniformity of belief is of no consequence, it said; individual liberty of thought and respectful toleration for all,—these are of the first importance. So when it puts a man upon its platform, wherever that platform may be, he stands there, not the representative of a creed nor of any kind of church organization; he is simply his own representative, and speaks with the authority of his own conscientious convictions—that is all. He stands there for the moment God's mouthpiece, and shame upon him if he refuses to give the truth struggling for utterance! Of course there has always been, there will in the nature of things always be, dissent. Some incline to metaphysics, some to art, some to science, some to charity, some to reform. Free religion, at its best, has aimed to minister to all these; it has said all will be better for having a share of each than for being overloaded with any one, even though it be the best. Its ideal has been as broad as the universe, as comprehensive as human needs. Let no man complain; let all rejoice, rather, if its best friends have endeavored to make its platform so broad that it could speak one day of thought, another of deeds; one day of nature, another of art; one day of the aspiring spirit, another of the practical life. It would have been false to its mission, it would have been an imitator rather than a reformer of pulpits, had it refused to any question, coming with an honest thought and a decent respect for good morals, a respectful hearing. It has been more than Christian; that is to say, it has not limited itself to the Christian name or to Christian ideas, but I verily believe that if Jesus Christ were to come upon the earth to-day and preach as he preached when here, it would be, with only one or two exceptions (and these outside the church), the only platform where he would be welcomed. In this essential it is in a marked degree the platform of universal religion; for it would not only welcome Jesus,—it would welcome Zoroaster and Confucius and Buddha. It has revealed the world to itself. Why it never entered the heads of our fathers, it enters but a small minority of Christian heads to-day, that there can be anything worthy outside Christianity,—a system entirely unknown to a large majority of the earth's inhabitants. At this late hour it has been discovered that there really are points of merit in the old civilizations, and that three-fourths of the human race have not been left, as was at one time supposed, without some witness to the truth which has given life to all systems, and is greater than all. One man discovers that modern civilization is not exclusively, or even chiefly, the product of Christianity, but that Mohammedanism has had much more to do with it. Another finds that in Japan there is, in some respects, absolute superiority as compared with us. One after another of the points on which Christianity has been made to appear superior are shown to be errors. No one can tell where the process will stop, but it has already gone far enough to show that many other religions are worthy to stand by its side. The spiritual element in Brahmanism, the golden rule of Confucianism, the commandments of Buddhism, the sense of justice in Zoroastrianism,—these are not the darkness of a heathen night, they are the clear light of an aspiring noonday. But for free religion we might have gone on to this day in blissful ignorance of the impertinence of our missionary enterprises. We have been startled out of our egotism and self-conceit by finding that "the heathen" can teach us some things in return for what we may teach them; and we shall henceforth speak with greater respect and greater truth of the honest beliefs of people who can worship purely and live nobly without ever having heard of us

or our system. Still, free religion does not necessarily reject Christianity. It only takes out of it its exclusiveness; it only places it side by side with its sister systems; it recognizes the weaknesses and evils in all systems, but it especially seeks the good in all. No pulpit ever did that; no pulpit ever did justice to the elder brothers of the great Nazarene. But free religion, with its free platform and its spirit of free inquiry, has done that. It has sent its divers into the ocean of history, and they have brought up to the astonished gaze of mankind the pearls of centuries. When the human mind conceives for the first time that instead of one system of religion we have a dozen, instead of one Christ we have nobody can tell how many, its horizon recedes, its vision broadens; it makes one feel that he is living in a greater world, and is himself a sublimer fact in the universe. Every additional great soul forms a new link in the chain of humanity which binds all souls together, and all souls to the soul of things.

It has been said that free religion destroys worship. I think, on the contrary, it has in this very way opened to us the only true worship possible. Does a man stand before the Unknown with less of awe and reverence because he finds that truth and love have had ten times as many prophets and forms as he had supposed? Verily, he must be cold indeed who could worship less because there was a Socrates and a Buddha as well as a Jesus. That free religion has broken in upon the old idea of worship is unquestionably true. It has taught us to dislike the Church's forms, its stated prayers, its meaningless recital of phrases, its crude symbolisms; but it has never denied that there was a good idea prompting them. And so it has tried to do, and to some extent has succeeded in doing, in its way, what Church religion has done for man in its way. It has undertaken to substitute, for the Church's superstitious and formal worship, a rational and spontaneous worship. In regard to prayer, it says, if I mistake not, with substantial unanimity, that one person cannot, at a stated moment, express rationally and spontaneously in prayer the mood of a congregation. It further says that there can be no propriety in addressing prayer to a particular source; for if the one addressed have a real existence, it is certain he will not give simply for the asking, because that is not the way in which things come in this world. Prayer, rightly understood, is—is it not?—the human feeling after the divine—the human everywhere feeling after the divine everywhere. My religion wants to do its own praying,—wants me to pray for myself; not in words, but in ceaseless aspiration after all that is true and beautiful and good. So, to me, it rules out public prayer as ordinarily understood, and considers the putting of prayer into words often an impossibility. Prayer may be put into deeds, it says; rarely into words. This, I apprehend, is largely the free-religious view, also. But it does not follow, because prayer in its usual acceptation be rejected, that sentiment and devotion must be rejected too; and free religion can, and it seems to me does, elevate these into their proper places, and so really makes them easier and more natural than before. There is a reaching out of the soul, a feeling after something higher and better than it has known. It may or may not recognize a God, but it recognizes a divine ideal toward which it would ever tend; it longs to be true, to be noble, to be itself divine. Lowell has beautifully expressed it:

Of all the myriad moods of mind
That through the soul come thronging,
Which one was e'er so dear, so kind,
So beautiful as longing?
The thing we long for, that we are,
For one transient moment,
Before the present, poor and bare,
Can make its sneering comment.

Still, through our paltry stir and strife,
Grows down the wished ideal,
And longing moulds in clay what life
Carves in the marble real;
To let the new life in, we know
Desire must open the portal;
Perhaps the longing to be so
Helps make the soul immortal.

Longing is God's fresh, heavenward will
With our poor earthward striving;
We quench it that we may be still
Content with merely living;
But would we learn that heart's full scope
Which we are hourly wronging,
Our lives must climb from hope to hope,
And realize our longing.

Ah! let us hope that to our praise
Good God not only reckons
The moments when we tread his ways,
But when the spirit beckons,
That some slight good is also wrought,
Beyond self-satisfaction,
When we are simply good in thought,
Howe'er we fall in action.

That's the attitude of the devout spirit; that is true prayer: not a mumbering of meaningless words, not empty phrases thrown into space, but the outpouring of a sincere, earnest soul, which would lift itself to the level of its own purest conceptions. So far from this kind of prayer, or aspiration, if you prefer so to call it, being in any way inconsistent with free religion, it seems to me free religion has made it possible, by pointing from the outward form to the inward spirit; by substituting for the false gods of the old faiths an intelligent, just, and loving Creator, or First-Cause. Evangelical prophets say free religion cannot worship. It can worship better than Orthodoxy. It cannot sing Moody and Sankey hymns, I admit; indeed, it can sing but few Unitarian hymns without some mental reservation; but, thanks to its poetic spirits, it bids fair, sooner or later, to have hymns which it can sing with the understanding. Its ideal is not to sing itself away to everlasting bliss; but it finds much bliss in singing. It will be hard work, while it has an aspiring soul to deal with, while it has among its adherents reverent minds and warm hearts for its materialistic friends, or its not less materialistic

though more pretentious enemies, to show that it has not the elements which need worship, and will find it in a healthy, rational way.

But free religion has not only given us a free platform, and shown us the way to true worship, it has also enlarged—not completed, but enlarged—the application of the idea of universal brotherhood. The spirit in which it has investigated the several systems of religion has done more towards binding mankind together in an all-embracing love than the preaching of doctrine and dogma could ever do. Its discovery of the underlying principles of life in nearly all of them has created a bond of sympathy which will grow in strength and beauty as the years roll on. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," said Jesus. To the astonished gaze of the Church, free religion answers, We match that with a saying of his elder brother, Confucius: "What ye do not wish done to yourself, do not do to others." Jesus said again, "Ye have heard that it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." And free religion calls upon another elder brother, Buddha, so-called, who answers in the same spirit: "Let a man overcome anger by love; let him overcome evil by good. Hatred ceases by love." Yes, echoes Confucius again, "Benevolence is to love all men."

What a world of wealth has thus been revealed outside Christendom! "The good man loves all men; all within the four seas are his brothers."—That is Chinese. "To the noble the whole world is a family."—That is Hindu. "O blessed God! pardon my offences against thee, even as I pardon those done against myself."—That is Persian. Let Jesus and Buddha meet, says one. Let all men, regardless of religious differences, meet, says free religion, in the spirit of brotherhood. America has abolished all distinctions of color; free religion has abolished all distinctions of theology; and, so far as these go, mankind are brought into more harmonious relations with each other. Nothing could be more exclusive than the old idea that the saints were all inside Christianity, and the heathen all outside. It was a clique right in the midst of the family. But free religion has taken the scales from our eyes. Behold, she says, your brothers, your peers—human as you are, divine as you are! Extend the brotherly grasp to India, to Japan, to China, to Egypt, to Greece, to Persia, all round the globe; for, as a Roman brother has said, "We are all members of one great body, and Nature has implanted in us mutual love." That sounds more like a breath of the pure air of heaven than the murky atmosphere of tabernacles can furnish. Imagine Seneca, imagine any one of the world's real leaders, imagine Jesus himself, condemning as sinners all who would not accept not only their own form of religion, but some special interpretation of it. They had better employment. They were contemplating truth; and, whatever may have been their practices, they announced principles that were universal in their application. "What a fall was there, my countrymen!" down to the narrowness of modern evangelical teaching. The brotherhood of the saints (and we the saints at that) was all Orthodoxy ever saw.

Think of Jesus, the man who mingled with fallen women, urging them as a brother to rise to a higher standard of virtue, but recognizing always that they were sinned against as well as sinning—think of him, giving over one hundred lectures, with preludes, in the city of Boston, and, after having passed the one-hundredth, denouncing the efforts of several honest women to have illegitimate children considered legitimate in the eye of the law, to the end that they and their mothers might, if they chose, have some recognized legal claim upon the fathers!

This idea of crushing sinners, so popular in certain quarters—why, one would think to hear it talked that we were not all sinners! Where is the immaculate man? "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." Who has ever seen even an Orthodox saint free from sin? Who has ever seen the most denounced of sinners without some hidden virtue? In that idea is born and nourished the principle of universal brotherhood. We don't half see it yet, but free religion has taken down the worse than Chinese wall which had been built about Christianity, and has shown us the outside heathen; and, lo, they are men and women much like ourselves, with many faults and many virtues like us, but quite worthy to stand by our side as members of a common family.

All honor to the mother who has given us, her children, such an inheritance of freedom to think, to worship, and to love. Even when we criticize her and recognize her weaknesses, we must not, cannot, forget the work she has done. Her past is as secure as Webster said the past of Massachusetts was. But has she a future? That depends entirely upon whether she can perform the duties of the future. She can go on, she will go on, opening more and more of religious history to us. There is much which she may still do in developing rational methods of worship. All this will be but completing the work which she has largely done. But there is an imperative call for something more than that; can she answer it in such a way as to justify her continued existence?

There are, it seems to me, two signs of weakness in the free-religious movement which may prove fatal to its highest future usefulness. They are fear of organization and fear of unpopular causes.

There is a class of thinkers who feel that there is infinite danger in any organized effort; that the most and the best we can do is to retire within the chambers of our own souls, and make, each one himself, clean. They say to do anything else is to imply a lack of faith in God's ability to run this world. It

places each of us in the immensely egotistic position of supposing that our little efforts are in some way essential to the well-being of mankind. Why be so impatient? they cry. Have faith in the integrity of things, and wait the slow but sure processes of evolution. Have faith? I confess I haven't faith enough to do nothing and wait. I believe, let me say it reverently, I believe I am necessary to the running of this universe. You and I are placed here, not as lookers on; we are a part of the great plan. If we fail, the humblest of us, to do the duty with which we are charged, if we fail to utter the truth coming to us for expression, or to personify the principle which would take possession of our lives, the universe suffers. No, we are not irresponsible spectators at a great show; we are delineators and actors on a stage where the curtain never falls and the duties never cease. Besides, talk about trusting to evolution! Evolution is not an isolated fact; it includes all facts. Revolution is a part of evolution. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, thunder-storms,—these are as necessary parts of evolution as the quiet growth of rocks, the unseen changes in ocean-beds, and the calm shining of the sun. And who shall dare say, when some volcano of pent-up moral force bursts forth, when some great upheaval of corrupt institutions takes place, or the thunder and lightning of some righteous indignation descends to clear a foul atmosphere of sin and shame,—who shall dare say that these, too, are not parts of that system of evolution by which ideas are developing in all ages, and truth and justice and love are taking on new and more beautiful forms? I have no fear of being a little aggressive. I do not think I shall lose all modesty if I stand before the world in such a way that it may see what manner of man I am. Emerson says: "It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who, in the midst of the crowd, keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude." Ought we not all of us to aim at such greatness as that? I confess, therefore, I do not share the fear entertained by some, that if free-religion organizes it will meet the fate of all its predecessors. It will be unworthy to meet their fate if it remains simply an abstract thought. First spirit, then form; first purpose, then a deed; first thought, then a life. Such seems to be the ever-present, never-varying law. The battle of ideas precedes the battle of arms; but ideas naturally clothe themselves in customs, institutions, laws. It is not enough that the truth be proclaimed; it must be carried into every department of life, or rather every department of life must be lifted up to it. It is folly for the man of deeds to say, I will have nothing to do with dreaming and idealizing; it is equal folly for the man of ideas to say, I fear to have my thought organized. The thought which cannot stand organization is worthless. "By their fruits," said Jesus, "ye shall know them." The fruit of free thought and pure love is organized justice, integrity, equity. And suppose the free religious movement should prove like other sects and systems of the earth, earthy, and in time be succeeded by something higher and better than itself, what harm would come? Orthodoxy was once the body in which the spirit of liberty manifested itself; Unitarianism followed it; and now comes free religion. So liberty lives and grows, as live and grow it must, what matters it whether this or that form lives or dies? As I read history, each of these forms proves its right to be by the fidelity with which it practicalizes the highest ideals of liberty and love. When they cease to do that, they die. And if free religion shall think to sit cozily in the tapestried halls of metaphysics, leaving all the other departments in the human dwelling unacquainted with its presence, it will only the sooner pass away, for its work will be the sooner done. Even so if it shall strive to save its life for its own sake, it shall lose it; but if it shall lose its life for justice and the rights of man, it shall find it in an assured immortality. So after its years of magnificent thinking, and now that it has done nearly all it can to proclaim religious liberty to the world, it seems to me that the time has come for it to do more. So I welcome organized free-religious effort; I welcome it as the logical, inevitable result of clear, earnest thought, as the fruit which shows the worth of the vitalizing sap within the tree's trunk and branches.

The other danger, and more disastrous in its results than the fear of organization, though in some respects growing out of it, is the fear of, or disinclination to deal with, crude and unpopular questions. Has free religion anything to do with the facts of every-day life right about us? Has it any conceivable connection with the evils mankind suffer, and the better conditions to which all aspire? If so, pray tell me upon what subject can it be silent? Can it see political injustice and corruption and say nothing? Can it close its eyes to the suffering and wrong surrounding it on every hand? Can it acquiesce, even by its silence, in mercantile knavery and the triumph of iniquity at the polls? Has it no word, no deed of sympathy for the great, perishing classes, begotten in sin, surrounded by sin, destined, many of them, to die in sin? Can it not hear Oliver Twist asking for more? Has it no heart to respond to the good in Nancy Sykes? Is it not ready to make the cause of justice and mercy its own? If not, its name belies it. If its virtue is such as "turns from dirty stockings" and joins hands with "vice married to ribbons and a little gay attire," I know not why we should call it religion. I know not why it is much superior to the spurious article the churches have been dealing out to us in the years which have gone.

Mr. Phillips says the philosophy of free religion is like some great machine which, though beautiful to look upon, won't work. When he renders this judgment he has in mind parlor-clubs of a select few, dreaming of metaphysics, of art, and sometimes of technical science, and a platform which guards itself somewhat tenderly from what it considers crude and

unpopular questions; and if he judged from sufficient data his conclusion would be correct. But I sincerely believe that free religion is infinitely broader and more inclusive than its leaders. That is to say, the principle of free religion reaches deeper, extends farther, and lifts itself higher than any one man or set of men can interpret it. While our people are talking of the survival of the fittest, they often forget to consider how they may make all fit to survive. Let me not be misunderstood. I don't believe that free religion is, or ever will be, a special reformer. I believe it is naturally a universal reformer; in other words, that its principles, thoroughly and practically applied, would give us universal reform. Every sin committed, and every wrong suffered is in violation of the fundamental truths of religion as promulgated by the free-religious movement. Take Mr. Abbot's definition of religion, which most of us accept: Religion is the effort of man to perfect himself. To perfect himself, the individual needs the freest possible use of all educational advantages; but the laboring classes, so-called, don't get that. Woman is debarred from very many such influences, and the criminal classes are thrown almost entirely outside of them. Now the world is full of specialists—labor-reformers, woman-suffragists, prison-reformers, educational reformers; they are all doing a good work, all honor to them, but so far as they are specialists they see but their one pet idea. I do not criticize them; if they cannot see any more, let us be thankful that they see so much. But the free religionist, accepting as a fundamental principle that religion is the effort of man to perfect himself, and applying his principle fearlessly, must be in favor of removing any obstacle from the path of labor which prevents the laborer's perfecting himself; any obstacle from the path of woman which prevents her perfecting herself; and so on through the whole list of impediments. So that, in a broad, philosophical sense, reaching down to the roots of things, and looking up and on to the eternal verities, free religion is prison-reform, woman's-rights reform, etc., all in one.

The time was when men accepted the disappointments, the sins, the inequalities of life as inevitable, as being the work of an inscrutable Providence, beyond human control and without human sympathy and love. Happily, that time has gone by. It has dawned upon the human mind that there are great laws ever present and ceaselessly operative; obedience to which establishes individual and national security and happiness; disobedience to which results in individual and national conflict and misery. It is now seen that ignorance of these laws is a great, perhaps the great cause of suffering and crime, and that the way to elevate the race is to lead it to a knowledge of their character and working. Seeing, for example, men rolling in gutters, slaves to their appetites, and establishing and maintaining houses of prostitution, slaves to their passions, the enlightened mind says these men are the victims of ignorance of the laws of being; their education in that department has been neglected; and, worse still, they are the victims of an unnaturally large physical, and an unnaturally small moral, development. What they need is the science of a new life. Seeing, still further, how some men grasp and draw into themselves the good fortunes of life, crowding and crushing, in the process, men less shrewd and aggressive,—seeing, as the result of this, abject poverty on the one hand, and abnormal and dangerous accumulations of wealth on the other, it says men are ignorant of how to live in right relations, and what they need is to learn the science of industrial and social justice. Seeing yet again the low idea of woman, inherited by us from barbarism, and only partially relieved of its barbarous elements,—seeing that in work, in education, in the home, in the State, woman is regarded as subordinate to man, dependent on him, and minister to his real and supposed wants, without a separate individuality of her own to be respected in all departments and violated in none, it says men are ignorant in their sex-prejudices, and many women are ignorant also in their sex-prejudices; and what all need is to be educated into the science of a purer liberty and love,—an education without which the true state is impossible, and the home, which should be the divinest spot on earth, but a mockery and a sham.

Seeing all these things, and more, the enlightened conscience of to-day says what the individual, society, the State needs is a broad and comprehensive education into the science of equity. That is the effort of man to perfect himself, is it not? and that is religion. Is there any more pressing duty at this hour than to study and comprehend this science? Why should we try to comprehend other planets if we understand not the forces which govern our own? Why should we speculate about the hereafter if we have more than we can do to discharge our duties in the here? Why should we, how can we, love God, whom we have not seen, if we cannot love our brother-man whom we have seen?

Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Unitarianism, never believed in universal freedom and brotherhood; therefore, they could not do this work. But we, the disciples of free religion, believe in them; therefore we can do it, and, because we can do it, ought to do it. Mr. Phillips thinks the philosophy of our movement won't work. I think it's just the philosophy that will work. But it depends upon human agencies to apply it. Send a whiff of it into your halls of legislation, to teach your law-makers that women have some individual rights which men are bound to respect. Let it lift your criminal code to a higher level of justice and mercy; let it purify your politics, and infuse into your industries more of the spirit of cooperation. In a word, let it aim to establish equity; let it help all men, regardless of condition, race, or sex, to perfect themselves. This is the work, as mighty as any the world has known, to which it is summoned. Are we ready to undertake it, and live? Or shall we pass it

by on the other side, and die? That is the question for us to answer. For one, believing profoundly in the philosophy of free religion, and believing that it is adequate to the momentous task before us, I reject all timid leadership, I criticize all wavering, I urge to a brave and hopeful consecration to the new cause. By such consecration we shall lose nothing of self-culture; we shall only strike down nearer to the foundation principles of all strong and beautiful character. For—

"Deeper than all sense of seeing
Lies the secret source of being;
And the soul with truth agreeing
Learns to live in thoughts and deeds;
For the life is more than raiment,
And the earth is pledged for payment
Unto man for all his needs.

"Nature is our common mother,
Every living man our brother,
Therefore let us serve each other;
Not to meet the law's behests,
But because through cheerful giving
We shall learn the art of living;
And to live and serve is best.

"Life is more than what man fancies;
Not a game of idle chances;
But it steadily advances
Up the rugged heights of time,
Till each complex web of trouble,
Every sad hope's broken bubble,
Hath a meaning most sublime.

"More of practice, less profession;
More of firmness, less concession;
More of freedom, less oppression,
In the Church and in the State.
More of life, and less of fashion;
More of love, and less of passion;
That will make us good and great.

"When true hearts dignely gifted,
From the chaff of error sifted,
On their crosses are uplifted,
Shall the world most clearly see
That earth's greatest time of trial
Calls for holy self-denial,—
Calls on men to do and be.

"But forever and forever,
Let it be the soul's endeavor
Love from hatred to discover;
And in whatsoever we do,
Won by truth's eternal beauty
To our highest sense of duty
Evermore be firm and true."

—Commonwealth.

THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH.

The right of free speech always has to be vindicated in connection with an unpopular cause—often in connection with opinions most absurd and injurious. The right to express the opinions which are universally or generally believed is never called in question. It is the new opinion, which, arraiging some popular institution or ancient belief, startles the prejudices or awakens the fears of men, and tempts them to forget or disregard the fundamental principles of a free State. The liberty of speech in this country includes the right to utter folly as well as wisdom, to vindicate injustice as well as justice, to advocate (not practise) vice as well as virtue, and to expose every institution of human society to the most thorough examination; and the man who is not ready to vindicate that right in the person of one whose opinions he rejects and even scorns is unfaithful to liberty. We utterly detest the doctrine of "free love"; the very phrase is inexpressibly odious in its associations and suggestions. But we cannot deny the constitutional right of men to entertain that doctrine, and to vindicate it by argument; and we do not hesitate to affirm that the country cannot afford to sacrifice the freedom of speech and the press even to suppress that abominable sentiment. It used to fill our soul with unspeakable indignation and disgust to hear men, in the name of Christ and the Bible, assert the right of property in man, the right to work men without wages and sell them on the auction-block. The doctrine is one that strikes at the very foundations of morality, public and private, and tends to destroy the family and make society a hell. We believe that the immoralities which are troubling the country at the present time, the frauds, speculations, defalcations, and thefts that so amaze and shock us, are to a large extent the natural fruit of the evil seed sown by pulp and press for several successive generations in supporting and apologizing for slavery. But the abolitionists never dreamed of suppressing that odious doctrine by law; they knew too well the value of a free press, and felt too sure of their power, under God, to meet and overthrow the odious doctrine by argument, and put its champions to flight. They even rejoiced when the advocates of slavery essayed to vindicate the system by appeals to reason. And so we say now in regard to the doctrine of "free love." Let its champions have the utmost liberty of speech. Give them no chance to win sympathy as martyrs to the freedom of the press. Give them fair play; above all, don't tell lies about them. The louder they talk, the easier will be the task of refuting them! They may even help us to a higher appreciation of the beauties and blessings of the family by stimulating us to re-examine its foundations and correct its abuses. It may be admitted that Mr. Heywood's pamphlet is as offensive to a rightly cultivated moral sense as Professor Stuart's vindication of the fugitive slave-law, or "South side Adams's" apologies for man-stealing; but there is no more need of the terrors of a prison in the one case than in the others.

We submit that the Christian Union owes a frank apology, first to the officers and promoters of the Faneuil Hall meeting for grossly (however unwittingly) misrepresenting them; and, secondly, to its own readers for misleading them upon an important public question. What it owes to us for needed correction and discipline, administered at some sacrifice of time and space on our part, its own generous impulses will no doubt suggest; if not, it will be of no consequence. It will be our sufficient reward to

remember that we came to the defence of men misrepresented and maligned by a religious newspaper. It too often happens that the men whose professional function it is to preach repentance to their fellow-men are of all others the most reluctant to exercise that wholesome virtue. But the Christian Union, we are sure, is not of that sort. It will, we doubt not, promptly and gladly make amends for the wrong it has done in unjustly and cruelly stigmatizing as champions of obscenity the brave vindicators of the freedom of the press.—*Oliver Johnson, in the Orange (N.J.) Journal, Sept. 14.*

[The above noble defence of free speech, especially the sentence we have italicized, deserves to be printed in golden letters. The cause of enlightened liberty and the cause of sound public morality are alike indebted to Mr. Johnson for his brave and ringing words.—Ed.]

OLIVER JOHNSON'S TRIBUTE TO ELIZUR WRIGHT.

MR. WRIGHT FAVORS "REFORM" OF THE COMSTOCK LAWS, IF IT CAN BE MADE EFFECTIVE BY A STRICT DEFINITION.

And now let us turn from the resolutions to the speeches of the Faneuil Hall meeting, and see if they furnish any evidence that the people by whom it was conducted were contending for the right to print and circulate obscenity. The proceedings are before us in a pamphlet of sixty-eight pages, containing a photographic report of all that was said and done. It is natural to turn, first of all, to the address of the president, who is supposed to be selected as a fit expositor of the aims and purposes of the meeting. And who is he? He is a man who brought to the platform, along with his white hair and venerable presence, the record of a spotless life. He bears a name which deserves to be always spoken with respect, if not with reverence—ELIZUR WRIGHT. In his young manhood he was Professor of Mathematics in the Western Reserve College, where he was the honored and beloved associate of the peerless President Storrs, whose memory is embalmed in one of Whittier's finest lyrics. When the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1833, he was appointed its Corresponding Secretary. He filled that office through the darkest days of the anti-slavery conflict, when the Abolitionists perilled their reputation, their property, and their lives in defence of the right of free speech, and when "chief priest and ruler" were combined to crush them to the earth. The annual reports of that Society for many of its earlier years are an enduring monument of his masterly vigor as a writer as well as of his fearless independence and unswerving devotion to the cause of human freedom. He was, moreover, editor of the *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, the *Emancipator*, and the other publications of the society, and the associate of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, of Garrison, Whittier, and Jay. Subsequently he was the translator of *La Fontaine's Fables* and editor of the *Chronotype*; and later still, for several years, the trusted Commissioner of Life Insurance in Massachusetts. He has reared a large family in virtue and honor, and is a man of tried integrity in every relation of life. He is the only one of all the officers of the Faneuil Hall meeting whom we personally know; but his name alone was to us a sufficient guaranty that the objects of that meeting were honorable, and that it was in no way intended to support or countenance the unspeakable nastiness of obscene literature. The moral tone of his speech is pure and bracing. He says: "Nobody here doubts that there is such a thing as obscenity in literature and art, and that it is a bad thing." Then, after referring to the State law for the suppression of such literature, he says: "Nobody comes here to complain of that law, or to justify that literature. Nobody would have come here, if loose and careless Federal legislation had not been used to prosecute, proscribe, and punish honest freedom of opinion. Nobody here, I think, would object to a law regulating the transmission of literature through the mails, if it could so define obscenity as not to exclude a great portion of our most valuable literature, including the Bible, and so as not to violate the true and constitutional liberty of the press."

These observations of the president, which are understood to have been assented to by those present, mark with unmistakable clearness the distinction drawn by the meeting between the admitted right of Government to suppress obscene literature, and the wrong of so perverting a law enacted for that purpose as to make it an instrument to "prosecute, proscribe, and punish honest freedom of opinion." Mr. Wright also took occasion to say: "I believe the family is the foundation of the State; and the perfection of the family is the union for life, on terms of perfect equality, of one man with one woman." Is this a plea for obscenity?—*Orange (N.J.) Journal, Sept. 14.*

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNIVERSE.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science is now in session in St. Louis, where a hundred or more of the prominent savans of the country are gathered. Professor Newcomb, the retiring president, delivered an address on Thursday, the subject of which it is not very easy to state concisely. It had reference to the great discussion now in progress between the scientific men and the theologians as to whether all natural phenomena are the result of a working will in accordance with a foreordained design, or the product of blindly-working laws. He did not attempt to determine the question, but rather to define carefully the limitation by which scientific men as such are confined in considering the problem. The key-note of the address was the proposition that science concerns itself only with phenomena and the relations which connect them, and does not take ac-

count of any questions which do not in some way admit of being brought to the test of experience. The body of the address was devoted to a clear setting forth and illustration of this proposition, carefully discriminating the processes by which the scientific man must work from those the speculative philosophers may employ. The points of his argument and the suggestions which followed naturally from it are summed up in the concluding portion very carefully by Professor Newcomb himself, as follows:—

"First. When men study the operations of the world around them, they find that certain of those operations are determined by knowable antecedent conditions, and go on with that blind disregard of consequences which they call law. They also find certain other operations which they are unable thus to trace to the operation of law."

"Secondly. Men attribute this latter class to anthropomorphic beings, or gods having the power to bring about changes in Nature, and having certain objects, worthy or ignoble, in view, which they thus endeavor to compass. Men also believe themselves able to discern these objects, and thus to explain the operations which bring them about. The objects aimed at by these supernatural beings are worthy or ignoble, according to the state of society; in ancient times they were often the gratification of the silliest pride or the lowest lusts."

"Thirdly. As knowledge advances, one after another of these operations are found to be really determined by law, the only difficulty being that the law was before unknown or not comprehended, or that the circumstances which determined its action were too obscure or too complex to be fully grasped by the mind."

"Fourthly. Final causes having thus, one by one, disappeared from every thicket which has been fully explored, the question arises whether they now have, or ever had, any existence at all. On the one hand it may be claimed that it is unphilosophical to believe in them when they have been sought in vain in every corner into which light can penetrate. On the other hand we have the difficulty of accounting for these very laws by which we find the course of Nature to be determined. Take, as a single example, the law of hereditary descent; how did such a law, or rather, how did such a process, for it is a process, first commence? If this is not as legitimate a subject for inquiry as the question, How came the hand, the eye, or the first germ into existence? It is only because it seems more difficult to investigate. If, as the most advanced scientific philosophy teaches, creation is itself but a growth, how did that growth originate? We here reach the limits of the scientific field, on ground where they are less well defined than in some other directions; but I shall take the liberty of making a single suggestion respecting a matter which lies outside of them. When the doctrine of the universality of natural law is carried so far as to include the genesis of living beings, and the adaptations to external circumstances which we see in their organs and their structure, it is often pronounced to be atheistic. Whether this judgment is or is not correct, I cannot say, but it is very easy to propound the test question by which its correctness is to be determined. "Is the general doctrine of causes acting in apparently blind obedience to Invariable law in itself atheistic?" If it is, then the whole progress of our knowledge of Nature has been in this direction, for it has consisted in reducing the operations of Nature to such blind obedience. Of course, when I say blind you understand that I mean blind so far as a scrutable regard to consequence is concerned,—blind like justice, in fact."

"If the doctrine is not atheistic, then there is nothing atheistic in any phase of the theory of evolution, for this consists solely in accounting for certain processes by natural laws. I do not pretend to answer the question here involved, because it belongs entirely to the domain of theology. All we can ask is that each individual shall hold consistent views on the subject, and not maintain the affirmative of the question on one topic, and the negative on another. My object in laying before you these ideas has been, not so much to propound any new views as to promote consistency of view among those who discuss this theme in its several aspects; and if I can make it clearly appear to a disputant that in discussing scientific questions he is to confine himself to the phenomenal side, and to maintain no theory which is not in accord with his every-day views of life, I shall have accomplished my purpose."—*Boston Advertiser, Aug. 24.*

THE STORY OF A STONE.

Some years ago, George Jacob Holyoake, the famous secularist, in discussing the "Limits of Atheism," gave the following admirable rhetorical statement regarding the mystery of matter: "Look at this humble, obscure, and commonplace stone! We neglect it with the eye, we spurn it with the foot; it is not worth raising from the shore. Yet no book was ever written, no message was ever delivered, no romance ever depicted, no epic ever sung, containing such wondrous interest as the story of this stone, could any man tell it. What thronging conjectures, what unbidden and tumultuous memories rise, as we contemplate its possible mutations of existence! History is unwritten when it first slept in the earth. What generations of men have lived and struggled and died since it was first broken from the rock! Great battles, changing the fate of dynasties and involving the servitude of races, have been fought over its calm resting-place. Possibly thousands of years ago the mastodon trod upon it, and the ichthyosauri paddled it into the sea. Ancient waves may have washed it into the ocean before the first ship was launched by the first mariner. In the silent and wondrous caverns of the great deep, which no plummet has fathomed, and no eye has seen, it has lain in regal rest. What monsters have glared at it!

What tempests have raged, what tornadoes have broken over it! What earthquakes may have tossed it from its hiding-place! On what shore did it reappear? Did some Assyrian lover watch the waves which washed it up? Did some young Pharaoh play with it? Has it been imbedded in the walls of Troy? Did Achilles plant his spear by it? Did it lie on the plains of Marathon on the morning of the memorable battle? Has it been dyed by the blood of Cæsar in the streets of Rome? Have Chaldean shepherds picked it up as the orient morning sun broke over their silent plains? When all these and a thousand other questions have been answered, its history is not begun. Its elements are indestructible. The parts of which it is composed were never created,—in some form, in some world, they have always existed. Where were they when the earth was without form and void? To what astral system did the matter of this pebble once belong? Of what star did it form a part? Where was it before time on this planet began to be? If matter has existed forever, this stone in its countless transmutations is a geological wandering Jew of sterility. If we cannot tell the history of a single stone, who shall tell the history of God? If a poor pebble is a surpassing mystery, who shall understand the Deity?"

THE TASTE OF beauty and the relish of what is decent, just, and amiable perfects the character of the gentleman.—*Shaftesbury.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

VIRGIL'S SIXTH BOOK.

Gentlest of ethnic souls the Mantuan yet
Hell organized for future bigots' use;
He sketched perdition's melancholy realm
With an exactitude which Homer's muse
Knew not. His Sixth Book he must still regret;
He with it zealots armed to overwhelm
Mortals with imagery of endless doom.
Impressed by lines the school-boy eye should read,—
His walls of infants through the infernal gloom
Were formulated into Calvin's creed.
A topographic realism he first gave
To Hell girdled with ninefold Stygian wave
And fens and marshes drear, which many a weed
Lethæan in their sluggish ooze did breed.
And yet imagination never wrought
To more august effect in twilight gloom
With pencil dipped, limning the place of doom,
The empty halls of Dis, the realms inane
Reëcholing to the moans of hopeless pain
The mournful shadows, who for ferrriage sought
With stretched hands yearning for the farther strand
Fluttering like birds, which seek a sunnier land,
The Acherontian maelstrom's hungry roar,
Casting up sand and mire forevermore,
The squalid ferryman still hale though hoar;
The hideous hell-dog with his threefold jaw
Gobbling the Sleepy Sop into his maw:—
These as if entitles his fancy saw.
Gladly the eye, escaped from Stygian gloom,
The blissful greenness of Elysian bowers
Beholds, rustling with fresh, immortal bloom;
A larger ether clothes the fields with light
Purpureal. Blossom fairer flowers,
Another sun and moon and stars more bright
With purer beams the regions blest illumine,
Haunted by heroes born in better years;
There Ius, there Assaracus appears.
Their shadowy arms and chariots stand afar,
Their loosened coursers graze the immortal meads,
Their love for shield and spear 'neath daylight's star
They bear below, and for the glossy steeds,
Which hale o'er shadowy course the shadowy car.
Sweet is that vale retired umbered with gloom
Of rustling boughs, whence Lethe's river rolls,
Where swarm with beelike hum the countless souls
Corporeal limbs about to reassume,
After their exile long from life and light,
After their penance sharp of fire and wind,
Quaffing the wave of dim forgetfulness,
Which memory of the past erases quite,
With discontinuous life the heart to bless
And give from keen remorse deliverance sweet;
Thus reminiscence leaving far behind,
Emerge they fresh existence to repeat;
Thus laved and clean they pass in long review
After their draughts of Lethe's healing dew.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 28.

John S. Shortall, \$6.94; D. R. Sparks, \$1.50; Preston Day, \$2; G. E. Tafts, \$1; George Hec, \$1; W. L. Brown, \$1; T. B. Skinner, \$1.20; Chas. A. Miller, \$2.10; Dr. M. Lillenthal, \$10; G. Pritchard, \$4; A. L. Frizelle, \$1.10; James Dillaway, \$3.20; J. F. Noyes, \$3.20.

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N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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A CARD.

We, the undersigned, Directors of the National Liberal League, offer ourselves as candidates for reelection at the Second Annual Congress of the League, on the following platform of principles:—

1. The right of absolute individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, on all political, religious, social, or other questions, and the right of being wholly uninterfered with by the courts, no matter what opinions as such may be advocated or promulgated.

2. The right and duty of Congress and State Legislatures to pass, and the right and duty of the National and State courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails; provided, that the offence known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.

3. The flagrant wrong of intrusting the execution of the laws for the suppression of obscene literature to any official or officials who shall not scrupulously confine their action within the limits here clearly defined.

And we decline to be candidates for reelection if the principles of the above platform shall fail to be approved by the National Liberal League at this Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary.*
 J. A. J. WILCOX, *Treasurer.*
 D. G. CRANDON, *Chair. Fin. Comm.*

"REPEAL" OR "REFORM"—WHICH?

Last week we considered "Two Phases of 'Repeal,'" represented respectively by Messrs. Heywood and Tucker and by Mr. Wakeman.

The two former, at the top of their editorial columns in the *Word*, keep this standing announcement (the italics and capitals are theirs):—

"Our Present Platform."

"Immediate, unconditional, and permanent repeal of all laws against obscenity, whether Municipal, State, or National."

Mr. Wakeman, although conceding the right and "duty" of the separate States to suppress obscene literature, nevertheless demands the repeal of the existing United States Statutes against the transmission of such literature through the mails. He makes this demand on the merely technical ground that in his private opinion, as against the decision of the Supreme Court, Congress has no right under the Constitution to pass any laws respecting the mails except for "postal purposes" alone; and also on the substantial ground that to pass any national laws whatever prohibiting the circulation of obscene literature through the mails is a violation of that "freedom of speech and of the press" which Congress is expressly forbidden to "abridge."

Of these two positions, we showed last week that the former alone has the force of self-consistency and logic; and that the latter (except so far as it deals with the merely technical question of jurisdiction) contradicts, defeats, and demolishes itself. If freedom of speech and of the press is violated when Congress excludes really obscene literature from the mails, the same freedom is equally violated when the States prohibit it to be circulated or sold. No escape from this conclusion is possible. Mr. Wakeman must change his ground in order to render it logically tenable; so far as "freedom of speech and of the press" is concerned, he must either deny the right of the States, or else concede the right of Congress, to suppress literature that is really obscene. Freedom is violated by any unjust restrictions; and it makes not a pin's difference by what authority the restrictions are imposed. The protest of principle must lie against the restrictions themselves. Mr. Wakeman destroys his

own case by conceding the justice of the restrictions when imposed by State authority, and yet inveighing against them as tyranny when imposed by Congressional authority. In consequence of this radical and fatal self-contradiction, the view he presents of the whole subject is merely that of the attorney; he has not treated it either as a philosopher or a statesman.

I.

Now the position of those who favor "reform" is, briefly stated, this: that really obscene literature has no rights anywhere; that to circulate it in any manner is a crime; that it is justly prohibited both by municipal, State, and national law; that to circulate it through the nation's mails is a crime against the nation itself; that this crime is utterly beyond the jurisdiction of the States, and must be under the jurisdiction of the people as represented by Congress; that the Supreme Court was compelled by the necessities of the case to recognize the jurisdiction of Congress over this crime; that all the oppression under the existing laws respecting it has arisen from the "absence of definition"; and that "freedom of speech and of the press" will be abundantly vindicated and protected by supplying this lack. In other words, such a change in the statutes as shall restrict their application to really obscene publications, and render these statutes incapable of being perverted to the suppression of any opinions on any subject, will accomplish all that is necessary to protect freedom to the uttermost. Against the laws thus amended and reformed no objection can be brought on the score of liberty; if objections are made, they must be made on grounds not yet maintained in this discussion.

Now the three positions which are held on this subject by Messrs. Heywood and Tucker, by Mr. Wakeman, and by THE INDEX, agree in this one point—that they all three demand protection for entire and complete freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press. Both "repeal" and "reform" are equally positive, equally emphatic, equally determined on this fundamental and all-important point. There is no difference whatever between them as to the pressing necessity of securing better protection for freedom against the encroachments made under cover of the Comstock laws; they are equally strong and equally extreme in demanding freedom for all opinions on all subjects to use all public facilities in making themselves known.

But the point of difference between "repeal" and "reform" concerns real obscenity, and the right of the people to treat all public obtrusion of it as a crime. The "repeal" party persistently evade this real point of difference; they try to ridicule or pooh-pooh it away; they refuse to treat it as of the slightest consequence. Mr. Wakeman himself says: "In the true point of view, this is not a question of obscenity, but of liberty." On the contrary, as between "repeal" and "reform," there is no other question than that of obscenity. We propose to prove this.

Mr. Tucker's demand for the repeal of all laws against obscenity, and (so far as it goes) Mr. Wakeman's demand for the repeal of the United States laws excluding it from the mails, are merely a negative statement of this affirmative proposition: *Freedom of the press covers and includes the legal right to publish, circulate, and mail real obscenity—the legal right of moral monsters to thrust the most nauseating, abominable, and pestilential filth upon the public at all times and in all ways, yet with absolute impunity.* That is exactly what Mr. Tucker's platform means; it is exactly what Mr. Wakeman's argument means, so far as the mails are concerned; it is exactly what "repeal" in all its phases must more or less consistently affirm; it is exactly what "reform" must and does indignantly deny. Both "repeal" and "reform" are equally pronounced in demanding better protection for freedom of the press; there is no difference whatever between them on the "question of liberty." But "repeal" affirms, and "reform" denies, that freedom of the press covers the legal right to circulate and mail really obscene publications; there is no other difference between them than this, and it turns wholly on the "question of obscenity." Both the "repeal" and "reform" parties agree in demanding from the nation greater freedom of the press; but, as between themselves alone, these two parties differ on the very important question, whether, in demanding from the nation greater freedom of the press, they shall or shall not deny the nation's right to punish the mailing of really obscene publications as a crime. This is the question at issue before the National Liberal League, and it is a question not of liberty, but of obscenity. We propose now to show that this question is of immense practical importance, and not one to be set aside as unworthy of serious considera-

tion. The position taken on this subject by liberals in general must affect profoundly not only the future of the League as an organized movement, but also the prosperity, growth, and influence of the whole liberal cause.

II.

Consider first some of the chief reasons why liberals should not now take the position of demanding the total "repeal" of the existing United States Statutes prohibiting the transmission of obscene literature through the mails.

1. The "repeal" position is utterly wrong in principle. It denies the essential criminality of attempts to propagate the most destructive and disgusting vices among the young. It denies the right of the nation to legislate against this crime in a province where there cannot possibly be any other legislation against it,—namely, in the national postal system. If you demand total repeal of the Comstock laws, you necessarily demand total impunity for the villains who formerly used, and would immediately again use, the United States mails as the channel of a business every whit as murderous as would be the importation and sale of infected clothing from the yellow-fever districts of the South. No deluge of sophistry, however copious, will succeed in sweeping away the fact that this business is both physical and moral murder of its victims; and this fact is justification, absolute and demonstrative, for treating this business as a crime, not only by State, but also by national legislation. It is in strict accordance with the spirit of the United States Constitution to interpret it as giving jurisdiction to the United States over all crimes which, from the nature of the case, cannot be brought under the jurisdiction of the separate States. The crime of counterfeiting is of this nature, since the power of coining money is conferred upon Congress alone; and the crime of mailing obscene literature is of this nature, since Congress alone has or can have power to regulate the post-office system. The power of Congress to legislate against this latter crime has been very reasonably recognized by the Supreme Court as one of the incidental powers "necessary and proper" to the establishment of post-offices and post-roads; it is not at all to be classed as an "ulterior power," if by that is meant a power not necessarily implied by the power to establish and regulate the post-office system as such. The Comstock laws are indeed unconstitutional, when interpreted so as to "abridge" that "freedom of speech and of the press" which the Constitution itself guarantees; but they could not possibly be unconstitutional for this reason, if they were amended and rendered thereby incapable of being so interpreted. The "repeal" position is therefore wrong in principle, first, because it denies the essential criminality of mailing really obscene publications; and, secondly, because it denies the nation jurisdiction over a crime which cannot be brought under any other jurisdiction, and thereby compels the nation to be an accomplice in the crime itself.

2. The "repeal" position is, moreover, just as foolish in policy as it is wrong in principle. By confounding freedom of the press with freedom to publish and mail real obscenity, it tends necessarily to prevent the people from perceiving that the Comstock laws have been used to "abridge" the real "freedom of the press." Every consideration of policy would require the friends of liberty to point out the vast distinction between real obscenity and the advocacy of mere opinions, to insist that no opinions as such can possibly be obscene, and to demand that the punishment justly awarded to real obscenity shall not be awarded to any opinions on the pretence that they belong under that head. If we liberals were all sagacious, we should unite in a body to protest, not against punishing those who commit the crime of mailing really obscene publications, but against punishing for that offence those whose publications belong to a different and perfectly legitimate class. The reason why Anthony Comstock has succeeded in getting Mr. Heywood imprisoned is simply because the minds of the people are confused on this point—because they have not drawn the necessary and obvious distinction between really obscene literature and literature which is devoted to the advocacy of social theories. Now those who are demanding total "repeal" of the Comstock laws are practically doing their utmost to perpetuate and increase this lamentable popular confusion, and to prevent the people from perceiving the all-important distinction which would instantly set things right. Could anything be more inexpedient or impolitic than to make common cause with the vendors of real obscenity, and to insist that justice cannot be done to freethought without letting these criminals go scot-free? Is that the way to persuade

the people that injustice has been done, and to prevent it for the future? The "repeal" position is the greatest practical blunder that could possibly be conceived. Instead of tending to right existing wrongs, it tends inevitably to aggravate and multiply them. The people will never consent to the total repeal of all laws against obscenity, or of the laws against transmitting it through the mails; they see clearly what the advocates of "repeal" refuse to see at all, that obscene literature has no rights whatever; and they are only made indignant by the demand that it shall share the rights of the free press.

So obvious is the impolicy of confounding freedom of the press with freedom of obscenity,—so patent is the mischief done to freedom's cause by the perpetuation of this confusion,—that the advocates of "repeal," insisting that there can be no freedom of the press without freedom of obscenity, are making themselves the most powerful auxiliaries of the Young Men's Christian Association in keeping the dangerous statutes *exactly as they are*. This question is not going to be decided by the liberals, but by the whole public. It does not depend on the liberals to take whichever they choose, "repeal" or "reform"; they will not get either unless they can create a public opinion in its favor, and this they can only do in favor of "reform." Why should we liberals dash our heads against a rock? Why should we prove ourselves mere babies in the world of affairs? Cannot we distinguish between the possible and the impossible, and act accordingly? "Repeal" is in the highest degree impolitic, because it is absolutely impossible, and because the demand for this impossibility will only postpone indefinitely all change for the better in the existing laws.

3. The "repeal" position tends to strengthen Anthony Comstock in his hold on power, because it tends to keep his tyrannical abuses of it out of sight. Rightly or wrongly, the public at large have a strong and fixed belief that laws against obscene literature are wise and just; they turn, and will continue to turn, a deaf ear to all arguments to the contrary. If Mr. Heywood cannot be vindicated except by the wholesale wiping out of these laws, or even by the wholesale wiping out of the United States laws alone, then Comstock cannot be made to appear to them in the light of an oppressor. Comstock thrives and flourishes by the confusion in the public mind, and must secretly chuckle at seeing it deepened and spread by Mr. Heywood's own friends. His encroachments on the just freedom of the press cannot be checked or rebuked by the voice of public opinion, until the public discern clearly that the advocacy of social theories, however false or foolish, does not constitute obscenity, and ought not to be punished as such. It would be comparatively easy to teach the public this distinction; it will be impossible to make them believe that the vendors of obscenity ought not to be punished at all. Yet, instead of striving to make this distinction clear, and thereby to expose to the public the abuses of power of which Comstock has been guilty, the advocates of "repeal" take the attitude of demanding absolute impunity both for free-thinkers and obscenity-mongers at the same time! Very well: Comstock himself could not wish them to appear in any worse light. He is perfectly safe from check or dismissal, just so long as the general public see in the complaints made against him nothing but a plea for the sacred right of obscenity. And that is all they would ever see in those complaints, if all liberals were so shortsighted and infatuated as to clamor for "repeal."

4. The "repeal" position is most disastrous to the liberal cause, and would prove to be utterly ruinous if it were taken unanimously. The simple reason is, that the demand of *unchecked freedom for obscenity*, which is what "repeal" would necessarily establish, outrages the moral sense of the whole community, and so far confirms the general misconception that liberalism tends to immorality. To demand "repeal," as opposed to "reform," is to insist that freedom cannot be complete unless all public safeguards against obscene publications are abolished; and he who deliberately takes that position has no right to complain, if he is set down by the public as a man who is utterly indifferent, at the very least, to public purity. We reflect on no man's *intentions*; we impugn no man's *motives* in this matter, and, notwithstanding repeated and purposed misrepresentations, deny emphatically that we have ever done so. What we say is that, in this world as we find it, *consequences count for more than intentions*, and that the consequence of "repeal" would be the public protection of obscenity through the removal of all public restrictions on it. It is a maxim of the law that every man must be presumed

to intend the consequences of his own acts. The world at large judges of men in precisely the same way. Hence the party which declares itself in favor of "repeal" and against "reform" has only itself to blame, if it comes under the suspicion of being utterly indifferent to the evils of obscenity itself. We do not say that, in passing this judgment, the world would be just; we say nothing whatever about inward intentions or motives; we simply point to facts, and affirm that the world will certainly believe that party to be an enemy to morality whose actions practically tell against it. If, therefore, the liberals as a whole should declare themselves to be in favor of utterly repealing all laws against obscenity, or merely the United States laws, they will inevitably be considered by the general community as favoring vice and obscenity, since that would be the certain consequence of such repeal. They will be presumed to intend the consequences of their own acts, and be judged accordingly.

Now, if the "repeal" position were in itself the right one to take, we should be the last to utter a syllable against taking it, notwithstanding the world's condemnation. But we believe that position to be utterly wrong in itself; and the inconceivable disaster of confirming the world's belief that liberalism is an enemy to public morality would be the natural result of that wrong position. If liberalism has any sound claim to the respect of mankind, it is that liberalism proclaims and tends to create a higher, purer, and better morality than has ever yet been practised or preached. It is only so far as it makes men more moral, individually and socially, that liberalism has any right to spread or to be accepted by mankind; and it cannot spread or be accepted, unless it can persuade mankind that its real influence is in favor of morality, and not against it. Hence the ruinous and suicidal error of putting liberalism before mankind in a position which must inevitably make them despise and abhor it as the enemy of morality. Once let it be understood in the community that, while all the rest of the people are anxious to protect their children from the moral poison of vile literature, the liberals are only anxious to remove all legal restrictions on its sale and circulation,—and what sort of growth and progress do you suppose would be made afterwards by the liberal cause? THE INDEX, at least, has labored for the spread of liberalism, because we believe liberalism to be truer and better in its moral influence than Christianity; but if its real effect is to blind and blunt the moral sense, and lead men to take ground less intelligent and less noble than that of their Christian neighbors, the sooner we have done with such a humbug, the better. The "repeal" position, if generally taken by liberals, would reduce to absurdity all the efforts ever made in the liberal cause; it would show that, as a body, they are utterly incapable of any statesmanlike or philosophical view of public affairs, or even of their own interests; it would show that animosity against a mere individual official was enough to destroy their moral and mental equilibrium, and place them in a posture before the public in which they would be the mortification of their friends, and the sport of their exulting enemies. This will be the certain result of outraging and defying the moral sentiment of the nation by demanding that there shall be no laws against obscene literature.

III.

On the other hand, the reasons for demanding a radical amendment of the existing United States laws on this subject, so that henceforth no man shall be liable to molestation for the publishing, circulating, or mailing any book which expresses his honest convictions on any subject, are numerous and overwhelmingly strong. The chief of these reasons may be summed up briefly as follows:—

1. The "reform" position is *sound in principle*; for it affirms at one and the same time the right of the nation to punish the crime of circulating real obscenity through the mails, and the right of the individual not to be molested in his enjoyment of the "freedom of speech and of the press" guaranteed to him by the Constitution.

2. It is equally *sound in policy*; for it meets the people half-way, recognizes the good and points out the evil in the laws as they stand, and emphasizes the distinction between free thought and free filth. It thus directly and powerfully tends to dissipate that confusion of the public mind which alone renders possible such cases of oppression as the imprisonment of Mr. Heywood. And it will enable the friends of liberty, by patient argument and effort, to secure from Congress that efficient protection for liberty which can never be obtained by the wild demand for

"repeal." The American people and their Congress never intended to violate freedom of the press by the laws which have been perverted to that evil purpose, and will readily consent to amend them when this dangerous abuse is made clear to their comprehension. Liberals must not forget that the decision of this question does not rest with themselves; they must persuade the people at large that wrong has been done; they must create a public opinion against this wrong; they must understand that liberty will remain perilously unprotected, if they persist in demanding what is not at all essential to its protection, and what the people will reject with indignation. Every consideration of policy and common prudence would teach the liberals to stop at once this unwise clamor for "repeal." If they do not, they will richly deserve to suffer all the evils which may flow from the laws *unreformed and unrepealed*; for "repeal" is absolutely impossible, and, if they continue to clamor for that, they will not even get "reform."

3. The "reform" position, if adopted and pressed home upon public attention, will result at last in a better education of the people in the principles of liberty. In case the Comstock laws are at last so amended as no longer to permit the punishment of free thought under the pretence of obscenity, they will even establish a new and valuable protection for liberty itself; for the "freedom of the press" which the Constitution to-day guarantees will contain a broader principle than ever, when it is definitely established by Congress and the Courts that *no theoretical opinion shall be regarded as obscene, or punished as such*. "Repeal" would leave this point unsettled; "reform" would settle it for the nation, and speedily for the States also.

4. The "reform" position is the only one of the two which appreciates the tremendous force of that moral sentiment in the people which condemns the circulation of really obscene literature as a crime. The liberals can never break that mountainous moral sentiment; they can easily break themselves upon it. Years ago Daniel Webster warned the South to "beware of the awakened conscience of the North"; we to-day warn the party to which we belong to beware of the awakened conscience of the whole people. If they stubbornly refuse to make the vital distinction between free thought and free filth, which is the soul of the "reform" position, and stubbornly persist in demanding equal freedom for both, the indignant people will take them at their word; but, instead of making filth as free as thought should be, they will deprive them both alike of freedom. Conscience, unenlightened, is the most terrible of tyrants; and it is little less than madness, by exasperating it with this senseless insistence on "repeal," to goad it into fanaticism. Precedent after precedent will be multiplied against liberty, until liberals learn to respect that mighty moral sentiment which too many of them now flippantly denounce as mere "orthodoxy." It was not "orthodoxy" which enacted the Comstock laws, though "orthodoxy" may now gladly avail itself of them for purposes of its own; the real author of those laws was the people's conscience, outraged by the crimes which the laws condemn. Not to see this clearly, not to comprehend the tremendous significance of the fact, is to be smitten with almost fatal blindness. The "repeal" position takes no account whatever of this great fact, though it is one of the chief elements of the situation; the "reform" position alone rates it at its full value, and is wise enough to heed it.

5. In fine, the "reform" position alone can promote the liberal cause, and wrest unwilling reverence even from orthodoxy itself, by proving that liberalism cherishes an even profounder regard for public morality than that which orthodoxy professes. Orthodoxy would punish the crime of circulating obscenity, but is willing to punish with it free thought, which is no crime, but a virtue. Liberalism would punish the crime alone, and pay to the virtue the only reward it seeks—protection and respect. Which of these two policies challenges the higher gratitude on the score of zeal for the public morals? By putting liberalism in this light before the community, the "reform" position in the highest possible degree ensures the future growth, prosperity, and influence of the liberal cause. Surely, this is a service which every high-minded and intelligent liberal will estimate at its real worth.

Fellow-liberals, the case is laid before you, at least in its leading points. You will judge and act for yourselves, as we have judged and acted for ourself. This is the issue to come before the Syracuse Congress. The National Liberal League will decide this issue in perfect freedom; and then—the issue, thus decided, will decide the destiny of the League.

MR. WAKEMAN'S LETTER.

We invite attention to a letter from Mr. T. B. Wakeman, which was received just too late for insertion in our last issue—consequently before he had seen our criticism on his Faneuil Hall speech. This we regret, as it would have made his letter more pertinent to the real issue, if he had seen our article before writing it.

There is little that we need reply to in this letter. The restatement of his position leaves it still exposed to the objections expressed last week, and also in the preceding article. We deem it proper, however, to say that the "whim" referred to by Mr. Wakeman has failed to understand. Both the "repeal" and the "reform" positions emphasize equally the need of protection for complete liberty; but "repeal" asks also for the abrogation of all United States laws against obscenity, which is more than is required to protect liberty. This more is the "whim" we referred to very plainly; we see no cause to misunderstand it, or to complain of it when understood. Mr. Wakeman is entirely in error in the construction he puts upon it.

He appears to us equally careless in the construction he puts on the second principle of the "Card," which (of course through the mere carelessness) he has entirely misquoted. It was not intended "to force the jurisdiction of the whole subject upon the United States government"; nor do we think the wording at all suggests any such extravagant position. But we take this opportunity to state that the platform in the "Card" is not proposed at all for adoption in that form by the League; it simply states the principles of the signers, which will be fully "approved" if the League in any manner adopts unequivocally, by a simple majority vote, the policy of seeking to "reform," and not to "repeal," the Comstock laws. The League is only expected to decide between these two policies again, as it did decide between them at Philadelphia. Similar resolutions at Syracuse would be the only "approval" contemplated.

Mr. Wakeman's position respecting "postal purposes," and the powers which under this head may be legitimately exercised over the mails, requires some explanation. We have already pointed out that he cannot consistently charge Congress with violating the "freedom of the press" by legislating against obscene literature, when he concedes that the States may legislate against it without any such violation. A still more extraordinary and baffling inconsistency, on a point fundamental to his whole argument, is brought out by a careful comparison of the following passages of the Faneuil Hall speech, to which he again refers us:—

"With the meaning of the documents indorsed, the post-office has nothing to do; and, if they have not, Congress has no authority to punish for sending them. . . . The meaning of mailed matter has nothing to do with the post-office, nor that with the meaning. . . . The correct conclusion is, that Congress has power to exclude for postal purposes and reasons, and no others. All other exercise of power of exclusion is a sheer usurpation.

"Its repeal [i. e., repeal of the law of 1873] is justly called for upon both grounds in the petition referred to. A post office regulation that all matter should be enclosed, and that postal-cards should contain nothing that could be offensive to those to whom they are sent or to the public, is all that is necessary. This matter of the postal-cards is entirely in the power of the Department as a necessary postal regulation."

How is it that, on the one hand, the post-office has "nothing to do with the meaning of mailed matter," and yet, on the other, may exclude postal-cards with offensive messages? Is that mere "postal regulation"? This question of the postal-cards is not the trivial matter that Mr. Wakeman represents it to be. If his own position respecting the power of Congress over the mails be sound, then neither Congress nor the Department has any right to exclude from the mails postal-cards whose MEANING ONLY is offensive. There is nothing of a "postal" character about this "regulation"; it involves the whole issue raised by the law of 1873. We find Mr. Wakeman painfully inconsistent in the ground he takes; his principles are not clear, nor mutually coherent. In the same speech he denies and affirms the right of excluding mailed matter on the score of its meaning as such! We confess ourselves utterly baffled in the endeavor to reconcile such contradiction, and we must be pardoned for concluding that Mr. Wakeman has not thoroughly mastered the subject on which he would yet instruct the world. He is greatly mistaken in imagining that there is "no material difference as to 'principles.'" He declares that "all are in favor of liberty, and opposed to obscenity." It is true that all [liberals] are "in favor of liberty"; but it is not true that all are "opposed to obscenity." Can a man be said to be opposed to murder, who demands the repeal of all or

any of the laws which punish it? We certainly think not. The trouble with "repeal" is that it would abrogate some or all of the laws which punish the crime of circulating obscenity, and thereby, no matter what the intention, does in fact protect and foster that crime. If there is a real answer to this, let us by all means have it.

THE FANEUIL HALL RESOLUTIONS.

The resolutions adopted by the "Indignation Meeting" at Faneuil Hall, August 1, were admirable, and are here subjoined. Let it be particularly noticed that they refer to the "injury done to the freedom of the press by the conviction and imprisonment of Ezra H. Heywood" (to protest against which the meeting was called) to, the "absence of definition" in the laws. They do not call for "repeal" of all these laws; they do, in effect, call for nothing but their "reform." If the "absence of definition," of which complaint is most justly made, should be remedied, and all possibility of violating freedom be thereby removed, both the letter and spirit of these resolutions would be satisfied. That is the only judicious ground to take, and it is cause for congratulation that the Faneuil Hall meeting took it so clearly. Read these resolutions carefully, and observe how completely they harmonize with the "reform" position:—

Be it resolved, by this meeting of Citizens of the United States, in Faneuil Hall assembled:

I. That the right to think and to publicly express, by tongue or pen, the results of thinking, is the dearest right which American citizens possess; and to deny its exercise is subversive of natural justice, contrary to constitutional provision, dangerous to public welfare, and corrupting to public morals.

II. That no law ought to be permitted to remain upon our statute books which is, by the absence of definition, capable of being used by designing knaves or narrow-minded bigots in denial of the exercise of this right.

III. That, since the recent conviction of Ezra H. Heywood, of Princeton, Massachusetts, nominally of having circulated obscene literature through the mails, but really of having published his sincere convictions on the subject of love and marriage, and his imprisonment in Dedham Jail for a period of two years, clearly make his case one of persecution of opinion under the law, meriting the severest reprobation of all right-minded persons, we call upon the President of the United States, in the name of the freedom of the press, and as he values the respect and confidence of the people whose servant he is, to release Mr. Heywood without delay.

IV. That Anthony Comstock, Special Agent of the Post-Office Department, whose duty it is to prosecute offenders against the United States law prohibiting the circulation of obscene literature through the mails, has shown himself, by his abuse of the power conferred upon him by the Government in repeatedly attempting to suppress free thought, free speech, and free press, and by the despicable and immoral methods which he habitually employs, unfit to be intrusted with the execution of any law seriously affecting the liberty of the citizen; and therefore we ask his immediate dismissal from the Government service.

V. That a copy of these resolutions be signed by the president and secretaries of this meeting, and forwarded by the latter to the President of the United States.

MR. GREEN'S POSITION.

Mr. H. L. Green sent us this letter before he had seen our issue of September 19, and we delayed publishing it till he had done so. Since he still desires his letter to be published, we present it below:—

SALAMANCA, N. Y., Sept. 16, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I have read carefully the "Card" you sent me signed by four of the members of the Board of Directors of the National Liberal League, and I fully indorse the principles of the three planks therein set forth.

You request me to sign the card as Chairman of the Executive Committee. I cannot, for these reasons:—

1. I am not a candidate for reelection to the important office I now hold. There are many in our ranks who can fill the place much better than I can.
2. Because it seems to me the issuing of this card has the appearance of forestalling the action of the coming Congress and of any committee that might be appointed to present a platform for consideration.
3. That as officers of the National Liberal League, we have no official authority to issue such a manifesto.

As to the coming National League Congress, I have faith that the intelligent men and women there assembled will, in their wisdom, lay down a platform so just, broad, and catholic, that all the true friends of our new party can conscientiously stand upon it and work unitedly for the entire secularization of the State. We must all work for so desirable a result.

Fraternally yours, H. L. GREEN.

We have only brief comments to make:—

1. Mr. Green has an unquestionable and unquestioned right to decline being a candidate for reelection.
2. The "Card" has no more "appearance of forestalling the action of the coming Congress" than have the platforms adopted and published by political par-

ties. It forestalls no "action" of the Congress to state what our principles are, or that we decline to be candidates at all if required to execute any policy contrary to those principles.

3. The signers issued that "Card" on their individual responsibility. They needed no "official authority" to say they were candidates for reelection, and to state the principles they would carry out if re-elected.

We are sorry that Mr. Green could not decline to join in a step perfectly proper in itself, without attacking his associates precipitately and bitterly in journals where they have no opportunity of defending themselves.

Communications.

LETTER FROM MR. WAKEMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I do not know that I shall be a delegate to the Liberal League Congress; and as you call for "public discussion" very pressingly in your last issue (Sept. 19) let me state the position of those you oppose so decidedly, at least as far as I understand it.

There is, as I see, no material difference as to "principles." All are in favor of liberty, and opposed to obscenity. The difference arises in the application of the principles. The question practically is, How far is it Constitutional and safe to liberty to employ the National instead of the State Governments in attempts to define, discover, and punish obscenity? Nobody in the League proposes to repeal all State laws on the subject, so as to "foster obscenity," or to run the League in the interests of free love. Insinuations of this kind can do no good.

Those you choose to regard as opponents believe:—

1. That the Constitution of the United States confers upon Congress no power whatever to legislate upon this subject; that its attempts so to do in the Comstock postal laws are beyond even any "implied powers," and are plain usurpations, which break down the whole Constitution as the bulwark of liberty, and, in the words of Hon. Elizur Wright, leave it "not worth two brass buttons"; that those laws are a decoy and espionage system over the post-office; that they have been the source of great wrongs and injustices; and that they cannot be amended so as to be safe and constitutional, and should therefore be repealed.

2. That the power to suppress obscenity and indecency is one of the general powers reserved in the United States Constitution to the people and the States, and that it should be exercised by the legislatures and courts with the greatest caution, only in "unequivocal and well-defined cases," and plainly within the Constitutions of the several States.

These positions have been clearly and repeatedly stated by a large part of the liberals of the country. They are in the petition signed by seventy thousand, asking the repeal of the Comstock postal laws. They were affirmed when presented at the great meeting at Faneuil Hall, called to protest against the conviction of Mr. Heywood. They were reaffirmed decidedly at the Watkins Convention, and appear at length in the resolutions there adopted. They have been in substance approved by a large part, and I believe, nearly all of the liberal press. I do not therefore feel called upon by your challenge to go over the whole story again. A large edition of my speech at the Faneuil Hall Meeting has been circulated, and covers the main points. No one has as yet pointed out any error in its law or practical recommendations; but, on the contrary, letters from leading liberals and lawyers have been a constant assurance that the positions there taken are sound and safe. In order to do my part in the "public discussion" I will gladly send to any one, who will honor me with address and a three-cent stamp, a copy of that speech (including Judge Field's opinion) and the Watkins Resolutions. All I ask is a fair and impartial study of them, and I believe but one conclusion can result. If the tone of the speech should appear too warm for a legal opinion, let it be remembered that it was delivered at a crowded indignation meeting, and should be forgiven if it has a touch of its spirit.

On the first page of THE INDEX referred to, the repeal of these postal laws is spoken of as a "whim," or an effort to get the Supreme Court to "reverse itself," for which "editors" in jail are supposed "to wait." This levity seems to me unintelligent and ill-timed. I think you will find that those most earnest for "repeal" have been the most earnest for the pardon of the editor, and most active in circulating his petition. Why should they not at the same time ask for the repeal of the law? That law is in truth a real danger, and its repeal not a mere whim. Nearly every case of wrong and outrage by Comstock has been perpetrated under that unconstitutional postal law. Out of thirty cases I have looked over, only two or three have been under the State laws, and only one conviction. Scarcely one of the outrages would have been possible in a State court. I have known of men hunted to death under this law, and one imprisoned for ten years, and fined \$5000; and Heywood is in prison yet! This is a substantial whim to those who suffer, and I feel indignant at the indifference of those who call themselves liberals in regard to it. Even if they have no regard for constitutional safeguards, or a free post-office, they ought to consider the causeless misery and ruin of their fellow-beings as more than a whim. I show in the speech referred to that the only safety for liberty is to get the whole subject out of this usurped United States jurisdiction. There is no way in which these laws could be safely amended, even if

they were constitutional. The iniquity is in their use,—that is, in the decoy and espionage system which is their very substance; and the only safety is in their "repeal," which is no "empty honor," but a pressing necessity.

Nor is there any intention of getting the Supreme Court "to reverse itself." The action of that court in the Jackson case has made it necessary to reverse the court by the action of Congress,—that is, by the repeal of the law, which will do it effectively. I mention half-a-dozen instances where this has been done with perfect success, in our national history; and it can be done again if our liberals have the traditions of liberty in their hearts, instead of a causeless obscenity panic. The political position of the liberals now is quite similar to that of the Republicans after the Dred Scott decision, but our case is clearer than theirs. All we have to do is to stand firmly by the Constitution and the liberties of the people, as I have pointed out was done by Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, and the Supreme Court will not be long in the way.

The above are all of the objections I find in your paper to the position I have stated, and these were in a side paragraph. A few words are due in regard to the application of the "principles" proposed by the majority of the officers of the League in their "Card." The only matter of difference is in the second plank, and the wording of the first sentence astonishes me. It goes far beyond anything that any court, or even Mr. Comstock, has ever assumed or claimed, and seems to me to be the work of some one strangely ignorant of the subject. It distinctly claims that it is "the right and duty of Congress and of the national courts to pass and to enforce laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails."

The first and main part of this sentence forces the jurisdiction of the whole subject upon the United States government. I pray to be shown a single word of the Constitution that authorizes anything of this kind. It has never been even claimed. An amendment to the Constitution will certainly be necessary to confer this absolute and preposterous power. Was the Liberal League organized for this purpose? If not, this plank is useless in its platform. As to the second part of the sentence, i. e., as to postal exclusion, which it is proposed to "include" in the larger jurisdiction, I have disposed of that in the speech referred to until some answer is made to it.

So, also, as to attempts to *define, discover, and punish* obscenity under State laws, I will say nothing further than to refer to the documents named. Danger to liberty still lurks even there; and I hope, Mr. Editor, you will try your hand in framing a statute that will give us a clear and safe definition.

In conclusion, let me express the belief that the "Card" of the Directors of the League has no justification in fact as they suppose. If there had been any caucus, plot, ticket, or concerted action of any kind I should have known of it beyond doubt; and I have heard of nothing of the kind. Notwithstanding my differences on this one point mentioned, I have favored the reelection of Mr. Abbot; and I had hoped that the Freethinkers' Association of this State would be consolidated with the League so as to save the expense and time required to keep up two associations. If this could be done, the political affairs of the liberal cause would certainly find strength in unity. On the other hand, that is on the "spiritual side," the Free Religious Association could be extended so as to largely replace the functions which the old churches and religions have performed. Why may not this dream be realized? There is nothing in the present dispute that should prevent cooperation of liberals. True, it is an important question of constitutional law and of public policy, but it really involves no principle. Let us find out what is true and what is best to be done about it, and not threaten to retire or talk about the League being "assassinated."

Very respectfully yours,

T. B. WAKEMAN,
Counsellor-at-law,

No. 93 Nassau Street, New York City.
NEW YORK, Sept. 22, 1878.

A LETTER FROM MR. ELLIS.

BOSTON, Sept. 23, 1878.

MR. ABBOT:—

Having been frequently asked where I stood upon the "obscenity laws" question, and seeing that the Liberal League has determined to bring the matter up at its next convention, I beg leave to offer the accompanying article as indicative of my opinion. You will observe that it is a communication for the *Truth-Seeker*, and that it is dated July 16. This necessitates a word of explanation. I sent the article to Mr. Bennett, and he notified me that he would publish it. But after about two weeks he informed me that while he would be glad to accommodate me personally, he had given so much space to this question that he really felt that he must stop, and so would not insert my article. I believe I have given substantially Mr. Bennett's opinion, but in justice to him I would also add that he did not look upon the article as containing any argument that he could not readily answer.

I beg now to say that in offering this article to you, I am not actuated by any desire to recall any difference between you and him, and that I do not lay any emphasis upon the fact that the article was declined by Mr. Bennett, but wish only to offer it as containing an expression of my opinion at that time, July 16, and to add that it is my opinion still.

Sincerely yours, CHARLES ELLIS.

The Comstock-Law Question.

FRIEND BENNETT:—

I am taking the liberty to address you on the unfortunate trouble which seems to have pushed the *Truth-*

Seeker and THE INDEX so far apart. Personal interest in the matter I have none. I will neither condemn nor defend either party. So far as personal feeling may exist, we "outsiders" have nothing to do with it. But so far as the question of the future existence or non-existence of a law against the untrammeled propagation of obscenity goes,—so far, I, with many others who have been looking on in silence, feel a deep interest in the matter; and I would be glad, if it were in my power, to spike these guns that have been so long playing, not upon the enemy, but upon friends.

Excuse me, but I think that, if you will forget for the time being that there has been any effort made to obtain signers to a petition against the Comstock Law, you will agree with me that there is really no difference of opinion on the question of the free circulation of obscene books, etc., between you and Mr. Abbot, or any other good citizens, be they Infidel, Free-religionist, or Christian. It seems to me that all honorable and moral citizens must stand together on such a question. Whatever distances may divide them on speculative questions, on this one involving one of the corner-stones of society, one of the safeguards of public morals, a consideration that rises infinitely above churches, sects, Bibles, and Gods, all honest men and women must stand together. Their united voice will always be against allowing the privileges of freedom to be perverted and subverted by people whose success in business can only be secured at the expense of virtue and the general well-being of the country. I am sure that you stand with all other sound men and women firm and true upon the side of public good. All are agreed that, if there are men who are making a business of selling books, pictures, or anything else, the influence of which is to degrade the morals of the people, old or young, among whom they circulate, our first duty is to protect society against these men. A great many men and women are imprisoned, and a fair number are converted on the gallows and then hung, for the protection of society, and nobody questions the right of society to protect itself. But if it is right to imprison and punish men for arson, theft, rape, and murder, can there be any question in regard to our duty towards men who exercise the privilege of living in our society, but who make use of that privilege to carry on a business the legitimate end of which can only be to make thieves and murderers? I think not.

We hold it righteous law that the man who sells liquor to another and makes him drunk shall be amenable for the results of that drunkenness. The vicious man or woman who leads others into vice is guilty; and society is bound in duty to itself to deprive such people of the opportunity to do evil, as far as it can. Upon these points, I feel confident there can be no difference of opinion.

How are these matters regulated? Partly by State and partly by National law. In so far as it seemed to be possible for the State to protect its own community interests, all such matters as offences against society were left to the State. In others, where the mutual interests of the whole were concerned,—as, for instance, the right to declare war, to make treaties, to make money, to establish and regulate mails,—the supervisory power is retained by the central government. The right to determine all questions on any of these matters is vested by the Constitution in the General Government, and no State can act upon any of them without being guilty of treason. We have but recently had a memorable illustration of this in the Rebellion. Had the framers of the Constitution foreseen such an abuse of the public privilege of sending mails as seems to have arisen, they might possibly have allowed each State to regulate its own mail system and punish its own offenders; and yet I think the system is a great deal better as it is, under the control of the general government. However, the fact is that no State has a right to interfere with the public mails. It is useless to talk about regulating the sending of obscene matter through the mails by State law, until the Constitution of the United States has been changed so as to delegate that power to the States. Our duty is to do the best we can, with things as they are.

To guard against the abuse of the public mail system, Congress enacts a law that is intended to prevent persons from sending "obscene matter" through this channel of communication, established and kept up for the benefit, not of the rascals, but the honest citizens of the country. Is there anything wrong in that? If it is right for Congress to pass laws for the protection of the money of the country, why isn't it right to do the same for the mails? If it is right to punish men who take advantage of the people's need of money, and so abuse the national government by counterfeiting its money, isn't it equally right to punish those who take advantage of the people's need of a public mail system to carry on a business that is injurious to the well-being of the country and is condemned by all fair-minded men? These laws are for the protection of the whole country, and are as necessary as is any law of quarantine forbidding the introduction of epidemic or plague into the country. So far, are not you and I agreed?

Now comes an unprincipled fellow, who sees an opportunity to hoodwink the government, and turn the power to regulate the character of mail matter into a channel that shall wash the proceeds of all that he can pass for "obscenity" into his own pocket. Backed by willing tools, he makes his move, and succeeds in getting this power vested in his own hands as the agent of the government. What is the result? The Constitution, the supreme law of the land, is perverted, and used as a weapon of offence against citizens whom it was designed to protect, simply because the agent it has chosen is unfit! The Constitution is not wrong; the law protecting the people against misuse of their mails is not wrong. *The fact is, Congress alone was wrong in selecting such an*

agent to do an honest man's work; AND EVERY DAY IT RETAINS HIM IN OFFICE IT GATHERS ODIUM AND DISGRACE UPON ITS OWN HEAD AS BEING NO BETTER THAN HE. What is the remedy? Certainly not to attempt to create a rebellion by taking from the Constitution its right to regulate the mails. Nor would it be any more a remedy to abolish all law relating to the carrying of obscene matter through the mails. Until we can legally take this power from Congress and vest it in the States, every one must see the absolute necessity of keeping this safeguard around the mails. Even those who think that such matters could be attended to better by the State must admit that the State is powerless to interfere now, and must see that, if the law protecting the mails should be repealed, we should be obliged to see the government using the public money to circulate and carry on a business the first, last, and only result of which is to injure the government itself by degrading its citizens.

What then is the remedy? Let Congress simply undo the evil it has done in placing power in the hands of a dishonest agent. The first step is to decapitate Comstock—off with his official head! That done, the first cause of all this persecution is removed, and from that hour the persecution will cease. With the law as it is, and an honest agent to enforce it, none of these attacks on men and women whose only offence has been that they were, not obscenists, but "infidels," would ever have occurred. But I wouldn't have the law left as it is. After removing its dishonest agent, Congress should proceed to so modify AND AMEND the law, that forever after there shall be no question as to precisely what is meant by obscenity, and what constitutes a transgression of the law.

This done, the whole matter is settled, and settled well. Is there anything in such a disposition of it to which you would yourself object? If not, then are not you and I and all of us in the same boat, pulling against the same stream of Orthodox bigotry, hypocrisy, and fraud, towards the same Eldorado of truth, justice, and liberty?

I think so. I may be wrong, but I believe you think so too. You, working for repeal, desire to secure the same end, protection, that those seek who want the law not abolished, but amended. And now, as it is impossible for the State to afford protection to the mails until the Constitution is changed, I beg you to drop all personal feeling in the matter, and for the present, until the State acquires the right to afford the protection you would have, lend your good head and hand, your splendid energy, to the work of obtaining a modification and amendment of this obnoxious law.

To this end I shall take the liberty of making a motion in behalf of the liberals of the whole country: namely, That D. M. Bennett, F. E. Abbot, B. F. Underwood, and R. G. Ingersoll, be and are hereby constituted a committee to draft a petition to Congress for the modification and amendment of what is known as the "Comstock law" against the circulation of obscene matter through the mails.

Forget the past and start again, and not only will every one of the "seventy thousand" sign the new petition, but seventy thousand more will be found ready to place themselves right on a question that reaches to the very heart of the nation's life. Having done this, our own cause shall move on with new life to grapple with the enemies that are sneaking to position all along the line.

Yours truly, CHARLES ELLIS.

BOSTON, July 16, A. R. 102.

NOTE FROM MR. HEYWOOD.

CELL 52, THE JAIL, DEDHAM, }
Sept. 30, Y. L. 6. }

EDITOR INDEX:—

Please allow me to say that Thos. Dugan, whose letter you printed last week, seems to have mainly correct impressions of Dennis Kearney and the popular movement of which he is an ominous yet encouraging exponent. "The Moody of politics," in a living sense Mr. Kearney voices an afflatus not yet clearly explained to himself or others. While his style and methods are not mine, I discern in him clear sense of reigning injustice and resolute desire that compulsive systems and class devices may give way to essential equity and natural right.

Regarding "obscenity," I think your position logical yet mistaken. Will try and send you a letter soon. Leisure daylight is very limited here, so I can write but little of what I would like to say.

Yours ever, E. H. HEYWOOD.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

EDITOR OF INDEX:—

The Massachusetts State Executive Committee of the National Liberal League wish to make acknowledgment and return thanks, through your columns, to the following-named donors to fund for State Liberal League work: Hon. Elluzz Wright, \$5.00; John Curtis, \$5.00; John L. Stoddard, \$5.00; J. Harry Wheeler, \$5.00; Rev. M. J. Savage, \$5.00; Paine Hall Liberal League, \$5.00; John C. Haynes, \$5.00; Hon. S. E. Sewall, \$5.00; Howard Marston, \$5.00.

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

Address NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE 231 Washington Street, Boston.

ORGANIZE! CHARTERS

For Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, conferring the privilege of representation by five delegates in the Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, will be promptly sent on application, according to the following provisions of Constitution of the same:—

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

These Charters are beautifully printed on the best of paper. Adorned with the handsome Seal of the National Liberal League, they will, if tastefully framed, make a fine ornament for any hall.

Address NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE 231 Washington Street Boston.

The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1878.

WHOLE No. 459.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,
ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, regularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

National Liberal League.

CALL.

Boston, Sept. 13, 1878.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1-4, 1876, will be held at Wieting Opera House, Syracuse, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 26 and 27, 1878. Further particulars as to speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter.

In addition to the hearing of reports, election of officers for the ensuing year, and other ordinary business, questions of the utmost practical importance to the liberal cause will come up for decision at this Congress. Among them the following may be specified:—

1. What efficient measures can be adopted for securing a great increase in the number of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, and thereby winning for liberal ideas the public influence to which they are justly entitled?
2. Shall the National Liberal League nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the present time?
3. How can the National Liberal League most effectively promote the cause of State Secularization, and foil the schemes of those who are seeking to pervert the government to sectarian purposes? What action shall it take with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation?
4. How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?
5. Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the "obscene literature" question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?

The last two of these questions are peculiarly im-

portant at this time, and will inevitably come up for settlement by the approaching Congress. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia were as follows:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

The future growth, prosperity, and influence of the Liberal League movement will depend largely on the action to be taken by the Congress on these two questions. Any weakening of the stand taken at Philadelphia will work great and perhaps fatal disaster to the National Liberal League.

In order, therefore, that these vital questions may be fairly and wisely decided, it is recommended that all Local Leagues elect their delegates with special reference to it. The Congress will not be an irresponsible mass meeting, but a convention composed of delegates and members duly accredited, and seats for them will be reserved. Delegates from Local Leagues will receive Certificates of Membership of the Second Annual Congress by forwarding at once the proper credentials, signed by their own local officers, to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston"; charter, life, and annual members who intend to be present will receive theirs by simply forwarding their names and present addresses. These Certificates must be presented at the door and exchanged for Tickets of Admission to the reserved seats, the rest of the hall being open to the public at large. By this arrangement all confusion will be obviated. The Congress will be composed of accredited members, who alone ought to vote on questions of business affecting the League; every member will be admitted to the reserved seats; and the Committee on Membership will be enabled to make an accurate report to the Congress.

Liberals are urged everywhere to organize themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues and elect good delegates, in order to give this Congress a large local constituency and an influential delegation, and thereby to increase the weight of its decisions with the general public. The questions to be acted upon are of the gravest consequence to the whole liberal cause, and ought to be dealt with by a responsible representative body. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay, if addressed to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

By order of the Board of Directors:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, President.

WILLIAM H. HAMLEN, Secretary.

GLIMPSES.

A SECOND Liberal League has just been formed at Syracuse. This makes the fiftieth Local Auxiliary League chartered by the National League.

EDMUND BURKE once wrote: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

IT IS REPORTED by cable from the Hague that the King and Chambers have passed a law excluding the

Bible and religious teaching from the primary schools. Holland goes forward, and New Haven goes back.

BOARD can be had by members of the Syracuse Congress for two dollars a day at the best hotels of the city, namely, the Syracuse House and the Vanderbilt House. Still lower rates can be secured at private boarding houses.

THE SIXTH Congress of Women is to be held at Providence, October 9, 10, and 11. Mrs. Kate N. Doggett is President, and Miss Mary F. Eastman is Secretary. A long list of distinguished women are announced to read papers.

AT PRESENT writing, we are only enabled to announce positively Mr. B. F. Underwood, Mrs. Clara Neymann, and Professor J. E. Oliver, as speakers at the Syracuse Congress. Others remain to be heard from, while several cannot as yet definitely engage to attend.

THIS PARAGRAPH from the *Hampshire County Journal* of September 28 is simply an illustration of what will prove to be the nearly unanimous opinion of the general public on the point involved: "The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League has been called to meet at Syracuse, Oct. 26 and 27. Among the questions announced for discussion is this: 'How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?' The convention will also consider whether it is best to nominate a candidate for president of the United States. We hope that the discussion upon the Comstock laws will be thorough and dispassionate, and that the delegates will not make a mistake of demanding the total repeal of all laws against obscenity, but simply a radical change in them, which it seems to us will accomplish all that is necessary for the freedom of the press and individual."

TO THOSE who choose to understand, we say explicitly that the Directors' "Card" was not prompted in the least by a wish to retain "office," but that its sole origin was a wish to bring before the Syracuse Congress distinctly and fairly a most important issue of principle which would otherwise have been sprung upon it without sufficient warning. There is not one of the four signers who would not be more than glad to be relieved from the arduous and thankless labor which those offices impose, provided the National Liberal League shall only remain firm and true to its original position, and thereby command the increasing confidence, respect, and support of the liberal public. When we were originally elected at Philadelphia, July 1, 1876, we said: "If I thought that this was simply a post of honor, I should have demurred at taking it, for I do not covet it as such. Although it is a post of honor, it is a great deal more than that: it is a place to work hard in and be shot at, and that is why I am willing to take it. The man who faithfully does the work of the President of this League must prepare himself to perform a great deal of labor, and to meet a great deal of opposition and calumny, both public and private. But it is a place in which I believe I can make myself of some service to you who have chosen me, and for this reason I have accepted the duty which you have imposed. It is this, and not the honor of it, that makes the attraction of this post in my eyes." What we then said has proved true—even truer than we knew at the time. If the Syracuse Congress shall elect new and fresh officers, and at the same time take unequivocal ground in favor of "reform" instead of "repeal," every desire of the signers of the "Card" will be gratified to the full. Without emoluments and without even thanks, the offices offer nothing except the opportunity of hard work in a great and despised cause. Welcome to any successors who will do that work without trailing the colors in the dust!

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Is the Reformer any Longer Needed?

BY HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN. The philosophy of evolution, as applied to the problems of the physical world, is rapidly winning the victory over all opposition. Resting upon the sure foundation of known facts and necessary inductions, it has little to fear from the assaults of mere declamation, or the unbelieving conservatism which sees only danger and disaster in courageously following the truth. But the attempt of some of the chief apostles of this philosophy to apply its teachings literally in the domain of morals and politics involves considerations of very grave moment to the cause of social progress. They tell us that society is not a manufacture, but a growth; and that civilization, therefore, is not an artificial thing, but a part of Nature—of a piece with the development of the embryo, or the unfolding of a flower. Manufacturing morals, we are told, is as unscientific as manufacturing worlds; while social progress is to be wrought out by gradual development, and not by spasms of philanthropy or sudden outbreaks of reform. It is not an accident, but a necessity, and therefore all special reforms are to be superseded by social evolution. The Clarksons and Wilberforces of a past generation must give place to the Spencers and Bagehots of the present, and thus usher in a new dispensation in the history of the race. According to Herbert Spencer, no teaching or policy can advance the work of social development beyond a certain normal rate, while it is quite possible to perturb, to retard, or to disorder the process; and, by maintaining favorable conditions, there cannot be more good done than by letting social progress go on unhindered, while an immensity of mischief may be done in the way of disturbing and distorting and repressing by policies carried out in pursuit of erroneous conceptions. The growth of society is thus analogous to the growth of an animal, or a plant, proceeding in a predetermined order under the influence of causes which act spontaneously and in perfect harmony with all cosmeical development. A very high authority on moral and social questions, catching the spirit of these ideas, traces a great portion of existing evils to benevolent interferences for their removal. He asserts that in this world a large part of the business of the wise is to counteract the efforts of the good, and that those only can safely and serviceably encounter social evils who can both watch, and in some measure imitate, God's mode of dealing with them. He tells us that the coldest tempers are generally, in matters of philanthropy, the soundest thinkers and safest guides and administrators, and that a tender-hearted statesman is almost more to be dreaded than a despot or an adventurer; while, to be worthy and efficient coadjutors with God on the great arena of the world, we must be able to borrow some of the sublime, impassive calm with which, age after age, he has looked down upon the slow progress and lingering miseries of his children. The motto of the social evolutionist is "Slow and sure"; and he exhorts us, as far as possible, to eliminate the time-element from our reckoning of human progress, and imitate Nature in her infinite patience in waiting so long for the physical world to grow into decent and comely shape. With him, human endeavors for ameliorating the condition of humanity are, of course, hinderances rather than helps; and the reformer is to be regarded as representing a type of mind no longer needed, and as destined soon to disappear under the law of the survival of the fittest. Like the mastodon, the dodo, and other creations of the past, he will become extinct, and we shall patiently and placidly look on while social evolution does the work which his ignorance and fanaticism so clumsily attempted in a ruder and less advanced stage of society. This new gospel demands our attention. It makes its appeal in the name of science, and it has the support of great names. Its teaching is plausible, and it embodies a measure of truth. It is remarkably solacing to a certain order of minds, and we believe

multitudes will be tempted to embrace it as a welcome scapegoat for their laziness or moral indifference. It arraigns all the great reforms of the world, and would substitute a sickly moral fatalism for those deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice which have glorified human nature and lighted the world on its way to higher truth. Let us briefly consider it.

The fallacies on which it rests are not difficult to discover. In the first place it assumes the existence of an obviously false and impossible analogy. When we are exhorted to imitate God's mode of dealing with social evils, and to become coadjutors with him by borrowing his sublime patience, it may be well to remember that we are not gods, but human beings, very limited in our knowledge and circumscribed in our sphere of action. The folly of the suggestion that we should put ourselves in the place of the Creator, in order that we may have wise and comprehensive views of our duties to our fellow-creatures, is only equalled by its sublime effrontery. Whoever believes in a Supreme Intelligence must believe that he sees the end from the beginning. The universe is his expression and breath; all its parts and appointments are the fruit of his infinite wisdom, and are seen to work together for good. What is hidden and inscrutable to us must be to him as transparent as light, and in perfect accord with justice, mercy, and truth. To talk about the patience of the Deity, therefore, is to apply the vocabulary of mortals to a Being who infinitely surpasses our comprehension. Patience is a human virtue, implying weakness and imperfection. It means enduring suffering with meekness, sustaining pains and trials without murmuring or fretfulness, bearing trouble with equanimity. This cannot be predicated of God, whose very attributes must make him impassive in surveying the work of his hands. And even this human virtue is only enjoined upon us in encountering evils which are unavoidable; for, if we have the power to remove them, our patience under their burden ceases to be a virtue, if it does not become a vice.

Equally irrational is the notion that we may become Godlike by eliminating the element of time in dealing with the evils of society. We have no right to break away from those limitations which make us what we are, and we have no more power to do so than we have to add to our stature by taking thought. With our Creator, as we are told and believe, the universe is "an everlasting Now"; but with us the little fragment of time which rounds out our life is simply the gateway of duty and toll. It is our providential opportunity, into which we should crowd every beneficent activity which an unselfish devotion to truth and humanity can kindle. We cannot, therefore, become coadjutors with our Maker by folding our hands and waiting upon evolution, or the cold logic of events, but by acting well our appointed part in the fleeting drama of life—by plunging into the strifes and struggles of our time, and wisely but fervently toiling for our kind. These strifes and struggles afford ample scope for our powers, and we have no right to shirk the task to which we are summoned. Evolution is God's method of operating in the natural world, and, in a qualified sense, in the moral; but it can perform no vicarious office for us as intelligent beings endowed with a conscience, who must work out our own salvation. It cannot supersede the strivings and sacrifices of good men for the race; it cannot cancel our social obligations by eloquent talk about gradual development and comprehensive views; it cannot cure the ills of society by assuring us that progress is a necessity, and that, while we may cripple and retard social development, we have no power to aid it; it cannot strengthen the hands of struggling Virtue, or increase our reverence for our Maker, by reminding us of his unruffled serenity in looking down upon the tardy progress and lingering miseries of his children; it cannot bring reproach and derision upon the world's great reformers and reformers without a corresponding blight and paralysis of the world's faith in goodness; it cannot reform society by proclaiming abstract theories of progress, while those who would smite social evils in their concrete form are branded as fanatics and men of "one idea"; it cannot save the world through the leadership of men who boast of their philosophic principles, and their patience under the troubles and sorrows of their fellow-creatures; it cannot establish its doctrine of scientific fatalism without sapping the very foundation of morals. Every civilized community is scourged by some devouring evil, which invites the organized resistance of good men. Through their agency the work of social evolution goes forward, and they are without excuse if they fail to put forth their endeavors. The shortness of life and the feebleness of our powers make the time-element in our reckoning of progress all the more vital. They should render us not more but less patient in dealing with curable social ills; they should incite us to lavish our efforts in the service of humanity, instead of stingily withholding them, and waiting supinely for evolution to take up our task; they should teach us to capitalize our philanthropy to the utmost, and fund it freely in deeds of active beneficence. Any one of the reforms of our day is large enough to tax the best energies of our strongest men; and all of them must lag and languish if, instead of looking to partial and immediate results through our personal exertions, we commit the solution of social problems to the working of inevitable laws.

But we observe, in the next place, that the central idea of this new philosophy is fallacious. It is not contended that the forces which rule society naturally gravitate in the direction of evil, nor is it denied that their tendency, as in the case of individual men, is toward improved conditions. If this were not true, there could be no such thing as a science of history, and the moral world would be the sport of accident and chance. We accept Mr. Bagehot's general idea of a philosophy of progress, which he so skillfully labors to

enforce and illustrate; but Mr. Bagehot himself asserts that "the progress of man requires the coöperation of men for its development." It is not true that the process of civilization is a part of Nature, like the unfolding of a flower. It is not true that social progress goes on as a necessity, according to any invariable law. It is not true that laws and institutions grow, in the sense in which we speak of the growth of plants and animals. If these premises were valid, Mr. Spencer would undoubtedly be right in declaring that, while we can retard or disorder the process of social development, we can do nothing whatever to advance it. But the fact is that, while the process of development, in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is achieved indirectly and unintentionally, social evolution is chiefly the result of efforts consciously put forth for the purpose. To a very large extent communities, like individuals, are the architects of their own fortunes. Evolution is ever at work; but whether it takes a forward or retrograde course must depend largely upon the voluntary action of the people, or of their recognized leaders, in adopting or rejecting particular laws or policies. Prof. Cairnes, in an article written a few years ago combating the views of Mr. Spencer, proves from the highest critical and historical authority that the stationary condition of the race is the rule, and the progressive the exception, and that the greater part of mankind has never shown the least desire that its civil institutions should be improved. He shows that on this ground, and not according to any theory of social evolution, we must account for the retrograde course of certain nations after they have reached an advanced stage of civilization; and he makes the apt quotation from Mr. Mill, that "political institutions are the work of men; owe their origin and their existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer morning and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which, once planted, are eye growing while men are sleeping. In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency." And this reasoning is justified by historical facts which he adduces. Rome was incalculably indebted for her later preëminence to the fortunate and timely adoption of her early code of laws. Her decline and ruin resulted from the decay of her yeomanry and her vast landed estates. The paternal despotism of China carried her up to the civilization she has attained, but is a most formidable barrier to further progress. The absolute monarchy of the Jews produced different results, because they had a peculiar body of men called prophets, the patriots and guides of their time, who were able to withstand the power of kings and priests. Not upon any invariable law, therefore, working in the direction of good or evil, but upon human agency, must the fortunes of States greatly depend. The right does not always come uppermost in the concerns of this world. The truth is often put down by falsehood and force. In his famous essay on "Liberty," Mr. Mill says Christianity itself only became predominant because the persecutions of its enemies were occasional, and separated by long intervals of propagandism. Injustice is not an appointed necessity, but neither is Justice strong enough to win in her ever-recurring conflict with the powers of evil without the help of faithful and heroic men. "We ought not to forget that there is an incessant and ever-flowing current of human affairs toward the worse, consisting of all the follies, all the vices, all the negligences, indolences, and supinenesses of mankind, which is only controlled and kept from sweeping all before it by the exertions which some persons constantly, and others by fits, put forth in the direction of good and worthy objects." This confession of faith of John Stuart Mill, with which Prof. Cairnes enforces his argument, was the key-note of his life; and whoever thoroughly accepts it as the inspiration of his labors will be ready to work for humanity as if the fortunes of the world depended on his personal endeavors. The fortunes of the world, indeed, to a large extent, have depended upon the toils and struggles of just such men; while those who have looked on in indifference, or opposed all efforts at reform because they believed it wiser "to let social progress go on unhindered," have left the world little better than they found it, if they have not been positive obstructions to human welfare.

Who can look back upon the great reforms of the world, and pronounce them so many ill-fated struggles to better its condition which only deflected the path of progress from its true course? Who can gainsay the grand lesson of history so beautifully stated by Mr. Motley, that "the generation that plants is not the generation that gathers in the harvest, but all mankind at last inherit what is sown in the blood and tears of a few"? Who, that is not the slave of mere theories, would disown the martyrs whose blood has been the seed of the Church? Who would dishonor the apostles and prophets of free thought in every age who have blazed the way of progress for the race, and made our present civilization possible? Mr. Buckle affirms that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* has contributed more to the happiness of man than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account. The age we live in is what we find it because of the labors and sacrifices of all the great souls of the past. If progress has been evolved, it has also quite as certainly been propagated. It is not simply the product of law, but the fruit of human toil and sacrifice, voluntarily embraced for the improvement and regeneration of mankind. Our churches, our educational institutions, our organized charities, our scientific associations, our various special reforms, and that marvellous instrumentality called the press, are all so many testimonies to the power of voluntary efforts purposely employed in the furtherance of human well-being, and so many practical refutations of the theory that social development is dwarfed and deformed by attempts to improve it.

But the new doctrine is not only fallacious, but necessarily demoralizing. This is implied in what we have already said, but it needs to be particularly emphasized. It unavoidably results from the principle that social development, while it may be hindered or deranged, cannot be artificially bettered. Mr. Spencer says this doctrine "is calculated to have a steady effect on thought and action." It cannot fail to produce a paralyzing effect. He admits that sanguine reformers will feel that it takes away "much of the stimulus to exertion"; and he asks, "If large advances in human welfare can come only in the slow process of things, which will inevitably bring them, why should we trouble ourselves?" This staggering question he answers by saying that "on visionary hopes, rational criticisms have a depressing influence," but that "it is better to recognize the truth." The truth which he thus frankly counsels us to recognize is the fatalism of his theory of development, and the consequent helplessness of humanity to speed its social advancement. According to this doctrine, the reformer is not simply a fanatic, but a social nuisance. He is a benevolent intermeddler with a process which may be marred, but cannot be mended; and the business of wise and sober men is to counteract his mischief. The philanthropist must surrender his vocation and his dreams of human amelioration, to men of cold tempers and comprehensive views. The patriot, who pictures to himself a possible future of renovated institutions and a regenerated state, and burns with the longing to realize his aspirations, must be put under the training of Science, while Evolution is to have free course and be glorified.

The effect of these teachings, if generally accepted, cannot be doubtful. Unquestionably, the fanaticism so commonly found in alliance with reformatory movements has wrought much mischief. No one will dispute this. Fanaticism is the epidemic of our times, whether it shows itself in special reforms, in politics, in religion, or in trade. It seems to be inseparable from human affairs, and especially all high endeavors. It certainly has its uses, nor is it easy to see how the race could have advanced without it. Worldly prudence and calculation are not the highest virtues, nor the chief mainsprings of human progress. They are honored by the selfish and the time-serving quite as sincerely as by the worthier classes in society. The reformer often finds them the cousin-germans of cowardice, and the most formidable foes of that disinterestedness which animates his labors. The philosopher, too, with his broad views and many-sided tendencies, will decline to follow him. He loves the truth, and sincerely dedicates himself to its service, but is not ready to bear witness to it by great personal sacrifices. He doubts as much as he believes, and has no taste for any form of martyrdom. One of the foremost writers and thinkers of our time tells us that profound thought, if thoroughly honest and conscientious, is deplorably apt to sap the foundations and impair the strength of our moral as well as intellectual convictions. The thinkers of the world are not its saviors. "The tree of knowledge is not that of life." "Enthusiasm," says Emerson, "is the leaping lightning, not to be measured by the horse-power of the understanding." The truth is, that real social progress is always accomplished by imperfectly aspiring toward a perfect ideal; and in this work the faculty of imagination has the chief share. It has been well said that if you destroy this faculty, the condition of man will become as stationary as that of the brutes. Without the fanaticism of self-sacrifice which the imagination kindles, our civilization would be hopelessly dwarfed and mutilated. The fanaticism of the early Christians was the soil in which their faith took root; and the simple and sublime doctrines of the new religion, which now bear witness to its truth, were floated down the centuries on the errors and misconceptions of its disciples. Without the impelling fanaticism of Luther and his collaborators, their battle against Rome would never have been fought. The founder of Quakerism paid little heed to the canons of worldly wisdom; while the fanaticism of John Woolman purged the Society of Friends of the guilt of slavery, and waked such a response in other humane hearts, in the Old World and the New, that the way was thus opened for emancipation in the British West India Islands, and the ultimate abolition of slavery in the United States. It was the fanaticism of Daniel O'Connell which achieved Catholic emancipation, and made Ireland a nation. When he began his agitation, nothing could have seemed more utterly and hopelessly impossible, according to all human calculation; but his soul was so burdened with the accumulated sorrows of his country, which his matchless eloquence set to music, that he became the liberator of Ireland by thus multiplying himself among his people. It was the fanaticism of reform which repealed the English Corn-laws in opposition to the statesmanship, the public opinion, and the educated classes of the time. If Garrison and his associates had taken counsel of the wise and sober men of America, who could see only failure and disaster in the anti-slavery agitation, the world-famous crusade of the abolitionists would never have been heard of, and the Southern negro would have been turned over to the "slow-and-sure" account of social evolution, through which "the sum of all villainies" would have been planted in every Northern State. It was the fanaticism of our fathers a century ago which achieved American independence; for no unimpassioned judgment of their undertaking could have given strength to their hopes. The chances of success were, in fact, overwhelmingly against them. Of one thing only were they sure, and that was that England had no right to bind them by laws, in the making of which they were denied any share, and that they were ready, if need be, to offer their lives as hostages to liberty. Out of the fanaticisms of Fourier, St. Simon, and Robert Owen, has come the organized struggle of labor which is now troubling the dreams of despots,

compelling capital to respect it by its harsh machinery of strikes and trades-unions, and at the same time opening the way for the just and saving principle of co-operation. Christianity itself, the great seed-plot of reform, is the farthest thing possible from a system of logic, nor "was it accomplished by prize essays, Bridgewater bequests, and a minimum of four thousand five hundred a year." To the Jews it was a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; and its doctrine of perfect self-renunciation fares little better with the philosophers and scientists of to-day.

Indeed, if reforms were to be left to thinkers and scholars, and the wise and prudent, they would never be undertaken at all. The grandest efforts of heroic virtue can only be inspired by that supreme devotion to a holy cause which amounts to a fascination, and nothing less than this can call forth the enduring admiration and perfect love of mankind. This truth is illustrated in the lives of all the world's great martyrs to liberty and high priests of reform. If no hazards are to be braved, nothing will be attempted. None of the great agitations of the world could have passed muster if they had been compelled in advance to go to trial on a cool calculation of the chances of success and the sacrifices involved. The reformer feels that if he would save his life he must be ready to lose it. He sees the particular cause he espouses with such vividness, from his mount of vision, and embraces it with such unreserved ardor, that its service is accepted as a divine command. The light which points his way casts all else into the shade. The fire within him consumes every doubt and fear which could beset the path of a cautious and considerate man. He accepts the philosophy embodied in Mr. Lincoln's motto of "one war at a time." If his mind were large enough to see all reforms in their just relationships, and coolly and impartially to estimate their real value and the difficulties of success, he would probably espouse none of them. The task would seem too large, and he would lack that intensity of conviction and concentration of zeal which alone could inspire the needed courage and self-forgetfulness. The very one-sidedness of reformers, their readiness to die for what they believe to be the truth, and that element of exaggeration which so often enters into their conceptions, thus become providential disguises, for which the world has reason to return thanks. Unquestionably, prudence and common-sense are qualities which cannot be prized too highly in the ordinary concerns of life. Science and philosophy have also their sovereign value, and have rendered inestimable service in checking the excesses and extravagances of reform; but the theory which would substitute social evolution for individual and organized efforts to improve society would take the poetry out of life, and reduce humanity itself to a machine. It strikes a deadly blow at personal responsibility and belittles human character, which is above all price. It lays its benumbing hand upon the divinest charities and sweetest humanities of the world, and pours contempt upon the sublimest displays of exalted virtue with which the history of the race has made us acquainted.

Nor is it any answer to the views we have presented to say that special reforms served their turn as a provisional necessity, before the principle of social evolution was discovered, but are now to be thrust aside as the outgrown garments of childhood. On the contrary, we believe there never was a time when signal efforts and sacrifices for human welfare were more urgently demanded than now. The social progress already achieved only points the way to new duties and wider fields of labor. The discussion and settlement of one question only reveals its relations to others, which logically follow. In the remote future a time may come, through the toils and struggles of humanity, when the work of reform will end in universal conformity to the moral law; but that millennial day is rather too far off to vex us with its interests. Our duty is with "the living present"; and who believes it safe to hand over the great problems of society to-day to the cold and relentless law of development? Look, for example, at our current politics. The issues which divide our great parties are as undiscoverable as they were in the year 1852. Neither of them dares face the real questions which most deeply concern the people, and upon which alone party organizations can be justified. Respecting the vital questions of finance and the tariff, each agrees that in particular States and congressional districts its leaders may proclaim such doctrines as will be most likely to secure local ascendancy, and thus to make its pretended "principles" the foot-ball of party success. Even their national platforms pipe the same music through different words. It has been aptly observed that half the Democrats are good Republicans, and half the Republicans are good Democrats. Their antagonisms are simply a memory and a habit, and yet party loyalty is intensified just as the uselessness of party machinery becomes more and more evident. Their heaven is power, and each is striving to reach it by despicable makeshifts and stale appeals to its traditions. We have reached one of those seasons of moral stagnation which follow revolutionary periods, and sometimes threaten the very existence of free government. By a sort of universal understanding, the word politics has become the synonym of "jockeyship." Its higher and real meaning is practically forgotten, if not openly laughed at. The old slavery question introduced conscience into our public affairs. It reached down to the very foundations of government, and touched the great springs of our national life. Heart and brain went forth in the glad service of a great cause, and the spirit of reform was in the air. Men of the most commonplace characters were so lifted up and ennobled by the struggle that the whole land seemed ablaze with the fires of a moral revolution. We believe the hour has struck for another revival, and that it should now be the mission of the reformer to rouse the popular conscience from its deadly slumber, and inspire the conduct of public

affairs with the great moralities which dignify private life. He should resolve, with all his might, to divinize instead of diabolize public life, and that the word politics shall no longer stand for venality and self, but the application of great and enduring principles to the public well-being. He should insist that political knaves and traders shall be sent to the rear, and their places supplied by men who really believe in God, in humanity, and in rectitude. And, as the necessary preliminary to all this, he should forthwith declare war to the death against the despotism of the caucus, and hail the independent voter as the anointed political Messiah on whom we are to believe.

But some one may ask us to be more specific, and to name some of the special reforms which yet demand attention. One of them presents itself in the financial problem. To the present generation, finance is a new issue in American politics. It is altogether unfamiliar to the customary thought of the people, because the course of our politics for more than a quarter of a century has steadily turned in other directions. The protracted and absorbing controversy respecting African slavery necessarily diverted attention from economic questions, while the war which finally swept slavery away left in its track a paper-money problem scarcely less fearful than that of the rebellion itself. Financial knowledge is now the demand of the hour; for, if financial quackery is allowed to take its place, national bankruptcy and irretrievable dishonor may be the result. There is but one way out of our dilemma, and we shall be obliged to pursue it, even should it involve as thorough an overhauling of the whole question as that through which the country was finally prepared to grapple with the slavery issue and to settle it forever. Why is the question of our currency now involved in so hopeless a muddle? Why are so many of our politicians, in dealing with it, so fearfully afflicted with mental vertigo? Why do they lead us into such a wilderness of metaphysics, and spread before us such a famine of ideas? How shall we explain their frequent somersaults, and their marvellous performances in "ground and lofty tumbling"? It is not that the question is an inscrutable one, but it has not been considered. Until quite recently it has not found its way into our politics at all, since the old issue respecting a national bank was settled. What we need is a national education in the elements of financial knowledge, and we should be glad to see this begin in our common schools. Indeed, some of our great party leaders and latter-day statesmen seem to need this knowledge quite as much as the rank and file of the people. If it were possible, the horn-book of finance should be placed in their hands, and they should be taught, as speedily as possible, the definition of money; that something cannot be made out of nothing by an act of Congress; that real money must be dug out of the earth, and cannot be obtained by printing any denomination of it on paper; that a dollar is a silver or gold coin of the value of one hundred cents, and not any fraction of this sum, nor a mere promise to pay a dollar, which can be discharged by another promise; that a paper currency, irredeemable in gold or silver, has proved a curse to every country that has tried it, and that any scheme for relieving the indebtedness of individuals or nations without payment is a violation of the command, "Thou shalt not steal." Undoubtedly, many questions in political economy as yet remain unsettled, but there are certain elementary principles of finance which are as well established as any facts of physical science; and, if they had been well taught in our schools, the men who are now preying upon the popular ignorance and disturbing the peace of the country would have been more worthily employed.—*North American Review, September-October, 1878.*

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

THE MISSION OF FREE RELIGION.

The services of the Unitarian Church, yesterday forenoon, were under the charge of the pastor, the Rev. Wm. J. Potter. The discourse on the occasion consisted of a lecture by Prof. Felix Adler, of the "New York Society for Ethical Culture."

Prof. Adler said the one thing needful is absolute frankness. They say that free religion is cold, and leaves life devoid of comfort. If all they charge were true, we must still accept it. Religion is the science of sincerity. It can tolerate within its own borders nothing that is insincere. The so-called conflict between science and religion is now engaging the earnest attention of all reflecting minds.

We should distinguish between the religions and religion. There is no conflict between science and religion, however greatly certain forms of religion, now dominant, may suffer at the hands of science. Science rejects the miraculous. The laws of Nature remain unbroken. The order of the cosmos shall not be disturbed. The planets swing through their orbits; the islands of the constellations swim through the oceanic immensities of space; they follow their unchanging law. Upon the assumption of Nature's constancy depends the certainty of all our knowledge, the reasonableness of all our actions, the safety and sanity of our lives. Science rejects revelation. We can understand that only which we might have discovered ourselves by observation and reflection. To understand is to reproduce; but we can reproduce only what we might have produced in the first instance, had time and opportunity been allowed us. The theory of revelation therefore involves a contradiction in terms. For either we should have reached the truths revealed to us of ourselves,—and then revelation is superfluous,—or we have no intellectual organ wherewith to produce them; and then neither could we assimilate them. They would be to us a strange language, devoid of meaning and utterly useless. Science rejects the claims of what is offered to us as the Book of Revelation. Historical criticism assigns a very large portion of the Biblical narrative

to the domain of myth and legend. It points to the questionable morality of certain passages of the Scripture; to the action of the Deity as reported in the last of Samuel; to the slaughter of seven sons of Saul by King David, in honor of God; to the commandment of human sacrifice in Leviticus. It makes clear that the Bible cannot be considered inspired; that it is not a book but a literature, containing parts of unequal merit,—some gross and worthless, others of transcendent and undying beauty. Science has effected a complete change in the theory of life, which is likely to produce a revolution in our habits and mode of living. It is not the question of the existence of Deity nor of personal immortality that will divide us. We all know that we are not mere wind-falls from the tree of Time. We all trust in the final triumph of righteousness. We also know that deep humility of spirit becomes us, and a disposition to ask less for ourselves; and that to confide in the inevitable that it is wise is the truest and noblest faith. The question of prayer marks the true dividing line between the old world of thought and the new. A wide gulf lies between those who pray in the hope that their petitions will be answered, and those who do not. When your only child is sick, even unto death, you pray—if you pray at all—not because of any reflex action on yourselves; but you pray to have the gift of this child preserved to you. To pray in this sense we must believe in miracles. Under the reign of natural law, man appears to have no consolation left to him. But there is another law higher than that of Nature, which we create, even in acting it out. In this we discover the pledge of the divine mission to which man is called. The infinity of the stellar depths dwindles before the infinity of the moral idea, by which we are made free from the confining fetters of mechanism, and our mounting spirit rises to be a partner of the divine. We are world-builders, sent to construct the world of perfect justice, which is not, but is only becoming; which lives only in the demands of conscience and the visions of the prophets who interpret them. The fulfillment of this task gives a solemnity and a sublime dignity to human life, and makes it holy, though it cannot always make it happy.

The duty of free religion is to apply the eternal law of righteousness to the particular unrighteousness of our age; to seize the moral leadership of the times which the churches are allowing to escape them; to draw a new bond and establish a new fellowship among its adherents for the realization of finer and loftier forms of virtue than the outside community cares to cultivate. Free religion must head the movement for social regeneration; and by impressing their rights and duties both on the rich and poor, become the peacemaker between opposing classes.

By the humanity that is in it, every great religion has triumphed. It was not Buddha's doctrine of Nirvana that attracted his followers, but the fact that he mingled with the lowly; that he broke down the castes of earth; that he said, "My law is a law of grace for all men; my law is like the sky, which encompasseth all,—the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the high and the low." It was not the dogma of the Christ, but the humanity of Christ, by which Christianity triumphed. It was the humility of the Master, the simplicity of his teachings, his tenderer sympathy with the afflicted, that drew the hearts to him.

The lecturer closed with these words: "I sometimes think that I can see that wondrous man, Jesus, the Nazarene, as he treads the realms of the spirit land. His face is pale; his look is weary; he turns away as clouds of incense rise to him from a thousand altars. His wounds bleed! 'They bleed,' he says, 'for those who call themselves by my name have crucified me anew these eighteen hundred years.' Under their stony sepulchres they have buried him; by their lifeless pomp they deride him: the dead Christ they worship, but the living Christ they have denied. And so a new uprising must come for larger righteousness, and a new ideal must vivify the withered hearts, and a new gospel must be preached once more to the poor, and the weary and heavy-laden."—*New Bedford Mercury, Sept. 30.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE CHINESE QUESTION.

The general interest excited by the publication in the *Chronicle* of the opinions of Benjamin F. Butler and Jeremiah S. Black upon the Chinese question induced a gentleman of this city to write to Wendell Phillips, not as a lawyer, but as a well-known champion of the laboring-men, and to invite an expression of his opinion upon the topic. Mr. Phillips' attention was called to the views taken by the two jurists above mentioned, and, after a brief period for reflection, he has returned the following reply, which has been handed us for publication. It will be seen that Mr. Phillips does not enter into the legal merits of the case, but contents himself with a flat contradiction of Judge Black's law, and then proceeds with his well-known vigor to review the whole subject. The letter is as follows:—

"BOSTON, Sept. 5, 1878.

"Dear Sir.—I read the slip you sent me, stating Judge Black's views on the Chinese question. I do not accept his law. Any State 'regulation' which violates a United States treaty is void. No one but a secessionist would question it. As to the general subject—Chinese immigration—I dissent entirely from the opinions entertained on the Pacific coast. Indeed, I detest the shallow, heartless, and narrow views taken there on the subject.

"In the first place, I have no fear of the Chinese coming here in such numbers as even temporarily to disturb our welfare or the character of our institutions. Nations emigrate gradually,—never in tens of millions at a time. History and common sense both bear witness against the possibility of it.

"Secondly, all the millions, from any race that will or can come here, are sorely needed to fill up the vast wastes in our possessions between Omaha and the Pacific. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and we have no right to shut a man out of any vacant lot which he needs to earn his bread.

"The Chinese are a painstaking, industrious, and marvelously capable people. Statesmanship and political economy, as well as Christianity, bid us welcome such help in subduing the continent—not violently to thrust them out. That we, who fled here only two centuries ago, should refuse the Chinese a place, is monstrous. But that the Irish, who only fifty or thirty years ago came here and took shelter under institutions already established, should use the rights we have shared with them to oppress and torment the Chinese, is shameful inconsistency; another instance of how often the persecuted are themselves the first to persecute. Shame on the Irishman who, after his country's four centuries of protest and rebellion, borrows of England the self-same infamous and hateful weapons to use them against the Chinese! If so sad and wicked an act could be the subject of mirth, the whole civilized world would see it as the most ridiculous inconsistency. But a deeper feeling, that of detestation and abhorrence, is the mood of every honest man, and one needs the masterly sarcasm and rebuke of O'Connell fitly to describe it.

"Very respectfully yours,

"WENDELL PHILLIPS."

—San Francisco Chronicle.

CLERICALISM DESPERATE.

There is no party in France that has contested the triumph of the Republic with more persistency and bitterness than the Clerical party, and none which is so chagrined and embarrassed by the continual triumphs which the Republic has made. During the severe struggle which culminated—though, unluckily, it cannot be said to have ended—in the elections of last year, Clericalism was the life and soul of the motley opposition to the Republicans. The strengthening of the Church, the maintenance of legal and administrative barriers against the advances of the modern spirit of freedom,—these were the sole objects for which Bonapartists, Legitimists, Orléanists, and the nondescript clan known as MacMahonists were united in working. To keep the direction and subvention of the Church under Roman influence, to prevent the rescue of education from the hands of ecclesiastics, to secure to the Church the active sympathy of the Government in its domestic and foreign policy,—these were aims which all the anti-Republican factions held in common. It was only a chance whether a conservative success would set up the Empire again or would pave the way for a monarchy, or would give the Marshal-President a longer and more secure tenure of power; but, whichever of these it would have done, it was perfectly sure that it would have immensely reinforced the Roman Catholic Church, and the partisans of the Church are proportionately vexed and disheartened by the complete failure of the alliance and by the general disintegration that has followed it.

Nor is the situation of the Clerical party reassuring, apart from the reverses which it has met in its political combinations. The same forces which operated upon the public mind to make sterile the political alliance with the Church are undermining the foundations of clerical influence in the community. We are not of those who expect to see the Church of Rome dethroned suddenly or easily from the sway which it has so long and so skilfully and earnestly exercised in France; but there are abundant signs that its hold on the people is loosening. Among the latest and most important of these is the appearance of a recently-published pamphlet, entitled *The Great Peril of the Church of France in the Nineteenth Century*. The author is the Abbé Emile Bougaud, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Orleans, of which the famous Mgr. Dupanloup is the bishop. M. Bougaud is one of the most active and well-known of the Catholic clergy, and his promotion to a bishopric has been frequently mentioned. The subject of his pamphlet is the difficulty of recruiting the priesthood in France, a difficulty which he says presents the question, whether "we shall continue to have enough priests at least to save the souls which have remained faithful to us; I dare not say to reconquer those who have left us and to regain France, which is escaping from us." He mourns the abandonment of sacerdotal functions by the higher classes, and adds:—

"There are other classes withdrawing from us. Those powerful rural populations, hitherto so faithful to the Church, which, sixty years since, gave her that grand clergy of which it was said that it was the first of the world—these, too, are deserting the pathway to the sanctuary. The evil extends beyond the possibility of denial. It invades all. The result is a singular enfeebling of the Church of France—a sort of paralysis. Her existence is not yet in danger, but her organs only half-perform their functions. Her action is languishing, lessening, enervated."

The figures by which M. Bougaud sustains his statements are furnished by the various bishops. By these it seems that there are only twenty dioceses in France which are even nearly equipped; there are twenty which lack from fifteen to twenty priests each, or a total of four hundred and fifty; there are thirty-six which lack more than thirty priests each, or a total of more than one thousand and eighty. Of the latter, Paris is one. The total number deficient is not given, but it is at least in excess of three thousand. As to the seminaries relied on to furnish new priests, the Abbé cites four in which the average attendance has fallen off from seven hundred and thirty-five to two hundred and eighty-nine. The future, therefore, looks darker than the present. "The malady," says the Abbé, "spreads everywhere—

here with more violence, there more slowly, but scarcely any region escapes it. Sometimes it seems to abate for some years; then it revives with vigor. It invades even the most religious dioceses. Every revolution brings it on again: 1890 was fatal; the war of 1870 still more so. At every shock we lose ground."

Nor is it in the priesthood alone that the Church feels the popular indifference. The Abbé Bougaud complains that the attendance at the churches has so fallen off that it is no longer possible to keep up the ancient form of worship even in the cities. He says: "It must not be concealed, the old net of the city parish in a great number of cities yields less and less to the fishers of men. A high mass, where the men are found only scattered here and there among the women, and, by their unfamiliarity with the things of God, know not what to do; vespers, where the choristers alone take part, where even the women show no interest, and come only to the benediction: all this solemn worship, so beautiful in the seventeenth century, which came down through the eighteenth already hardly understood, scarcely retains life to-day. Men no longer pay any attention to these services, and seldom come to them."

The author, moreover, laments bitterly the lack of literary effort on the part of the Church to contend with the tendencies of modern thought.

"Do you not see," he writes, "the sciences which on every side are in insurrection against the Church? Do not geology and astronomy vie with each other in sapping the recital of Genesis? Are not biology, paleontology, and the study of language making desperate efforts to overthrow the dogmas of the creation and the unity of man? In all the higher circles, are not magistrates, advocates, professors, business men, poisoned by objections for which they can find no answer? Have we one journal, one review, which throws light on all such questions? And why have we none? The teachers are wanting."

These are facts which have long been patent to impartial observers, but they have hitherto been vehemently denied by the Catholic organs. They tend to show that the Roman Church belongs to the ignorant past, and that it is relatively weak,—growing weaker in the presence of the forces of enlightenment at work in the present, and sure to work more effectively in the future. We have them, in the book of M. Bougaud, definitely stated and proved by a man of high standing in the Church, and of unquestionable devotion to her interests. It is not singular that in the face of such facts the Clerical party in France should be desperate.—*New York Times*, Sept. 14.

FINE ART IN BANKRUPTCY.

THE BUSINESS OF PROVIDING CHEAP "ASSETS" FOR GENTLEMEN WHO WISH TO COMPROMISE THEIR DEBTS—A NEW YORK "ENTERPRISE."

The *Herald* of Tuesday printed in its financial column the following advertisement:—

IF YOU CONTEMPLATE BANKRUPTCY YOU CAN procure \$48,000 good, genuine, regular securities; no more of same kind exist; have never been offered; terms to suit contingency. Address, confidentially, ATTORNEY, box 112, *Herald* office.

A reporter of the *World*, contemplating, not bankruptcy, but a good story, answered the advertisement under an assumed name and received the following reply:—

MEMORANDUM.

HENRY H. HADLEY,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW,
BROADWAY, N. Y., August 16, 1878.

Dear Sir,—Your favor referring to bankruptcy, dated 14th instant, was duly received and contents noted. If convenient please call on me to-morrow at 11 A. M., or from 2 to 3 P. M., here at my office, that we may talk the matter over as requested. I remain confidentially yours,
H. H. HADLEY, Attorney.

The reporter called on Mr. Hadley at his office and found him busily engaged with two elderly and eminently respectable-looking gentlemen. After waiting some time the reporter was ushered into the lawyer's office. Upon representing himself as the special partner of a firm of hat-makers who were about to fail, he received the greatest and most respectful attention.

"How much do you owe?" Mr. Hadley asked. "About \$75,000," was the reply. "How much assets have you got?" "About \$20,000." "What have you done with the rest?" "Spent it." "Who?" "I and my partners." "How much have you drawn?" "About \$3000." "How much did you put in the firm?" "Twenty thousand dollars; that is, \$12,000 cash and \$8000 I still owe." "Ah! Is your book-keeper all right?" "He is." Can he so change the books as to make it appear that you drew all this \$12,000, and that, in return for it and as security for the \$8000 you owe, you gave them \$50,000 of securities without further recourse to you?" "He can." "Will he?" "He will, sure." "That'll do," said Mr. Hadley; "my client has \$50,000 worth of Southern land bonds; they are worth nothing in the market; they may (with a smile) some day be worth their face value. They are for lands granted to him on the Chattanooga and Cincinnati Railroad. He will sell them for \$1000 cash." "Good," replied the reporter; "but how am I to show where I got them from?"

"He shall give you a bill of sale; you shall turn over to him some stock in exchange,—he will furnish it for you,—and you give him the \$1000 besides. His bill of sale will be dated back as far as you like, so as to make the whole transaction look genuine; and of course you explain to your creditors that your unfortunate land speculation has led to your failure. You give them a few thousand in cash, then bonds and what stock you may have on hand, and go on your way rejoicing. Twig?"

The reporter did twig. He asked how this sort of thing would stand the scrutiny of a court. "Why, first-rate," was the reply. "We did it in Philadel-

phia a few days ago,—turned in stock like that, worth nothing, and Judge Cadwalader ordered it put in the schedule of assets as worth 98 cents on the dollar. All you want is to have your book-keeper with you. If he don't understand how to fix his books, let him get new ones for the past two or three months, and understand that, with the \$12,000 you have drawn and the \$8000 you owed on the partnership, you owed the firm \$20,000. To secure them you gave them \$50,000 in Southern land bonds, which they accepted without further recourse to you. Unfortunately the bonds have turned out worthless and you fail. See?"

"But," said the reporter, "won't I be asked how I came to buy such securities?"

"No," was the reply; "or you can refuse to answer. You bought them in a legitimate transaction, as the transfer I will give you will show. You gave them to a third party, and then your share in the business ends. But," he added, "we must be careful to cover our tracks all along. I shall require you to engage an attorney I will recommend to you, as I do not want any shyster to come in and demand the return of the \$1000 from my client."

"Oh, that's all right," the reporter assented; "that we will fix when I bring my partner to see you."

Mr. Hadley added: "You need not be alarmed at all. This thing is done every day. Why, those gentlemen you saw just now are clients of mine—men on the stock exchange—whom I have put through. Trust to me and I'll see you all right. But remember that you must have your books show all right, your securities on hand, and your stories learned by heart. If you conclude to take these bonds I guess I will have the transfer made by a man I know here, who used to be on the London Stock Exchange, where he failed for \$1,000,000. He is a bright fellow, and they can't get anything out of him on the witness-stand."

It appears from inquiries made by the reporters of the *World* that the business in which Mr. Hadley is engaged is followed by other people. A well-known Wall Street broker said yesterday: "There is no doubt that a great deal of business is done in the way of buying cheap or worthless stocks and holding them for use by intending bankrupts who want to make a show of assets. There are men on the street, for example, who confine themselves to transactions of this kind. When Erie or Wabash or Hannibal and St. Joe, or any of the stocks that have fallen very low, are down at the lowest ebb they buy them; if they rise, all right; they make a profit; if they do not rise they sell them for something more than they paid for them, to intending bankrupts, who put them in their exhibits as assets, and claim to have bought them at a high figure, and to have failed because of their decline. The transfer papers or bills of sale are so manipulated as to date back the purchase of the bonds to the time when they were quoted high, and the creditors are completely fooled; the newspapers report 'another failure caused by speculation on Wall Street,' and the bankrupt goes on his way rejoicing."—*N. Y. World*.

A RELIGIOUS "HOSS-RACE."—A church in Wisconsin, finding its finances in that deplorable condition bordering on insolvency, and seeing the vanity of such earthly expectations as are built on the delusive hope realizing from collections, decided to adopt the "hoss-race," not exactly as a means of grace, but as the most feasible plan for gathering lucre wherewith to pay debts and defray incidental expenses. A dozen nags were entered, the people turned out en masse, and the gate-money was enough to make a noble contribution to the treasury of the Lord. In short, the scheme was a pronounced success financially, but it disrupted the church. Dea. Hines got angry because his horse was beaten by Dea. Hall's mare. The pastor, who acted as one of the judges, took sides with Dea. Hall and the mare; the quarrel spread, until the parson wandered forth seeking a new vineyard, and the voice of prayer and praise was hushed in the sanctuary.—*Springfield Republican*.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

SONNET ON NIGHT.

BY I. BLANCO WHITE.

Mysterious Night! when our first parent knew
Thee from report divine, and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame,
This glorious canopy of light and blue?
Yet 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting flame,
Hesperous with the host of heaven came;
And lo! creation widened in man's view.
Who could have thought such darkness lay concealed
Within thy beams, O Sun? Or who could find,
Whilst fly, and leaf, and insect stood revealed,
That to such countless orbs thou mad'st us blind?
Why do we, then, shun death with anxious strife?
If Light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life?

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, &c.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 5.

American News Co., \$6.65; I. Seldenberg, \$3; F. Fradley, \$3.25; Wiley Britton, \$2; Dr. T. S. Hodgson, \$3.20; James Dillaway, \$5; Richard Russell, \$3.20; H. L. Hastings, \$1.30; T. M. Lamb, \$2.62; Mrs. E. M. Babb, \$2; N. Grossmayer, \$3.20; William Binkhorn, \$3.20; Alex. H. Davis, \$3.20; William Jones, \$1.60; Hon. S. E. Sewall, \$3.20; L. K. Washburn, \$1.20; William Boynton, \$3.20; Wm. J. Potter, \$3.20; W. W. Liggett, \$4.80; H. C. Witmer, \$1; William Dudgeon, \$25; H. J. Chase, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 10, 1878.

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 tors.

A CARD.

We, the undersigned, Directors of the National Liberal League, offer ourselves as candidates for reelection at the Second Annual Congress of the League, on the following platform of principles:—

1. The right of absolute individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, on all political, religious, social, or other questions, and the right of being wholly uninterfered with by the courts, no matter what opinions as such may be advocated or promulgated.

2. The right and duty of Congress and State Legislatures to pass, and the right and duty of the National and State courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails; provided, that the offence known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.

3. The flagrant wrong of intrusting the execution of the laws for the suppression of obscene literature to any official or officials who shall not scrupulously confine their action within the limits here clearly defined.

And we decline to be candidates for reelection if the principles of the above platform shall fail to be approved by the National Liberal League at this Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary.*
 J. A. J. WILCOX, *Treasurer.*
 D. G. CRANDON, *Chair. Fin. Comm.*

PROFESSOR SUMNER, of Yale College, at a public meeting in New Haven before the late election, declared that the attempt to force sectarianism on the public schools is actually endangering the whole school system. Nothing could be truer. Professor Sumner is not a radical, but he is wiser than many who are.

THE NEW YORK *Independent* is astonished quite unnecessarily: "It is singular that in a Christian country like Austria a man should be fined for selling a copy of the New Testament. What kind of a Christian religion is it that opposes the circulation of a book containing the record and revelation of the doctrines of that religion?" We are not acquainted with the facts of this case. But we conjecture that the Austrian government has taken its ethics from the *Independent*, decided to exterminate every "rat" who is caught circulating obscene literature, and applied the same law to the above-mentioned man which the *Independent* is glad to see applied to Mr. Heywood. If Judge Clark's ruling is correct, that any book must be held to be obscene which contains a single obscene passage, then the New Testament itself comes under that condemnation, as Sir George Jessel declared on the bench only a few months ago.

It is difficult to see how the action of the Syracuse Congress could be more completely "forestalled" than by setting afloat such injurious rumors as these: "NEW YORK, September 30.—The *Sun* says that the Directors of the National Liberal League have called a convention or congress, to be held at Syracuse, October 26, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States in 1880. H. L. Green, of Salamanca, Chairman of the Executive Committee of this organization, informs us that the League propose to make a serious canvass in 1880, and to run electoral tickets in nearly every State. He furnishes us with a list of some of the names most prominently mentioned for the principal nomination. Among them appear those of Colonel Bob Ingersoll, the Hon. George W. Julian, Ellzr Wright, Benjamin F. Butler, James Parton, and B. F. Underwood. We are also informed that the National Liberal League is considering the expediency of putting a lady in nomination for the Vice-Presidency."

THE RELATIONS OF GOVERNMENT TO MORALITY AND RELIGION.

Among the objections brought against the retention of the laws designed to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, these have been urged as of peculiar force: that "government has nothing to do with morality as such," and that, "if government has the right to suppress immoral publications, it has an equal right to suppress irreligious publications, and thus to suppress freedom of the press on religious questions." Having made last week a general comparison of the "repeal" and "reform" positions, we propose this week to consider these two objections.

First of all, let us examine and determine in a large way, without attending to the minor distinctions easily established by a subtle analysis, the mutual relations of government, morality, and religion. With a clear and consistent conception of these three great facts, as actually related in human society, it will be comparatively easy to arrive at a rational solution of the problem proposed.

1. Government is an institution which has its origin in the unavoidable conflict of individual interests and passions in human society; it is a device for reducing the evils of this conflict within the smallest possible limits, and preventing it from growing into a disturbance of the public order or peace. Good men are often arrayed in opposition against each other through the fallibility of their judgments; bad men are often tempted to aggression against their neighbors through the violence of their passions or the selfishness of their ends. Government (we now consider free democratic government alone) has no other basis than the natural necessity of settling these antagonisms without permitting recourse to private war, and adopts the necessary policy of enforcing the will of the majority in the form of laws. The only alternative of government is anarchy,—that is, universal lawlessness. Government, if just and wise, is simply the enforced will of the majority that every man shall be free to do as he pleases, provided he does not violate the equal rights of his fellows; and it enforces this will by punishing certain gross and well-defined violations of equal rights as crimes. It cannot punish all such violations; they must be of a certain magnitude in order to be brought within the cognizance of the government. But the essence of a crime is, that it is a violation of the equal rights of somebody, committed in defiance of laws which have been enacted by the will of the majority for the protection of the equal rights of all.

It is very plain, therefore, that government (1) deals with human conduct so far only as it affects other human beings; and (2) deals with it so far only as it invades their chief equal rights. Government, as such, has nothing to do with human conduct in its normal aspects; it simply respects and protects individual freedom; it only interferes with conduct when conduct becomes abnormal or criminal. It does not reward acts of virtue; it simply punishes crimes. The State, represented by the majority, enacts laws on its own natural authority as law-giver, for the purpose of protecting society from dissolution and anarchy; but its authority extends only to the prohibition and punishment of crimes—i. e., acts which endanger society's very existence by destroying that equilibrium of individual rights on which all social stability depends.

2. The province of morality is much more extensive than that of government, which, however, it includes within itself. Conscience is the moral law-giver; the law of right and wrong, which it enacts, and which it also enforces by penalties of its own, covers all human conduct; that is, the entire activity of the human will. Conscience recognizes the necessary natural existence of rights and duties, resulting from the mere co-existence of equal individuals in a state of society; it commands universal respect for rights, and universal performance of duties; it not only prohibits those gross violations of rights which the State prohibits under the name of crimes, but also prohibits many other violations of rights which the State cannot reach.

All offences against the laws of a just, free, and democratic State are also offences against the law of conscience; but the law of conscience penetrates those obscurer regions of conduct which are impenetrable by the clumsy external agencies of government, and proclaims the existence of rights and duties in matters with which government cannot possibly deal. For instance, the State punishes certain breaches of contracts as criminal; but conscience punishes all disregard of promises as wrong. The law of morality extends over the whole of human conduct, not only

over such conduct as affects the legal rights of others, but over such conduct as affects their rights of all kinds; nay, it extends over such conduct as affects mainly the individual himself, with reference to what John Stuart Mill called the "self-regarding" virtues and vices. Wherever the human will has power to act at all, there conscience makes its law supreme, accusing or excusing, and enforcing its authority by penalties from which the fleetest fugitive can never escape. It commands all virtues and all acts of virtue; it forbids all vices and all acts of vice. Offences against the law of conscience, including both crimes and all other violations of the equal rights of others, and including even those subtler offences which are apparently (not really) only violations of one's own moral integrity, are all grouped together under the general head of *immoralities*. Conscience reigns over the entire world of conduct, as that supreme authority which gives law to the human will, however, whenever, and wherever exercised. As offences against the law of the State are known as crimes, so offences against the law of conscience are known as immoralities; and the latter term covers and includes the former. Not all immoralities are crimes; but all crimes are immoralities, and forbidden alike by the law of the State and the law of conscience.

3. The province of religion is still more extensive than those of government and of morality; it includes these within itself, and much besides.

No less than government and morality, religion rests on the great fact of law. It matters nothing whether religion be conceived as supernatural or natural,—as theistic or atheistic; in all cases, it affirms a supreme and all-comprehensive law, whose province is the entire world of human consciousness. Supernatural religion represents this law as the will of God; natural religion represents it as at once the law of Nature and the law of God's own being; atheistic religion represents it as simply the law of Nature. But, in each and every form in which religion has appeared as a fact of human history or experience, it affirms a universally comprehensive or cosmical law, of which the law of conscience and the law of the State are but elements and parts. This law of the universe embraces not only the world of human conduct (i. e. all exercise of the human will), but also the higher and more interior worlds of human feeling, motive, purpose, thought, aspiration, etc. It commands something more than virtue; it commands sweet, pure, and lofty affections, noble and high motives, constant and enthusiastic devotion of the entire outward and inward life to the true, the beautiful, and the good, as the supreme interests of the cosmos itself. In a word, it creates that Ideal of Perfection which ever flies in advance of our attainment, yet ever allures us onward and upward by the attraction of its own glorious and divine beauty.

Now offences against this law of the Universe, this law of the Ideal which religion reports as the highest known law of Nature herself, are known, not as crimes or as immoralities, but as *sins*. All deprivations of purpose, of motive, of affection, of aspiration, of endeavor, are sins; they do not become immoralities until they eventuate themselves in wrong conduct; and they do not become crimes until they eventuate themselves in positive acts forbidden by civil law. But, just as all crimes are also immoralities, so all crimes and immoralities are also sins. The higher law includes the lower; all infractions of the lower law are also infractions of the higher.

4. We are now in a position to discern clearly the mutual relations of government, morality, and religion. These three stand to each other in the relation of concentric circles, the circle of religion including that of morality, and that of morality including that of government. All three rest equally on the fact of LAW. The law of religion is that of God, of Nature, or of both, interpreted to us by the Ideal of Perfection, and infractions of it are sins; the law of morality is that of Conscience, and infractions of it are immoralities; the law of government is that of the State, and infractions of it are crimes.

Thus—

Government rests on the law of the State, made known by the will of the majority expressed in the common organic, and statute law;

Morality rests on the law of Conscience, made known by the perception of rights and duties in the moral consciousness of each individual;

Religion rests on the law of God, the law of Nature, or the law of God and Nature both (according to the view taken of religion itself), made known by the Ideal of Perfection in the religious consciousness of the individual and the race;

And these three laws may be symbolized by three

concentric circles, the second including the first, and the third including the first and second.

Also—

Government prohibits crimes;
Morality prohibits immoralities, including crimes;
Religion prohibits sins, including crimes and all other immoralities;

And these three classes of offences may be equally symbolized by three concentric circles, as before.

With this preliminary statement of the mutual relations of government, morality, and religion, which we think must commend itself to every reflective mind as at least substantially true, it will not be difficult to meet fully and fairly the two objections proposed for consideration.

1. "Government has nothing to do with morality as such."

This is true as far as it goes. Government cannot assume to prohibit or punish immoralities as such; it can prohibit or punish ONLY SUCH IMMORALITIES AS ARE ALSO CRIMES, and on the express ground that they are crimes. Will any one deny that murder, arson, burglary, robbery, theft, adultery, libel, etc., are immoralities as well as crimes? Or that government, as such, exists for any other purpose than to protect society from these particular immoralities by treating them as crimes? There are countless other immoralities with which government has indeed nothing to do; but these particular immoralities are of so grave, violent, and gross a nature that they can and must be dealt with by law. Hence, while it is perfectly true that government has nothing to do with immoralities in general, and cannot condemn them on the ground that they are immoralities, it is also true that the crimes against which it is the special function of government to protect society do actually belong to that general class. The law of conscience condemns crimes because they are immoralities; but the law of the State condemns them simply because they are crimes. The error in the objection we are considering lies in the unconscious assumption that the province of government is wholly outside the province of morality,—that the two provinces do not at all overlap or coincide,—in a word, that crimes are not immoralities at all! On the contrary, every real crime is an offence against the law of conscience as well as against the law of the State, and is therefore an immorality as well as a crime. This cannot be, and will not be, seriously disputed. The objection is only one of those loose and shallow generalizations into which even good intellects may occasionally fall in moments of inadvertence; but it is quite certain that no good intellect will defend it in the face of the facts.

2. "If government has the right to suppress immoral publications, it has an equal right to suppress irreligious publications, and thus to suppress freedom of thought and the press on religious questions."

Nobody, so far as we are aware, claims that government has the right to suppress all immoral publications. Certainly we do not claim that. If we did, we should unhesitatingly approve Mr. Heywood's imprisonment, for we consider his pamphlet one of the trashiest and most immoral in tendency that was ever published. But the ground we take is, that any one has the right to discuss, advocate, or promulgate any opinions whatever, however immoral they may be or appear in their tendencies, since freedom of the press must cover the whole field of intellectual liberty, and since the propagandism of mere opinions, honestly held and honestly promulgated, is no crime at all. Opinions as such, being the necessary and involuntary products of thinking, are neither crimes, immoralities, nor sins; and therefore they cannot be condemned either by government, morality, or religion. If wrong opinions grow out of vicious habits or acts (as they may), those habits or acts should be condemned, but the opinions as such cannot be. Thought must be free; the utterance of it must be free; the publication of it must be free; and, if erroneous or immoral in its tendencies, it must be counteracted, not by law, but by better thought. Not all immoral publications, therefore, but only such publications as are criminally immoral, should be suppressed by government; and the circulation of really obscene literature has always been, as we are informed on excellent legal authority, a crime at common law. The reason is obvious. Such literature does not appeal to thought or contain thought; it is utterly vile, and aims only to inflame and pervert the passions, and to stifle the voice of conscience and reason; it is written with the worst intentions, and circulated with the worst intentions; it has no rights; it is a gross and wicked attack upon society in its tenderest point, the character and health of its little children. A

thousand immoralities in literature must be silently overlooked by the law; but this particular immorality has been adjudged a crime by the unanimous voice of mankind from time immemorial, and for reasons that cannot be overthrown.

By the same train of thought, we are led to the same conclusion respecting "irreligious publications." Really obscene publications are certainly as irreligious as they are immoral. But they are not condemned by government on either ground; they are condemned simply because they are criminal. The moment that the radical distinctions we have pointed out between crimes, immoralities, and sins are clearly understood, all grounds for fear lest the right of suppressing really obscene literature should carry the right of suppressing literature of other kinds totally vanish. Immoral publications as such are not criminal; irreligious publications as such are not criminal. No publication sent forth with honest intent can be criminal, however immoral or irreligious its tendencies and influences may be. A chasm of tremendous breadth separates really obscene publications from all that are ever offered openly for sale; and a carefully drawn provision in the law itself for the protection of intellectual and literary liberty will obviate all possible danger of its being abridged.

In fine, the decisive question is this: is the circulation of really obscene publications a crime or not? This question has not been yet discussed in the least by the "repeal" party. Mankind have answered it already by making such circulation a crime at common law. We wait patiently for the appearance of some one bold enough to challenge that just and righteous judgment.

Communications.

HEYWOOD'S SENTENCE: AND LIBERTY.

AN OPEN LETTER TO J. A. J. WILCOX.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—

It will not surprise you that I think your communication in a late number of THE INDEX inconclusive.

I have not now the time to treat this matter in a way which you will think satisfactory. But what is much more (otherwise, I would make time, for I am sensible of the grave importance of the subject), I have not yet thought enough about it or read enough upon topics likely to throw light upon the theory of liberty, to feel as sure of the value of my views as you seem to feel of yours, or even to have any views which I wish to offer as conclusions.

But I will remark upon one or two points in your communication which show that my previous article was either insufficient or misunderstood; and then, with a very brief statement touching the general subject, I shall close all I have to say at present.

It appears that more than one person has taken me as accusing Heywood of intentionally writing in a bad manner "in order to reap a pecuniary harvest." This I regret, simply because the idea was not in my mind. I do not find that you so take me; and in justice I must say that I think the charge is not to be found in my previous letter upon a fairly careful reading of it.

"My remark was, that Heywood had yielded to the temptation of daubing his work, or to make it sell well, and take with the uneducated and 'exposed.' I have not said, or even hinted nor intended to hint, that this was a pecuniary speculation. The thought in my mind was, that Heywood did not write for the better informed and trained minds, but for the untrained people (it is folly to suppose that such a piece of writing could recommend itself to a highly educated person: Abbot, for example, calls it a 'worthless' thing); that for these untutored minds, it is especially necessary that language should be temperate and sober; that of course Heywood could not afford to issue and give away his pamphlets, but they must be sold in order to be issued at all; and that he had yielded to the temptation to use a manner and style calculated to 'take' with the ignorant (and therefore the exposed) instead of the careful and sober and cool and unstimulating appeal to the reason which such minds need, but which must always limit the spread of a man or a book, because it demands the exercise of thought instead of tickling the imagination or inflaming the passions. In my whole article, I charge Heywood with nothing more than a 'recklessness' which I considered guilty; and I still consider it so. [I should think it wrong under any circumstances; but in connection with the particular matters treated by Heywood, I deem the guilt aggravated.] No matter how excellent his motives, which I do not question, it is wrong to be so little discriminating as to the means."

I place the above passage in quotation marks, because it is an extract from a private letter.

A word as to my remark that Heywood's punishment is unwise, which comes under your criticism. I mean to say that the actual punishment is unjust and any punishment would be unwise. I deem the punishment unjust, because it is excessive and disproportionate in severity. But I would admit some punishment to be just in the sense that Heywood deserves correction, because he has shown himself deliberately or recklessly unmindful of the due claim of society upon every man for a certain sobriety and cleanliness

of speech. You raise the point that the conviction was shamefully illegal. Of this I am not entitled at present to form an opinion; although I think it likely, from all that I have read, that the judge on the bench presented a figure as discreditable to the cause of pure liberty as Heywood in the dock—a melancholy spectacle altogether. But be this as it may, it has no effect on the moral question of the justice of correction; that turns exclusively upon the rightful claim of society and the guiltiness of a reckless disregard of it. I can conceive of but two ways in which this point can be met so as to make even the least punishment of Heywood wrongful. It may be said, on the one hand, that the rightful claim of society does not extend so far as to cover Heywood's case; on this, good and true men may differ; and I may add, with reference to a style of remark which has swollen to unhandsome proportions of late, that I am not grateful to a friend for "grieving" over me and I pay your independence the respect of not being in the least "surprised and grieved" because you differ from me upon a matter confessedly so difficult and delicate as the adjustment of social claims and individual rights, seeing that as yet we stand only on the threshold of that great inquiry. Or, it may be said, on the other hand, that society has no rightful claims at all over the individual in moral points: this, in my view, is not only confusion and disorder, but, what is not understood so generally, the destruction of liberty itself. I am at a loss to decide whether you assent to this latter alternative.

You refer with disapprobation to alleged "rights of majorities, including the right of society to enact a moral code for the individual, its acceptance to be enforced"; but I cannot without more authority from you interpret this into the assertion of unlimited individualism. I find in your communication a vagueness with which I try in vain to be satisfied (for I love liberty as dearly as you do), and which, in my judgment, is not the sort of stuff which can grapple with this question in a manner to bring out intelligible and coherent principles. Perhaps it is for this reason that after some weeks' study of my article, you write, "you say the sentence was unwise, though not wrong"; when in truth I say expressly that it may be granted that the sentence is wrong as being too severe, and then go on to the question whether any punishment whatever would be unjust because there was no primary purpose of corrupting the reader.

But now, if I think some punishment might be just, why do I think any punishment unwise? In a general way, Mr. Abbot has answered excellently this question in his full and careful article immediately following the trial, in which he places Heywood's "worthless pamphlet" in the third of the three classes into which he divides publications affected by the discussion. The fact seems to be, that Heywood's offensiveness is not great enough for society wisely to be aware of it. All who have had any experience in government, whether domestic or political, know the frequent wisdom, and even necessity, of a resolute ignorance. One must often turn his back, determined not to see; or, having seen, to take no notice. This, in the present case (Heywood's), for the following reasons,—

1. To punish him, even slightly, makes him a martyr in the eyes of many well-meaning but unthinking people.

2. What is, perhaps, still worse, it is likely to make a martyr of him in his own eyes. In my judgment (I must say it frankly), Heywood is not one who discriminates well between himself and his cause; and in one or two letters written by him since his incarceration, which have fallen under my notice, I think I see the sprouting of an exulting sense of conspicuously suffering for the truth, which is likely to have a bad effect upon his purposes and his insight.

3. All this gives his pamphlet a currency which otherwise it never could have attained.

4. It will still further make many good and often generous but untutored persons rabid about a mistaken liberty.

5. And it will gladden and encourage the enemies of all liberty, and so stir up passions and animosities.

Throughout your communication, my friend, you treat me as a foe to "freedom of opinion." You express it thus, "My surprise and grief that you could lend your influence in justification of the disregard and violation of the principle of freedom of opinion, which has become established at a cost for which there is no measure." But this is an entire mistake, and, I take the liberty to think, a remarkable error, after my article has been "studied with care" and "pondered" for several weeks. Do I discuss Heywood's opinions anywhere? Do I denounce his opinions? and a fortiori, do I denounce him for proclaiming and supporting them? Do I find fault with him for treating (as I expressed it) "a topic of extreme delicacy and of the first moment to public morals," or for any opinion of his thereupon? No: I object only to his manner, which I hold to be a harmful and indecent manner. I can say honestly that I do not care enough about his opinion to notice it. If it began to prevail and to threaten domestic peace and public rectitude in my view, I would meet it, as I do other things, with arguments drawn from human nature and human history, and not with prisons. But I insist that society may rightfully claim certain sobrieties of conduct and manner in the proclamation of opinion; and that, when these are outraged, it depends upon many circumstances whether it be well to ignore or restrain. I believe that the preponderating sense and virtue of society is entitled to shield by force the young, ignorant, and passionate, not indeed from the knowledge or assertion of any opinions (though the persons exposed may be as little able as Heywood is to fathom the black and treacherous ooze on which this current rolls), but from the sweetening of the waters with intoxicants. I wish you would read over again Mr. Abbot's article, wherein he dis-

tinguishes between the proclamation of opinion on the one hand and decency of manner on the other. I can add nothing to that clear statement.

And yet, a word may be proper upon this matter of opinion; for in one way, anything may be opinion. The greatest abominations could be called a man's opinions. Will you shield *everything* under "freedom of opinion" which any man chooses to claim as his opinion? I think not. I can imagine many things which might be asserted as opinions, and which would be so asserted at once, if, by that claim, certain vile traffics could be rescued from restraint or punishment. It is common to escape this difficulty by claiming that persons who would make such claims are mentally or morally insane. But pray consider the nature of the criterion,—to wit, an assertion of opinion. Is it any more excellent to restrain a man as insane for a difference of opinion than to restrain him as a corrupter of youth for the same difference?

You ask, "Who shall be our accepted authority in such matters? Who shall be the infallible standard of decency or of doctrine?" Truly an apt question, although I do know many persons who act like "infallible standards" of the nature of liberty, at least if that may be judged infallible in its own view which never suffers a doubt. Here we come directly upon the difficulty of *gradation*. For example, in the lower orders of life, it is all but impossible to distinguish between animals and plants, or even to frame definitions which shall separate them. Will any one fall, on that account, to distinguish between an ox and an oak, or to act upon that perception? In colors, you may dilute a deep blue until but a faint tinge is visible, and that only to a casual, sidelong glance. Will any one, on that account, hold color-blindness to be the only philosophy of vision? Yet no human ingenuity or expression can draw a line, saying, "On this side it is all a dark shade, and on that all a light shade." Make the surface of uncertainty in shade as large as you please; the error consists in not seeing that there is an immensely larger surface, regarding which there will be no difference of opinion in the same or similar societies. It is true, my friend, that nothing human is infallible; it does not, therefore, follow that all things are to be equally held in doubt; though it does seem a fair conclusion that probably I am not more fallible in my view of what liberty forbids than you may be in your view of what it allows. Besides, let me ask you how you entertain any judgment? Do you think there is such a thing as *obscure literature*, and would you restrain it? If so you think, and so would act, what is your "standard of decency," your "accepted authority"? Answer me, and you have answered yourself.

One thing I observe running through your letter with much emphasis, and that is *apparently* a social philosophy summed up in the one word, Liberty. It was with this in mind that I said in the beginning I would close with a brief statement touching the general subject. And here, when I depart from my practical stand in the particular case in question—with which I feel at least so far content as that I have not yet repented of it—to venture upon the philosophy of liberty, even but a step or two, I must be understood to move with much greater uncertainty, and leave upon my page a much larger margin of doubt. But thus it seems to me:—

When social philosophy is summed up in the one word, Liberty, I assent to the statement so far as it implies merely that all social qualities are so intimately interwoven that perfection in one noble thing must go along with excellence in all other noble things, and that no one can thrive well unless all the others flourish also. In this way it is proper to say that liberty sums up social ethics; but with equal force, so does justice, so does reciprocity, so does love. Nay, even so does education, so does division of labor, so does commerce, so does peace; for these all depend on each other in such ways that the noble development of any implies all the others, and social happiness is epitomized in any one, and in many other things not mentioned. But, on the other hand, liberty does not sum up social philosophy, if it be meant thereby that absence of restraint is the be-all and the end-all of social reliance and security. For to my mind, liberty is wholly inconceivable, considered merely as negation of restraint, even of external and forcible restraint as always a possibility, however little occasion there might be for its exercise. Two extremes appear: In one extreme we have the one-man power: this, in theory, is the government of the wisest and best; and I am inclined to think that, if it were possible in practice to get the wisest and best, this form, with some modification, would guarantee the utmost development of personal liberty, prosperity, and happiness. For even if the wisest and best one could not be possibly so wise and good as the collective wisdom and virtue of great numbers of ordinarily good people, he might be much better than that aggregate quality which includes the collective folly and vice of large numbers of extraordinarily bad people, and of still greater swarms of selfish, cold, unearnest, and greedy people. Moreover, large bodies, even of the best, necessarily move slowly, and frequently too slowly; there are many cases in which delay is itself injustice or hardship. In the other extreme, we have total elimination of restraint held to be liberty, according to a definition lately given me. It has interested me for a long time to ask definitions of liberty when occasions offered, seeing that it is what every one speaks of and few understand. I asked a definition of a high-minded young man just graduated from Harvard, an excellent scholar and high in college rank. "Liberty," he answered, "liberty! why liberty is doing what you please." This, in the theory of its advocates, is social order without social authority; in practice it is social disintegration, and not only the destruction of liberty, but of that organic composition of social life, that subordination of parts to the whole, and that division of labor on which liberty de-

pends. The one extreme seems to offer liberty, but in practice becomes tyranny; the other extreme seems to offer total removal of restraint, but in practice is destruction of society, and the return of the worst form of slavery,—subjugation by insensate Nature. Somewhere between the two liberty hides. If you ask me where and how to find the goddess, I must say that I have yet had no chart to guide me in that overland expedition of discovery, and I stand waiting and longing upon the borders of that Western wilderness. I leave other words, if there be others, to wiser heads, or until I shall myself grow wiser in this matter. Meantime, there is one definition of liberty which I like to repeat to myself. It is the noble saying of Hegel: "Liberty is the spirit's realization of its own nature." J. VILA BLAKE.

QUINCY, Ill., Sept. 28.

P.S.—I cannot send off this letter without adding a word (urged thereto by admiration and affection), referring to the previous article on the same subject by S. H. Morse. I would not seem to overlook his claim to the same attention which he paid me. At first I began to write to both jointly; but this, for sundry reasons, proved impossible, and I occupied myself with your letter as being the more recent, and also as addressed personally to me. Moreover, Mr. Morse apprehended, as you have not, that I am no foe to liberty of opinion; he perceived the distinction, running through what I wrote, between proclaiming opinion and a gross manner of doing it. But since, overlooking some particular points in Mr. Morse's article, the better part of what I have written herein will serve also as my reply to the general doctrine of his communication. I hope he will allow me to leave it so. Mr. Morse and I have long disagreed utterly concerning the theory and nature of the State, and many and long are the discussions we have held thereon. I remember them with a peculiar pleasure, now that distance deprives me of the exhilaration of his company. If I should embrace his views, or he mine, whatever satisfaction might ensue, something would be lost. Love grieves to count reasons for loving. J. V. B.

LETTER FROM MR. WAKEMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Your criticisms of my Faneuil Hall speech and letter, in your two last issues, have interested and pleased me much. To have the supposed difficulties ably and fully disclosed is the first step towards removing them. It seems to me that the material positions of that speech will appear sounder than ever when your objections and misapprehensions are cleared away, as I think they can be.

But as you call for public discussion, and as I am not the fortunate owner of a newspaper, I must ask you to let your readers see the counter-statement in your columns as prominently as they have the criticisms. But do not fear that I shall try to equal them in length. Much less than eleven columns will show whether I undertook to give an opinion about a matter that I had not fully examined, as you seem to intimate. Until the other side of the shield can be presented, let me ask of your readers a careful reading of the speech in question, and a suspension of judgment.

As a reminder, however, that there is another side, may I ask you to insert the enclosed letter from an historian and liberal, whom I believe we all love and honor—James Parton?

Yours very respectfully,

T. B. WAKEMAN.

NEW YORK, October 4, 1878.

NEWBURYPORT, Mass., Sept. 29, 1878.

My dear Friend,—I think those Comstock Laws, as they are very properly called, ought to be totally repealed, and for these reasons:—

1. Because they are Comstock laws, and not the deliberate judgment of Congress.
2. Because they are useless. The forbidden articles can still be sent every where by express.
3. Because it is not possible to put into human language a definition of the word *obscene*, which shall let the Song of Solomon, Rabelais, Juvenal, and Tom Jones pass, and keep out works intended and calculated to corrupt.
4. Because the control of the government over the mails is obviously limited to what you well style "postal reasons." Dynamite may be excluded; sealing-wax may be excluded; liquids may be excluded, because they endanger the fulfilment of the contract with all the other senders of mail matter. But the government is not called upon to sit in judgment upon the moral character or intellectual quality of the parcels entrusted to it.
5. Because the laws in question are so liable to abuse by a narrow-minded or provincial officer. They enable the prim and prudish village to judge and condemn the metropolis.
6. Because the State laws and Municipal laws, previously and now existing, are sufficient for the detection and punishment of all real offences against decency and good morals.

With regard to the Constitutional argument, so ably and powerfully presented by yourself, I can only say, being no lawyer, that it seems to me unanswerable. It came upon my mind with convincing power, and I have never had a doubt since.

Those laws are wrong every way, and pernicious in many ways.

You know how I hate and loathe the books and papers that circulate among boys which can have no other than a corrupting effect. I could join, heart and hand, in hanging a wretch who, for a little money, would either write or publish or sell such works. And yet, it seems to me that the *espionage* of the mails by an illiterate person is even a worse evil than that. It menaces the very citadel of liberty.

Yes, I go for immediate and unconditional repeal. And this has been my feeling ever since reading your masterly speech delivered in Faneuil Hall last summer.

Very truly yours,

JAMES PARTON.

TO T. B. WAKEMAN, Esq.

THE ISSUES AT STAKE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I presume I am only one among the readers of THE INDEX who feel the deepest obligation to you, for your manly and determined stand on the subject of "Obscene Literature." Every man who is worthy of the name "Liberal" contends for liberty without license, and purity with honest purpose. The course now adopted by the radical wing (as they call themselves) would be death to our efforts, and a reflection upon our intelligence. I hope with all my heart that you will "hold the fort" you have so nobly taken, and that the Liberal League, at its meeting in Syracuse, will not only indorse your opinion, but confirm the sentiment by electing you to fill the office you have so honorably filled during the last year. I feel the need of united effort and of associated action, to accomplish the work before us. Never was the opposition to free thought more bitter and determined than now,—the spirit of hatred to reason, science, truth, and philosophy was never more visible than it is in our day; the men who assume to be our teachers appear conscious of the deception, fraud, and falseness of their position, their craft is in danger, their lazy and licentious natures dread the ominous cloud they see gathering. They have lost their power over the simpletons who have fed and pampered them. Hence they are prepared to attempt to crush and stamp out any and every effort to free the people from their bondage and superstition. As a class, I have found the persons who call themselves "clergy" the most consummate hypocrites and unprincipled citizens; the arrogance of their assumption has no bounds, and if they had the power they once had, the Liberal League would cease to be; but thanks to our public schools, our independent literature, and our free souls who dare to speak out, their power is gone, never to return, and their sacerdotal nonsense is only a subject of amusement for small boys and little ladies. The shadows are fleeing away; the day of reason is dawning; humanity will yet be free.

Yours, W. D. CORKEN, M.D.

LYNN, Mass.

THE NEW HAVEN SCHOOL QUESTION.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept. 10, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

You have heard of our defeat in the election to fill vacancies in the Board of Education. I presume you, like the rest of us, felt more regret than surprise at the news. The wonder is that, in a community like this, there should at any time happen to be a majority for a school board who favored secular education; and that, being such a majority, they should have enough backbone to run so far counter to popular prejudice as to abolish devotional exercises in the schools. The action caused general surprise here at the time; and, though the liberals were highly elated, they could not have much confidence in the permanency of the decision.

The canvass was managed on the part of the liberals with great circumspection, headed by a ticket much superior to the other side, and conducted by men universally respected in the community. At the meeting to ratify nominations, Hon. Francis Wayland, Professor of Mercantile Law and Evidence in Yale College, was elected chairman, and opened the meeting with a few masterly words, just to the point and unanswerable. Mr. Wm. G. Sumner, Professor of Social and Political Science in Yale, who headed the ticket, made the address of the evening, followed by two of our most popular clergymen, Baptist and Congregational (the latter but a short time ago on the other side), the Jewish Rabbi, and a Catholic citizen. The meeting was very enthusiastic. Among the vice-presidents were many of the college professors, and any number of prominent and respected citizens. The *Register* and *Union* were both on our side. We circulated the majority report of the Board, in reply to petitions asking for restoration of religious exercises.

The other side was led by a man who commands but little respect, but is a consummate party manager and adroit wire-puller, "the bright and shining hypocrite of this community," as the *Union* puts it, aided by the paper which he runs but does not edit, the *Palladium*. The Demands of Liberalism, with invective comments, were distributed over the city, and no doubt had some effect; for many who will submit to secular schools are alarmed at the wide scope of the demands. The *minority* report on the matter mentioned above was extensively circulated, and published in full in two city papers. The Catholics united with the Protestants against us. In some churches, tickets were supplied and instructions given. Of course it was the "religious" party that circulated informal ballots with misplaced initials, etc., to spoil (the Egyptians') liberal votes. I do not know whether many were deceived in this way; probably not; but the *fact* speaks for itself. The vote stood: total, 6,821; majority for religious exercises, 2,918. It was a victory of ignorance. Does any one imagine that the result would have been otherwise if the issue had been the Christianizing of the United States Constitution? A friend (Christian, of course) said to me the next morning: "I am glad of it; it satisfies me." "No doubt," I replied; "but it is a dear satisfaction that is bought at the expense of justice."

Well, we are defeated; but we may console ourselves that the good cause is slowly making progress.

A few years ago such a contest would have been impossible. The wise and just are waking up to the wrong and danger of present church-and-state alliances. I believe it is only necessary to keep the crisis off a little longer, and the sentiment will become sufficiently diffused to set the matter right. Meantime the liberal has his task before him; and you, dear friend, will not rejoice less over the memory of past sacrifices.

Your attitude on the obscenity business is appreciated here. I see no other decent position.

With great respect, yours,

R. M. SHERMAN.

SECULARISM AND RELIGION.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

This is from the Philadelphia Times, and, as it but voices a commonly-held conception of the secular movement, it cannot be amiss to quote it:—

"The Bible is likely to be read henceforth more than has been common in New Haven. It was excluded from the public schools in 1877 by a vote of five to three, the only Catholic member of the board voting against its exclusion, and the late local election turned on the issue of restoring religious services. After a most bitter contest, in which Protestants and Catholics were all mixed up on both sides, the ticket favorable to the use of the Bible in the schools was elected by 4851 to 1963. Whether such an agitation will promote either the usefulness of the schools or respect for the Bible may not be so clear; but it will be likely to make many study it with unusual interest for a season. There's nothing that makes the average American so determined to know all about a book as the effort to prevent him from doing so."

I never supposed a man of the intellect of Alexander McClure would stand sponsor for such stupidity as is exposed by intimation in the last sentence of the above paragraph. We might suppose it to have been plain to any sensible person that there was no effort made in the recent election, from any source whatever, to so order things in New Haven as to prevent parents and children from reading the Bible. The question at issue was that which asks whether the Christians of to-day should impose upon the minority the various distasteful creeds which he may chance to hold. The contest was one between just secularism and unjust orthodoxy; and this only in their connection with public institutions which they both uphold. It is absurd for intelligent men to prate about the agitation in so slipshod a manner as is their wont. There never has been any effort made to prevent people reading their Holy Book, so named, in its proper place. The lips of Radicals only utter protest against the tyranny which taxes all beliefs for the benefit of some particular belief. This is what is antagonized by secularism; and we never have grown, and never will grow, so arrogant as to wish to coerce the private beliefs of others. 'Tis only when men wilfully tread on our toes that we strive to remove the offensive and painful burden. This is true, now and ever, notwithstanding all the clamorings of faith-blind writers.

Col. McClure is the most prominent journalist in Philadelphia at present, and when he puts his sanction to such superficiality as I have quoted, it only serves to illustrate how even men of high talents may drop, through prejudice, into folly and misrepresentation. His is but a reiteration of the common argument, forged to meet the secularist, that in striving to brush sectarianism from the schools he wishes to destroy religion. At bottom, and contrarily, the agitation, in its purity and of itself, aims at no such point as that. However individuals in the movement may regard religion, it need scarcely be said that the movement itself only insists on real church and State separation, and aside from that directs no attack at any person's creed. So, at least, I understand it.

It is a pity that so many men of even good intellectual calibre take up with the current gross misconceptions of the secular agitation. It seems to me that many a brave heart and hand will be needed to dispel that unfortunate illusion. Error is quicker born than killed, as often a man and cause have found out to their sorrow. By all means let the secularists urge their ideas, and the certain fruitage cannot but be a gratifying result of the sowing.

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 22, 1878.

THE GREAT REACTION.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I was surprised to see in a communication to your paper by Mr. Charles Ellershaw the following language: "The people is the people, and hath its own interest at heart." Would it not be impossible for him to prove that proposition unless he inserted the word *supposed* before interest? Mrs. Browning wrote that it required a man of large soul to move the masses even to a cleaner sty. History seems to justify her saying, for we have no record of a people improving its condition voluntarily and without some form of coercion. Genuine reform is sure to meet the opposition of those who most need reformation, and who will reap the most benefit therefrom.

Although a very private citizen, I have, from boyhood, watched our political life with a keen interest. Especially have I loved to follow the course of that immense wave of action which first made itself known by the name of abolitionism or Liberty party. It made the Free-Soil party, and culminated in the Republican. Taking all drawbacks into account, the future historian will probably consider this forward movement the most beneficent in our history. However, its beneficence could not prevent it from soon finding the bound of its power, nor long delay its decline. At present the reaction is gaining rapidly. Action and reaction are proportionate; the more extreme the push, the fiercer the rebound. The in-

tensity of the upward motion was so great during the war that it swept in a multitude of minds who had no abiding sympathy with liberalism. After Lee's surrender these began to drop out, and many are now floating on more congenial waters.

When Horace Greeley consented to serve as the head of the democracy, he became the most conspicuous representative of the great reaction. Not only by his position was he thus conspicuous, but, being himself deluded, he was the symbol of the vast flood of delusions that have since distracted the public and are now filling the air with their din. These delusions have taken the general name of *reform*. That word has become utterly perverted from its old meaning; it is now the cloak for all manner of pretence and deception. I observe that the word is still clung to by a few worthy Rip Van Winkles in the East, but here in the West we have no reformers any more except Brick Pomeroy and H. C. Dean! The reaction is now gaining rapidly. One proof of this is the great abundance of smoke and dust under which it lies concealed. Whether the smoke and dust be termed "fiat money," or bear some other one of delusion's names, it serves for a cover to the important fact. That fact is, that liberalism is to be soundly beaten by an organization that will combine all the unprogressive, reactionary elements of society. I do not know its name, but when the air gets cleared we shall find it firmly holding all the high seats of power; not only that, this result will be by the help of some who least desire such a result. This victorious party will combine the bigotry and intolerance of the solid South with the bigotry and intolerance of the Roman Church. The hosts of ignorance and fanaticism will furnish a numerous following.

In connection with this, I am reminded of a "vision" seen in 1803 by a Quaker preacher whose name was Hoag. You may have seen it, as it has been printed in various newspapers. The first four points of that prophecy have been literally fulfilled. The substance of the fifth and last is, that we are to be ruled by an arbitrary, despotic power, which shall enforce a religious test and be harsh and repressive in its measures. It will force us to renew the old fight in behalf of free speech. This is not to be believed because Mr. Hoag saw it; the condition of society tends directly to that conclusion. It should be added that the vision was finished by predicting that liberalism would finally triumph. But that cannot be till after it has received some rough discipline. The culmination of the reaction must lie some years in the future. I hope and believe it will pass without a brutal, bloody, civil war; but if we escape such a dire calamity it will be by a very close chance.

It is not worth while to inquire who is to blame; nor should we expect those hypercritical gentlemen who spend their energies criticising their comrades and brushing their own clothes to cease from their absorbing labors. But liberalism should seek to bring harmony of purpose out of the prevailing confusion; it should close up its ranks, and prepare for a bitter conflict that may not be short. Doubtless a glorious victory will be the final result,—a victory that will forever secure in practice the blessings of equal rights and free speech to our New-Rome.

EX-REFORMER.

COMPULSORY CHURCH TAXATION.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

In one of your "Glimpses" printed in THE INDEX of September 12, allusion is made to the fact that the Oxford Street Chapel, of Lynn, Mass., is advertised to be sold for taxes, and you close the item as follows: "If churches must be exempted from taxation at all, let us at least have impartiality, and exempt all alike." Please allow me to demur, and to express the sincere hope that, if the Oxford Street Chapel in Lynn is really owned by a Free-Religious society, it will be taxed just the same as secular property.

Free religionists claim to be in favor of the secularization of the State, and one of the main planks in the secular platform is church-taxation. If free religionists were honest in their secular doctrines, they would not delay paying taxes until their church-property was sold out from under them. Either the taxation of church-property is right, or else it is wrong. If right, then it is right whether the law compels it or winks at it, and free-religious congregations should set the noble example of paying their taxes whether compelled to do so or not.

It is this "morality of expediency" practised by our free-religious friends which make us atheists look askance at anything which labels itself "religious." If the Lynn free-religious church is sold for taxes, I, for one, will hold up both hands and say "well-done." Let these good New England leaders of free thought learn by taking it how good is the medicine they are prescribing for their evangelical neighbors. The good preacher practises the morality he teaches; the brave captain says to his soldiers, as the storming party approaches the enemy's works, "Follow me!" The bird that can sing and will not, should be made to sing; and if our progressive Lynn friends "know the right, and still the wrong pursue," I should be in favor of a little extra-judicial pressure to compel them to behave themselves just as well as they know how, even if it was ever so much better than their more benighted Orthodox neighbors.

FRANK J. MEAD.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., Sept. 17, 1878.

[We entirely agree with the doctrine of the above, and only wonder that our good friend, Mr. Mead, imagined us to hold any other on this subject. The Lynn Society ought to pay its taxes without protest or demur. The point we made about "impartiality" did not apply to them, but to the city authorities. These authorities ought to exempt all churches, or

none. It is a very unfair discrimination on their part to assess taxes on churches they dislike, and to exempt those they favor. Of course, the Lynn Society ought to live up to its own principles, and pay its taxes cheerfully; but they have a just right to protest against the favoritism which exempts certain religious beliefs and taxes others. We are quite certain that Mr. Mead did not mean to be captious, and think that he will be abundantly satisfied with this explanation of the "Glimpse" he misunderstood.—ED.]

INFINITE INTELLIGENCE.

If it can be shown that originality is relative and not absolute, the demonstration of infinite intelligence will be assured. Spiritualist and materialist agree that there is an infinite power,—one ascribing, the other denying to it infinite intelligence. Now it is evident that infinite power cannot be progressive, because infinite power, while it precludes an external limit, involves, so to say, a self limit. Hence infinite power must be eternally the same and unchangeable; and, being eternally the same and unchangeable in itself, it must, of course, be eternally the same and unchangeable in its effects. On the other hand, finite power is progressive, and therefore originates or produces that which is new to itself, because, being susceptible of and having scope for progress, there is power outside of, operating upon, and developing it. Infinite power admits of no power distinct from or external to itself. Hence man is a part of this infinite power; therefore man's productions are the productions of this infinite power; consequently, as infinite power cannot be progressive, man's original ideas are not absolutely, only relatively, original.

Now as it has been shown that there cannot be an absolutely original idea, infinite intelligence has been demonstrated; because we all know, whether we believe or disbelieve in the immortality of individual intelligence, that the intelligence of man is continually progressing.

E. B. B.

BOSTON.

DIRECT TESTIMONY TO THE EVIL.

MR. ABBOT:—

Dear Sir,—Some liberals who desire the total repeal of the Comstock law argue on the assumption that obscene literature does not exist; or, at least, there is not, nor has there been, an extensive circulation of really obscene matter through the mails of this country. Within a few years, in my intercourse with other boys, I have seen books filled with pictures horribly obscene, sent to them by the villainous vendors of the stuff, who made it a part of their business to obtain the names of the youth of both sexes, and using the United States Mail as the medium by which to carry on the nefarious work.

The Comstock law has done a great deal to check this vile traffic.

Let liberals pause ere they countenance in any degree gross immorality. The chief element of our power is the reputation of liberals in the practice of the virtues, and zeal in pushing forward moral reforms. We cannot afford to be apologists for vice.

Our honor is at stake. Let there be candid discussion, and it cannot be that liberals will err upon a question so momentous.

Yours respectfully, BENJ. F. SMITH.

DEDHAM, Mass., Sept. 2, 1878.

THE INGENUITY OF BEES.

In the first number of the journal of the Cincinnati Society of Natural History, recently issued, appears the following note by Mr. V. T. Chambers on the method adopted by some bees of reaching the nectary of flowers:—

"That humble bees frequently pierce the corolla of flowers near its base with their proboscis, which they then insert into the opening thus made, has long been known and frequently mentioned. Indeed, it is the usual way taken by these bees to reach the nectary when the corolla is too long for the tongue to reach the nectary from the mouth of the corolla, unless, indeed, the flower is a very large one,—large enough for the bee to enter its mouth and reach the nectary in that way. Mr. Chambers remarks that if the same practice obtains with hive bees, he does not remember having seen the fact stated, and so records the following observation: a large bush of *Weigella rosea* was literally covered with flowers in all stages, from the unopened buds to those that were withered and ready to fall; and great numbers of bees swarmed over them,—humble bees, hive bees, mason bees, and sweat bees (*Andrenidae*). The older flowers were each pierced near the base by a longitudinal slit, made by hive or bumble bees, which had previously visited them; and, whenever one of these bees alighted on one of these flowers, it immediately went, without attempting to enter the corolla, to the base of the flower and inserted its proboscis into the slit already made; or, if the flower was a fresh one, having no slit, it proceeded immediately to make one. By the humble bees this was instantly effected without trouble; but to the hive bees it seemed to be more difficult,—probably because the blade of the maxilla, which are used to make the slit, are weaker or more flexible than in humble bees. Of the numerous hive bees observed, only a single one attempted to enter the mouth of the corolla, and it came out without going further than just within the opening. On the other hand, the mason bees and sweat bees went in every instance straight into the mouth of the flower, and never attempted either to make a slit or to use one that was already made. Yet one of these mason bees (*Megachile*) was fully as large as the hive bees."

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

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EDITOR:

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT.

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THE INDEX aims--

To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SMOULDERING REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

National Liberal League.

CALL.

BOSTON, Sept. 13, 1878.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1-4, 1876, will be held at Wisting Opera House, Syracuse, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 26 and 27, 1878. Further particulars as to speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter.

In addition to the hearing of reports, election of officers for the ensuing year, and other ordinary business, questions of the utmost practical importance to the liberal cause will come up for decision at this Congress. Among them the following may be specified:—

1. What efficient measures can be adopted for securing a great increase in the number of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, and thereby winning for liberal ideas the public influence to which they are justly entitled?

2. Shall the National Liberal League nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the present time?

3. How can the National Liberal League most effectively promote the cause of State Secularization, and foil the schemes of those who are seeking to pervert the government to sectarian purposes? What action shall it take with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation?

4. How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?

5. Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the "obscene literature" question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?

The last two of these questions are peculiarly im-

portant at this time, and will inevitably come up for settlement by the approaching Congress. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia were as follows:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

The future growth, prosperity, and influence of the Liberal League movement will depend largely on the action to be taken by the Congress on these two questions. Any weakening of the stand taken at Philadelphia will work great and perhaps fatal disaster to the National Liberal League.

In order, therefore, that these vital questions may be fairly and wisely decided, it is recommended that all Local Leagues elect their delegates with special reference to it. The Congress will not be an irresponsible mass meeting, but a convention composed of delegates and members duly accredited, and seats for them will be reserved. Delegates from Local Leagues will receive Certificates of Membership of the Second Annual Congress by forwarding at once the proper credentials, signed by their own local officers, to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston"; charter, life, and annual members who intend to be present will receive theirs by simply forwarding their names and present addresses. These Certificates must be presented at the door and exchanged for Tickets of Admission to the reserved seats, the rest of the hall being open to the public at large. By this arrangement all confusion will be obviated. The Congress will be composed of accredited members, who alone ought to vote on questions of business affecting the League; every member will be admitted to the reserved seats; and the Committee on Membership will be enabled to make an accurate report to the Congress.

Liberals are urged everywhere to organize themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues and elect good delegates, in order to give this Congress a large local constituency and an influential delegation, and thereby to increase the weight of its decisions with the general public. The questions to be acted upon are of the gravest consequence to the whole liberal cause, and ought to be dealt with by a responsible representative body. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay, if addressed to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

By order of the Board of Directors:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*

WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary.*

GLIMPSES.

A NEW Liberal League has been chartered at Freeville, New York. Another has also just been chartered at Lynn, Massachusetts.

THE POET WHITTIER says that Ralph Waldo Emerson is the one living American who will not be forgotten a thousand years hence.

FOUR OTHER NEW Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues were chartered last week by the National League: namely, at North Hannibal, N. Y., at West Newton,

Mass., at New York, N. Y. (Fourth Liberal League in that city), and at Florence, Mass. These raise the number of chartered Local Leagues to fifty-six.

THIS IS from a Western correspondent: "I can do nothing but wish you and the cause you so bravely defend success. Should the effort you speak of succeed, the cause of liberalism will receive a fatal blow. Stand by the principles of decency and civilization in the coming fight; and, if immoral fanaticism prevail, make a manly protest in favor of a higher liberalism."

THIS CHEERING MESSAGE to us was dated Passaic City, New Jersey, October 11: "Dear Sir,—It is but fair to say that Passaic City Liberal League, as a society, unanimously approve of Mr. Abbot's position on the obscenity question; and that its delegates to the coming Congress will be instructed in accordance with such approval. Respectfully, F. W. ORVIS, *Secretary.*"

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE of Tompkins County, N. Y., held a meeting at Ithaca, on October 7. Mr. M. A. Randolph made an excellent address on the question of the evening, "How to protect the community against immoral literature without abridging the freedom of the press." It was moved and carried that this League "heartily indorses and reaffirms the position taken by the National Liberal League at the Centennial Congress at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, as embodied" in the resolution offered by Mr. Underwood and published in the Call for the Syracuse Congress.

THIS ITEM is from the New York Tribune of October 12: "Dr. Samuel Adler, father of Professor Felix Adler, and for many years Chief Rabbi of Temple Emmanu-El in this city, performed the ceremony at the private wedding of his own daughter last week Thursday. That day being one of the Ten Penitential Days in which Jews are not expected to take part in any wedding or other festivity, Dr. Adler's action has occasioned much comment. He says in reply that there is nothing in the Mosaic law to forbid marriage at such a time, and that it is at best only custom which is opposed to it."

THE OVERWHELMING majority of American liberals are on the side of "reform," as opposed to "repeal." If they only spoke out, the less intelligent opinion would vanish like smoke; but so repellant to refined feeling is the issue forced upon them that they are in danger of neglecting their duty and letting their own cause go by default. We know that we have the silent sympathy and approval of thousands upon thousands in the position we have taken; we ought to have their open word and deed. The same torpor which throws political parties into the management of the least fit, threatens to throw all liberal organizations into similar hands. Are they worth preserving? That is a question which the liberals themselves must answer; and inactivity is a fatally emphatic answer.

IN HIS letter published in THE INDEX of October 3, Mr. T. B. Wakeman said: "Nobody in the League proposes to repeal all State laws on the subject [of obscene literature], so as to 'foster obscenity,' or to run the League in the interests of free love. Insinuations of this kind can do no good." We call Mr. Wakeman's attention to this statement by Mr. J. S. Verity, a charter-member of the National Liberal League, in the Truth Seeker of October 12: "We believe that obscenity laws are wrong, and therefore we ask for their repeal; let the consequences take care of themselves. . . . We must denounce all laws against obscenity." Mr. Wakeman is not aware of the nature of the movement he is aiding. The logic of his position will put him squarely by the side of Messrs. Tucker, Heywood, and Verity, or he must refuse the inevitable corollaries of that position. He will yet discover that this is just as much a "question of obscenity" as it is a "question of liberty."

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

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[N. B.—Many new local Liberal Leagues have been formed which have neglected to take out charters, and therefore are not entitled to representation.]

Is the Reformer any Longer Needed?

BY HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN. [CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

The thorough reform of our civil service is another urgent demand of the times. It has often been pronounced "the best on the planet"; but it is, in fact, a perfectly shameless system of official huckstering and political prostitution. It poisons the life-blood of the body-politic; it places the power and patronage of the Government at the disposal of trained political pickpockets, who make the very atmosphere mephitic with their familiar vices; it frames iniquity into law, and makes law the servant of iniquity; it stains the good name of our country at home and abroad; it is the root and source of the most startling bribery and corruption, breaking out in high places, and inundating the whole land with their desolating effects; it robs the people annually to the tune of millions and tens of millions through its whiskey rings, its Indian rings, its custom-house rings, its railroad rings, and other legalized machinery which it manipulates; it reduces rapacity to a science, and elevates roguery to the dignity of an art; it has so polluted our politics and debauched the moral sense of our public servants that even so respectable a man as Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, openly defends it, and actually refers to the saturnalia of thieves who defied the country under the two administrations of General Grant as a proof of the honesty of his party. The sovereign remedy for all this is the destruction, root and branch, of the whole system of spoils and plunder; and this will require the bold surgery of reform. It calls for an insurrection of honest men against the disciplined party Janizaries who have so long ruled them. Neither Congress nor the Executive Department of the Government will take a single step until compelled to do so by public opinion. We can no more depend upon our parties and politicians to begin the work than we can trust the dram-shops of the country to organize against their traffic. If any man doubts this, we need only refer him to the spectacle of duplicity and demagogism which our servants at Washington have exhibited in dealing with this question during the past six or seven years, and to the general chuckle of delight which followed the final abandonment of all further attempts to reform administrative abuses; while the faithlessness of the present administration to its pledges in dealing with this issue, and its slippery game of fast and loose have provoked the disgust and contempt of honest men of all parties. The remedy must come from the people, and the people must be rallied and organized against the hierarchy of rogues and malefactors who prey upon the nation and make political honesty a jest.

The labor question involves a reform of world-wide significance. The question of finance is simply a part of it. The abolition of negro slavery was a magnificent triumph of labor reform, lifting four million human beings from the condition of beasts of burden to the dignity of men. This system of chattelized humanity rested upon that false relation of arbitrary power upon the one side, and dependence and help-

lessness on the other, which is the life of every form of oppression. The right adjustment of the conflict between capital and labor will emancipate all the races of men from all forms of slavery. It will consummate the work of which abolitionism was the beginning. This involves a complete revolution in our whole system of legislation and policy. The foundations of our civilization were laid in conquest and robbery, and these, under the names of feudalism and monarchy, have held the race in subjection. The remedy is radical reconstruction, and it involves the life of our institutions. "At the very commencement of society," says Mr. Thornton, in his valuable book on *Labor*, "as soon as materials for its construction were brought together, its living constituents proceeded forth with to arrange themselves in layers, the stronger, nimbler, and cunninger climbing up on their brothers' shoulders, and occupying the higher places, and leaving to those below only the office of upholding them in their elevation." He adds, "The upper myriads may cry peace, peace, but there will be no more peace for them, on the old terms, with the lower millions." And there ought to be none. When we talk about the rights of labor, we talk about the rights of man. When we say that a fair day's work is entitled to a fair day's wages, we declare a principle which, as Carlyle says, is as "indisputable as arithmetical multiplication-tables," and which "must and will have itself fulfilled." We can no more escape it than we can escape gravitation. Our talk about democracy and the sacredness of human rights, while capital has its foot on the neck of the laborer, is a sham and a cheat. It is the hollow dreariness of demagogism. The chief end of government is not the protection of property, but of man; and this truth must be practically illustrated in such laws as shall hold in check the power of concentrated capital in alliance with labor-saving machinery, and those giant corporations which too often control the makers and expounders of the laws, and are virtually endowed with life-offices and powers of hereditary succession. The task is a large one, and of course will require time, toil, and patience. It presents the most fearful problem with which enlightened humanity has yet been called on to deal. By the side of this labor question, the old slavery issue dwindles into a trifle. It casts its portentous shadow across every civilized land, and is rallying and organizing multiplying millions of discontented and determined men, whose just demands cannot safely be alighted. It foreshadows a conflict between the vandalism and madness of communism on the one hand, and the rapacity of capital on the other, which naturally tends to provoke and inspire it, and which, as the Duke of Argyll declares, "overrides even the love of life, and silences even the fear of death." The omens of a coming storm are quite as discernible as were those which preceded the deadly struggle which at last buried African slavery in its bloody grave. Shall we heed these omens, and by wise and timely precautions seek to avert the threatened calamity; or madly resign ourselves to the reckless and pitiless principle of evolution, and thus invite the lightning of retribution which else might be conducted harmlessly to the earth?

The land question is the twin-brother of the labor-question, and involves considerations equally momentous and far-reaching. "The earth is literally the loaf we feed on"; and, therefore, no question can more vitally affect humanity than the character of the laws which deal with it. This is most signally illustrated in England, whose agricultural laborers are among the most degraded human beings on earth. This is the ripe fruit of her system of land-tenures. "Time was," says the *Westminster Review*, "when, at the call of the country, the yeomen of England rose and fought and conquered her liberties. Their degenerate descendants would be more likely to fight as hirelings for any form of slavery and superstition—if, indeed, they could be got to fight at all." It is as true of England as of any country in Europe, that "the whole energy and knowledge and resources of the land are barreled up in the towns." Mr. Hoskyns, in his chapter on the land-laws of that country, says: "There is not a living animal connected with the farm, from the draught-team down to the sheep-dog, that is not better lodged and looked after than the laborer and his family." He is a slave; his condition is exactly described by the definition of a slave, as given in the old codes of the Carolinas, namely, "one doomed to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits." Liberty implies opportunity, self-culture, the untrammelled development and use of the powers of a man; and all these are denied him. Land-monopoly, indeed, is slavery. A government which allows the land to become the patrimony of the few cannot be free, for the simple reason that the landholders of every country are its masters. The most stupendous system of organized robbery which scourges the world is that which strips the poor of their natural inheritance in the soil.

Are we told that this question does not concern us in the United States, since we have no laws of primogeniture and entail, and no great monopolies handed down to us as the fruit of feudal times? We answer, that, through our large grants to railway corporations, our system of Indian treaties, our swamp-land legislation, our yet unforbidden curse of land-speculation, and other forms of maladministration, we are laying the foundations of a system of serfdom almost as fearful as that which now afflicts England. In several States of our Union there are single farms of a half-million acres; and even in old Massachusetts, where liberty and local self-government had their birth in her policy of small estates, the large farms are rapidly swallowing up the small ones, while a crouching tenantry, toiling under absentee landlords, bears witness at once to the decline of agriculture and the decay of freedom. If our popular system of government is to

be preserved, nothing is more certain than that our land-policy must be radically reformed. And it will not reform itself. Evolution will not meet the danger, for evil and ruin are evolved, as well as good, when unchecked by human endeavors. The false steps we have taken must be reversed in the interest of justice and the rights of the people. We need such agitators and reformers as Cobden and Mill, and such missionaries as Joseph Arch. What will our vaunted freedom be worth if we suffer the canker of great estates to eat away the life of our yeomanry? What refuge will be left for us against the unhealthy growth and fearful domination of our chief cities, if a great system of centralization in agriculture is to palsify the manhood of our "rural districts," and give us such a breed of cultivators as those of England? These questions demand an answer from every believer in democratic government. They take hold of our social well-being and our national life; for—

"A bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

The reformer is needed in dealing with still another question. We have lately commemorated the nation's first centennial. We fitly honored the deeds of the famous men who declared that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and threw life, fortune, and honor into the defence of this principle. It was the key-note and ceaseless battle-cry of their grand struggle. The right of the people who paid the taxes to be heard on the question of voting them was accepted as a self-evident truth. "They who have no voice nor vote," said Dr. Franklin, "in the selecting of representatives, do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes." This is as self-evident as any truth in the great Declaration. A free government is one resting upon the free choice of the people, and every person having the power of choosing has an inborn and equal right to be heard in person, or by his representative, in the management of those public interests which concern him in common with all other citizens. Idiots, lunatics, infants, and criminals who have forfeited their right are necessarily precluded from any share in the exercise of political power; but no other exceptions can be made consistently with the natural rights of man. An intelligent human being, innocent of crime, yielding his obedience to the Government, answerable to it in his person and property for disobedience, and yet denied any political rights, is a slave. If this is not true, then nothing is true. But our fathers were not ready to apply this truth in its complete length and breadth. They did not perfectly keep step to the logic of their own avowed principles; they lived in the twilight of the political gospel they proclaimed, and scarcely dreamed of the high-noon of democracy which has since lighted up the political horizon. Accordingly, they withheld the ballot from the poor man on account of his poverty. This was done in all the States in the early years of the Government. As a nation, we have long since outgrown this folly. The negro was denied any share in the exercise of political power on account of the color of his skin, or that American prejudice which had been evolved from the institution of slavery. But slavery has perished, and the principles of our fathers have found another application in the conversion of the negro into a citizen and a voter. We have now no qualification for the ballot founded on race, or color, or property, or any educational requirement; and yet we have twenty million citizens in the United States who are compelled to pay their taxes and obey the laws, while they are denied any share whatever in the exercise of political power. This is done because of their sex, and is as hateful and anti-republican a discrimination as can well be conceived. An aristocracy founded on it is quite as odious and absurd as an aristocracy founded on color, or race, or any other mere accident of humanity. It cannot be defended for a moment by any believer in democracy. In the name of justice and decency, what has sex to do with the question of moral or political right? But our purpose is not now to argue the question, but only to state it, and to rank it among the grand living issues yet to be tried by the people. How it will finally be decided is not a matter of the least doubt. Our exclusion of woman from politics will take its place among the curious and startling barbarisms of the past. It is true that as yet we are only midway on our journey to universal suffrage; but that journey will be completed, because any step backward will be as impossible as any pause where we are. We are constantly enlarging the sphere of woman's occupations; we are reforming our laws respecting her personal and property rights. We are providing for her a higher education, and thus recognizing her claim to equal rights; we have already made her a citizen, and in some of the States, and as to certain positions, she is entitled to vote and hold office. There is, and there can be, no abiding-place in her progress toward perfect political equality with man. When and how this goal shall be reached must largely depend upon the labors and sacrifices of those who would speed the work; for the toils and struggles of the abolitionists might just as wisely have been renounced as to surrender the cause of woman's enfranchisement to the tender mercies of social evolution.

Our space will only permit us to refer to one further task which invokes the helping hand of reform, and that is the total separation of our civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Our Protestant sects complain that the pope, as the viceregent of God on earth, not only claims supreme authority over the consciences of men, but over all human governments, and thus assails civil liberty as well as religious. They say it was the Catholic Church which defeated Mr. Gladstone's Education Bill, and inspired the Franco-German war, while it is striving to prevent the unification of Germany, and blocking up the way of struggling liberalism in France and Spain. They affirm that this same power is waging war against our common schools,

and endeavoring, by sapping and mining, to intrench itself in the United States; and that it believes our free institutions offer a better soil for the growth of its principles than the centralized governments of Europe, while plotting the overthrow of our liberty through its vast and well-drilled army of Jesuits. How shall we deal with this alleged raid upon civilization and progress? Social evolution will not meet the danger, for that has brought it to our doors, and seems to be constantly giving it strength. Shall we appeal to sectarian animosities, and array Protestantism against Catholicism in deadly strife? The thought of such a struggle between a great centralized power, always acting as a unit, and warring sects which could never be effectively rallied under a common banner, is not to be entertained for a moment. The question is not so much one of sects or religions, as of constitutional liberty, vitally affecting the rights of all men. The Government of the United States is neither Protestant nor Catholic. It is not even Christian, Washington himself being our witness; nor is it Jewish, Mohammedan, or pagan. The Government rightfully has nothing to do with religion, and religion has nothing to do with the Government. The State has no more right to teach religion than the Church has to assume the functions of the State. Our only safe ground, therefore, is the total secularization of our politics. The "concubinage of Church and State" must be utterly destroyed. On this principle all can stand, irrespective of religious faith. While the State is bound to protect all men in the unmolested enjoyment of their religious opinions, it must stand entirely aloof from any sort of espousal of any form of faith. This is our safeguard against ecclesiastical domination, whether Catholic or Protestant.

And this will require an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. It declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and thus places the national Government in its true position; but the individual States are left entirely free in dealing with this question. They may make the Catholic faith or that of any Protestant sect the State religion, and levy taxes for the support of it upon those who conscientiously disbelieve in its creed. The union of Church and State, which our fathers repudiated in the national Constitution, may thus be established in defiance of the rights of conscience, as was systematically done in all the colonies save one during the period of the Revolution, and at the beginning of the Government. Some of them required all officers of the State to be of the Protestant faith; and even at this day religious tests are prescribed in several of them as conditions of holding office, by which the choice of fit men for the public service is foolishly restricted. In violation of the principles of our fathers, the church-property of both Catholics and Protestants is exempted from taxation, thus indirectly compelling Jews, Mohammedans, theists, atheists, and freethinkers to contribute to the support of a religion which they disbelieve, and violating the rights of conscience, which, to every reflecting man, are even more precious than the right to liberty or life. A constitutional amendment has recently been proposed in the Senate of the United States, which, if adopted, will recognize the Bible in our public schools by "divine right," and forever protect Church property in its present unjust exemption; and this amendment lacked only a few votes of the two-thirds required to pass it. The growth of the ecclesiastical spirit is still further manifested by another proposed amendment, emanating from an organization called the "National Reform Association," providing for the "acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government, of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority." Should this be adopted, the union of Church and State would be complete, and "appropriate legislation" for the disfranchisement and punishment of heretics would undoubtedly follow. The only true remedy for these threatened dangers is the absolute divorce of civil and ecclesiastical authority. There is no middle ground on which we can stand. "Our Constitution must be changed to suit our practices, or our practices must be changed to suit our Constitution." It must be on one side or the other, and the attempt to place it on both will prove as fruitless, and it may be as disastrous, as was the effort to make our Government "half-slave and half-free." We oppose and denounce the assaults of the Catholic Church upon our common schools as a monstrous interference with purely secular affairs; but our own sense of consistency and self-respect should compel us forthwith to exclude the Bible from those schools, and thus deprive that hierarchy of a very convenient and weighty apology for its course. The policy of the Catholic Church, so far as it makes itself the ally of ignorance and superstition, must be resolutely resisted; but that resistance can best be made by jealously maintaining civil liberty, and insisting upon a well-organized system of common schools and compulsory secular education. In thus standing by the equal religious rights of American citizens, we shall be invincible; for liberty and popular intelligence are the deadly enemies of every form of ecclesiastical usurpation, as they are the impregnable bulwarks of our democratic institutions. In seeking our purpose through an amendment of the Constitution, we cherish no hostility to State rights, but only an overmastering devotion to human rights. We cherish no hostility whatever to any form of religion, but would protect and defend all religions under equal laws. Nor do we fear sectarian wrangles and divisions as the result of the principles for which we contend. On the contrary, we confidently predict perpetual peace through the final removal of the chief causes of strife; and our grand aim can only fail through the criminal recreancy of the people themselves to

the teachings of our fathers and the pregnant warnings of history.

And here we close our protest against the baleful heresy which has served us for our text. In confounding the distinction between physical and social evolution, it tends to confound the distinction between right and wrong. It threatens to dethrone conscience, and substitute development for duty. It exchanges liberty for necessity, and thus deals with humanity as a factor in mechanics. By committing all social questions to the working of inevitable laws, it disparages the value of human character, and trifles with human responsibility. It weakens the very foundations of virtue, by belittling the motives which inspire it. It unduly exalts the intellect, and makes the follies and mistakes of good men an excuse for tearing down the sanctuary of the heart. Its ugly footprints are already visible on the other side of the Atlantic in the halting steps of special reforms, and the growing independence of Government to deal with great social questions over which its jurisdiction is clear. This is true in a measure of our own country, while the moral felonies which blacken our politics and defile the name of religion have their root, to some extent, in the same soil. This deadly mildew of modern life, this dry rot of moral unbelief which would wither the leaf and flower of virtue, must be arrested if we would escape social stagnation and spiritual death. We speak earnestly, because we feel deeply, when we say that by all means we must keep alive our faith in virtue, in the preciousness of character, and in personal responsibility; for, without this faith, men will content themselves with coddling their own worldly comfort, and turning every good cause adrift, while we shall be left without God and without hope in the world.—*North American Review*, September-October, 1878.

THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK IN THE WEST.

ED. INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Here in the West the observant rational sees many unpleasant features in the religious outlook. The aristocracy of grace is apparently very prosperous. The revivalists who go about the country dubbing sinners with spiritual knighthood in the name of God are successful, if crowded houses, insanely excited communities, and long purses are any indication of success. And the more coarse and irrational their preaching, the greater their apparent success. And these knight-errants of Orthodoxy preach a gospel more disgustingly immoral than that of Tetzal in the days of Luther. Tetzal made people pay for their passport to glory. But a cheaper way has been devised; sainthood to-day costs only a little mumbling of dogmas well wet down with tears, hysterical or otherwise. Such saints are easily made to-day; and, after they are manufactured, they are a curse to the world and a disgrace to their Creator.

Dr. McCosh opposed evolution because there were so many apparent gaps in the process. But in the hands of popular religion, the reprobate of yesterday is met to-day dressed in the livery of heaven, acting as plenipotentiary from Omnipotence. What an awful moral gap is there here!

In our midst is a man who for years was a debaucher, and in one day he was thus galvanized into a saint. Nay, worse than this: this man is not only represented as standing on the steps of the throne in the full blaze of divine favor, but he is applauded when he turns earthward; and, with lips not yet forgetful of their long-inwrought sensuality, boldly charges, in the name of God (*sic*), that the disbeliever in Jesus, though a man of integrity, is the joy of the devil. If this be so, we will make our bed in hell and rejoice. Of old it was prophesied that there would come a time when wolves would go about in sheep's clothing. That time is here, and the Church monopolizes the trade of disguising wolves in robes of innocence. They go in as wolves, they come out (in appearance) lambs; but worse than this is the fact that they claim to possess a commission bearing the seal of infinite justice. "There is no alchemy known in the dread hereafter that will turn dross into gold," is the closing sentence of an article on "Future Punishment," in the last *British Quarterly*. Undoubtedly true; but Orthodoxy stoutly claims a possession of such powers of alchemy as far as the present is concerned. Shame upon Orthodoxy for banishing the alchemist from the hereafter, while herself pretending to work the alchemist's charms in the present! Thus moral distinctions are effaced, character is discounted. The way to heaven is made the monopoly of an ecclesiastical pooling-ring.

The press condemns our civil service because advancement is a matter of patronage, and not a reward of solid worth. At such injustice a cry of horror fills the land, and men say, Let us reform our civil service. But before this, let us first reform the civil service of heaven. Popular religion represents salvation as a matter of patronage,—not as a reward of solid worth. As men get office by clinging to the garments of a politician, so we must get salvation by clinging to the robe of Jesus.

Civil service reform must commence with theology. There sits the monster; there is the fountain-head of the stream that bears moral death to the nation. Men rise not above their God ideals. What! expect a reform in our civil service while the Church represents God as acting precisely like a ring politician,—that is, rewarding people for other considerations than purity of character? Such teaching is a brutalizing and barbarizing force.

This is only one proof of the moral incapacity of the Church. Talk about exempting the Church from taxation because it is a teacher of morals! Pshaw! It doesn't teach morality. Morality sits in the back seat, poor thing, in cold neglect, except as the preacher sees fit to condemn and insult, when it becomes the centre of a thousand scorns and jeers and mockings.

What man, when in doubt as to the true course of action in business, would think of going to a clergyman for moral instruction? The article is not among his wares. Dr. Tiele shows us how, in the early stages of religious growth, religion was united to morality. Now the case is worse; religion is disjoined from morality.

But the Church is as tyrannical to mind as oblivious to morals. The Indians put boards on their children's heads to flatten and repress the brain. But what is that to the conduct of Orthodoxy in hooping the intellect by its iron bands of dogmas? We condemn the Chinese for disfiguring the feet and crippling people; but what does Orthodoxy do but put thought into the iron shoes that Calvin wore?

Is not mind more than body? Orthodoxy despises evolution because it makes our ancestors monkeys; yet in anathematizing reason, she tries to put us below them, for even monkeys have surely a little reason. Now there is, perhaps, no place where the truth, that progress makes the problem of life more complex, is better illustrated than in the West. With progress there is an increasing demand for more reason to enable men to solve the problems of society. The perpetuity of progress depends upon the increase of reason. When that time arrives that the average power of reason is below that quantity demanded for the solution of life's problem, at that point demoralization and retrogression must set in. Every year, especially here in the West, is complicating the problem of life, and therefore increasing the demand for stronger and better trained powers of reason. Were they needed, a thousand illustrations of this vital truth might be gathered from the everyday duties of common life. Now, in view of this fact, is it anything less than criminal for a church to set itself against reason, as the fountain of evil and the citadel of the devil? The church that says to men that they must not reason is preparing these men for political nonentities; nay, worse: for elements of ruin.

The clergyman that preaches that reason is a dangerous guide is preparing men for the guidance of demagogues, making them the sport of professional quacks,—is preparing the way for social disruption and political anarchy. The preacher that discredits the authority of reason is paving the way for the progress of error, superstition, fraud, misrule, and retrogression.

A church that requires men to renounce reason as they step over her threshold is clearing the ground for the erection of shams and gigantic deceptions. The Sunday-school teacher that paralyzes the reason of children by demanding their acceptance of miracles and irrational dogmas is not only neutralizing the scientific spirit instilled by secular education, and thus defeating the object for which the public treasure is expended, but is actually maiming their very natures, and is consigning them to the use of theological crutches—something worse, if not so observable, as the dependence upon material ones.

This popular blasphemy of Nature, in which reason is anathematized in the interest of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, is a damning blight upon every life, disqualifying every man, woman, and child, upon whom its influence lights, for the best and truest discharge of life's most sacred duties. To pick our way through the mystic maze of life's myriad duties, so that we may ever be in the line of right, truth, and joy, demands reason. Hence a religion that demands the amputation of reason multiplies our foes, robs us of our peace, bolts before us the treasure-house of truth, blocks the way that leads to the joy-crowned heights of life, slays our guide, and leaves us in a desert where we are forever the prey of marauders, disarms us of our weapons, and multiplies the enemies around us, and darkens the sky above us. We are accustomed to hear ridicule meted out to those religions of old that demanded a bodily mutilation of its votaries; but how much worse is popular religion that demands a mutilation of mind, an assassination of thought, beside which the bloody rites of ancient times were as sweet innocence and commendable justice. Such is the popular religious teaching here in the West. As a result, we find the people divided into three classes: those who believe, those who countenance, and those who ignore. The thorough-going, believing class is the smallest of the three, and numbers only a very small fraction of the total population.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the influence of such teaching upon this class of stout believers. By it they are debarré from progress. This is self-evident; for progress is rationalization, and in the renunciation of reason stop is put upon growth.

And yet it is hard to fully comprehend the extent of this mischief. In the horror of reason thus inspired, believers throw away the implements of progress,—they spurn their only powers of locomotion. They are warned away from science. The religious press and pulpit leave no opportunity to impress upon their minds the evils of science. With one voice they shout its dangers and viciousness. Thus they are kept from a knowledge of those facts and laws so well calculated to broaden, sweeten, and bless human life.

Again, the very religion in which they trust deludes them into a belief that they are pure, when they are not pure; that they are safe, when they are not safe; that they are saved, when they are not saved. It fills them with a self-complacency, a sense of security, a feeling of wealth, which is as opposed to progress in spiritual life as supreme egotism is to growth in knowledge. It gives them a readiness-for-heaven feeling, so that it is with supreme contempt that they impatiently listen to any urging toward general culture as something that is to shape the here and the hereafter. The maniac who suffers under the delusion that he has mines of gold at his command, cannot be made to see the necessity of work. As difficult is it to make the believer in popular religion see the necessity of his own culture.

"I am saved; Jesus has paid it all. His blood has made me clean." Again their progress is defeated because popular religion blinds them to the true way of progress. Every day brings the great truth into clearer light that growth must be along the line of natural law. But their religion makes them look for progress along the pathway of the supernatural. They are thus by popular religion as much deceived, and in the same manner, as those who look for the cure of bodily maladies by the influence of charms and the practice of magic.

Again, popular religion defeats their progress by binding them to an unnatural course of life. The Sunday-school teacher commends on Sunday a course of life which he would discharge his clerk for practicing on Monday. What merchant would keep a clerk who would turn the right cheek to the scallawag who had hit him on the left? Thus popular religion effectually retards the growth of its believers. They become a dead weight upon the spirit of the age; they stand not only unleavened by that spirit, but arrayed as a barrier in the way of advance.

Another effect of popular religion upon its believers is to intensify their bigotry, and shield them from the humanizing influence of the times. The drift of the age is toward the brotherly recognition of all men, and the estimation of each man by what he is in character. Popular religion antagonizes this humanitarianism by enforcing a fellowship of dogmatists, and an estimation of men by what they believe, making their ability to believe in hobgoblins more precious than learning or character.

This effect is well illustrated in the case of a neighbor who said his conscience would not allow him to sing for Unitarians; but it did not seem to interfere when he lied to his neighbor in a trade.

But there is another and larger class: those who countenance. Almost every day Orthodox people ask us, Do you really suppose that very many church-members believe the creeds, and what the minister preaches? Our answer is that we hope so; for down-right belief is better than hypocrisy. Here in the West, outside of the ministry, hardly an educated man, nominally Orthodox, can be found who will not confidentially tell you, when you get him into a corner, that he doesn't believe a word of it. This is true of church officials and Sunday-school teachers. Not a few young men of good standing, when plainly approached, will admit that they are, religiously, hypocrites. They speak in Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings the phraseology of Orthodoxy; they are willing to be popularly counted among the faithful; they rent pews in Orthodox churches; they commend their children to Orthodox instruction; they subscribe to Orthodox confessions; they bow assent to Orthodox preaching; but in reality they are not only indifferent, but unbelieving. That the existence of such a state of affairs argues a fearful amount of moral obliquity, needs no proof. It is the presence of this large class of apparent believers, but real unbelievers, that causes the real weakness of popular religion. That it is the natural result of the failure of the Church to be a moral guide and an intellectual teacher, is most plain.

The Church is responsible for this ugly state of affairs. Her course has been just such as would manufacture hypocrites out of all those whose minds were too large for her creeds, but whose interest demanded the favor accruing from religion. But it is not for us to upbraid her for her errors; this wide-spread hypocrisy is a source of weakness that is a fitting reward for her unjust stewardship.

We take the fact as it is, and concern ourselves only with the question, What are its bearings? To the persons themselves such conduct is a scorching drought. It is an unnatural condition that serves as a perennial source of ignoble life. A mind that is not honest with itself and the world, respecting the highest interests of life, is no place for the elaboration of a great character; great ideas do not luxuriate there; such is not the birthplace of holy, heroic aspirations. We need not speak of the dark damnation of hypocrisy that rests upon such. These are strangers to any burning enthusiasm for a great cause such as gilds humanity with a bright divinity.

Those who countenance Orthodoxy, without having any faith in it, commit religious suicide. They place themselves in an atmosphere from which all vitalizing properties have forever been removed. It is bartering life for its semblance; it is a perpetual shamming; it is a surrender of individuality to nonentity; it is trifling with duty,—making of life a hollow mockery, a vain show; it is a virtual dismemberment of self, and that, too, for the most shameful reasons. It is impossible to use language too harsh when we speak of the utter meanness of such insincerity. Upon society at large the result is equally injurious; it is a converting of so many integers into ciphers, and thus it vastly decreases the products of civilization. Here is a destruction of forces that are demanded by the best interests of the race. And this ruinous extirpation of religious interest and influence we must charge upon popular religion. But there is another aspect of the case more lamentable than that just noticed. How ruinous to the character of the young must be this parental hypocrisy in religion! The children of those who thus countenance, but disbelieve, Orthodoxy, are generally sent to the teachers of popular religion for culture in the higher things of life and duty. What death-blows to morality are dealt by that parent who in public says loud amens to doctrines that his own child well knows he despises. Thus the leprosy spreads from father to son.

But there is a third class larger than the other two combined,—those who ignore. Among these there are persons of every shade of interest and opinion, from those who never think of religion to those who, in the best sense of the word, have a religious experience of the most beautiful and vital kind, though not fashioned after the Orthodox pattern. But their

general characteristic is that they ignore the Church. Occasionally they may be found in the churches to please friends, to pass away time, to hear the music, from personal regard to the clergyman, or other reasons, but not from religious motives; not because they expect anything will be said to benefit them.

Some look upon popular religion as a good thing in its way, for the ignorant; some look with contempt, some with entire indifference. But all, as far as their own lives are concerned, ignore it. Its warnings, its discussions, its pleadings, no more touch them than those of the llama of Thibet. And yet among this class there is little organized opposition to Orthodoxy; nor is there any attempt at a reconstruction of anything else to take its place.

Several things are remarkable about this class. Its extent in numbers is remarkable; the character of those composing it is remarkable. They are the best men in business and in the professions. Another remarkable thing is their quietness and indifference to organization, while surrounded by such irrational teachings from the popular pulpits. Another thing to be noticed is the extent of the breach between themselves and the Church. There are hardly any points of contact. The clergyman may prove his doctrine by the Bible, but they see in it only a human book; he may appeal to Jesus, but over them Jesus has no influence save as his teachings may commend themselves to their own minds. Popular religion, therefore, does them but little harm, because it does not directly influence them. Apparently they are in a religious retirement, yet it is among this class that there may be found the freshest religious thought and the deepest religious life and the most beautiful religious experience. They are thinking out and living their own creeds from day to day; they have a religion, but do not know it under that name. In fact, the irrationality of popular religion has caused these persons to look upon religion in general as a superstition, and their prompt reply to any religious inquiry is, "I haven't any religion; I believe in honesty,"—a frequent reply not very complimentary to the Church. With the first class popular religion is a dread reality; with the second it is a convenience; with the third it is considered a delusion.

To the first the Church seems as a weak sort of consolation; to the second as stock in trade; to the third as a target of criticism. The first have religion in its antique concreteness; the second possess a religious pretence; many of the third unconsciously enjoy a religious life. Such, then, in broad outline, is the religious outlook here in the West. If here we should attempt any lamentation over the scene thus portrayed, doubtless many would say, "Tis all right; 'tis but to let the ignorant hug their superstitions; and as for the third class, are they not free from the old,—just where we wish them to be?"

It is only too true that when we say that popular theology is immoral, that it induces in the masses hypocrisy or spiritual lethargy, many will composedly remark, "What of it?" This, too, said in a tone that declares them aliens to every true interest of humanity. Such is not the spirit that has led men up to the holy heights of such heroism as the world has loved to remember and honor. There is no ring of greatness in that tone; it is hollow and false. Such words flow not from a heart filled with love for humanity. Something of the coward shows through; something of the indolence of Asia sounds in the voice. This state of affairs reveals enough cautionary signals to make the wayfaring man apprehensive of danger.

Popular theology is a menace to the hope of humanity. It disqualifies the first for progress; it debauches the second; it exiles many of the third from organized moral culture. It hardly needs any argument to make good these assertions. Progress in civilization is along the line of growth in character; hence, the first class are just so far obstacles to progress as their theology influences them, for it is a persistent war upon the worth and beauty of character.

As for the second class, it is impossible for them to have any moral enthusiasm; the very motive that put them where they are was a death-warrant to every rising aspiration for a higher life among men. A man who just countenances popular religion for the material advantages which it conveys, is already spiritually dead; he adds no life-forces to the church which holds his membership, and he is shut out from every other avenue of zeal.

Popular religion has simply annihilated the moral impetus of this class. The third class, by the irrationality of Orthodox religion, have been driven into a region of spiritual life where no necessity is felt for cooperation, for association, for positive, affirmative work in ethical culture. With them the joy of emancipation has been so great that there has been no care or thought for life's greater enfranchisement; they see not the necessity of work to give them the more blessed freedom of culture's royal estates. But the whole history of the race is full of instruction on this point. The devil takes those who are out of the old, and not in the positive new. Those out of prison, and yet out of a home, are where ruin lurks. Hence this third class is in danger because it is destitute of organized methods of ethic culture. Work for general righteousness is growth in individual character; hence organization is needed not only to gather units of effort into a vast product of results, but to supply the motive to put forth effort. Again, organization is needed to diffuse the higher life through the lower ranks, as the school diffuses the higher knowledge thus. Thus this third class are not beyond the need of culture; not beyond the need of organization for culture. The Church fails, from reasons already given, to afford them culture; and yet to longer continue without organized rational methods of culture is dangerous; not that man must ever be in the bondage of an ecclesiasticism, but that he needs culture to be free.

What shall be done? This question we do not pro-

pose to answer, but in conclusion would present a hint or two which may be of some use.

1. What is done must be heroically radical,—no diluted Orthodoxy will do. It is not a grafting, but a planting that is needed. The old house cannot be made suitable for the new family by putting on here and there a liberal bay window; a new home must be built upon a new foundation. There is an irrepressible conflict between ecclesiastical authority and reason; naturalism and supernaturalism. No compromise will do; compromises have been tried and they have failed. Liberal religion has too long failed by trying to keep its place as a sort of corporal's guard to the right of the Orthodox army.

A half-way liberalism is no liberalism at all. It is hated by Orthodoxy and feared by the rational. A liberalism that makes the man Jesus its Lord, is as inconsistent, and a far greater failure than an Orthodoxy that makes its Christ ideal a very God. Those who have rejected the Christ of Orthodoxy can only seldom be made enthusiastic over the Jesus of conservative Unitarianism. Those who have rejected the substance will not be won by the semblance.

Again, a liberalism that ties itself to the Bible as a book that contains the supernatural revelation of God, has all the defects and none of the virtues of Orthodoxy. This third class can only be roused to enthusiasm by a liberalism that is bold and outspoken, free from any taint of supernaturalism, and devoid of superstition.

2. What is done must be enthusiastically radical. What is needed is the enthusiasm for a great idea; what is needed is a shrill battle-cry that will voice into a plain language, comprehensible by the masses, some great practical truth. It must touch something tangible in the present common experience of humanity. Liberals must feel how much depends upon them, and enthusiasm will run as a mighty river of irresistible power.

3. What is done must be reconstructively radical. It may be a poor shanty in which people live—one that they feel is shockingly and needlessly poor,—but they will hardly be won to an out-door life, without any protection as long as it stands at all. Let liberalism build its palace by the shanty's side, and people will be glad to go there and live. Liberalism must crowd out the old by a new growth. Results, not arguments, are needed to make liberal religion popular. The question that is perplexing the minds of thinking people to-day in the Church and out, is not whether Orthodoxy is true; they are ready to admit the falsity of its fundamentals. They are asking, Where is there anything better?

Arguments will not answer the critical inquiry of the masses. They must have ocular demonstration in results clearly wrought out and noble.

AN EX-BAPTIST CLERGYMAN.

LOUISIANA NOTES.

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 5, 1878.

DEAR INDEX:—

Although Louisiana liberals are apparently few and silent, they take a deep interest in every movement affecting the growth of liberalism throughout the country. They note your position on the question of obscene literature in the mails with pride, and hope the coming Congress may be wise enough to vindicate your manly stand for the protection and not the abuse of individual liberties, in accord with the highest demands of society.

Extreme depression in business previous to and following the advent of the fever plague will probably deprive Louisiana of representation in the Annual Congress on the 28th of this month.

Mrs. E. L. Saxon, a member of the State Committee, and President of the Ladies' Physiological Society, has most earnestly labored for the relief of the fever sufferers, proving herself invaluable by reason of her perseverance and indomitable energy. I regret to inform her friends of THE INDEX that she has been sorely tried by the scourge. Her son hovered between life and death for many hours, and before he had entirely recovered, her youngest daughter, aged eleven, was taken down, and on Thursday 3d inst., her eyes were closed to the scenes of this earth forever. To the noble woman and bereaved mother, our heartfelt sympathy is due in the hour of affliction.

Another member of the State committee, Dr. W. H. Gray, of Morgan City, is busily engaged at his profession, in a fever centre. He writes that out of *forty-six* yellow-fever patients under his charge only *five* have died.

The undersigned, honored with a membership of the National Executive Committee for this State, has been made a trustee of a relief fund, being distributed among the sufferers who are becoming a legion, dependent upon the charities from abroad.

Therefore, let it be understood that we are not afflicted with lukewarmness, but compelled to yield to circumstances beyond our control, in absenting ourselves from the Liberal Congress, and a failure to properly organize this State.

Very respectfully, EMERSON BENTLEY.

THURMAN ON SUMNER.

I knew Mr. Sumner very well, and saw him quite frequently outside of the Senate, in a social way, and conversed with him on all sorts of topics, literary and general as well as political. The attractive quality of Mr. Sumner's conversation was its elevated tone and its entire freedom from vulgar anecdote and allusion. It was not, however, the conversation of a profound or original mind, nor of an acute thinker. Neither was his expression brilliant, nor always felicitous. His talk was simply that of a scholarly and very well-informed gentleman. But his scholarship has, as appears to me, been very much overrated. He was

in a certain sense widely read, but he had not wide attainments. He spoke, I believe, only one foreign language, the French, and that with some hesitation, stopping often for a word, as he did sometimes even in English. He should have spoken French well, having lived a year or two in Paris; but he had acquired his knowledge of the language so late in life as to have missed a correct accent. I have heard him read from an Italian book, but he did not speak in Italian, and knew almost nothing of German, I think. In the matter of reading, Mr. Sumner was a sort of omnivorous browser in literature, reading a great deal promiscuously and miscellaneously, without the method which seems to me to be necessary to acquire the proper instruction or discipline from study. This habit of unlimited general reading to keep posted, as it is expressed, upon a host of topics, the new as well as the old, tends to stultify the mind rather than quicken it. Nothing so quickly and surely becomes dull, for instance, as a book of anecdotes. It is like a dinner all dessert. Mr. Sumner used his information obtained in this habit of general reading, but he never fairly digested it, or broke it in with his own mind. He crammed a great deal, and then spent his time in working up the results into stately sentences, which in some way escaped the edge of eloquence. As a public man, Senator Sumner gained his reputation by his persistent enthusiasm in the anti-slavery cause, and from his personal and political integrity. He was, peculiarly speaking, honest and incorruptible, beyond suspicion even. He had not great political sagacity. In this sort of wisdom he was excelled a hundred times over by his colleague, Henry Wilson, who, in my judgment, was the most discriminating judge in political matters, and the ablest party leader that the Republican party has ever had.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

LIFE.

Oh youth-time rare!
What meaneth life to thee?
Can thy clear eye
Pierce its dark veil of mystery?
"Life bringeth me love's richest treasure;
The golden hours enchanted flow;
But whence life's spell
I cannot tell,—
Its past or future cannot measure,
The wondrous secret cannot know."

Oh toiler strong!
What meaning doth life yield
To thee? Hast thou
The hidden well-spring seen revealed?
"In heavy laden days of duty
All vain is toil and thought to see
The hidden source
Of law and force,
Whose workings fill the world with beauty,—
Unfathomed still life's mystery."

Oh trembling age!
Hast thou, in growing old,
Life's purpose found?
To thee hath been its meaning told?
"Life brought to me joy's skies of azure,
Youth's dream of love, years toil-oppressed;
But still no tone
From the unknown
Discloseth life's charmed source of treasure;
Soon sinks in death earth-life's unrest."

Oh mystic life!
Still flowing silently,
While ages flee,
Thy secret known alone to thee,
Oh now thy beauty doth delight us;
Thy full tide swelling high and strong.
It ebbs and flows,
It comes and goes;
Anon thy vivid terrors smite us
As thy mighty current sweeps along.

Who e'er shall mark
Thy boundaries sublime?
Thy marvellous power
All space pervadeth, and all time.
Our little years thy power upholdeth;
To us its force mysterious lends.
We live and die,
We know not why.
Too soon, too soon thy spell unfoldeth;
Our life with thee in silence blends.

J. J.

SPRINGFIELD, Vt.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 12.

B. M. Smith, \$1; J. C. Kearns, \$1.50; W. H. Dixon, \$3.20; Wilbur J. Squire, \$5.04; Mrs. H. P. King, \$5; Mrs. H. B. Bird, \$10; Mary E. Decker, \$1; J. R. Hawley, \$2.60; G. W. Stevens, \$3.20; W. E. Eaton, \$3.20; A. W. Withington, \$3.20; Joseph Hayes, \$6.40; H. Molineaux, \$4.40; Rev. J. C. Fisher, \$3.20; H. Vaughn, 25 cents; John Zisner, \$3.20; S. W. Strong, 10 cents; J. G. Richardson, \$3.20; G. E. Corbin, 25 cents; Chas. W. Livermore, \$3.60; F. H. Lothrop, \$1.60; Cash, \$2; William Phillips, 25 cents.

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

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

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 17, 1878.

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A CARD.

We, the undersigned, Directors of the National Liberal League, offer ourselves as candidates for reelection at the Second Annual Congress of the League, on the following platform of principles:—

1. The right of absolute individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, on all political, religious, social, or other questions, and the right of being wholly uninterfered with by the courts, no matter what opinions as such may be advocated or promulgated.

2. The right and duty of Congress and State Legislatures to pass, and the right and duty of the National and State courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails; provided, that the offence known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.

3. The flagrant wrong of intrusting the execution of the laws for the suppression of obscene literature to any official or officials who shall not scrupulously confine their action within the limits here clearly defined.

And we decline to be candidates for reelection if the principles of the above platform shall fail to be approved by the National Liberal League at this Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary.*
 J. A. J. WILCOX, *Treasurer.*
 D. G. CRANDON, *Chair. Fin. Comm.*

ONLY THOSE who labor for the real and permanent interests of society, which are always those of justice, freedom, and genuine morality, are at last approved by the deliberate judgment of mankind. He who yields to the passionate and importunate demands of the moment, and lends his sanction to that which is inherently immoral, may be greeted with cheers at the time only to be remembered with mingled pity and contempt by posterity. In this question of obscene literature, we choose to consider only the ultimate verdict, which, whatever the decision of the moment, will sustain our position unreservedly. The National Liberal League may, if it pleases, vote solidly for "repeal"; but such a vote will be its own defeat, not ours. There are lessons well worth pondering in this paragraph on the *Tribune* of Oct. 10: "Not a great many people outside of Boston will remember the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, who died in that city last Tuesday. Yet twenty years ago the pro-slavery folk used his name to conjure with. He was the author of a book, now nearly forgotten, which made a great noise at the time, and was thought by those who wished to think so, a sort of set-off to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was called *A South Side View of Slavery*, and it gave those who took a patriarchal view of the institution a great deal of satisfaction. Mr. Rufus Choate, who was a parishioner of Dr. Adams, was particularly delighted with it, and lost no opportunity of extolling its author. Really, the condition of the slave, no matter how comfortable it might be, had but little logical bearing upon the abstract question of slavery; but men like Dr. Lord, of Dartmouth College, and Dr. Adams, thought that it had, and were never weary of arguing that the institution was a divine one, because most of the Southern negroes had enough to eat and to wear." Gentlemen of the "repeal" party, you may succeed at Syracuse in blinding the convention, and in making the worse appear to be the better reason for the hour; but you will fail utterly before that larger audience which is not to be imposed upon, and will take your place beside Dr. Adams and the host of others who, it matters not whether honestly or dishonestly, pleaded the hopeless cause of that which is wrong.

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE: ITS PAST AND FUTURE.

Six years ago, there was no Liberal League. But our thoughts were as busy with it then as now, planning how to initiate a great organization which should unite all liberals on principles common to them all, both for their own advantage, and even more for the application of the mighty moral and intellectual forces latent in unorganized liberalism to the higher development of society, and the nobler direction of the national life. We believed that the time had come for a powerful and dignified affirmation by the liberals of America that their principles were the substratum of modern civilization, and that the fortunes of liberalism and the fortunes of this vast republic were indissolubly bound together. We believed that the total separation of Church and State was the necessary condition of the further evolution of humanity, the indispensable first step in the realization of the resplendent dream of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." We believed that, until all the faculties of human nature were completely emancipated from the control of the ecclesiastical spirit and policy, there could be no full, natural development of either individual, social, or political life in the future, and that the mission of liberalism was twofold—*first*, to make humanity totally independent of ecclesiasticism, and, *secondly*, to prove historically the adequacy of natural conscience and reason for the creation, maintenance, and development of a better state of society than had ever yet existed. That belief was the germ of the Liberal League.

In the first issue of THE INDEX for January, 1873, the call to organize Liberal Leagues was originally promulgated. The plan of organization there matured in detail proposed the formation of local Leagues all over the country, and, as soon as five hundred such had been organized, the calling of a "National Convention of Liberal Leagues," composed of two delegates from each, for the purpose of uniting them all in a powerful national movement. The response was enthusiastic enough, but a rapid success of the movement was obstructed by many causes, above all by the lack of unity among the local Leagues already formed, while waiting for the "National Convention" just referred to. After a couple of years, it became evident that the project of organizing a National League ought not to be longer postponed. A "Preliminary Convention of Liberal Leagues" was therefore held at Philadelphia, September 17, 18, and 19, 1875, at which it was voted to call a "General Congress" of liberals in the same city "on or before the Fourth of July, 1876," for the express purpose of organizing a "National Liberal League"; and a General Centennial Committee was appointed to execute this plan. In conformity with the arrangements made by this committee, the "Centennial Congress of Liberals" was held at the great Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia, 1876, and the new National Liberal League was successfully launched on the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Two years have elapsed since that time. During the first of these, twenty Auxiliary Leagues were chartered by the National League; during the past year, this number has been nearly trebled. The movement has been steadily striking root, and growing in power. From the beginning, the aim has been to create an able, high-toned, and dignified REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY for American liberals, not for the purpose of controlling them in the least, but for the purpose of bringing to bear on public opinion and national affairs the concentrated influence of the great liberal party as a whole, and of thereby making the principles of liberalism enter into the collective life of the nation as factors of beneficent and constantly increasing power. In no other way than this can the liberals discharge the great public duty they owe to their principles, to their country, to mankind. The days of pure individualism are over; the grand idea, sentiment, and spirit of unity, without violating the freedom of individuality in the slightest degree, are everywhere asserting themselves to-day as never before, and slowly reconciling the individual and the race in complete harmony of coöperation for the noblest ideal ends. Of this characteristic tendency of the nineteenth century, the National Liberal League is a condensed proof and most significant illustration; it is a genuine product of the spirit of the age, as comprehended and interpreted by the truest philosophical and spiritual insight. To destroy its budding beneficence for the gratification of mere pride of opinion or personal spleen would be a crime against the century itself, and the long future of centuries. Pa-

tently and tenderly have we watched over this seed of our own planting, watering it and tending it with a care such as mothers bestow upon their offspring, and expending upon it an amount of thought, time, and toil such as no one else will ever again expend. The object held steadily in view has been simply the advancement of the liberal cause in the noblest possible way, by making liberalism itself contribute its united energies to the true advancement of the country and of mankind. Few indeed have comprehended this object; many, even of those from whom comprehension might have been fairly anticipated, have cavilled at it, misrepresented it, belittled it, or ignored it altogether. Nevertheless, the National Liberal League has been steadily growing all the while; it is already beginning to be felt, and will continue to be felt in proportion to the wisdom of its management and the growth of its local constituency. It has nothing to fear from without; all its perils are from within. And it is now called suddenly to confront one of these internal perils.

Briefly stated, this peril consists in the temptation to betray the fundamental purpose of the organization. No organization can ever be false to its own organic idea, and live; its life consists in faithfulness to it. What is the organic idea of the National Liberal League?

To answer this question, it is only necessary to quote the second article of its Constitution, which is in this:—

"ARTICLE II.—The general object of the National Liberal League shall be to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE: to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life, may be established, protected, and perpetuated."

Genuine morality in politics—note those words. The total separation of Church and State is not an end in itself; it is only a means; it has its end in the establishment of "equal rights in religion, GENUINE MORALITY IN POLITICS, and freedom, VIRTUE, and brotherhood in all human life." Whatever is opposed to genuine morality in politics or to virtue is, *ipso facto*, opposed to the primary end for which the National Liberal League was organized—is flatly hostile to its organic idea and fundamental law. The National Liberal League is pledged by its own Constitution, explicitly and unequivocally, to genuine morality in politics and therefore in legislation; if it can be driven, seduced, or beguiled, on any political question, into any position which is inherently opposed to genuine morality, it draws the sharpest of razors across its own throat, and will speedily be no more.

Now the question of the so-called Comstock laws is preëminently one of political morality. Having been judicially perverted to the punishment of individuals who have committed no real crime whatever, these laws have been made an engine of individual oppression and also violation of freedom of the press. Against this oppression and violation both the "repeal" and the "reform" parties protest with equal vigor. But why? Simply and solely because the oppression of individuals and the violation of freedom of the press are POLITICAL WRONGS OR IMMORALITIES—direct transgressions of "genuine morality in politics." If these governmental acts are not wrong or immoral, then the protest is not only invalid, but even ridiculous. The "repeal" party themselves, by the bare fact of protesting against these political wrongs or immoralities, confess that the whole question is one of "genuine morality in politics." They cannot pretend, therefore, that the protest in which "repeal" and "reform" unite is not essentially a moral protest. If it is not *wrong* for government to violate rights (words expressive only of moral ideas), then there is nothing whatever to complain of, and the protest is simply a piece of arrant folly. There can be no doubt, however, that the abuse of the Comstock laws is an offence against "genuine morality in politics," and entirely justifies the moral protest made by "repeal" and "reform" alike.

But now the difference between "repeal" and "reform" emerges to view. In order to right one wrong, and prevent the perpetration of further violations of individual or public rights, "repeal" commits another wrong and demands that the crime of mailing obscene literature shall hereafter go unpunished. Shall government, or shall it not, protect society and its individual members from criminals and their crimes? To demand that there shall be no law against the mailing of obscene literature is necessarily to demand that that crime shall go unpunished; and to demand that any crime shall go unpunished is a glaring violation of all political morality. This is the position of "repeal." But "reform" demands protection against

any further wrongs under cover of the Comstock laws, and just as emphatically demands protection for society against the crime of mailing obscene literature. Consequently, the "repeal" position is half in favor of, and half opposed to, "genuine morality in politics"; while the "reform" position is wholly in favor of it.

Could anything be plainer, therefore, than that the National Liberal League is now solicited by the "repeal" party, as opposed to the "reform" party, to assume a public position which is, on a most grave and important public question, *utterly immoral*—utterly antagonistic to that "genuine morality in politics" to which the League is solemnly pledged by its own Constitution? The issue is one of life or death for the League. It cannot afford to deny its own foundations, or take a flagrantly immoral position before the world. To do that is to die. It is built upon respect for morality; it will crumble to pieces, if that foundation is now deliberately denied by its own action. It is altogether frivolous and silly to fly off on a tangent, and pour forth protestations of immaculate purity of motives, etc. Motives have nothing to do with this question; consequences have everything to do with it. If a man means to go to New York, but gets into a train bound to Chicago, what sense is there in scolding the neighbor who informs him of his mistake? No matter what his intentions, he will go to Chicago, and not New York, if he stays on board of that train. And no matter what the intentions of the National Liberal League, it will go straight to destruction, if it gets on board the train of which "repeal" is the conductor.

Why? For crushing reasons.

1. Because the National Liberal League is shaped symmetrically in all its parts for the ends named above, of which "genuine morality in politics" is one; and its beautiful ideal and beautifully adapted machinery can no more lead themselves to the purposes of "genuine immorality in politics" (which is a synonyme for "repeal" as opposed to "reform") than a beautiful painting can lend itself to the uses of a floor-cloth.

2. Because the National Liberal League appeals exclusively, as its Constitution declares, to "that natural intelligence and morality which constitute the necessary and all-sufficient basis of secular government"; and because, by taking the "repeal" position, it would outrage beyond forgiveness that very "intelligence and morality" from which all its support must come.

3. Because a deliberate majority vote for "repeal" will have the effect of serving a general "notice to quit" upon all those members who have too much respect for themselves to remain connected with an organization which has lost all respect for itself,—which has dared to insult the nation by demanding, not only that there shall be absolute impunity for the crime of mailing obscene literature, but that the nation itself shall become an accomplice in the crime.

4. Because, if the National Liberal League is ever to grow formidably great and strong in public influence, its greatness and strength must come from the accession of the very best liberals of the land—best in brain-power, best in moral character, best in executive ability, best in that generous love of humanity which moves men to consecrate their all to the service of their race; and because a decision by the League in favor of "repeal" will prevent all such accessions, until this decision is itself repealed with penitence and shame.

5. Because, if the National Liberal League is ever to grow numerically great and strong at the polls, it must receive immense accessions from that vast body of citizens who are neither Orthodox nor Radical in religion, but who will give their support to whatever they judge most likely to promote the general welfare; and because all such citizens will recoil with disgust from a fanatical organization which, deaf to all reason, insists that there is no way to protect freedom of the press without also making the mails absolutely free to the vendors of obscene literature. Common-sense should teach us all that the only hope of creating a victorious public opinion in favor of secular government depends on securing the votes of this great mass of unprejudiced, right-minded citizens, with whom lies the balance of power, and that advocacy of any policy which outrages their moral sentiment will prove fatal to the Liberal League. Nothing would be easier than to satisfy them that the Comstock laws should be confined to their legitimate object of closing the mails to matter intentionally vile and corrupting; but it will be impossible to convince them that such matter as that has any rights anywhere, or that the mailing of it is not essentially a crime.

Friends of liberty, truth, and justice, the National Liberal League is simply an opportunity for you to exert your legitimate influence in moulding the future of this great republic. We rely on the people's honest purpose to enact righteousness so far as they understand it; and it is your duty to show them what it is. The Liberal League, if true to itself, will be to you an increasingly valuable means of accomplishing this great work of popular education; if it now takes the immoral position of demanding freedom for crime as inseparable from freedom of the press, and thereby miserably belies its past, you cannot be wrong in concluding that it has no future, and in seeking some better means for the advancement of freedom's cause.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD.

I entered the field early this season, and am speaking almost every night, meeting, as far as able, the demand for lectures criticising the old creeds and systems, and presenting the latest and freshest thought of the age. Mr. Stevens, when he had editorial charge of THE INDEX a few weeks ago, in a paragraph referring very kindly to my efforts to advance freethought, represented that my work consisted chiefly in demolishing the Orthodox theology. The fact is, my work is chiefly positive and constructive, consisting largely in presenting from the platform modern, scientific, and philosophic thought. Criticism of the popular religion I regard as right and proper, as important and necessary; but only as a means to an end, only that the old and the false may be replaced by that which is truer and better.

The people are getting interested, to an extent they have not been in the past, in the issues between Christianity and freethought. I have had every evening I have spoken large and, almost invariably, very attentive and appreciative audiences. In some places, in the midst of political excitement, my audiences have been larger, I have been told than have assembled in the same communities this fall to hear the political speakers of either party. Dissatisfaction with old creeds is growing deeper, and dissent from them more general every day. In some places the decay of theology is more rapid than the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the acceptance and assimilation of advanced liberal thought. Hence the necessity of giving great prominence and special emphasis to the positive side of liberalism. We must not be content with the mere disintegration of dogmas, creeds, and systems. We must popularize those scientific truths and those ethical principles which will serve as intellectual and moral food to minds that, in doubting and rejecting the teachings of their childhood, are in a state of unrest, and feel profoundly the need of something more in accordance with reason and common sense.

The question whether Congress has constitutional and rightful authority to prohibit the circulation of obscene literature through the mails is, I see, likely to be a matter of contention at Syracuse. Good men who are equally opposed to obscenity have opposite views on this subject. Neither side thinks for a moment that any paper or publication should be excluded from the mails on account of its sentiments, whatever they are. The question is simply whether filthy literature, written, not to convey information nor to maintain any doctrine or principle, but to inflame the passions of the young, and to make money thereby, should be excluded from the mails. Many, nearly all, probably, who think Congress has no authority to prevent its transmission by mail, hold that the State and Territories can and should suppress it by law. Both sides, then, are opposed to obscenity; both are in favor of its suppression by legislation; both are inflexibly opposed to any law suppressing any kind of literature on account of the views it advocates or opposes; both are opposed to the law of 1873 as it now stands, in as far as it is liable to be interpreted in a way that will render possible the conviction and punishment of any person for any other offence than circulating what is condemned by all decent men and women. One side thinks Congress has no authority to legislate on the subject, and that a law cannot be so framed that will not subject innocent persons to punishment. The other side thinks Congress has the authority to exclude moral filth from the mails, and that a law may be so clear and definite in mentioning the class of books to be excluded that no such injustice as is apprehended will result from it. This, then, is the difference between those who favor "repeal" and those who favor "modification." Shall this difference prevent continued harmony and cooperation between those who are equally interested in the objects of the League, but who are not agreed on the points above referred to? I hope not. Personally, I

am with those who hold to the propriety of a law by Congress—the only authority that can make such a law—prohibiting the circulation of indecency and filth through the mails; but that is no reason I should not work with those who differ from me on this point for State secularization. A resolution in favor of "repeal," or of "modification," can only show which view is that of the majority; it will neither change the constitution of the League, nor subordinate its principles and objects to "repeal" or "modification."

I speak next at Nevada and La Rue, O. I give a course of lectures at Big Rapids, Mich., this month. I speak at West Liberty, O., Oct. 18, 19, and 20, and at Naples, N.Y., 23 and 24, and from there go to Syracuse. I attend the Convention. I will be as far West as Hannibal, Mo., November 12, when I begin a course of lectures in that city. B. F. U. MEADVILLE, Pa., Oct. 7, 1878.

LIFE INSURANCE CHEATING.

Theology is not the only intellectual field in which freedom of thought is discouraged. Life Insurance, the modern method of providing for widows and orphans, has its Orthodoxy, which frowns upon discussion. You cannot attack its methods without having business people look at you very much as devoted church members look at infidels,—aghast.

Just now the Life Insurance world is a good deal excited by a new secret movement of the managers of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, the largest in the world. It cannot be fully appreciated without knowing that an ordinary insurance policy is a series of bets, which the company takes one at a time. The company bets that the insured will not die within a year; he, that he will. The two stakes, both held by the company, seldom, if ever, equal the face of the policy, and they always have to each other the ratio of the tabular chances, at his present age, of the insured surviving one year to the chances of his dying in that year. And, what is seldom understood by the insured is, that the company bets less and less every year, till in the last year of an endowment policy or of a life policy, when the age is 99 it bets nothing. What reduces the company's bet is the accumulation of a fund growing out of what the insured pays for a number of years at the start over and above his proper or tabular stake.

For example, at thirty, a man takes a policy for \$1000 in the "Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, F. S. Winston, President," and is to pay \$22.70 a year for it as long as he lives. Of this, \$5.73 is margin for expenses, and has nothing to do with the bet. The net premium is \$16.97. And this is what appears to be paid for the insurance of \$1000 one year. But if \$1000 were to be insured for one year by the company, the bet by the table would be \$991.58 by the company, against \$8.42 by the insured. And the company would then lose \$991.58 by his dying, and win \$8.42 by his living through: If, however, \$16.97 is paid in advance, instead of \$8.10 in advance, (which at four per cent. will be \$8.42 at the end of the year), the company risks losing—that is bets—only \$982.35. If its bet is reduced in the ratio of \$982.35 to \$991.58, then the other party's bet or stake must be reduced in the same ratio, and be \$8.34 (or \$8.02 if paid in advance). Deduct this \$8.02 from \$16.97, and we see that the insured has paid \$8.95, which has nothing to do with the bet, and does nothing but diminish the company's bet by \$9.31, to which it will amount at the end of the year.

If the insured dies, it comes back to his heirs, of course. For the company pays its stake.....	\$982.35
Returns the insured's.....	8.34
Which is the insurance.....	\$990.69
And gives up the self-insurance.....	9.31
Total.....	\$1000.00

If the insured lives, the company wins the \$8.34 to pay death claims on other policies, but not the \$9.31, which it is bound mathematically as well as legally to keep accumulating, to reduce its future bets.

If the insured should live to be sixty, and pay at sixty, this self-insurance fund will have increased to \$440.25, and the company will that year insure only \$559.75; that is, it will bet \$542.77 against \$16.98 that the insured will not die, and this \$16.98 is all it can win if he does not, although at that age it costs \$29.17, in advance, to insure \$1000.

Now here comes the opportunity for the Chinese sharp practice, in a game which the public does not understand.

The insured has fully paid for all the insurance he has had, having lost thirty-one of his yearly bets, his full share of contribution to death claims. But if he stops betting, the company is relieved from all further risk on his account, and he would seem to be fairly entitled, on the average, to get back his \$440.25 in

cash. The reason why he will not get it is, that in drawing the policy, the company took advantage of his ignorance or carelessness, and inserted a clause by which the whole of it is forfeited to the company by the nonpayment of the \$22.70 when due at the beginning of any policy-year.

However, if any man has such a policy as this, he must have been promised by the company, in one of its beautiful little books, that on its surrender after two years he might receive for it an "equitable consideration," "paid to him in cash"; and any court of equity in the world, worthy of the name, would say, if the company could afford to pay him one single cent, after his paying two premiums, it could afford to pay him at least \$418.59 after paying thirty-one. Yet this company, which professes to hold in trust over \$85,000,000 of the money of its policy-holders, which receives premiums every year to the amount of nearly \$10,000,000, of which little short of \$2,000,000 comes from Massachusetts, which does its business here in a building as gorgeous as a palace and with a steeple that would aggrandize a church, refuses to pay anything like \$400 on the surrender of such a policy. If the holder, as has been the case with thousands, is unable to pay the \$22.70, he is obliged at the very best to forfeit two or three hundreds of dollars, unless he is willing to go without his money, and take it out in more insurance. Such profits, in years past, have gone largely to swell dividends that served to content all policy-holders able to keep up their policies. But now comes a document announcing a new line of conduct, not that retiring members are hereafter to be treated equitably,—that might have been published openly,—but that the outrageous and inequitable forfeitures are no longer to be divided among persistent policy-holders, but are to be used in a certain way to entice new members. And this has to be put into a *secret* or "confidential circular," issued thus clandestinely, not by the responsible officers, but by the general agents to the soliciting agents, who are instructed to make as little noise about it as possible.

I have a copy of this circular before me. It is probably too long for your columns, but if I garble it at all the company can disgrace me by publishing it in full. I quote enough to show distinctly the mode of operation and the argument the managers rely on to escape injunction from the old policy-holders.

The mode of procedure will be as follows: when you receive from us a new policy for delivery, you will collect from the insured seventy per cent. of the premium payable on delivery in currency, and thirty per cent. in a draft of the following form:—

[EXAMPLE.]

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Oct. 19, 1878.

No. 182,963

MESSRS. VANUXEM, BATES & LAMBERT, PHILADELPHIA:

At sight please pay to the order of B. D. Smith seventy-nine dollars and fourteen cents.

\$79.14.

Yours truly,

ANNA W. JONES.

In the foregoing draft the number to be inserted should be the number of the policy; the place and date should be respectively that where and when the payment is made; the payee should be yourself, and the signature that of the person in whose favor the policy is written. The latter may be made by the insured signing as attorney where the beneficiary is other than the life insured. The company's receipt may then be delivered for the premium so paid, and returns and vouchers transmitted to us in due course. The usual commission on the full premium will be allowed. On receipt of the full payment made as directed, we will stamp the draft "Paid." The indorsement by you is without recourse; and if it should be necessary to satisfy the applicant that he will not be held liable for the draft, you may write the words without recourse before the signature. But do not do this unless it shall be absolutely required. The blank draft to be used will be sent you, etc., etc.

Of course the reader will see the necessity of keeping such instructions secret. This "mode of procedure" will be pursued for two premiums, the circular proceeds to say. "The third annual premium will return to regular rates less the regular dividend then awarded to all policies uniformly as before."

The circular says, "We wish this plan to be put into effect by personal explanation."—"No advertising permitted." As the words "without recourse" are not to be put before the signature of "Anna W. Jones" on those two drafts of hers, unless she "absolutely requires it," and she may not think of it, or look up "recourse" in Webster, or suspect the two words are necessary to protect her from having to pay the drafts out of her dividends, or, at all events, out of the policy when it becomes a claim, it is not likely that the agent's "personal explanation" will make her any wiser on that point. Perhaps the Boston Trustees of the Mutual Life, Gov. Rice and George C. Richardson, can explain what this circular

means by so carefully avoiding the words "without recourse" before the drawers of these drafts, if the company does not intend to count them as assets, and take recourse. Here would seem to be a playing fast and loose—now you see it, and now you don't—worthy of the expertest thimble-rigger in the world. Here, to the insured who knows enough to put two certain words before his signature, there is a present of thirty per cent. of two premiums; and his drafts, being without recourse to the indorsing agents, are perfectly worthless. But to the ignorant dupe, nothing at all is given, for his drafts are as good to the company as so much gold, if it pleases to take recourse.

If the applicants for new policies should be sufficiently up to trap to make sure of the present of thirty per cent. of two premiums, since the agents are to have full commissions, there must occur some vacuum somewhere. As I have already said, it is to be filled from the fund robbed out of retiring members, which has heretofore fattened the dividends of the persistent. The argument to make them contented without it is this:—

When the number of lapses and surrenders grew to such proportions as to make it evident that the loss of contributing members must some day be repaired by the introduction of new lives at more than the average cost, a fund was created [extorted would have been the proper word] from retiring members, to which the existing policy-holders have not contributed, and which is now made available, and will be used for the purpose intended. The money contributed by the existing members is, consequently, not taxed for the benefit of new entrants, as might otherwise be supposed, and the foresight of the management is made apparent. The benefit of existing members will be in the enhanced addition to their dividends resulting from the infusion of new lives, and the corresponding diminution of the average death rate thereby.

The mortuary experience of this company, expensively and vauntingly published by it, flatly contradicts the pretence that the numerous lapses have so deteriorated the residual vitality as to make it necessary to introduce "new lives at more than the average cost." But if the old policy-holders are content to lose one of the great sources of their dividends, it is to be hoped they will see the propriety of putting a stop to the robbery of their unfortunate comrades who are obliged by poverty to drop their policies, for the purpose of enticing new business at reduced premiums out of which the agents may get "full commissions"!

One extract more, to exemplify the exceeding dignity of the men who through their general agents send their *secret* instructions to an army of solicitors.

In presenting this matter to the public, do not fall into the error of representing it as a discount, rebate, or dividend in advance. No dividend is ever declared by the company in advance. No charge is made against the policy or policy-holder for any part of the premium, and the whole of it is cash to the company.

How the whole of the premium can be "cash to the company," when the policy-holder paid only seventy per cent. of it, and no charge is made against his policy or him, is a conundrum which I can solve only by supposing, as above stated, thirty per cent. is drawn out of the robbery fund which the "foresight of the management" has "created." But then, why the drafts, with or without recourse? Why would not receipts in full, without the drafts, have done the business? Here we get into a fog, which only the Boston Trustees or the Insurance Commissioner can clear up. Ordinary eyes cannot see through it.

Finally nothing can be truer than what the circular says about the existing or persisting members not having contributed to the fund robbed from the retired members. And it is certainly true that the only reason for retaining anything out of the \$440.25, in the case I have supposed, and the only legitimate use of it, after it is retained, is to get into the company, if possible, as good a life as it lost by the retirement. To do this the company proposes to give precisely \$13.62, or thirty per cent. of two premiums. It ought therefore, by its own showing, to have paid the retiring policy-holder a cash surrender value of \$440.25—\$13.62=\$426.63. Instead of that, it has paid, at most only one or two hundred dollars, and it expects with \$13.62 to entice the new life into the same trap!

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

A NOVEL ORDINATION.

Mr. F. A. Hinckley was ordained and installed as resident minister of the Free Religious Society, at Providence, on Sunday, Oct. 6. The form of service was simple, but impressive. The President of the Society, Mr. Ballou, addressed Mr. Hinckley as follows:—

"Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley: I am instructed by the

Free Religious Society of Providence officially to recognize you as our resident minister; and we therefore ordain and install you as such, in accordance with the principles and usage of our religious fellowship."

Mr. Hinckley replied in these words:—

"Mr. President and Members of the Free Religious Society of Providence: It is with no formal ceremony, but with the earnest purpose of the heart, that I here and now assume the trust you have tendered me. I assume it with a sincere desire to consecrate my best efforts to the service which it implies. I assume it in the spirit of liberty. I assume it in the spirit of brotherly love. And may all the good influences which the past or the present can bring, bless this our united effort to carry the principles of a natural, free, and practical religion to the souls of men."

Mr. Hinckley then gave a more formal address, setting forth in an earnest and forcible manner his idea and plan of work for a Free Religious Society. Mr. A. W. Stevens was present to represent the fellowship of liberals in general, and made a brief address.

AN ORTHODOX OPINION.

The comments of the Philadelphia *Christian Statesman*, in its issue of September 26, upon the issue to be decided by the Syracuse Congress, are deserving of careful consideration. They show that that journal, although the most determined opponent of the objects of the National Liberal League and of THE INDEX, is far more just and fair, and evinces a far truer insight into the existing situation, than those who are now vehemently insisting on "repeal." There is a magnanimity worthy of all respect in this willingness to see and admit what is good even in a movement which is earnestly opposed. Of course the sneer will be thrown out that to be approved by opponents in any degree is necessarily a proof of having yielded to their demands; but such a sneer will commend itself only to fanatics. Orthodoxy and Liberalism have this in common, that they both seek to promote morality, however they may differ as to means, and even in some respects as to what morality is; and if this were not so, neither could maintain itself for a day. The comments of the *Statesman* prove how easily a "reform" of the Comstock laws could be obtained from the people, if justice were not denied and parodied by the demand for "repeal." The comments alluded to are as follows:—

The Second Annual Congress of the Liberal League is called to meet in Syracuse, New York, on Saturday, the 28th of October. It will consider the expediency of nominating candidates for the next Presidential election on the platform of secularism in politics; and also what action the League should take "with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation."

It is a striking illustration of the incapacity of infidels for permanent organization that the National Liberal League is at this moment involved in a bitter controversy, and is threatened with disruption. Significantly, too, the question in dispute is that point of practical morals on which unbelief has always displayed a fatal laxity,—the seventh commandment. The arrest and conviction of E. H. Heywood last summer for the circulation of an obscene pamphlet, intensified tenfold the bitter and unscrupulous warfare which had been waged against Anthony Comstock and the law under which he acts. A large part of the liberals furiously espoused Heywood's cause, and forwarded a petition to Congress demanding the repeal of the law. Mr. Abbot, President of the League and editor of THE INDEX, took the ground that a law prohibiting the transmission of obscene and immoral publications through the mails is right and necessary, but that such a law should be applicable only to productions whose intent and purpose was unmistakably corrupting. In reference to Heywood's case, he judged the author and publisher innocent of such corrupt intent, and denounced the decision of the court as an infraction of the sacred rights of personal freedom. He strenuously maintained, however, the necessity of some legal safeguards to social purity, and advocated the modification, not the repeal, of existing laws. For this exceedingly moderate position, he has been the object of unsparring attack by many liberals themselves; and it is now announced that a movement is on foot to capture the approaching Congress of the National Liberal League, to unseat Mr. Abbot from the Presidency, and to commit the organization to the demand for the unconditional repeal of the laws in question.

Mr. Abbot's course in this matter has been such as to win the respect of those who differ from him most widely on other points. We utterly dissent from his judgment as to the character of Heywood's book, but we endorse the general distinction which he makes, and we admire his fidelity to his own convictions. The whole controversy is not only a significant illustration of the tendency to disintegration inherent in all infidel organizations, but a fresh proof of the charge that unbelief tends to impure living. The *New York World*, commenting on the arrest of three or four persons at the Watkins Glen Convention for selling Heywood's book, makes remarks which THE

INDEX admits have an uncomfortable modicum of truth: "It is a pitiable thing that the martyrdom of freethinkers is commonly incurred for the circulation of an indecent book. What necessary connection is there between freethinking and peddling indelicate writing upon delicate topics? Why do these reformers always come in contact with society upon this topic of the relation of the sexes? It cannot be that they choose this theme deliberately as their best battle-ground, and we must conclude that they drift towards such discussion in obedience to some prurient propensity inherent in the freethinking mind. Certainly if there be any cause in which martyrdom is not heroic, it is in the assertion of the right to peddle an indecent fifteen-cent pamphlet, with the indecent passages carefully marked to draw the attention of the reader."

Communications.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS vs. RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT IN MORALS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I have read attentively your elaborate articles on the obscene literature laws, and regret that my "pent-up" condition forbids me to worthily reply. In giving generous space to this important subject, you go to school to yourself in a way that suits me; for having got on a century without a censorship of the press, the American people will not sanction one now, even though the Liberal League continues its mistaken advocacy of it. Agreeing with you that, whether viewed as a State or Federal question, the issue differs only in degree—federal law covering a wider field, and clashing with more diverse interests,—I assert, without fear of successful refutation, that any law against obscene literature, since it invades mental liberty, initiates, if it does not establish, a censorship of the press. I understand you to concede that liberty is the natural and desirable condition of human beings; that to form and express opinions is the inalienable right of all; that "no man may use his freedom so as to infringe on the equal rights of others" (and conversely, that no one may restrict the rights of others because they do not think or act to please him); and that "the office of government," as well-defined by Daniel Webster, is "to protect persons and property from invasion." A Frenchman spent years to write a book perfect in style but devoid of thought; he failed, because even behind his purpose not to express thought was the thought to be thoughtless. Since no book, pamphlet, newspaper, or circular is possible without expressing opinions, any law forbidding any publication on any subject whatsoever invades opinions, and is therefore self-condemned on your own principles conceded above. John Calvin held that to think differently from himself was irreligious and hence immoral; so he burned Servetus with green oak wood. You hold that free thought in morals leads to obscenity, and you seek to restrict it by fining and imprisonment of its author or vendor. If you are right he was right, public opinion then allowing him to employ severer penalties than are now permitted. If liberty is unsafe, we must all go back under the "five points" of John Calvin's total depravity banner. Your claim to suppress what you call obscene literature, if conceded, destroys your right to publish THE INDEX when Orthodox jurists are able to suppress it. Rev. J. M. Manning, D.D., pastor of the "Old South" in Boston, once was reported to say in a Sunday evening discourse in Hollis Street Church, that the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson are more immoral in their tendencies than the thefts and debaucheries of North Street, because immoral principles are more vitiating than vicious practices, though he had not the hardihood to invoke legal power to abate Emerson! Yet he will have such power if your view prevails, which fortunately it cannot.

You rightly say that those who would repeal the national statutes yet sustain State obscenity laws are illogical. Granted; but better be inconsistent favoring liberty than logically opposed to it. "To be great is to be inconsistent," says Emerson. State laws, heretofore, have been practically dead letters. They will be found to be as objectionable as the national laws when serious effort is made to enforce them. The fathers saw that State religion would admit oppression and disaster; "to be as good as they we must be better"; opposing State morality one must unflinchingly assert the right of private judgment in morals. The absurd doctrine of "constructive treason," demolished by the genius of Erskine in the famous trial of Tooke, Thelwell, and Hardy in 1794, reappears in present efforts to punish "constructive" immorality. You say "the crime" of obscenity should be defined. Certainly; will you please define it? Elizer Wright neatly says: "Obscenity, if there is such a thing, consists in want of respect for the sexual nature." Is that a punishable offence? But "society must be protected?" Yes, by maintaining individual liberty inviolate. In cases of forgery, libel, or perjury, invasion of persons gives ground for action. If I sell a book to another, or send it to him in the mails, its morality or immorality is our business, not yours. But "children should be protected?" Yes, by knowledge and discipline. When parents give a child money to spend, they invest him or her with power of contract, the child acting in place of parent; hence there is no invasion and therefore no grievance. If you invade the natural rights of the parent you destroy the child in advance. If one's child is safe only when watched by police, the parent should attend free-love conventions and learn how to have no more such children. Your idea of government seems to be compulsive, not voluntary; and hence in conflict with natural right,—

which was before government, and will survive it. Mine finds liberty, individualism to be the primary facts; society to be an outgrowth, and the State an instrument to be "altered or abolished" as "we other folks" who improvise it think best. In attempting to regulate morals by any power outside of appeal to reason and conscience, you impose "communism" suitable for jails, but not encouraging to the voluntary associations of intelligent people contemplated in the Declaration of 1776, and the Massachusetts Bill of Rights.

You generously concede that my book is not obscene; but a United States jury and two United States judges thought differently; hence I am here, caged in a logical conclusion of your doctrine, more confining than convincing! I do not like it. Judge Clarke could make a strong defence of his rulings, in the case of the United States assault on me, based on invectives you have bestowed upon *Cupid's Yokes* in the columns of THE INDEX. The mistake is in Government undertaking to suppress publications of any kind whatsoever; and I am profoundly surprised that the policy of repression suitable to the Vatican in Rome is so stoutly defended by the founder of Free Religion within sight of Faneuil Hall! Your distinction between theoretical and passionate opinions [we never made any such.—Ed.] would not be accepted by authors of the latter. Your habit of imputing a lascivious tendency to my free-love faith, and of implying that the friends of repeal (few of whom are free-lovers) practically favor obscenity, is as illogical as it would be for me to say that you favor drunkenness, because you wisely oppose prohibitory liquor-laws. "Freedom," said Macaulay, "is the only cure for the evils which freshly-acquired freedom produces." Free-lovers were the first to detect the fearful prevalence of obscene desires and satisfactions, and have suggested the only method of effectual renovation; viz., liberty, and the knowledge, sobriety, and continence which follow in wake of expanding tendencies. Repression is abortive; kills at the breach, not at the muzzle. Have they suppressed *Cupid's Yokes*? They have advertised it. Have they "reformed" me? Not much. They have taken me from my beloved family, broken up my business, uniformed me as a felon, fed and caged me as a savage; but the ideas my book proclaims "march on" with greater speed and strength than before, and the rebound of the blow which struck me down, will demolish compulsive government itself! In reply to your fear that repealers hinder modification, my experience in reform is, that if you would get even a half loaf, ask for the whole. "The world rests on believers," says Emerson. The fact that modificationists, issuing no petitions of their own, turn their guns on the advance party, the repealers, indicates where the working forces of liberty gather, and on which banner victory will finally rest. Thanking you for your uniform friendliness and courtesy to me personally, and confident that this discussion will clear and broaden the scope of freethought, helping also to bring the grave issues of love and parentage within the domain of reason and moral obligation, which is the object of my book, I am yours to hasten it.

EZRA HOAR HEYWOOD.

{ CELL 52, THE JAIL, DEDHAM, MASS.,
{ Oct. 5, Y.L. 8.

[1. There is no "censorship of the press" established by punishing libel (an abuse of the press to the malicious injury of an individual's reputation) as a crime. Neither is any such censorship established by punishing the circulation of obscene literature as a crime. Publishing remains in each case as free as eating or walking; but publications which are criminal, whether libellous or obscene, are treated as such.

2. It is preposterous to allege that we "hold that free thought in morals leads to obscenity." On the contrary, we hold that it leads to purity alone. We conclude that Mr. Heywood utterly fails to understand what he cannot argue against except by such wild misrepresentation. To establish freedom is necessarily to establish the possibility of crime, but not to deprive society of the right to punish crime.

3. There is no need to define obscenity in the abstract; the law would define it, by describing clearly the class of publications which it means to suppress, and by explicitly recognizing the right of free discussion of all subjects whatever. We have again and again described this class as publications whose main and manifest intention is, not to discuss or to excite thought, but to inflame lewd passions for the sake of profit to publishers or advertisers. Doubtless this definition can be improved; but it has been in substance before the public already nine months, at the very least. Why not criticise it, and thereby help to make it better, instead of shutting the eyes or looking the opposite way?

4. We cannot honestly "concede" Mr. Heywood's book to be, in our own opinion, "not obscene"; we have not done so. But we have all along contended that it ought not to be suppressed by law, because its obscenity is merely incidental, and because common-sense as well as common justice requires the courts to judge books by their general tenor and main object, not by exceptional passages.

We cannot make any further notes on the above, except to say that whoever insists on making the cause of free thought protect the vileness of really ob-

scene publications, does his utmost to tie a corpse to a living body and to bury both together in the same grave.—Ed.]

FREE SPEECH ABOUT FREE LOVE.

GALETTA, Ontario, Oct. 2, 1878.

ED. INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It seems to me that in all the discussion that has been going on in THE INDEX and elsewhere about the case of E. H. Heywood, the main point at issue has been overlooked. It is, that society has the right to protect itself against any doctrine which is subversive of its own structure.

You yourself admit that it ought to protect children and youth by restraining and punishing the dealers in obscene literature; but, notwithstanding all that is said about the rights of women, they are just as much entitled to protection, and require it quite as much as children and youth. The free-love advocate, like Heywood, who goes about advising women to set at naught the marital relation, to seek for fathers to their children wherever they choose, is a greater enemy to society, is doing more to undo the work of civilization, than all the vendors of obscene literature put together. When, in addition to this, his work is admittedly coarse and indecent in sentiment and language, it is strange that so much sympathy should be wasted on him. In fact, the very name of his book is enough; for what man, desirous of treating this grave and important subject in anything like a scientific spirit, would give his book such a title as *Cupid's Yokes*?

It seems very extraordinary to hear some of the speakers at the indignation meeting in Boston (such as the Hon. Elizer Wright) taking occasion to say that they abhorred Heywood's views; which can only mean that the adoption of them by society would lead to consequences too horrible to contemplate. Yet they pour out floods of eloquence on his behalf, and would move heaven and earth to have his sentence remitted.

This alliance of freethought and indecency is a most unfortunate thing. It will have the effect of closing the ears of the Orthodox, and that, too, of the inquiring sort, to all appeals against superstition. At the same time, such parties as Mrs. Besant and Mr. Bradlaugh are not to be put on the same category with Heywood. Their object is evidently to make marriage more general, by showing how its burdens may be more easily borne, thus facilitating the union of the sexes,—a praiseworthy object at any rate, whether they seek it wisely or not. I think such subjects are far better left alone. Nature will regulate these matters better than we can do. In our present stage of civilization, especially, our emergence from barbarism is so recent that the public discussion of such topics can only do harm.

Among the early races of men, chastity in woman and heredity on the paternal side were unknown. Proofs of this state of things are to be found in savage tribes still existing. By-and-by polygamy came into use, and strong men were able to give protection to a number of women. But all the experience of civilization goes to show that the right relation between the sexes—that which will give most happiness to the parents and most security to the children—is the marriage of one man with one woman. If the zealots of free love were open to argument, it would be easy to show them that the unhappiness in married life which so fires their imagination is due, not to the institution itself, but to the imperfect characters of the men and women who enter it.

It is noteworthy that almost all stages of social progress exhibit tendencies toward reversion to former conditions. Thus Mormonism is evidently a reversion to the ancient polygamy,—an experiment so contrary to the whole tenor of modern ideas that it will probably be short-lived. Free love is a reversion to an earlier and far more objectionable state of things. Were such a thing possible, we should land in the original chaos from which we emerged by so many painful steps and slow. If it is urged that the expression of opinion should be perfectly free, it is answered that there are many limitations to the expression of opinion. No one is allowed the free expression of his opinion if it injures the character of his neighbor. No one is allowed to preach down the government of the country in which he lives, because the safety and authority of the State are paramount considerations to individual freedom,—as witness the American civil war. But the free-love agitation is the greatest of all treasons, and strikes at the very root of human society.

J. G. WHYTE.

[We have altogether too much sympathy with Mr. Whyte's views of "free love" to dissent from his estimate of that; but he proves too much, we think, if it be admitted that opinions believed to be mischievous must be suppressed by force of law. The Roman Catholics would suppress us all on that ground! Libel and treason are crimes; so is the circulation of obscene literature. But no theory is a crime. The State can only deal with overt acts; there is no safety for liberty if it can deal with thoughts.—Ed.]

DANIEL WEBSTER is credited with once good naturedly writing a letter for an ignorant servant, and when he asked him, "Is there anything else to say, Mike?" the man scratched his head, and finally said: "Yes, if you please. Just say they must excuse the poor scholarship and want of sense the letter shows"; and the God-like Daniel accepted the suggestion.

CONTEMPORARIES appreciate the man rather than the merit; posterity will regard the merit rather than the man.—Buxton.

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For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution; including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

National Liberal League.

CALL.

Boston, Sept. 18, 1878.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, organized at the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1-4, 1876, will be held at Wisting Opera House, Syracuse, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 26 and 27, 1878. Further particulars as to speakers, etc., will be announced hereafter.

In addition to the hearing of reports, election of officers for the ensuing year, and other ordinary business, questions of the utmost practical importance to the liberal cause will come up for decision at this Congress. Among them the following may be specified:—

1. What efficient measures can be adopted for securing a great increase in the number of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, and thereby winning for liberal ideas the public influence to which they are justly entitled?
2. Shall the National Liberal League nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the present time?
3. How can the National Liberal League most effectively promote the cause of State Secularization, and foil the schemes of those who are seeking to pervert the government to sectarian purposes? What action shall it take with reference to the Constitutional Amendment already twice reported to the United States Senate by the Judiciary Committee, the practical effect of which, if adopted, will be to recognize in the Constitution the right of the Bible to be read in the public schools as a book of divine authority, and the right of church property to be exempted from taxation?
4. How can the rights of free mails and a free press be most effectively defended, and how can the wrongs of persons unjustly punished under the so-called Comstock laws be most effectively righted?
5. Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the "obscene literature" question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?

The last two of these questions are peculiarly im-

portant at this time, and will inevitably come up for settlement by the approaching Congress. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia were as follows:—

"Resolved, That this League, while it recognizes the great importance and the absolute necessity of guarding by proper legislation against obscene and indecent publications, whatever sect, party, order, or class such publications claim to favor, disapproves and protests against all laws which, by reason of indefiniteness or ambiguity, shall permit the prosecution and punishment of honest and conscientious men for presenting to the public what they deem essential to the public welfare, when the views thus presented do not violate in thought or language the acknowledged rules of decency; and that we demand that all laws against obscenity and indecency shall be so clear and explicit that none but actual offenders against the recognized principles of purity shall be liable to suffer therefrom.

"Resolved, That we cannot but regard the appointment and authorization by the government of a single individual to inspect our mails, with power to exclude therefrom whatever he deems objectionable, as a delegation of authority dangerous to public and personal liberty, and utterly inconsistent with the genius of free institutions."

The future growth, prosperity, and influence of the Liberal League movement will depend largely on the action to be taken by the Congress on these two questions. Any weakening of the stand taken at Philadelphia will work great and perhaps fatal disaster to the National Liberal League.

In order, therefore, that these vital questions may be fairly and wisely decided, it is recommended that all Local Leagues elect their delegates with special reference to it. The Congress will not be an irresponsible mass meeting, but a convention composed of delegates and members duly accredited, and seats for them will be reserved. Delegates from Local Leagues will receive Certificates of Membership of the Second Annual Congress by forwarding at once the proper credentials, signed by their own local officers, to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston"; charter, life, and annual members who intend to be present will receive theirs by simply forwarding their names and present addresses. These Certificates must be presented at the door and exchanged for Tickets of Admission to the reserved seats, the rest of the hall being open to the public at large. By this arrangement all confusion will be obviated. The Congress will be composed of accredited members, who alone ought to vote on questions of business affecting the League; every member will be admitted to the reserved seats; and the Committee on Membership will be enabled to make an accurate report to the Congress.

Liberals are urged everywhere to organize themselves into Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues and elect good delegates, in order to give this Congress a large local constituency and an influential delegation, and thereby to increase the weight of its decisions with the general public. The questions to be acted upon are of the gravest consequence to the whole liberal cause, and ought to be dealt with by a responsible representative body. A large delegate convention will certainly exert a powerful influence for good. Applications for charters, each signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, will secure them without delay, if addressed to the "National Liberal League, 231 Washington Street, Boston."

By order of the Board of Directors:

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*

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GLIMPSERS.

COLONEL INGERSOLL lectured in Boston, last Sunday evening, on "The Hard Times and the Way Out," to an audience of over three thousand. It is needless to say that he spoke with the usual effect of his unique oratory.

FOUR NEW Local Leagues have been chartered the past week, one at Brockton, Massachusetts, one at Cato, New York, one at Palmyra, Nebraska, and one at Long Island City, New York. P.S.—Two more

are now chartered—one at Weedsport, N. Y., and a fifth in New York city, making sixty-two in all.

THESE WORDS came to us in a private letter dated October 12: "Your position on the obscene literature question is as impregnable as the everlasting hills. . . . I presume I have no occasion to say, as Sumner wrote to Stanton, 'Stick!' Whatever may be the result reached at the approaching Congress at Syracuse, your position is the true one, and will be so viewed by every true and thoughtful liberal in the not distant future."

A PROFESSOR in a prominent Western university writes: "I think all persons of good repute will stand with you in the Comstock matter. So long as Mr. Comstock can be held to the work of the scavenger, pure and simple, he, like other scavengers, will be of great service to society. It would seem that we might get this kind of work done without endangering the liberty of the nation or seriously interfering with the rotation of the earth."

THE SKYMOOR (Indiana) Times, edited by Dr. Monroe, deals slashing blows at superstition of all sorts, with a vigor and incisiveness the effect of which is greatly increased by his fearless honesty. On the obscene literature question, the free-love question, and other questions involving the moral interests of society, the Times takes bold and true ground, and earns the cordial respect of all those who believe that the cause of free thought cannot be divorced from the cause of pure morality.

A FRIEND sends the following notice of the Free Religious Society of Lynn, Sunday before last: "Rev. L. K. Washburn gave one of his soul-stirring lectures to a large and influential congregation in Oxford Street Chapel. His subject was 'Vices and Virtue.' More truth was condensed in his discourse than in all the sermons delivered in this city during the day. Such was the general opinion expressed by many who were present. The charming singing of Miss Annie Orr, and the sweet playing of Miss Nellie Mills, added not a little to the interest of the occasion. The collection was generous."

THE SPEAKERS who have at present writing accepted invitations to deliver addresses at Syracuse, are as follows: Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany (formerly Judge of the Supreme Court of New York State), on "The Liberty of Printing"; T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York, on the Constitutionality of the Comstock laws; Mr. B. F. Underwood, of Thorndike, Mass., on "The Conditions of Success"; Rev. M. Schlesinger, D.D., Rabbi of Albany, on "Morality and Liberty"; Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, on "The Issues of the League"; Mr. C. D. B. Mills, of Syracuse, and Prof. J. E. Oliver, of Ithaca (subjects not announced). In addition to these, there is some reason to hope, at least, for addresses from Hon. George W. Julian, of Irvington, Ind.; Hon. Elizur Wright, of Boston; E. W. Medaugh, Esq., of Detroit; Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of Tenafly, N. J., and others.

MR. WAKEMAN'S comfortable assurance that all the world rides behind him on his legal hobby is an illusion destined to be speedily dispelled. For instance, George W. Park, Esq., one of the best lawyers of Boston, and one of the counsel on Mr. Heywood's side in the late trial, writes explicitly: "Upon the most mature reflection that I have been able to give the subject, I do not reach the conclusion that the statute under which this indictment was found is either unconstitutional or unsound. It has been stated that the statute can exclude matter from the mails only for 'postal reasons.' This ground of unconstitutionality was carefully examined by us long before it appeared in print; and, although on first view quite plausible, it was abandoned, and never presented to the Court, because believed to be clearly unsound." We are sorry for Mr. Wakeman that his chief argument proves a broken reed to lean upon.

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[FOR THE INDEX.]

An Answer to "The Index" Criticisms.

BY T. B. WAKEMAN.

The editor of THE INDEX has honored my speech at Faneuil Hall against the Comstock postal laws with criticisms now extended to about eleven columns. This reminds me that "it never rains but it pours"; and if in all this quantity of words some things seem to escape me, let it be charitably remembered that I cannot reply to every sentence. But I will be careful to meet the material points. This I do cheerfully, for these criticisms are the first and only public objections that have been presented to the positions taken in that speech. Otherwise it has received a very general and decided approval from those who seem to me most competent to judge. But let no one suppose that those positions are particularly mine; they belong to the mass of the Liberals, and I believe to the mass of the people of this country. They were embodied in the petition against the Comstock laws signed by some seventy thousand citizens; they were approved by the officers and audience of the indignation meeting before which the speech was delivered in Faneuil Hall; they were deliberately approved and incorporated into the resolutions of the great convention of liberals, of every shade of belief, held at Watkins Glen; they have been generally approved by the liberal press, and also by distinguished liberals in many speeches and letters, of which one from Mr. James Parton was published as a specimen in a recent number of THE INDEX. The editor also does the liberals too much honor if he represents the position as peculiar to them. It is simply that of the Constitution and of the people at large, and only as such have I represented it. He also lays out the geography of the discussion in too much of an individual manner, as though it was a kind of triangular contest between Messrs. Heywood and Tucker and myself and myself; whereas the real question is simply whether we shall insist

upon the *free press and free post-office* which the Constitution provided for us, or not. On this question, which is the only issue, the editor and his personal friends stand against the mass of the liberals, as I have indicated, and will stand against the people of the country when their attention can be called to the issue. Messrs. Heywood and Tucker do not differ from the liberals of the country on this, the only issue before us. What the States may or ought to do about obscenity, are questions as to the discretionary exercise of State powers. No question of that kind is now before the League or the liberals of the country; and until the liberals can get Mr. Heywood out of jail, I do not propose to discuss with him how far, or in what way, the States should exercise a power which all must admit they possess. I do not believe in hitting a man who is down,—not even Mr. Heywood. He is not to be held responsible for his opinion until he is a free man. As long as he is kept in prison, his extreme views as to the exercise of State powers are not to be wondered at, and are certainly excusable.

The question is, Shall the Comstock postal laws be repealed? The position of Congress and the people for one hundred years—i. e., until the Comstock postal laws were passed—was stated and defended in the speech referred to. It was substantially as follows:—

(1.) "That the Constitution of the United States confers upon Congress no power whatever to legislate upon this subject; that its attempts so to do in the Comstock postal laws are beyond even any 'implied powers,' and are plain usurpations which break down the whole Constitution as the bulwark of liberty, and, in the words of Hon. Ellsbur Wright, leave it 'not worth two brass buttons'; that those laws are in substance a decoy and espionage system over the post-office; that they have been the source of great wrongs and injustice, and that they cannot be amended so as to be safe and constitutional, and should therefore be repealed.

(2.) "That the power to suppress obscenity and indecency, together with all other crimes or offences, is one of the general powers reserved in the United States Constitution to the people and the States; and that it should be exercised by the State legislatures and courts with the greatest caution, 'only in 'unequivocal and well-defined cases,' and plainly within the Constitutions of the several States."

The speech in question is a defence of these positions from a constitutional, political, and moral point of view, as against a dictum of the United States Supreme Court. As this speech has never appeared in THE INDEX, I must remind all concerned that no adequate understanding of this discussion can now be had without reading it and the opinion of the United States Supreme Court annexed to it. I will cheerfully send both to any address, so as to do what I can to aid in the proper understanding of this subject. I offer to do this because I have not time to answer the lengthy criticisms in detail; and because, after considering them carefully, it seems as though a careful reading of the speech itself would be the only answer to most of them, really needed.

I say this, not with any feeling of disrespect, but from the belief that, if the editor had delayed forming an opinion until he "had thought out the subject in all its bearings," and had been free from circumstances and unfortunate controversies, which I fear have unconsciously influenced his judgment, he would have stood bravely with us. This view is confirmed by the nature of his objections, which, let me say once more, seem to involve no real difference of principle, but only (1) *confusions* and (2) *misapprehensions* which he unfortunately seems to desire to magnify as if in self-defence.

The discussion, as far as it has gone, has certainly developed important agreements, which I did not anticipate from the defiant manner in which the editor opened it. Let us call attention to these agreements as the common ground between us from which we may hope to conquer the remaining differences.

I. The editor is entirely with us on the most important part of the subject,—one that seems to me to involve in substance the whole. He agrees that the present Comstock laws are unconstitutional; that they abridge the freedom of the press, and that the Supreme Court is all wrong on this subject.

He says: "We entirely agree with Mr. Wakeman that the Comstock laws, as they have been administered—nay, more, as they can scarcely fail to be administered,—so long as they retain their present dangerous vagueness and indefiniteness, FLAGRANTLY VIOLATE the freedom of the press, and are certainly for that reason unconstitutional. His argument is powerful and unanswerable so far as it relates to these laws in their present form."

The best thing to do with unconstitutional laws is to repeal them—that is the general impression; but the editor wishes to reform them. He is certainly under a misapprehension in supposing that these unconstitutional laws can be made constitutional by being made more definite. That is a great difficulty certainly, but not the greatest. The trouble is, as the argument in the speech which he says is unanswerable shows, that no postal laws on this subject can be enforced at all without abridging the freedom of the press, because they involve *espionage and decoy* as the only possible means of their enforcement. The poison is the very substance of them. Judge Field, in the opinion of the court, points out these inquisitions as the only means by which these laws can be enforced, and they are the only means that have been or can be practically used. The judge expressly says that the party "receiving" the prohibited matter may complain, or the officers of the postal service "can act upon their own inspection" "in excluding the prohibited articles, or refusing to forward them," and such official may also make the complaint. Now the "unanswerable" argument goes to show that no power of this kind was ever dreamed of under the

Constitution, and that its exercise is a direct violation of the freedom of the press and of the freedom of property from seizure, guaranteed by the Constitution, and that it is a means of inquisition utterly "inconsistent with the genius of free institutions," as the League resolved at Philadelphia. I have repeatedly and respectfully requested the editor to draft a statute that shall be free from "vagueness and indefiniteness," and which shall have any practical value without involving these very objections which have made my argument "unanswerable." The general talk about "reform" is of no possible use in such cases as this; if the thing can be done he is under the deepest obligation to show *how* it can be done. Until he gives us a reformed Comstock law, he is not only clearly guilty of "vagueness and indefiniteness" himself, but is guilty of making a schism in the liberal ranks without any sound, clear, or sure ground to go upon. Vague declamation about "reform" and "purity" and "principles" amounts to nothing. Let us see the unconstitutional law "reformed" into a constitutional one, or let us have silence on this whole subject.

The editor intimates that the elements needed are certainty of definition, and inquiry into the "intention" of the sender. But "legal definitions of crimes" must be by acts, words, or things; and "obscenity" is neither, unless all of the guilty acts, words, and things are described. Let the editor give them! And again, when it comes to "intention," what legal process can ever reach and determine that? Only one tribunal has sat upon the intentions of men, and that was the Inquisition itself.

Lawyers of the greatest skill have given up the framing of such laws in despair. I have tried far enough to appreciate their difficulties. As an introduction to this task, let me ask the editor to reprint a remarkable letter of the great American jurist, and perhaps our greatest codifier, Edward Livingston, found in his life by C. H. Havens, page 289 (Appleton, 1864), and which was reprinted in the *Boston Traveller* of July 15, or the *Word* of August last. But Livingston's difficulty was with the definitions only; he did not propose to discover and punish intention, too.

Another important agreement to be observed is, that by the admission above quoted, the editor has placed himself, with the rest of the liberals, in direct opposition to the United States Supreme Court on this subject. It is merely inconsistent cruelty, therefore, for the editor to refer to the presumption of my "individual opinion" as against the Supreme Court. Though I am "merely an attorney," I have as good a right to dissent from the moral, political, and constitutional opinions of that court as the editor. But his position will help all liberals to see the absolute necessity of such dissent; and that the grounds of the speech in that regard should be really and practically admitted by this position of the editor himself, is a great step of progress.

By the time the editor has disposed of both difficulties, I believe he will find that the only practical reform of the Comstock law is the Shakspearean cry, "O, reform it altogether!"

II. Another agreement which the discussion has happily brought out is the abandonment of the second plank of the "Card platform" upon which he required all liberals to stand at Syracuse, or to suffer the terrible consequences of his indignant abandonment. In my former letter to THE INDEX, this plank was quoted by carefully (not carelessly, as the editor supposed,) omitting the words in it relating to the State, so that its statement on the national postal-law question could be seen at a glance. Thus stated, it affirms: "The right and duty of Congress to pass, and the right and duty of the national courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails."

It will be seen at once that this all-important plank, upon which the editor insisted we must all stand or go under, goes to the full extent of asserting the unlimited jurisdiction of the United States over the whole subject of suppressing the circulation of obscene literature, and that only as an item of that general jurisdiction he "included" the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails."

That this was the editor's former view is clearly evident from his editorial of September 26, in which he argues at length for what is summed up in these words: "The powers of Congress are nothing but the powers of the people itself as a whole, for Congress is only a representative body, deriving all its powers from the people it represents. To limit its powers, therefore, is to limit those of the people."

Again, in his editorial of October 3, he derives this general power and jurisdiction of the national government from the nature and enormity of the "crime" itself. He says there is a moral justification for treating this business "as a crime not only by State, but also by national legislation." "It is in direct accordance with the spirit of the United States Constitution to interpret it as giving jurisdiction over all crimes which, from the nature of the case, cannot be brought under the jurisdiction of the separate States. The crime of counterfeiting is of this nature, since the power of coining money is conferred upon Congress alone; and the crime of mailing obscene literature is of this nature, since Congress alone has, or can have, the power to regulate the post-office system."

Here we have the repetition of the general jurisdiction-doctrine of the "Card" with a vengeance. Because any act is very bad it is worthy to be "a crime"! and if the States cannot reach it conveniently, then the Constitution authorizes Congress to create it into "a crime," and to punish it. Thus Congress can acquire unlimited jurisdiction from its judgment of the criminality of acts and the difficulty of the States in punishing them. Can this be seriously pretended? Is it possible that

the editor wrote what is above quoted after he had "thought out the subject in all its bearings"? It seems not by his own admission; for in the next editorial in the same paper, in reply to my letter which pointed out the absurdity of this general jurisdiction-plank, he says of that Card: "It was not intended to force the jurisdiction of the whole subject upon the United States Government; nor do we think the wording at all suggests any such EXTRAVAGANT position. But we take this opportunity to state that the platform on the 'Card' is not proposed for adoption in that form by the League; it simply states the principles of the signers, which will be fully 'approved' if the League in any manner adopts unequivocally, by a simple majority vote, the policy of seeking to 'reform' and not to 'repeal' the Comstock laws."

The foregoing is a frank and plain withdrawal of the very plank upon which the "reform" rested in the Card. We were expressly told that the "exclusive" right and duty to exclude was "included" in the right and duty of Congress to pass, and of the national courts to enforce laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature. Now if this general jurisdiction-claim is abandoned as an "extravagant" and ridiculous blunder, what becomes of the right of "exclusion" which was "included" in it? Why, of course, that falls with the right and duty in which it was included. The part goes down with the whole. What ground is left, then, upon which the editor demands that we must still vote for reform? He asks us to vote for reform upon, and as necessarily included in, a "great principle," which he abandons as soon as its extravagant nature is pointed out to him; and yet he insists that his "principles" will be approved if we will only vote for "reform," although the very ground he rested it upon has dropped from under it. But after the bottom is gone, we are still asked to stake our all upon a "reform" that all experience has proved to be impossible by simply an act of faith in him,—taking it like "a pig in a poke." We should certainly be very sure that the editor has "thought out the subject in all its bearings" before we do this.

By the admission above made, if he really means and understands it, he comes back to the old and safe grounds of the speech, which would end all differences at once; to wit, "The power possessed by Congress embraces the regulation of the entire postal system of the country" for postal purposes; but not for moral, religious, political, or any ulterior purposes.

III. But no sooner is the admission made than he goes to work to invalidate it, and this brings us to a third point. He tries to revive the notion that the power to create and to legislate against "the crime of mailing obscene literature" is "an incidental power" necessarily implied in the power "to establish post-offices and post-roads."

In the speech criticized, this matter was so thoroughly disposed of that no reply is needed to those who will read and heed what is there said. It was there shown, in the words of Henry Clay, that the mere mailing of anything is not, and cannot be made, a crime, and can never be so legislated by Congress under the Constitution; that the post-office can never be made a source of criminal jurisdiction or detection for the purpose of punishing the crimes which are named in the Constitution as within the power of Congress, to say nothing of making new crimes, which it has no right whatever to create. It was shown that any attempt to punish crimes by espionage or decoy laws could only detract from the use, income, and "convenience" of the postal service, and instead of being "appropriate to postal ends," could only be detrimental, expensive, or useless as such, and could have no use or justification except as attempts to use the post-office for supposed moral purposes; i. e., for "ulterior purposes"; that until a part could be greater than the whole, no such justification for this was possible under the postal power.

The editor dissents, but makes no serious attack upon these positions, as indeed who can? They stand as they did in 1836, when Daniel Webster said in the Senate that he was "shocked" at the claim to the contrary, and that the prohibition of the mailing of anything on account of its meaning was "expressly unconstitutional"; and the senate agreed with him. The editor, however, refers to two items, really taken from the speech, which seem to him inconsistent with this position. One is *counterfeiting*, and the other *postal cards*. These seem to me amusing items to be brought forward by one who has "thought out the subject in all its bearings." Counterfeiting is referred to in the speech as one of the crimes expressly placed by name within the jurisdiction of Congress, (by Art. 8, §8) of the Constitution. Moreover, by Section 10 of the same article, all of the other crimes which the United States are allowed to punish at all, are declared to be "piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations." All other crimes are expressly reserved to the States, except treason, which is specially provided for and defined in another article; so that Congress could not, by definition or pretended incidental powers, get farther criminal jurisdiction of any kind.

Now the editor says that counterfeiting is really an incidental power under the express power "to coin money," etc., just as the newly-made crime of mailing obscene literature is similarly an incidental power under the express power "to establish post-offices and post-roads." He therefore declares them both "to be of the same nature," and concludes that if one is constitutional the other must be.

The answer is, that the Constitution has expressly provided that Congress shall punish counterfeiting, and has no word whatever that looks towards making a crime of mailing anything, or punishing obscenity in any way. It is true that to punish counterfeiting might be considered an incidental power under the grant "to coin money," etc., but the editor will find that it was just for that reason that the authors of

the Constitution dragged it out of any such possibility and put it in express words. They, as the debates show, expressly used every precaution to prevent the inference of criminal jurisdiction as an incidental power, and thus, in the only case where it might be implied, they inserted a separate clause, rather than to leave it to inference. Now the well-known rule of construction is, that the expressed inclusion of an instance in a grant is the exclusion of all similar instances of power. The expression of this only instance of incidental criminal power excludes all other instances, and means that they are not to be implied. It shows that the authors of the *Federalist* were entirely right in saying that this postal power "must in every view be a HARMLESS power." By "harmless" the contemporary discussions show they meant free from usurpation and criminal jurisdiction. The editor would make mail-carrying the unlimited source of both!

The next point the editor discovers is, that the speech is inconsistent in regard to postal cards; but he is mistaken again. The speech says: "With the meaning of the documents INCLOSED the post-office has nothing to do, and if they have not, Congress has no power to punish for sending them." Again it says: "Its repeal (i. e., the repeal of the Comstock law of 1873) is justly called for upon both grounds in the petition referred to." That is, on the grounds of its unconstitutionality and its impolicy or wickedness. But in "thinking out the subject in all its bearings," each clause of the law was considered, and the clause relative to postal cards was disposed of in this way: "A post-office regulation that all matter should BE INCLOSED, and that postal cards should contain nothing that could be offensive to those to whom they are sent or to the public is all that is necessary. This matter of the postal cards is entirely in the power of the department as a NECESSARY POSTAL REGULATION. It is evidently in the law in question only to give it the color of necessity. If it is thought best to retain the form of the law, it should be materially modified so as to be within the postal powers and purposes only." Now the editor imagines there is inconsistency in these quotations, simply because he overlooks the all-important difference expressly pointed out, that in the first case inclosed matter is treated of, and which differs entirely from postal cards in which publicity is compelled for postal reasons; in such case the same reasons compel that they should be inoffensive to the receiver and not exciting to the public. Otherwise that part of the postal service could not be maintained at all, much less worked conveniently. As it is, we are told that this publicity is the great objection to their general use, and to their safe and punctual delivery. It is said, and believed, that often the real excuse for their tardy delivery or loss, is that the postal employees and their friends have not had time to decipher them. The postal reasons for reducing this disadvantage of the postal-card service to a minimum are too apparent and practical for a doubt, and such reasons have dictated the restrictions wherever this new system has been adopted, as the necessary condition of its existence.

Again, that this service is a new postal provision not intended under the Constitution, may leave it in the discretion of Congress as to how it shall be used as a condition of granting it at all, as is the case with postal carrying of dry goods and parcels of merchandise. But letters, papers, pamphlets, and sealed packets were and are mail matter under the Constitution which Congress cannot interfere with.

There is no inconsistency in the speech then in suggesting that these regulations should be those of the department only, and that they should be limited to postal purposes and to ordinary postal fines in case of complaint, thus repealing the cumbersome penal laws, penalties, and proceedings on this subject which are not ridiculous only because they are terrible.

But note the further fact that this postal interference is allowable only where the enforced publicity requires it. It therefore excludes the conclusion that it can be rightfully allowed so as to exclude matter where there is no such reason for it. Where the reason ceases the law ceases; and the inclusion of it in the one case, according to the rule above cited, necessarily excludes it in the other. So far from there being any inconsistency, the postal card regulation, like the counterfeiting illustration, lead to exactly the opposite conclusion the editor supposes, and sustain the speech. Thus when a "subject is thought out in all its bearings" truth is ever confirmed.

The above three points dispose of the Constitutional and most important aspects of the subject; and as to them it is clear that the editor has admitted or confirmed the main points of the speech. His reform of the Comstock postal laws will therefore have no legal basis to rest upon, even if he could make them safe to liberty, and practical, which he cannot.

IV. Here we might rest the discussion, but for some grave misapprehensions he is under as to the bearing and importance of the question involved.

The first we notice is a fatal misapprehension as to the legal and practical importance to liberty of preserving the Constitutional provisions, clearly defining and limiting the Federal jurisdiction in criminal matters. It really seems that the editor had forgotten all about the Constitution and the wisdom and statesmanship that framed it! How else could he write in this way?

"So far as freedom of speech and of the press is concerned, he [Wakeman] must either deny the right of the States, or else concede the right of Congress, to suppress literature that is really obscene. Freedom is violated by any unjust restrictions; and it makes not a pin's difference by what authority the restrictions are imposed. The protest of principle must be against the restrictions themselves. Mr. Wakeman destroys his own case by conceding the

justice of the restrictions when imposed by State authority, and yet inveighing against them as tyranny when imposed by Congressional authority. In consequence of this radical and fatal self-contradiction, the view he presents of the whole subject is merely that of the attorney; he has not treated it either as a Philosopher or Statesman."

Again hear him: "The fact is, that Mr. Wakeman has not thoroughly thought out his subject in all its bearings; he has treated it in too narrow and technical a manner. The powers of Congress are nothing but the powers of the people itself, as a whole; for Congress is only a representative body, deriving all its powers from the people it represents. To limit its powers, therefore, is to limit those of the people," etc., etc.

It seems to me incredible that a President of the Liberal League can write in this way.

Talk of statesmanship! when the great labors of all the statesmen we have ever had have been to prevent the establishment of a federal tyranny. The safest way to be a Philosopher and Statesman is to follow in their footsteps. In every convention and meeting that passed upon the Constitution in its formation, in every administration that has shed glory on the Republic since then, the point was and has been to defend the States and people from the tyranny and usurpation of the general government backed when possible by the Supreme Court. I pray the reader to continue the line of argument of the speech into the works and records of those who adopted the Constitution, and will gladly leave the question of statesmanship to them. The very theory of the government, as well as the traditions of liberty, are in danger of being lost when our Liberal teachers write in the tone of mingled ignorance and indifference above quoted.

As Patrick Henry pointed out, usurped power is "tyranny," and is irresponsible, and unlimited. If Congress can create and punish crimes without regard to the Constitution, it is the end of all popular liberty. The only protection the liberal party and free thought can have against the whim of the majority is gone.

All that was said in the speech about the necessity of insisting upon the true position of the Supreme Court as simply a legal tribunal, and not an arbiter of morals, religion, or of liberty, is the voice of Statesmen, and derives strange force when it is found that the President of the Liberal League is ready to surrender to it the Bill of Rights which is the only possible protection of the free-thinking minority. Suppose that Jefferson, Jackson, or Lincoln had done so, where would we have been now? It is the first duty of a Liberal to stand by the Constitution and its Bill of Rights as the fountain of all our liberties. When that is frittered away by giving Congress the power to create and punish crimes, the temporary party majority is simply an irresponsible tyrant. It will wield a vast judicial and criminal system foreign to the people, before which the individual will be as helpless as before a Russian Czar.

The great purpose of the Constitution was to protect liberty by keeping the individual before the legislature, judge, and jury of his vicinage, and under laws that he could have some influence in executing or changing.

These are the very conditions of liberty, and the federal government can protect them; it cannot supply or replace them. These very Comstock laws are a practical illustration of this vital distinction. All of the outrages have been under these United States laws, and by means of federal judges and officials. Under the State laws, even in New York, unconstitutional as I think they are there, no great wrong has as yet been consummated; and there is less danger now than ever, for the State officers and grand juries are recovering from their obscenity panic.

I am not now called upon to determine what restrictions the State should impose to suppress obscenity. I simply say that those which were in force before the United States usurped this jurisdiction, were in fact found to be sufficient; that the evil was practically removed under them before the postal laws were passed; and to those State laws, or to others, which the people may have a rational knowledge and control of, I propose to return. I leave the matter to them.

The editor has not shown how otherwise the Constitution and our liberties can be preserved.

V. The editor is under a similar misapprehension in regard to the position of liberals in regard to obscenity. Because they do not deem it necessary to throw overboard the Constitution and all their liberties to get it punished, he represents them as in favor of it, and so has been the cause and source of unlimited misrepresentation, if not slander. He says, for instance, in italics: "Freedom of the press covers and includes the legal right to publish, circulate, and mail real obscenity." This, he says, "is exactly what Mr. Wakeman's argument means so far as the mails are concerned." Again, when I tried to show that the "principles" underlying the discussion were common to us both, viz., that both "were in favor of liberty and opposed to obscenity," and that the real object was to discover the true, lawful, and practical way to secure the first and to avoid or repress the other, he will have none of it. He replies indignantly: "He, [Mr. Wakeman] is greatly mistaken in imagining that there is no material difference as to principles. He declares that 'all are in favor of liberty, and opposed to obscenity.' 'It is true that all liberals are in favor of liberty; but it is not true that all liberals are opposed to obscenity.' Can a man be said to be opposed to murder, who demands the repeal of all or any of the laws which punish it? We certainly think not. The trouble with 'repeal' is, that it would abrogate some or all of the laws which punish the crime of circulating obscenity, and thereby, no matter what the intention, does in fact protect and foster that crime.

If there is any real answer, let us by all means have it!"

Certainly; you shall have it; but it seems strange that any answer should be needed. Liberal people and all sensible people are not in favor of crimes because they want them discovered and punished constitutionally, and by the only and proper authorities provided by law for that purpose, and by methods that will not work far greater harm to society than the average injury of the crimes themselves, under the lawful means of repression. There is nothing so dangerous as a panic.

The editor seems not to have recovered from the obscenity panic from which the whole country was suffering as the result of a few sensational newspaper articles, and some real cause in 1872, and which gave us Comstock and his laws after the real evil had been removed by the State laws and public opinion, as I believe will always be the case. The editor condemns us upon a very amusing "principle." If he argues a thing is very wrong, then it is a crime, and then it has no right, anywhere or when, or how; and anybody may punish it in any way lawfully or not; and if he does not do so, or favor doing so, then he acknowledges that the crime has "rights," and he favors and fosters it, whether he intends to or not.

This feels to me like the logic of Judge Field's opinion, and I fear the editor has absorbed it from that source. Let us try it on. *Libels* are very wicked and villainous, and are generally circulated through the mails. An editor, often on the mere word of a private correspondent, abuses his tremendous power to charge evil acts, intentions, and even crime, that injure and often practically ruin and murder his victims. I believe such offences are very wrong,—are crimes, that make obscenity itself appear white; and so the laws of all civilized countries declare. But shall we ask Congress, which has nothing to do with it under the Constitution, to go to legislating on the subject, and to declare the mailing of a libel a crime punishable with death in the United States courts, and to be discovered by espionage of mail matter, and to be induced by decoy? Or shall we resort to lynch and mob law? Certainly not. We will have the States make reasonable and sensible laws on the subject, and will try to have those laws reasonably and effectively enforced by the proper courts and juries of the vicinage.

So we deal with forgery, treason, swindling, and many other crimes, in the commission of which the mails are constantly used. Yet because we punish these crimes only through the States we do not favor or foster them. So as to murder, to which the editor refers. Many excellent people believe that society has advanced so far that the death penalty for it does more harm than good, and they ask its abolition; but are they, therefore, in favor of murder? Not long ago every felony was punished with death. The scaffolds were constantly hung with victims and red with blood. Civilization has been measured by the abolition of these penalties, and cherishes the memory of those who labored for their abolition. Now are we to be told that they did it all because they wished to favor or foster the crimes, or that they did so in fact? When the editor recovers from his panic he will see the absurdity of all this; and will regret that he said that "all liberals are not opposed to obscenity." Such charges should not be made upon mere inferences, for they are misunderstood.

The editor began this discussion by saying that "we do not imagine that Mr. Tucker [Mr. Heywood's champion] is any more in favor of obscenity than anybody else." Certainly, after that certificate he ought to give the rest of the liberals a clean bill of health even though, in the words of Mr. Parton, they do go for "immediate and unconditional repeal" of the Comstock postal laws, "because they are unconstitutional and wrong in every way, and pernicious in many ways."

When the editor preaches on the enormity of obscenity as he does so eloquently—I will not say that he does it "merely" as an ex-parson,—I listen gratefully, and reply only from the Amen corner. But it is hardly fair for him to represent me as an obsceneist because "merely as an attorney" or otherwise I try to explain to him what the Constitution, law, and common-sense on the subject really are. When he is content to rest his zeal for purity upon them, I shall be with him.

VI. The editor is under *misapprehension* as to what the people expect of the Liberal party. It is not sound "in principle or policy" for a liberty party to become the advocates of unconstitutional laws and pernicious espionage and inquisition, which have been dictated by "religious" zeal or hypocrisy. To curry favor with an obscenity panic, is business that can be better and safely left to Mr. Comstock and his friends. We have no call to compete with them, and shall gain nothing but contempt for the attempt.

The "awakened conscience" of the whole people is in favor of constitutional liberty and common-sense on this subject. The Liberals are the natural leaders of this sentiment and movement. If they know enough to advance in it, they will become the vindicators of the rights of the people, and of Man. They will stand forth as a moral and political power in the land. If they fall in this crisis, they will have no sufficient reason for their existence. They will struggle along scarcely worthy of the notice, or of the contempt of their opponents. Let them take the watchwords, *Liberty and Purity, now and forever, one and inseparable!* The future will then find in them the great, because the reforming, growing, and moral influence of the country; for the free and the pure will certainly inherit the earth.

NEW YORK, October 10, 1878.

TO WRITE WELL is to think well, to feel well, and to render well; it is to possess at once intellect, soul, and taste.—*Buffon*.

A CLERICAL CONGRESS.

Even the French Clericals have caught the mania for congresses. One is to meet during this month at Chartres, which styles itself "Le Congrès de l'Union des Œuvres Ouvrières," which being freely translated may be read, "The Congress of the Society for Strengthening the Catholic Church among the Working Classes." The title is rather extensive, but the work of the society is still more so; and though it is not a new enterprise, and dates from the outbreak of the war, it proposes this year to take possession of a wider field, and its operations have consequently attracted more attention. Among the works which the society avows are: the surveillance of the reading-matter which reaches the hands of the working classes, and especially of the women and young girls; the placing of Catholics in factories and shops presided over by men of their own faith; the encouragement of religious zeal among the workmen and workwomen; and the "moralization" by means of foremen and forewomen specially chosen for the task, of the employés in such factories as they can obtain access to.

Apparently the association ought not to be a very formidable one, and corresponds very nearly to our own organizations for promoting the spread of the Gospel among working people. But there are two important differences between the Catholic society and our own, resting on two very essential facts in the situation of the Church in France, which go far to justify the indignation with which the society has been greeted by the Republican press in France. In the first place, the clerical organization is not a purely religious one, and cannot be. It will aim everywhere, in making Catholics, to make opponents of the Republic and of the Republican party. The clerical feel, and justly, that the Republic, with its programme of general education, free discussion, and freedom of political action, is fatal to the control of the people by the priesthood. The very doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, on which the Republic rests, is radically opposed to the doctrine of absolute authority on which the Church rests. The Church teaches that it is supreme in all which relates to the spiritual or religious life, and that it is for it to decide what does relate to that life; therefore, it is supreme over every department of human action which it chooses to enter. The firmer hold it gains upon the working classes, the more it will seek to use them to undermine or overthrow the Republic. There is no half-way point at which it can stop, if it would. It is bound by the nature of its belief and by the conviction which it holds as regards the Republican idea to fight it everywhere and always, and by every means of which it can gain control.

In the second place, while our evangelizing organizations are purely the result of voluntary association among men who have little in common except their special religious purpose, and who have certainly no ulterior purpose, the Catholic society is managed by the episcopacy, and is under the powerful centralized control of the Roman hierarchy. The work in each diocese is under the supervision of the bishop, and the bishops together are under the supervision of Rome. The old sentiment of independence, which made the Gallican Church patriotic first and Roman Catholic afterward, has practically disappeared. A propaganda by the French bishops and their agents means an active extension of the doctrines taught at Rome, which are in conflict not only with the political principles on which the Republic rests, but with the social principles, which go hand in hand with them. It is of the essence of the Republican régime in France, that there shall be no classes with antagonistic purposes in society, and particularly in the industrial field. Under its just rules, it is intended that every man shall have a fair opportunity to buy or sell commodities or services, unhampered by any conditions relating to his religious or political views. The law of competition must at best carry many hardships with it, entailed by the differing capacities and differing opportunities of individuals; but it is the only one which secures even rude justice, and it has the merit, which belongs to no other system, that it is progressive, and that it tends gradually to correct the evils which may temporarily exist under it. It is necessary to its proper operation, and particularly to the development of general contentment with the justice of its working, that those who are lowest in the scale of opportunities shall feel that it is fairly and uniformly applied, and that no class has an unjust advantage over another.

Against this essential condition of the success of the Republican system, the Catholic society referred to threatens a direct attack. It proposes to bring the vast machinery of the Church, centred and controlled in Rome, and reaching to every city and hamlet, and to almost every household in the land, to promote the employment of Catholics in preference to others, and of zealous clericals in preference to Catholics who may be inimical or indifferent to the claims of the clergy. When it is remembered that the margin of profitable industry in France is very small; that wages are uniformly low; that the pressure for employment is great; and that manufactures are depressed, it will be understood how high a bribe the priesthood is trying to offer to those who can be hired to submit to its influence. What in this country would be resented as an insult to the workman and an impertinent interference with business by the employer, becomes a tempting inducement to many thousands in France. The scheme is denounced by the Republicans as an attempt to carry religious prejudices into business affairs, to promote the interests of the priesthood at the expense of the equal rights of workmen, and to extend the insidious policy of the Church by a more or less open corruption. They say that it corresponds to the League of the sixteenth century, working in a different field and by other in-

strumentalities, but inspired by the same narrow purpose, and equally hostile to the stability of society and the best interests of the whole community. The Abbé De Segur, Canon of St. Denis, of Paris, has published a formal denial of the charges against the society; but it is more formal than explicit, and, translating the peculiar phrases of the churchman by the light of what the Church has done and is doing, M. De Segur's letter practically admits all that has been brought against the "Union des Œuvres Ouvrières."—*N. Y. Times, Sept. 21.*

THERE NEED BE NO FUSS OVER THIS QUESTION.

We fail to see the necessity of so much clamor among freethinkers about the obscenity laws of Congress. Why there should be angry discussion on this matter is a mystery. All good men must admit that it is to the interests of society to maintain the proprieties and decencies of life in action, speech, and print. Immodesty, no matter how expressed, is very reprehensible. The man who will print words for general circulation that the proprieties will not suffer him to use in good society, needs some law to regulate his sense of the fitness of things. There are publications and prints of an immoral character, the circulation of which all will agree had better be discouraged, so far as can be. There is another class that under the pretence of teaching physiology, are really meant to foster the passions and appetites that had better be held in abeyance. They are printed because they will sell. They are not so bad as the books and pictures first referred to, but some of them are profuse in expression and words that corrupt the taste of the youthful reader and feed the prurient appetite. They offend good taste and do no good; but it is doubtful whether, under our Constitution, their circulation can be legally interfered with.

But as regards men's creeds and faiths, one man has as much right to set forth his views as another has his. A man may hold to one religion, or he may repudiate all, and publish what he pleases either way, provided he does it in language that isn't obscene and offensive to moral and well-behaved people. We hold that no man has a right to use his individual rights in a way that is indecent and offensive to others—offensive to refined taste. In short, we hold that personal liberty doesn't include personal license for a man to commit a public indecency and become a nuisance. In regard to social and moral subjects, full license must be given for a man to put forth his views, always premising that his language shall be that of the refined circle, and not that of the brothel. We protest against indecent language, and hold that books couched in such should be excluded from the mails. Its indecency is one of our greatest objections to the Bible in the schools or in the family circle. But the age in which it was written must plead for it. There is no such excuse for a publication now. The man that uses unbecoming language does it because he believes it will be pleasing to the class of readers he seeks to reach, and will sell his book.

There can be no difference of opinion among freethinkers as to the Church's construction of the so-called Comstock law. The delegation to such a scoundrel as Comstock of powers to rifle the mails and the privacy of persons and papers for what he deems obscene literature, is the most infamous act authorized by any government during the last two hundred years. No greater outrages against personal liberty were ever perpetrated than have been perpetrated by this religious fiend under his construction of the law. The law wants modifying so as to define exactly what it includes in its scope, so we will know just where we stand. While we will join with orthodoxy or anybody for the exclusion of vulgar and indecent prints and books from the mails, we will yet stand firm with those who claim their right, under the Constitution, to print and circulate without question their views on religious, political, social, or any other subject, provided that the language used is not obscene and "smutty."

We object to the Heywood pamphlet solely on account of the indecencies and obscenities that render it unfit to be put in the hands of boys and girls, or of anybody, for that matter. While we scout the doctrine of that pamphlet we hold that Heywood has a clear right to advocate it, in print or otherwise. There is no fear that his doctrine will damage many people of sound sense, and even if it would, he has yet the right to disseminate it. We object to his obscene way of illustrating his doctrine, and this is precisely what the jury condemned him for. At the same time we hold that his punishment is out of all proportion to the offence. It was *Christian bigotry and hate that imposed the imprisonment*. And right here comes the point that impels liberals to take common ground with Heywood. Many who reject his doctrine and condemn his language, will yet defend him and make common cause with him because the common enemy of freedom, free thought, and enlightened progress is persecuting and oppressing him. But it is unfortunate for the liberal cause that the fight with the new American inquisition for freedom of discussion and speech should be made over such a book as Heywood's. That should have been avoided. We should like to have had the test made over some matter pronounced "blasphemous." It is not pleasant nor profitable for "infidelity" to come into court as the defender and apologist of any book or doctrine that can, even by the utmost stretch of Christian hate and bigotry, be liable to the charge of obscenity. Infidels may as well place themselves upon high moral grounds as regards this question. The sense of the country will condemn the circulation of indecent, vulgar books and prints for immoral purposes. At the same time it will stand firm for the freedom of speech and the press, and the free discussion of all doctrinal questions in decent language.—*Seymour Weekly Times, October 5.*

HALLUCINATIONS.

In a recent lecture, Dr. H. Maudsley says that one striking feature observed by medical men who have had cases of hallucinations under their charge is that the patients cannot be convinced that the objects they see, the sounds they hear, and the smells they perceive have no real existence, and that the sensations they receive are the result of their excited nerves. It frequently happens that a person who suffers from hallucination in respect of one sense has the others unaffected, and is on all other matters perfectly sane. Hearing is most frequently affected and sight next. Several interesting cases were referred to: one of a gentleman actively engaged in business, who believed his body continually gave an unpleasant odor, and consequently kept away from everybody as much as he could; and when he was assured that people did not perceive it, always replied that they were too polite. Hallucination may arise either from an idea on which the mind has dwelt, appearing as something exterior, or from excitement of the sensory ganglia. It is said that Newton, Hunter, and others could, at will, picture forms to themselves till they appeared to be realities. A successor of Sir John Reynolds, Dr. Wigan records, had the power of painting portraits after seeing his sitters but for a short time at one visit only, and was able at will to reproduce them to himself as exterior realities. As years advanced, he found he could not dismiss these forms as he could recall them, and he began to fancy himself haunted, and was for many years in an asylum.—*Scientific American.*

HOW THE DESCENDANTS OF THE AZTECS REGARDED THE ECLIPSE.—We have had a great deal about the recent eclipse of the sun from the scientific gentlemen; but now from New Mexico comes an amusing account of how the phenomenon was regarded by that little handful of sun-worshippers and descendants of the ancient Aztecs, the Pueblo Indians. Unprepared by any almanac for the event, the gradual hiding of the face of their luminous god caused the greatest consternation among the simple Pueblos. The chief of the village was called from his hut, and, with every eye strained heavenward, anxious council was held over this dire visitation of mid-day gloom. Evidently some great sin had been committed by one of them, and their sun-god was hiding his face in anger. Who the particular Jonah of the occasion was could not of course be known, but every effort must be promptly made to appease the wrathful divinity. A messenger was sent to a neighboring clan, keepers of the eternal flame burning in honor of Montezuma, with the injunction that the memorial fire should be made brighter and stronger than ever. Only one more method of expiation remained. The women of the tribe, old and young—two hundred in all—were commanded to hasten to the track used for foot-races on fête days, and there, dirobing themselves, run in pairs naked till either they fall from exhaustion or the light returned. The tribe assembled and the women ran. Solemnly the men looked on, and eagerly and prayerfully the women raced about the course for upward of two hours. Then the sun shone once more, and great was the rejoicing. Each woman was looked upon as a heroine and borne home in triumph. This custom of requiring the women to run naked on such occasions is of very ancient origin, an injunction, the Indians say, laid upon them by Montezuma himself.—*Springfield Republican.*

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

DUPANLOUP.

Farewell, Dupanloup, three centuries ago
You would have found a world more to your taste;
Yet from the current one you did not haste.
Priestly reactionist and mitred foe
Of liberty in France, your fondest hopes were foiled;
You saw your emperor overthrown, despoiled.
Your soul indignant to the shades below
Has fled,—to use a line of Virgil's verse,—
Incantations before high altars brayed
In a dead tongue 'tis useless to rehearse.
You were the champion of a faith decayed;
The French republic 'neath your pious frown
Flourished its branches like a bay-tree spread,
While you, its foe, have to the dust gone down.
You smiled upon the dead usurper's crime,
When innocent thousands his vile minions slew,
Repeating massacre of St. Bartholomew.
Your church again was stained, and for all time
The Vatican's God straightway did bless his son
In Jesus Christ, *petite* Napoleon,
Who wrought the butchery. Hugo exiled,
The butcher scourged with his immortal verse,
Whilst you, a parasite, upon him smiled,
And priestly benedictions did rehearse.
Though you are gone, your deeds live after you.
Freedom, whom you assayed to stab, now towers
Majestic 'e'en in France, with victory's flowers
Circled, nor doth in blood her hands imbue.

B. W. BALL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, &c.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 19.

Dr. J. Green, \$3; G. B. Wheeler, \$3.25; J. T. Warrington, \$3; J. H. Buffum, \$3; K. L. Greene, \$3.25; C. Roosevelt, \$3; J. Churchill, \$3.20; George Allen, \$2.60; Thomas Mumford, \$10; Samuel L. Hill, \$125; W. C. Gannett, 10 cents; David W. Pond, \$3.10; L. C. Sleeper, \$3.20; G. Chamberlin, \$3.20; A. C. Stone, \$3.20.

The Index.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 24, 1878.

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 WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, *Editorial Contributors.*

BLANCO WHITE'S beautiful sonnet on "Night" was accidentally published in our issue of October 10 as written "FOR THE INDEX." Of course this was a mistake.

MRS. CLARA NEYMANN would like to meet with some engagements to lecture in the neighborhood of Syracuse after the Congress, Oct. 26 and 27. Subjects: "German Liberalism"; "The Redeeming Feature in the New Faith," and other topics. Address 97 Malden Lane, New York.

A CARD.

We, the undersigned, Directors of the National Liberal League, offer ourselves as candidates for reelection at the Second Annual Congress of the League, on the following platform of principles:—

1. The right of absolute individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, on all political, religious, social, or other questions, and the right of being wholly uninterfered with by the courts, no matter what opinions as such may be advocated or promulgated.

2. The right and duty of Congress and State Legislatures to pass, and the right and duty of the National and State courts to enforce, laws to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, including the exclusion of such literature from the United States mails; provided, that the offence known as "obscenity" shall be so strictly defined in the statutes as to render impossible the prosecution or punishment of any one for the expression of his honest opinions on any subject.

3. The flagrant wrong of intrusting the execution of the laws for the suppression of obscene literature to any official or officials who shall not scrupulously confine their action within the limits here clearly defined.

And we decline to be candidates for reelection if the principles of the above platform shall fail to be approved by the National Liberal League at this Congress.

FRANCIS E. ABBOT, *President.*
 WILLIAM H. HAMLIN, *Secretary.*
 J. A. J. WILCOX, *Treasurer.*
 D. G. CRANDON, *Chair. Fin. Comm.*

PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS.

The Directors of the National Liberal League, at their meeting of October 18, adopted the following as the Order of Business of the Syracuse Congress, subject to the approval and ratification of the Congress itself:—

Saturday, October 26.

BUSINESS SESSION, AT 10 A.M.

1. Reading of Records of last Congress by the Secretary (if required).
2. Appointment of Committee on Membership.
3. Address by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York; being his speech on the Constitutionality of the Comstock laws, delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Aug. 1, 1878.
4. Address by Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany, on "The Liberty of Printing."
5. Report of the Committee on Membership.
6. Appointment of Committees on Resolutions, on Nominations, and on Finance.
7. Report of the Directors.
8. Report of the Treasurer.
9. Temporary Adjournment.

BUSINESS SESSION, 3 P.M.

1. Report of Committee on Resolutions.
2. Debate and Vote on the Resolutions concerning Freedom of the Press and Obscene Literature.
3. Temporary Adjournment.

PUBLIC SESSION, 8 P.M.

1. Addresses by Invited Speakers.
2. Temporary Adjournment.

Sunday, Oct. 27.

BUSINESS SESSION, 10 A.M.

1. Debate and Vote on the remainder of the Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
2. Temporary Adjournment.

BUSINESS SESSION, 3 P.M.

1. Report of the Committee on Nominations, and Election of Officers for the ensuing year.

2. Report of the Finance Committee.
3. Miscellaneous business.
4. Free Conference; short speeches, etc.
5. Temporary Adjournment.

PUBLIC SESSION, 8 P.M.

1. Addresses by Invited Speakers.
2. Final Adjournment.

The two opening addresses by Mr. Wakeman and Judge Hurlbut are intended to present to the Congress at the outset both sides of the question touching the constitutionality of the Comstock laws, as advocated by able representative men. The whole afternoon of Saturday is allotted to the discussion of the important subject of freedom of the press, as affected by the laws suppressing the circulation of obscene literature; and thus ample time is allowed for arriving at a deliberate, wise, and just decision. It will not be the fault of the officers of the League, if the question is not debated and decided on its merits alone. They have done everything to secure perfect fairness. Both sides on the grave question at issue should address themselves to reason, and to reason only. The Congress will undoubtedly recognize the equity of the arrangements which have been made, and require all participants in the debate to respect strictly the rules of parliamentary decorum and courtesy.

HOW NOT TO "ANSWER."

Mr. T. B. Wakeman, in our present issue, undertakes "An Answer to THE INDEX Criticisms." It will be both curious and useful to restate, in condensed form, exactly what the criticisms were which he now affects to "answer." He begins by exaggerating the amount of attention we paid to his argument; he appropriates to himself "eleven columns" of which he has a right to barely four. That, however, is a matter which only raises a smile; we call special attention to the criticisms we actually made, in order that the reader may decide intelligently whether they are, or are not, successfully "answered."

Evasion Number One.

We said that Mr. Wakeman's argument that the Comstock laws are unconstitutional is partly *technical*, partly *substantial*. The technical part undertakes to show that these laws are unconstitutional on the ground that Congress has no jurisdiction over the mails except for "postal purposes" alone. The substantial part undertakes to show that they are unconstitutional because they abridge the freedom of the press guaranteed by the Constitution itself.

Our reply to the technical part of the argument was that Mr. Wakeman interprets the Constitution in one way, while the United States Supreme Court, the only authorized interpreter of the Constitution, interprets it in another way. This issue is one between an individual young lawyer and a body of learned judges who may safely be assumed to know at least as much law as himself; and we left this issue to be settled between themselves by these rather unequally matched parties.

Our reply to the substantial part of the argument was that, if the freedom of the press is not violated by State suppression of obscene literature, neither is it violated by Congressional suppression of it; that Mr. Wakeman explicitly concedes the right of the State to suppress it, and is therefore logically estopped from denying the right of Congress to suppress it; and that, so far as the SUBSTANTIAL FREEDOM OF THE PRESS is concerned, Mr. Wakeman takes a self-contradictory and suicidal position.

Now Mr. Wakeman very prudently omits all mention of our division of his argument into its technical and its substantial parts. His answer, however, to our criticism of the technical part of it is the astonishing assertion that we have ourselves "admitted" that the present Comstock laws are unconstitutional, and have therefore joined him in alleging that "the Supreme Court is all wrong on this subject."

We have done no such thing. The Supreme Court has simply declared the *law itself* constitutional; we simply declared the *administration of the law* by the lower courts to be unconstitutional. What the Supreme Court has declared we have not disputed; so far as he and we are concerned, he alone claims to know more about constitutional law than the Supreme Court. He must try again; he has not "answered" our criticism of the technical part of his argument.

As to the substantial part of his argument, he does not even attempt an answer to our criticism. He says: "What the States may or ought [the italics are ours] to do about obscenity are questions as to the discretionary exercise of State powers. No question of that kind is now before the League or the liberals of the country, and until the liberals can get Mr.

Heywood out of jail, I do not propose to discuss with him how far, or in what way, the States should exercise a power which all must admit they possess." Again, after stating and evading elaborately this part of our criticism, he says: "I am not called upon to determine what restrictions the State should impose on obscenity." Now Mr. Wakeman is not proposing to answer Mr. Heywood; he is proposing to answer THE INDEX, and promises that he will be "careful to meet the material points." We assure him that there is here a very material point to meet, which it is abandonment of his whole argument not to meet. He declares that it is a violation of freedom of the press for Congress to suppress obscene literature, but that it is no violation of freedom of the press for the States to suppress it. This is truly a "question of liberty,"—and Mr. Wakeman dodges it. He gets behind Mr. Heywood, and refuses to meet the most "material point" of all! What we want to know, and what the public wants to know, is how the *freedom of the press* is involved by Congressional legislation against obscene literature, if it is not equally involved by State legislation against it. After quoting our criticism on this substantial point [see the paragraph of his article which he has numbered IV.], he indulges in various rhetorical exclamations, and then, under cover of his own eloquence about "statesmanship," effects his retreat back to the technical question of jurisdiction, without saying a word on the "material point" he has just quoted!

We repeat, he has completely dodged our criticism on the substantial part of his argument; he has not "answered" it at all, not even feebly. He himself puts forward two main arguments for his position that the Comstock laws are unconstitutional and ought to be repealed: *first*, because Congress has no jurisdiction in the premises; and, *secondly*, because they violate the freedom of the press guaranteed by the Constitution. When you come to analyze these two arguments, you find that he does not adduce a single consideration in support of the second which he has not already adduced in support of the first. His technical plea of no jurisdiction is made to do duty over again in a slightly new dress; he plays the same tune once more with scarcely a variation. His argument is, in fact, only a harp of one string, vibrating the same everlasting, monotonous note—"No jurisdiction!"

Does Mr. Wakeman imagine he can fire the American heart on a mere question of jurisdiction, unless some substantial wrong is done by it? "Of course not!" he will reply; "Is not Heywood in jail?" Very well; in what does the wrong of his imprisonment consist? "O, as to that, he is imprisoned by the wrong party! It is Congress that has put him in jail." "Then it would be all right if the State of Massachusetts had put him there?" "Certainly; there is no danger to liberty except from a 'Federal tyranny.' I should not have gone to Boston to protest against anything but that. What the State may do about freedom of the press is a 'question as to the discretionary use of State powers.'"

This lame and impotent conclusion, which is the precise doctrine of his speech and of his present article, is the only "answer" that Mr. Wakeman has yet made to Criticism Number One, pointing out his contradictory position as to *substantial freedom of the press*. What an "answer"!

Evasion Number Two.

Our second main criticism of Mr. Wakeman's position exposed a false assumption which pervades his entire speech: namely, that the only issue lies between the *Comstock laws as they are* and *no national laws at all*. He did not in the least consider the obviously evident alternative of *amending these laws*, so as to protect liberty and punish the crime of mailing obscene publications at the same time. Consequently, he declared that "this is not a question of obscenity, but of liberty," whereas it is really a question of both.

How does he "answer" this criticism? Simply by restating his former position, and dogmatically denying the possibility of so amending the laws as to protect liberty. He says: "They cannot be amended so as to be safe and constitutional, and should therefore be repealed. . . . No postal laws on this subject can be enforced without abridging the freedom of the press, because they involve *espionage and decoy* as the only possible means of their enforcement. . . . The general talk about 'reform' is of no possible use in such cases as this; if the thing can be done, he is under the deepest obligation to show *how* it can be done," etc.

Now we have again and again shown how this "thing can be done," and neither Mr. Wakeman nor

any other of his side has yet ventured to question the proposal. Briefly, we have maintained from the beginning that FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WILL BE EFFICIENTLY PROTECTED, if the present Comstock law is amended so as to prohibit the mailing of only those publications whose main and manifest intention is to inflame lewd passions and incite to vicious practices for the sake of profit to publishers and advertisers, and if a definite provision is inserted in those laws to the effect that they shall not be construed to prohibit the discussion, advocacy, or promulgation of any opinions on any political, literary, scientific, moral, religious, or other subject whatever. This proposition has been laid before the public in various forms, but with substantially the same features, in THE INDEX of June 28, December 6, and December 20, 1877, and January 31, May 23, June 13, and July 4, 1878—not to mention numerous other repetitions of the same points in other issues. Of course, we have not undertaken to throw these suggestions into the form of a statute, which requires the trained hand of a practical legislator; and of course we know they can be improved. But we have not, with Mr. Wakeman, such profound faith in the imbecility of the human intellect as to imagine that the perfectly easy and simple task of drafting a safe law cannot possibly be accomplished! Nothing in the world would be easier than for a skilled legislator to amend the Comstock laws so that liberty of thought, speech, and press should be entirely safe from such abuses as the imprisonment of Mr. Heywood. It is mortifying to hear radicals echoing the cant of Orthodoxy about the feebleness and impotence of human reason. The object to be gained by a "reform" of the Comstock laws is so clear, precise, and practicable, that it is positively humiliating to see men of brains fold their hands and sigh—"It can't be done!" If radicals don't know enough to do it, so much the worse for them. "Where there's a will, there's a way." Nothing but the will is wanting here.

Mr. Wakeman's objections about "espionage and decoy" are not to the point; the point is about "abridging freedom of the press," which can be efficiently protected without protecting obscene publications as above defined. The determination of proper methods to be used in detecting crime is a general question, to be settled on general grounds; it is not a question that concerns us now in the least. The question now is how to frame a just and efficient statute on this subject. Let us stick to one thing at a time.

Still less are his objections about determining "intention" worthy of serious consideration. When he asserts that "only one tribunal has sat upon the intentions of men, and that was the Inquisition itself," who would suspect that it was a lawyer who made so rash and wild a statement? Is he really ignorant that the difference between murder and manslaughter hinges wholly on the fact of premeditation, and that no man is ever hung for murder until the court has first "sat upon his intentions"?

In short, Mr. Wakeman evades Criticism Number Two almost as completely as he evades Criticism Number One. He flippantly denies "reform" as a third alternative, ignores the repeated, pertinent, and definite propositions made for effecting it, sees only a question of "liberty," and gets rid of the "obscenity" question by muscularly closing his eyes to the facts. His "answer" to our second criticism is merely an evasive appeal to the feebleness of "poor human reason!"

Evason Number Three.

We showed that Mr. Wakeman, by denying to Congress all power to exclude obscene literature from the mails, conferred power upon individual malefactors to make the nation an accomplice in their own crime; that the postal system is and can be under no control but that of Congress; that the necessities of the case compelled the Supreme Court to recognize the right of Congress to prohibit this criminal abuse of the mails; that otherwise there could be no possible punishment of this crime.

Does Mr. Wakeman "answer" this criticism? Not in the least. Having twisted it into an assertion of the right of Congress to "create" crimes at its pleasure, he only denies outright that the mailing of obscene literature is a crime at all! Exactly; we thought it would come to that. Mr. Wakeman is already advancing to Mr. Heywood's position. He says that his speech showed that "the mere mailing of anything is not, and cannot be made, a crime, and can never be so legislated by Congress," etc.

Now the plain rejoinder to this "answer" is that the circulation of obscene literature in any way is a crime at common law; and that circulating such liter-

ature by mail is only one of innumerable ways of committing this crime. The crime itself was long ago "created" by the common law; Congress did not "create" it, but merely forbade it in a case beyond the jurisdiction of any other power than its own. To deny to Congress the power to punish this common-law crime is to leave it altogether unpunished when committed through the postal system, and thus to compel the people as a whole to be the tool and cat's-paw of the criminal. Mr. Wakeman transparently evades this whole difficulty. But it will not be evaded; it stands, and will continue to stand, a break-water that cannot be shaken by the frothy waves of "repeal." His "answer" to Criticism Number Three is nothing but an attack upon the common law itself; but we suspect that the common law will receive no serious detriment under the circumstances.

Evason Number Four.

We pointed out that Mr. Wakeman flatly contradicted himself with regard to the application of his own principle to the case of postal-cards. On the one hand, he declared explicitly that "the MEANING OF MAILED MATTER has nothing to do with the post-office, nor that with the meaning." On the other hand, he justified the law that "postal-cards should contain nothing that could be offensive to those to whom they are sent or to the public." And he tried to conceal the absurdity of this contradiction by treating the exclusion of offensive postal-cards from the mails as a "necessary postal regulation"—i.e., one made for mere "postal purposes and reasons"!!! We pointed out that postal-cards could "contain" nothing that is "offensive" except their meaning only; that Mr. Wakeman had declared that the "meaning of mailed matter" was entirely outside of all "postal purposes and reasons"; and that, therefore, in the same speech he "denies and affirms the right of excluding mailed matter on the score of its meaning, as such."

How does Mr. Wakeman "answer" this criticism? Does he succeed in reconciling his own contradictory assertions? All he has to say is that "the same reasons [i.e., postal reasons] compel that they [i.e., the postal-cards] should be inoffensive to the receiver and not exciting to the public." We look anxiously to see what these "postal reasons" can be, since they must not, according to Mr. Wakeman himself, have anything to do with "the meaning of mailed matter." But we get no light on this subject; the "publicity" he refers to is the publicity of the meaning itself. We discover that, in trying to "answer" our criticism, he omits, as altogether unmanageable, the strongest passage we had quoted from him and quote again above; he only ventures to deal with passages which he thinks he can more easily handle. But his ingenuity is all wasted. The contradiction still stares us in the face; it is there still, as intractable as Banquo's ghost. Now Criticisms Number One, Two, Three, and Four were the real criticisms we made; and Mr. Wakeman, as any one may see, has not "answered" a single one of them. He promises to "meet the material points"; he has not met a single one of them. If he could have "answered" or "met" them, he would undoubtedly have done so. On the contrary, he has either not understood them, or else not chosen to face them. In either case, the force of these four leading criticisms remains unshaken and unweakened; and though imagining that he has found his way to a successful "answer," Mr. Wakeman has missed his way completely. The Indian, wandering about and being asked if he had got lost, drew himself up with dignity, and replied: "Ugh! Indian not lost. Indian here. Wigwam lost!" Mr. Wakeman's "answer" will probably be found in the Indian's wigwam; it is certainly not to be found in his article.

Nevertheless, it would be quite unjust to our ingenious opponent to represent him as not having "answered" anything. He has set up and completely demolished several "men of straw." We will enumerate a few of these, some of which he calls "confusions" and others "misapprehensions."

Man of Straw Number One.

Mr. Wakeman avers that we "agree" with him that "the present Comstock laws are unconstitutional; that they abridge the freedom of the press, and that the Supreme Court is all wrong on the subject."

On the contrary, we believe, and have said with sufficient explicitness, that the Supreme Court is substantially right on the subject; that the Comstock laws are entirely constitutional, when so interpreted and administered as not to abridge the freedom of the press; that their only unconstitutionality lies in the "absence of definition" which renders such abridgement of freedom possible, and will be easily obviated

by a proper amendment; and that, even as they are, the original intention of these laws is perverted, when they are made to interfere with the freedom of the press in any degree. This is not at all to agree with Mr. Wakeman, who holds that, no matter how administered or amended, those laws are unconstitutional because Congress has no power to pass them. On this latter point we believe that the Supreme Court understands the Constitution better than Mr. Wakeman. Our "confusion" on this head is Mr. Wakeman's Man of Straw Number One.

Man of Straw Number Two.

Mr. Wakeman avers that we have "abandoned" the second plank of the "Card." His manner of proving this astonishes us. His original misquotation of this plank we charitably attributed to "carelessness," while we emphatically repudiated the meaning which by such means he had tortured out of it. By now deliberately insisting on his misquotation, and attempting to force upon us an opinion we never expressed and never held, he constrains us to say that he garbles the plank in question purposely, and for most unfair purposes besides. The obvious meaning of that plank is that both Congress and State Legislatures, each in their appropriate sphere, are bound to suppress the circulation of obscene literature, because the common law properly treats this as a crime; that Congress is bound to punish this crime when it is committed within the special jurisdiction of Congress, which includes the postal system as well as the District of Columbia, the Territories, the Military and Naval Academies, etc., and that the States are bound to punish it within the limits of their own jurisdiction. To insist that we originally intended to advocate "the unlimited jurisdiction of the United States over the whole subject of suppressing the circulation of obscene literature," in the face of our explicit denial that this was our original intention, is an insinuation which we forbear to characterize as it deserves. It is enough to point out that the "confusion" evinced in this pretended "abandonment" of the second plank of the "Card" is Mr. Wakeman's Man of Straw Number Two. We never held to that plank more firmly than we do after reading Mr. Wakeman's argument.

Man of Straw Number Three.

Mr. Wakeman represents us as attributing to Congress the power of "creating" a "new crime," because we recognize its right to exclude obscene literature from the mails. We have already shown the fallacy of this charge. Circulating obscene literature is a crime at common law; Congress does not "create" it by prohibiting it within its own proper jurisdiction. The fact is that, when the Constitution was adopted, advertising had not become the science and art that it now is; and it never occurred to the framers of the Constitution that the "post-offices and post-roads" which they empowered Congress to "establish" could ever become the favorite channel of an infamous and criminal business. If they had once suspected this development, they would have expressly empowered Congress to deal with this crime, because it grows solely out of the postal system over which there can be no control at all but that of Congress. The omission to enumerate this crime as the analogous crime of counterfeiting is enumerated only shows how impossible it is for one generation to foresee and provide for all the necessities of another. In authoritatively confirming the right of Congress to deal with this entirely modern crime of corrupting society by means of the mails, the Supreme Court obeyed strictly the general spirit of the Constitution; and, whatever force there may be in Mr. Wakeman's argument as a piece of mere jealous literalism, the Court's decision is a triumph of the spirit over the letter—of a broad and healthy statesmanship over the hypochondriacal dread of a "Federal tyranny." He attributes to us an "obscenity panic"; we reciprocate the compliment by attributing to him a "Federal tyranny panic." Let us pit one panic against the other, and "call it quits." But the "confusion" he discovers in the notion he invents for our benefit that Congress has the power of "creating new crimes" must join Mr. Wakeman's growing regiment as Man of Straw Number Three.

Man of Straw Number Four.

Mr. Wakeman attributes to us a "misapprehension" as to the necessity of "preserving the Constitutional provisions clearly, and defining and limiting the Federal jurisdiction in criminal matters." We modestly decline the honor of this "misapprehension." But we point out his own misapprehension of the necessities of governmental evolution, in not recognizing the necessity of conforming Constitutional exegesis to new circumstances and new times. This crime of mailing obscene literature is a vile fungus of

quite modern growth, which could never have originated except through the marvellous development of the newspaper press and the general science of advertising. The Supreme Court is simply more progressive than Mr. Wakeman—less old-foggyish than he in adapting itself to modern conditions. The hysterical dread of "Federal tyranny" and centralization which he evinces belongs to a period anterior to the Civil War; it will degenerate into positive hypochondria, unless vigorously checked in season. He must learn that the growth of the national idea can never tend to a diminution of personal liberty, so long as its political formula is—*Town government for Town purposes, State government for State purposes, National government for National purposes.* The decision of the Supreme Court is in perfect keeping with the spirit of this formula; and if Mr. Wakeman had had a fuller comprehension of it, he would never have invented the "misapprehension" he attributes to us, or set up Man of Straw Number Four.

Man of Straw Number Five.

Mr. Wakeman attributes to us another "misapprehension" as to the "position of liberals in regard to obscenity." He says: "Because they do not deem it necessary to throw overboard the Constitution and all their liberties [!!!] to get it punished, he represents them as in favor of it, and so has been the cause and source of unlimited misrepresentation, if not slander." We repel this charge with indignation. We have never represented liberals as a class, or the "repeal" party as a class, as "in favor of obscenity." It is about time for such men as Mr. Wakeman to cease propagating in this way the low and venomous scurrilities of the *Truth Seeker*; we have a perfect right to expect from such men as himself the intellectual capacity of understanding the distinction between the motives and the consequences of actions, and the moral capacity of scrupulously respecting this distinction when we have never once forgotten it. Here is a crime which consists in using the mails for the wilful corruption of society; here is a statute which, whatever its faults, formidably interferes with the commission of this crime; here are a body of liberals who insist on the total repeal of this statute. Their motives are their own affair; we care not whether these motives are good, bad, or indifferent; but we do say, and we challenge contradiction, that the CONSEQUENCE AND RESULT of totally repealing that statute must be to facilitate the commission of that crime. Now it happens that we are every whit as earnest for the protection of freedom of the press as Mr. Wakeman himself; we are working for it just as hard; and we insist that we have an undoubted right to point out to the public the bad results of total "repeal," as opposed to "reform," without hearing an instantaneous chorus of accusation from all its supporters that we have slandered their motives! Mr. Wakeman, at least, is bound to know and to understand the well-known rule of parliamentary discussion which Cushing states thus: "The nature or consequences of a measure may be reprobated in strong terms; but to arraign the motives of those who advocate it is a personality and against order." We deny for at least the twentieth time that we have reflected upon anybody's motives in this matter; but we shall certainly be forced to think, if we hear any more of this insufferable nonsense, that the motives of the complainers must be bad, or they would not be so absurdly sensitive and suspicious. We repeat, with greater emphasis than ever, that the necessary consequence of repealing the Comstock laws must be to leave the crime of mailing obscene literature wholly unpunished, and thereby to foster and promote the circulation of it. Refute this statement if you can, gentlemen, but do not be so cruel to yourselves as to insist that the statement contains a reflection upon your motives. This last "misapprehension" which Mr. Wakeman has invented for us is the shabbiest Man of Straw of the whole lot; it is good for nothing even as a scarecrow, unless to put the other four to flight.

In fine, Mr. Wakeman has failed to "meet" a single one of the "material points," or to "answer" a single one of the leading "criticisms," which he professes to consider. But he has set up in their stead five men of straw, and toppled them over. Whether this is "An Answer to THE INDEX Criticisms," let the reader decide.

THE CHURCH OF FREE RELIGION.

THE INDEX has already contained the item of information that the Free Religious Society of Providence has invited Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley to become its resident speaker and minister. I use the word "minister" in its natural sense, and not as an

ecclesiastical title. The new relationship between Mr. Hinckley and the Providence society began on the first Sunday of this month by a simple ceremony of public recognition.

This society at Providence was the first local society that was organized under the free-religious name after the formation of the Free Religious Association; and, so far as I recall, it is the only one among three or four similar attempts at local organization which has shown much vigor or continuity of existence. The Free Congregation Society at Florence, Mass., was formed several years before the Free Religious Association came into being, though its fundamental principle is essentially the same. And there are some other local religious organizations that are now quite as free, but which originated as Christian churches and have become free by natural evolution. Of these it may be said, and doubtless with truth, that at least a part of the strength they may show is due to their Christian inheritance. Their methods have certainly been more or less shaped in Christian moulds. But the Free Religious Society at Providence was organized independently of such traditions, and it is the only local society of much moment, probably, that can be said to have been organized as a direct special result of the formation of the Free Religious Association. It has now called Mr. Hinckley to its service in order that it may be formed into a more compact body, with greater practical efficiency. The success of the experiment will be watched with interest by all liberals as bearing on the problem of the future church of free religion.

By many liberal minds it is questioned, it is true, whether free religion will ever have any such form and coherence of institutions as can be called a church, and not a few would strenuously object to the organization of anything that should be so named. Indeed, the term "church" in Christian history has been so synonymous with mental bondage, that, however innocent a word in itself, it will doubtless by natural antagonism be discarded as damaged phraseology in all attempts at free religious organization. Yet that free religion will in time develop some kind of free institutions taking the place of the church, I for one can have no doubt. I believe that institutions are as necessary to the welfare of society as ideas,—that ideas cannot do their full work for mankind at large until they are embodied in institutions. Souls are necessary, but so are bodies.

And there is growing evidence that the time is approaching for the better embodiment of free religious ideas. Not to speak of the organization of Liberal Leagues, which have a special semi-political work for their motive, there are in many places scattered through our country the nuclei of liberal religious societies, where a tendency begins to manifest itself for some more effective kind of associated action: places where free-thinking people for years have been accustomed, perhaps, to come together for weekly discussions or for hearing a lecture, until the more thoughtful and earnest minds among them appear to have passed through this phase, and are now beginning to inquire whether they cannot have something which shall be more satisfying to themselves and their families, and more helpful to the community around. Free thought and free speech are very much, but they are not the ultimate end of human existence. When they are still denied, no labor and no sacrifice are too great to win them. They are everywhere to be vigilantly guarded, and are the essential conditions of all institutions which free religion may construct. But with freethought in religion there come duties as well as rights. There are obligations to be discharged as well as emancipations to be enjoyed,—obligations towards those not yet emancipated; obligations for the instruction of the young and the improvement of home and social life. If free religion means anything practical, it means the emancipation of the religious sentiment from bondage to creeds that it may work directly for the amelioration of human society. It is eminently social and humanitarian in its mission. It is religion set to work on the practical problems of life.

And whatever special institutions the free religious movement may develop, and however variously they may be adapted to local exigencies, they will all be cast, we may be sure, in this mould of philanthropy and self-improvement. Their prevailing motive will not be speculative, but educational, humanitarian, practical,—the elevation of the conditions and aspirations of human life. Prof. Adler's society in New York, though not yet realizing, doubtless, his ideal, seems to point in the direction of the coming church of free religion. Around the Sunday assembly, as a centre, with its discourse and singing, he has gath-

ered a school for the moral instruction of the children of his own society, a kindergarten for the neglected and destitute children of the street, a workmen's institute, and a benevolent section for more miscellaneous charitable work. Other societies here and there are working towards the same end. They do not call themselves churches of Christ nor churches of God; but they aim to be churches of humanity.

W. J. P.

LETTER FROM MR. JOHNSON.

We are very glad to publish the following letter:—
NORTH ANDOVER, Oct. 12, 1878.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

If the owners of the Oxford Street Chapel claim to be the Free Religious Society of Lynn, discussion of their duty in relation to secularization of religious property is of course in order at the present time. For one, I do not insist, as your Western correspondent seems inclined to do, that every one who takes part in such a society shall hold the same views on that subject with the "free religionists," or the secularists, or any other special communion, on penalty of being read out of liberal sympathy and respect. Nor is this a question which calls for the style and manner of a papal bull. If I were now the minister of a free church, I should certainly take the secularist side on the matter of taxing the property of that church; but I hope I should not try to enforce on my hearers a "platform" of doctrines, legal and other, technically entitled "Free Religion," as the test of fidelity to freedom in thought and belief. Your correspondent's charges as to "profession and practice" are mere rhetorical flourish, unless he is the authorized expounder of freedom in religion, and, moreover, acquainted with the facts as to what the Lynn society do actually "profess" under that name.

Were this all, I should not send you a communication concerning its affairs, upon seeing them commented on in the public papers. But the real question is a different one, and ought to be stated fairly.

It is now eight years since, for reasons published at the time, I resigned the position of minister of the "Free Church of Lynn"; since which action on my part, no religious meetings of that society have been held, though the building has still been devoted to religious purposes. It is for those interested in the work thus broken off to say whether the society still exists or not. It had already fourteen years of history when this chapel was erected, and its public occupancy of the same lasted but four years. But as its only minister, from the time of its organization at my own instance, on a thoroughly independent basis, to the time of my withdrawal, I am able to state that at no moment was it the owner of the "Oxford Street Chapel," or responsible, as a society, for the action of the corporation which did own it. That the members of that corporation were mainly, if not wholly, persons connected with the society, is true; but the Free Church was simply occupant of the premises, and by the very freedom of its nature, being open to all, and without distinctions as to voting qualification among those interested in its worship and work, unsuited for holding property in shares. It was with the view of protecting its independence in this respect, that I requested the "Oxford Street Chapel Association," before the society commenced meetings in the new edifice, to declare with distinctness their own purpose not to sell nor rent pews therein, nor in any way to divorce it from the free and equal worship which characterized the society, and of which they were themselves the supporters. They have faithfully kept the promise then made. The property, however, was held by them alone: and no vote of the Free Church, as such, has ever been taken, so far as I know, on the question of their paying taxes to the city, certainly not during my connection with the congregation, for the general subject was not then mooted; and my own first knowledge of this special case dates but a few weeks back.

With your correction of the letter of your correspondent I am glad to agree. But this brief statement is made, in order to guard against an identification of the two organizations, which seems likely to mislead as to the responsibilities of the Free Church, as I understand them, on this matter. The right or wrong of claiming that as religious property, this edifice has now the same legal rights as during the period of the society's active existence, is another question, on which I am not competent to decide. I do not, however, understand that the peculiar opinions of the society on religious matters are at all connected with the decision of the city as to taxing the property of the corporation. Cordially yours,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Communications.

THE BABYISHNESS OF THE ORTHODOX CREED.

There is a becoming pride of intellect. Man, of all the inhabitants of the earth, has more mind and more knowledge than he can use as a mere animal, and he has a right to feel proud of the surplus. In childhood we believe many things taught us as real truths in the nursery; but when we become men, implicit faith gives way to godlike reason, on all propositions except in *one* department. The Lord High Chancellor of England would be ashamed now to believe the story of Jack the Giant Killer, which he so firmly believed when first told him by his nurse. The President of Princeton College would blush to have it suspected, in a company of savants, that he still believed in the exploits of Sinbad the Sailor, or of Baron Münchhausen. But in *theology*—the science of God—where we are brought into close relationship with the essence of reason, Orthodox dignitaries still continue to believe propositions quite as absurd and insulting to the human understanding as any of the nursery tales of our childhood.

For instance, we are required to believe, and that at the peril of our soul's salvation from a lake of fire and brimstone, that a child may be as old as his father! Michael Servetus believed sincerely that the person known as Jesus Christ was the Son of God, the first begotten of the Father, and devoutly adored him as such. But his intellect could not accept the proposition that he was the *Eternal* Son of the Father, for that clearly implies that a son can be the same age as his father, which is absurd because it is a natural impossibility. Therefore he was condemned to be burnt alive by the Syndics of Geneva, with John Calvin at their head. As the flames gathered round his devoted person, Farrel, Calvin's right-hand man, stood by, and with tears of pity running down his cheeks, begged him, in the most plaintive language, to say the "Eternal" Son of God. But Servetus, as an honest man, could no more believe that proposition than that two and three make seven. His heresy being mortal and damnable, the executioners were ordered to make the fires slow, not to lengthen out the agony of the sufferer, but to give him a chance at the eleventh hour and fifty-ninth minute to recant, and thus escape a fire that will burn in hell eternally! Yet this proposition, that a child can be as old as his father, is embodied in all the creeds of Christendom, and is a fundamental doctrine; and thousands of cultivated minds teach and profess to believe it to this day!

The Orthodox sects, one and all, unite in calling the radicals atheists, because we do not believe in *their* God, as defined by all their scores of creeds in the doctrine of the Trinity. But as Lord Bacon says, it is better to deny that there is any God at all than to believe in a God who is both foolish and wicked. Only think of a God who would endow his creature man with the divine attribute of *reason*, and then, in defiance of reason, require him to believe, on pain of eternal damnation, that a child could be as old as his own father! Think of educated gentlemen who knew the multiplication table believing such a proposition themselves, and having the hardihood to ask other people who have ciphered to the single rule of three, to believe so mountainous an absurdity!

When a credulous Churchman believes an absurdity in his creed, giving as a reason that it is a *miracle*, he little dreams of the insult he offers to God. It is only a fourth rate machinist who places a locomotive engine on the track, and when the steam is up and the machine is in motion, discovers that this screw is loose, this piston too long, that one too short, that there is a flaw in the boiler which threatens an explosion, and that the engine must be taken back to the shop to have the blunders in its plan corrected. This is just what the Almighty does when he is supposed to work a *miracle*. How utterly unworthy God is of our homage, when, unable to see the end from the beginning of his plan, he has to arrest it in the execution, and correct his blunders! A belief in such folly might do in the childhood of the race, when the Rev. Dr. Alphabatarius flourished, who got his distinctions as a bishop of the Church from the fact that he was so learned that he could say all the letters of the alphabet, but is unworthy the credence of the nineteenth century.

I was going to give another instance or two of the babyishness of the Church creeds, but, as I suspect the printer will run out of exclamation points, I desist. A. B. B.

ENON VALLEY, Pa., Sept. 16, 1878.

SHALL WE HAVE A "RADICAL CHURCH?"

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

When this subject was first mentioned in THE INDEX (June 6), I did not give it much attention; for Mr. Neville has shown by several of his later communications that he is but about half-way between a conservative and a liberal,—some kind of a "liberal Christian,"—his Christianity largely overbalancing his liberalism. For such a man it may, perhaps, be desirable to have a church; and as he is neither fully Orthodox nor Christian, nor fully liberal, none of the churches as they are seem to satisfy him, and so he wants to get one corresponding to his notions. Well, that is natural enough for Mr. Neville, and therefore hardly worth while to dispute. Now, however, comes also a Mr. G. E. Thomas, who "seconds the motion" of Mr. Neville (INDEX, September 26), so I think it may be well now to debate the matter; and I would "move," Mr. Editor, "to lay that motion on the table."

The very word church has for me, and I am inclined to believe for every radical, an ominous sound,

reminding one of superstition and bigotry, of persecution and inquisition, creed and intolerance, and all the countless evils resulting therefrom. No, my dear Mr. Abbot, radicals suffered, and still suffer, too much from churches to desire *any* church under what name or form it ever may appear.

But it is further argued by these churchmen that liberals are disorganized, and therefore weak, and that a "Radical Church" would unite and organize them. Well, it is but too true that liberals are disorganized and weak in consequence. I myself deplore this as much as anybody; but a church is by no means the right thing to unite and organize them. A church necessarily must have a creed, and a creed means authority and dictation, means dogma and belief. Liberals, however, acknowledge no authority but such as churches reject,—reason, science, and nature; admit of no dictation but that of these authorities and their own consciences; acknowledge no binding dogma and no enforced belief. They want *freedom*,—freedom to investigate, and freedom to believe or disbelieve. A church could therefore never unite and organize them. The great trouble with liberals is, that they love their freedom too much; so much, that they are jealous of any organization, and therefore will not organize. They rather suffer the disadvantages of disorganization and be free, than enjoy the great benefits of organization at the cost, as they apprehend, of their individual freedom. This, sir, is the reason that the so timely and necessary organization, "The National Liberal League," does not grow as fast as it ought to. It does and must grow, however, though not as fast as its friends would wish, if liberals themselves will not prevent it. The Orthodox themselves will aid its growth. They will ever become more and more audacious and provoking; and they must become thus, it seems, before liberals can be made to see the necessity and great advantages of the National Liberal League, support it *en masse*, and organize under its ægis. The Church, the Orthodox Church, will effect this finally; but the proposed "Radical Church" of Mr. Neville never can and never will do it. It could be of no earthly benefit whatever, but of much harm. The best of it is that it is but a scheme of some church-people, but never will become a possibility with liberals.

MORRIS EINSTEIN.

TITUSVILLE, Pa., Sept. 28, 1878.

DEFINITION WANTED.

As I understand, Mr. Heywood now lies in Dedham jail simply because a jury decided that to preach free love is obscene; nor will this verdict surprise any one who knows the public feeling. A decision similar in principle was reached by an English jury in the case of the Crown v. Bradlaugh and Besant. Now how is this to be prevented from happening again? The advocates of a reform of the law propose to make provision that no opinions shall be proscribed. But supposing that provision had been already made when the Heywood case came off; would not the jury still have said, "Opinions! Yes, we respect all opinions honestly entertained; but this man is an apostle of fornication. That is not an opinion, but a vice." I ask, Would not the jury have said so? Honestly, I believe they would. To define obscenity satisfactorily may not be so easy as some people think. One says that whatever appeals to the passions is obscene; but that will never do at all, because some of the noblest products of art and literature appeal to the passions, and to the voluptuous side of the nature. It is their very purpose. What distinguishes an honest man from a knave is not that the one appeals to the passions and the other not, but that the one strives to elevate humanity, and the other not. The utter wickedness of those who prey upon the licentiousness of the young cannot be exaggerated, and it is not good to leave the wheat and tares to grow together. Still, it is better to let a few small tares grow than to root up the very finest of the wheat.

It seems to be taken for granted that obscene literature, etc., is one main cause of the prevalent impurity—be the same much or little—among young people. But is this proved? On the contrary, is not that very prurieny which tempts the young to buy these filthy wares a proof that they were previously corrupted?—doubtless from natural causes which are likely to be an hundred times more operative than any books or pictures or any sort of apparatus. Children should be better observed than they now are. They vary extremely. For instance, Sir Henry Maudesley quotes the incredible case of a child of four years who was physically a woman. I opine that children of voluptuous temper who do not take care of themselves must go wrong.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

[Nobody imagines that laws against theft will ever abolish all dishonesty; but that is no reason for repealing them. They tend to reduce dishonesty more or less; and that is as much as is required to justify retaining them. The same reasoning applies to the case of mailing obscene literature.

The jury that should take the position above stated would need to be instructed by the Court as to its exceeding unreasonableness. A man has a legal right to "apologize" for anything; it is only when he commits overt acts that he should be liable to punishment. This is precisely the distinction that a well-expressed law would make unmistakable, and there would be no practical difficulty whatever in expressing it precisely as to protect freedom of opinion completely. All that is wanted is the *will*; the *way* is plain enough.—Ed.]

A CALAMITY INDEED.

PALMYRA, Neb., Oct. 3, 1878.

EDITOR OF INDEX:

Dear Sir,—It would most unquestionably be a great misfortune to have the National Liberal League fall into the hands of the "total repeal" party; thereby practically putting the only influential body of State secularizationists on the side of "obscene literature." Wherever I have been, on close examination I find the chief reason of liberals not exerting more influence for their principles is because they, as a class, do not work with sufficient earnestness and perseverance for a higher standard of morality, and for greater purity of life among themselves.

The State secularizationists will labor in vain so long as they are inconsistent and illogical. It is not often that you can get a true man or woman to work heartily for a political or religious reform, with a person that is deteriorating in some other department of life, as far too many liberals are by using tobacco, liquor, and practising some of the various forms of licentiousness. I would like to call the attention of the readers of THE INDEX to E. G. Thomas' timely article about "A Rational Church" in the last number; it seems to me that Mr. Thomas strikes the *key-note* of the whole question, when he says that, in order to secure justice between man and man, an "important auxiliary is to build up a strong character that can stand up and defiantly demand that justice be dispensed with an impartial hand"; the italics are mine.

It is to be hoped that sufficient toleration will be shown, and regard manifested for the secularization cause at the Syracuse Congress, to prevent either side bolting, if beaten in the settlement of the issues brought forward there.

Yours for the triumph of State secularization,
C. F. WOODS.

WAS IT RIGHT?

I send THE INDEX the following item, cut from a local paper:—

"The May Fisk Blondes were prevented from giving their exhibition in Keokuk, by the prompt action of the mayor of the city, who declared that the immorality of the show was sufficient excuse for his interference. His Honor had seen some of the vulgar handbills which have been circulated in Quincy by the agents of the troupe, and at once notified Miss Fisk and the owner of the hall not to attempt to give the advertised performance. Miss Fisk was defiant, and endeavored to carry out her purpose, but was prevented from doing so by the police."

I wish to ask whether a family rightfully may exclude such things from its home, and whether there is a similar corporate capacity in which citizens rightfully may exclude such things from their city. For my part, I approve highly of the act of the mayor of Keokuk, and I like his pluck. I think I risk little in holding that he did not overpass the legitimate limits of social authority, provided any social authority at all be legitimate. Moreover, I can see no important difference between spreading before the eye a spectacle or performance on the one hand, and on the other hand a page of print having the same meaning; except that the latter is likely to be the more shameless or insidious because the more covert and private. The most profligate persons will find insupportable publicly what they relish or practice privately.

J. VILA BLAKE.

QUINCY, Ill.

GARIBALDI'S HOME at CAPRERA is the simplest of habitations, and the life he leads therein is as simple. He has but few attendants, and it is told that guests are required to make their own beds. The general's days are uneventful. He rises in the morning at four o'clock, and without taking anything to eat goes off to look after some pets who inhabit the border and surface of a small pond not far from the house,—a flock of geese. He feeds them, and then, having gone back to the house to get his cup of black coffee, he sets to work in his fields until about an hour before midday, when he returns home and looks over and signs letters which Bassi, his secretary, has written, according to his instructions. Some twelve or thirteen years ago he used to employ this hour before dinner in teaching a little shepherd lad named Luca Spano. The boy was little more than a cretin; but by dint of steady, quiet perseverance and kindness, Garibaldi succeeded in making something of him. He had learned to read well, write a good hand, and was progressing well when, on the 24th of July, 1866, he fell by the general's side, fighting like a hero, at Monte Suello, in the Tyrol. Of this brave death, and other incidents connected with his adventurous life, the general freely discourses as he sits at the head of the board, his son Menotti and his friends on the one side and the other, and the servants "below the salt." Dinner at Caprera is always a simple meal,—minestra, *i. e.*, soup with Italian paste or vegetables in it, followed by two dishes at the most, and no wine on the table. At the end of about an hour the general leaves the table, and going to his room throws himself dressed upon the bed, sleeps for awhile, and then reads the papers or any book he is interested in. At four o'clock he goes back to his work in the fields until six or six and a half, when he returns home again to sup. After supper he retires to his room, never neglects to write a page in his journal, and note the meteorological changes of the day, and is generally in bed at the time when a great part of the world are beginning to turn night into day.

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CHARACTERS never change; opinions alter, characters are only developed.—*Disraeli*.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 462.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

VICTORY!

On the eve of going to press, only a brief announcement is possible of the general result of the Syracuse Congress. The control of the National Liberal League has been thrown into the hands of the "repeal" party, who artfully persuaded the "reform" minority to vote for a resolution postponing the question of "repeal" versus "reform" to the next Annual Congress, and then broke their own agreement by immediately proceeding to elect a strong "repeal" ticket by a vote of 76 to 51.

But the minority, headed by Judge Hurlbut, withdrew from the Congress at Wisting Opera House, re-assembled in the Syracuse House parlors, elected Judge Hurlbut Chairman and Mr. R. P. Hallowell Secretary, passed resolutions protesting against the "breach of faith" by the majority in not adhering to their own agreement, and re-organized as the "National Liberal League of America," with substantially the old Constitution and old list of officers.

The evidence of the existence of an organized conspiracy to capture the League, for the purpose of reversing its record and committing it to the total "repeal" of all national laws for the suppression of obscene literature, was overwhelming. But the seeming success of this conspiracy is really its utter defeat; and of this the chagrined conspirators are themselves aware. Only the empty shell of the organization remains in the hands of the "repeal" party; its life and soul are with the new "National Liberal League of America." The old flag flies triumphant above the latter, and every liberal who refuses to be the willing or unwilling abettor of obscenity and free love will speedily rally to its support.

Next week we shall give an account of the proceedings in detail: this week, we can only congratulate the liberals on a splendid moral victory, wrested out of the very jaws of defeat.

GLIMPSES.

IT IS STATED that "the Pope delivered some opinions on Protestantism in the Eternal City, the other day, to a deputation from across the Tiber. He deeply deplored the permission given to heretical sects to invade the centre of Christianity and erect churches and schools. He trusted that Catholics would not imperil the salvation of their children by allowing them to come in contact with these heresies. There were not wanting schools in which children could receive instruction without outrage to their faith or detriment to their morals."

THE *Tribune* says: "Colonel T. W. Higginson, in lecturing recently in London on 'The Aristocracy of Wealth,' is said to have been very frank concerning the evils of hereditary rank. He declared that the attitude of hereditary rank toward intellect is degrading; he acknowledged the faults of rich men in this country, but said that he couldn't imagine one of them giving precedence in his home to any one of their number merely because of his riches over Tennyson and Longfellow." Colonel Higginson intends to make his future residence in Cambridge.

BISMARCK declared in a recent speech in the Reichstag that he has no faith in universal suffrage: "My conversations with Lassalle also turned upon universal suffrage; but I never in my whole life entertained so monstrous an idea as to decree its introduction. I accepted it with a certain reluctance, as a Frankfort tradition. In the rivalries of those times

with the adversaries of the State that card had been played; and we found it lying upon the table as a legacy left to us. At that time my conviction of its efficacy was but small, and only in the direction of its utility during a political contest as a popular weapon."

WE FIND this statement in the daily press: "The autographs of eminent Americans do not seem to be very valuable property. At a recent sale in Boston, papers signed by Jefferson and Madison were bought for forty cents each, an autograph note on politics by Edward Everett went for thirty cents, and a letter of Franklin's writing for eighty-five cents. A letter addressed to Mr. Adams by Thomas Jefferson, in 1823, sold for \$2.50. A long letter of Daniel Webster's was sold for eighty cents. One page of writing from Timothy Pickering, in 1782, was sold for fifty cents. A commission signed by John Hancock brought \$1.50. A letter from Jonathan Belcher, a governor of Massachusetts, dated 1714, was knocked down at sixty cents."

THE Seymour (Ind.) *Weekly Times*, a very radical and freethinking journal, says: "We hold that personal liberty doesn't include personal license for a man to commit a public indecency and become a nuisance. In regard to social and moral subjects full license must be given for a man to put forth his views, always premising that his language shall be that of the refined circle, and not that of the brothel. We protest against indecent language, and hold that books couched in such should be excluded from the mails." But minor and incidental offences against decency cannot be dealt with by law; all publications should be judged by their main intent and object, and none should be excluded which, however coarse, are published with manifest good intentions. With this qualification, the *Times* expresses the ground taken by THE INDEX, and foreshadows the ground which will be taken by all sober and far-seeing radical minds.

HON. JOHN F. HOUSE, recently renominated for Congress from Tennessee, paid this tribute to the North in a public speech: "In the next contest between the two great parties, they will divide upon governmental policy, and without sectional animosity. Sectional hatred will be eliminated from the contest. So far as the South is concerned, I am certain that such will be the case. I cannot, fellow-citizens, find it in my heart to indulge in feelings of malice toward the people of the North. When I witness their magnanimous and generous conduct toward the Southern people, I feel like pulling off my hat, and standing uncovered in their presence. Oh, grander than the victory of Appomattox is the victory won by the people of the North in their noble and generous contributions to the stricken and suffering South! Upon that fated field, the South surrendered her sword. Within the shadow of the dark wing of pestilence, beside the new-made graves of her heroic sons and daughters, with bowed head and tearful eyes, she extends her hands and surrenders her heart to the generous and magnanimous North. God's own hand has bridged the 'bloody chasm.' Let not the ambition of man seek to reopen the wounds and to rekindle the embers of sectional strife. Let us go into this great contest of 1880 without any of these elements of sectional bitterness. Of course we will be divided as to question of governmental policy, but with sectional bitterness eliminated from the contest, representatives of the South can stand upon the floor of Congress as the peer of any from the Northern States, and can look to the material development of his own section, to the enlargement of commercial relations, and make the Southern people more prosperous. With fraternity and harmony restored, this great country can march on to a more glorious and illustrious future than has been seen in the past."

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Who are Christians?

By L. K. WASHBURN.
If we can accept the testimony of history, there was once a time when the word "Christian" had one meaning, and when men and women, who believed certain things and performed certain duties, were called "Christians." That was when the disciples of Jesus had the religion instead of the theology of the New Testament. It was before Christianity was known. The early Christians, generally called primitive Christians, were ignorant of the dogmas of the Church, which to-day are regarded as the most essential part of the Christian religion. The word Christian once stood for something definite, for something intelligible, and was susceptible of no uncertain signification. Its meaning no one doubted, no one denied. All regarded the word as representing a certain faith, as standing for a particular belief. Though many rejected the faith which the word signified, though many did not accept the belief, no one contended for the name who did not accept its proper and legitimate meaning. In the first century there was no peculiar charm associated with the name Christian which the world was anxious to possess; no honor which it conferred that the world coveted. There was no money in it. It was a reproach then; it is now held to be a crown of glory. It is as popular to be a Christian as it was once to be a Roman. There is that in the word Christian which gives to a large part of the world its most coveted possession; namely, popular respectability. The word Christian signifies to many persons all that is religious, all that is good. It is a sort of password to pious circles; and all who are Christians are supposed to be fitted for the whole future. It pays to be a Christian, in a worldly sense; it covers a multitude of sins. The question, "Who are Christians?" can best be answered by showing what it is that makes one a Christian. No one will presume to assert that living a good life, speaking good words, making the world

better, makes one a Christian,—for this would make all good men, of whatever religion, Christian. It is not the possession of any virtue, or of all the virtues; it is not the highest life, the grandest or purest soul; it is not manhood or womanhood—that makes one a Christian. A Mohammedan may keep the ten commandments, and more: he may obey the Golden Rule, may be moral and righteous, kind and loving, but he would not be a Christian for being and doing so. A Jew may be above evil, free from vice, never wrong his neighbor; may practise temperance, charity, and brotherly love; may observe the laws, and “keep himself unspotted from the world,” and not be a Christian. A man may be manly, a woman may be womanly, and not be a Christian. It is not being true, kind, morally brave and great, that makes one a Christian. No good thing that man can do will make him a Christian. No resistance of temptation, no reformation of habit or manner, no turning from evil, no character, no conduct, makes one a Christian. Though the human soul be clothed with all the powers of manhood, though it possess every inward virtue, every outward grace, though it have every endowment of nature and every advantage of culture, it is not Christian. No man is born a Christian. It is not the work of God, not any natural possession, that makes one a Christian.

I think we have shown that man may be religious, may have all that is good in life, all that makes manhood beautiful; may be honest, truthful, and all that is “lovely and of good report,” and yet not be a Christian. The word Christian stands for no virtue. It represents a faith. It does not represent a life different from the life of the rest of the world, only a belief different from other beliefs. We have seen that a man may be a good man, and not be a Christian. Let us now see if he can have a good faith and not be a Christian. We find that among the Hindus there is a belief in one universal spirit,—that “God is the soul which standeth in the bodies of all beings”; that there is a belief in the goodness and mercy of God; in the divinity of man, who is immortal; and that only by doing good can man reach the highest destiny. The Hindu believes in the sacredness of human life, in temperance, chastity, honesty, and moral and religious worth, and yet he is not a Christian. The Mohammedan has faith in one God, in his kindness and mercy, in his justice and love; he believes in moral and religious duty, in being upright and pure, in humanity and forgiveness, but he is not a Christian. It is not belief in God that makes one a Christian, for every nation believes in God. It is not belief in divine revelation that makes one a Christian, for every people on the globe have such a faith. It is not belief in the immortality of the soul that makes one a Christian, for every religion of mankind has such a belief. It is not belief in a mediator that makes one a Christian, for nearly every people have this faith. It is not belief in inspired men or inspired books that makes one a Christian, for all religions have had such men and such books. It is not belief in any power of human nature, in any virtue of the human heart, in any work of the world that makes one a Christian. It is not belief in freedom, in right, truth, love, or progress that makes one a Christian. A man may believe all this, may have faith in God and man, in truth and right, and yet not be a Christian.

We have seen that man can have faith in all that is good, that he can be all that is good, and not be a Christian. Let us see now if he can teach what is good and true and not be a Christian. The morality taught by all the ancients is similar, and we find their commandments written in almost the same words. The five commandments of Buddhism are these:—

- “Not to destroy life.”
- “Not to obtain another’s property by unjust means.”
- “Not to indulge the passions so as to invade the legal or natural rights of other men.”
- “Not to tell lies.”
- “Not to partake of anything intoxicating.”

Buddha also taught forgiveness, humility, and all the nobler and manlier virtues. It is related of him that “a foolish man once heard him in preaching defend the great principle of returning good for evil, and therefore came and abused him. Buddha was silent, pitying his mad folly. The man having finished his abuse, Buddha said: ‘Son, when a man forgets the rules of politeness in making a present to another, the custom is to say, ‘Keep your present.’ Son, you have railed at me. I decline to entertain your abuse, and ask you to keep it, a source of misery to yourself. For, as sound belongs to the drum and shadow to the substance, so in the end misery will certainly overtake the evil-doer.’”

We find in China the same moral teaching that we find in India. A disciple asked Confucius: “Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life?” The master said “Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.” One of the disciples of Confucius said: “The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature, and the benevolent exercise of them to others; this, and nothing more.” The ten commandments of the Israelites we find in substance as the law of conduct in Egypt; and in every nation, ancient or modern, we find morality and religion taught in similar words.

We find that there are moral and religious precepts taught by people who are not Christians; that a man may teach the highest truths and not be a Christian. The teaching of love, temperance, chastity, and duty depends upon no faith. All religions have taught the same virtues. We see that man may be good, that he may have a good faith, and teach goodness, and not be a Christian.

A Christian is a person who believes that Jesus was the Christ; that through his death, atonement was made for the sins of man; and that salvation from future punishment comes by this faith. A man may

be religious and not be Christian; he may be Christian and not be religious. To accept faith in Jesus as the Christ makes one a Christian; but no one will presume to say that accepting this faith makes one religious. Christianity is a faith; religion is a life. There can be a religion without a Christianity; there cannot be a Christianity without this faith in Jesus as the Christ. The word Christian cannot be separated from Christ, cannot be applied to Mohammedan or Jew. The peculiar meaning of the word Christian depends upon the character of Christ. The idea of Christ, the belief in Christ, determines the meaning of Christian.

The God-Christ of some Christians, and the man-Christ of others, represent totally different ideas. The word Christian stands for many ideas of Christ, for many interpretations of the nature and office of Christ. The older Christian theology regards Jesus as God, and that he was Christ by virtue of his divinity; that he, as Deity only, could make atonement for the world’s imperfection. It holds that he, being God, superhuman and supernatural, was conceived and born in a superhuman and supernatural way; that he performed miracles in accordance with his divine character; that he cheated death at the last, and ascended bodily into heaven, violating the natural and known law, but keeping the higher law of his own divinity. This idea of Christ, which is the common and general one, is supported by text and argument, and is known as the Orthodox idea, it being considered the only safe and sound theory of the nature and character of Christ. Christ is to do a superhuman work,—he is to restore nature; hence he must be a superhuman being, that is God. Christ is to reveal the will of God, and in order to do this he must be God,—for one being cannot reveal the will of another. We cannot conceive of one being living another’s life; he must live and show his own life; and if God was revealed in Christ, Christ must have been God. The nature of Christ was not to be a larger human nature, a better union of the human faculties, a higher development of human power; it was to be a divine nature, above human nature. Christ was to be greater than humanity, higher than human height; he was to be the fulness of God, not of man. Christ, to do what he was to do, must be more than man. This theory of the nature of Christ is the only one which can accept and support the history, as a whole, that is written in the New Testament; and those who receive this theory regard themselves as the true Christians; that is, a person cannot be a Christian who does not believe that Jesus was God. No matter what strange contradictions of nature this theory involves, no matter how it shocks reason and common sense, we must believe it in order to be Christians. To believe in Jesus as the Christ, as the Savior of the world, is to believe in him as the God, as the Creator of the world. Then, not only was the man-Jesus born in Bethlehem and crucified, but God, “the soul which standeth in the bodies of all beings”—the spirit, not of one body, but of all the millions of worlds that exist in the vast idea which we call space,—was born and crucified on the earth; that is, the one great, all-filling Spirit of the universe, which dwells in uncounted worlds, in stars millions of miles away, and which are more than a million times as large as the earth, was born in a manger and put to death on a cross in a forgotten place on one of the smallest bodies in the heavens. Absurd as such an idea is, we must believe it in order to be Christians.

This theory of Christ has a corollary which must not be omitted in our review of the subject. The God-Christ who died for man must have a God-history, written for man, that man may read and know this strange and divine story. This God-history is called the Bible. The Bible is divided into two parts, the Old and New Testaments. In the former we have an account of the human race preparing itself for the coming of God; in the latter, the account of his advent and teachings. In the Old Testament, we learn that the human race, created perfect, descended until it was necessary for God to come upon the earth to save it; and in the New Testament we learn how he did it. This book, in order to be trustworthy and infallible, must be written by God, or by the inspiration of God; and so, we are told, God wrote his own life and teachings, and the Bible is a true history and a true guide for the whole human race. This Bible, as all know, is full of narratives of an impossible nature; it is false in its theories of creation, of the origin of life and man; its science is false; its philosophy is delusion; and much of its morality is not for moral men and women: and yet, to be Christians, we must believe the story of Christ. We must accept the Bible as the word of God—as written out of his own nature, a true transcript of the reality of things, a true account of divine existence, a true copy of the laws of the universe, and a faithful and certain guide of human conduct. We are not to believe what is true and good; not to accept the high thoughts and grand words which ring in this age with the ring of a noble manhood; not to believe what our reason approves; not to receive some of the Psalms as inspired by a pure heart and a good life,—but we must accept the whole Bible—every word, every thought, every Psalm as equally divine—in order to be a Christian.

After receiving the Bible as inspired, Jesus as God, we have also to accept a creed which contains the doctrines to be believed in order to be Christians. The word Christian has been employed to represent such different faiths that it is almost impossible to determine the meaning of the word. It seems adapted to all kinds of beliefs, and fits any faith that is willing to adopt it. Either it is a word of no meaning, or else it is claimed for certain religious ideas which are not entitled to it. The word Christian, as accepted and defended by Orthodox Christians, stands for the belief of the Orthodox Church, stands for the Orthodox dogmas. It does not simply represent the idea of Christ which the Church holds, but it stands

for all of its doctrines,—for its belief in God, the Bible, man, and the hereafter. It is made to represent the whole faith of the Church. The term Christian is denied by the Orthodox Church to all those who do not accept its faith, who do not believe its dogmas. There are they who deny the dogmas of the Orthodox Church, deny the ideas of God, man, the Bible, and the hereafter, which are taught by Orthodoxy; they repudiate the methods of the Church, as well as its doctrines, and yet claim to be Christians. They call themselves “Liberal Christians.” Orthodox Christians say God is three persons in one being. Liberal Christians say God is one Spirit in all beings. The former say the Bible is all of the word of God; that it is all he has inspired, and all that he will inspire; that it is true in every part, and that no other writing is sacred. The latter say that the Bible is not the work of God; that it contains many sublime thoughts and noble words; that it is worthy to be read, but that we must read it as we read all other books. The former say that man was created pure and perfect, but that he fell from innocence, and that the whole human race is born in a state of depravity in consequence of his fall. The latter say that man was created with the power to win all virtues for himself; that the heart of man can be pure from his youth up, and that depravity is the fault of man and not the fate of nature. The former say that God has made a heaven for Christians, and a hell for everybody else; that the hereafter is divided into two parts—one for those who believe the doctrines of the Church, the other for those who reject them. The latter say that God’s justice is the same hereafter as here; that the pure heart and upright life win heaven,—not any belief of dogmas. The former believe that Jesus was God. The latter believe that he was man. Liberal Christians accept the theory of the man-Christ. They do not believe that Jesus had a nature different from human nature, only a better human nature; he is Christ by his superiority as a man. He is the perfect man,—the Savior of the world by possession of this higher virtue. Liberal Christians accept Christ as teacher and leader; as one who knew the way to the better life, and showed the way. He is Christ by his example, by his perfect manhood. They do not judge Jesus by what the Christ was to be; they have faith in Jesus as he was, as he lived. They do not clothe him with any borrowed divinity; they revere him for his perfect humanity. He is not to them the only son of God, but the best son of man. Jesus is the Christ, according to this theory, only so long as he is regarded as the best man that ever lived. If another has lived better or shall live better, he is or will be the Christ. Liberal Christians are they who believe that Jesus is the best man that has ever lived.

These two theories of the nature of Jesus and character of Christ—so wide apart, so different in their postulates, so unlike in their conclusions—claim the same honor to the Christian name. The Orthodox Christians think Christianity a faith, believing the doctrines of the Christian Church. The Liberal Christians emphasize the life of man more than the faith of man, and make their church for all who are willing to try to live a good life after their model. No one can be a Christian who does not regard Jesus as the Christ. This is the minimum of faith required of the believer. Whatever else he may doubt, he must in some way look upon Jesus as the Savior of man, either by his divinity or by his humanity, either by his sacrifice or by his example. The most Orthodox theory demands this belief; the most Liberal will not accept less.

Let us see what it is to be a Christ. Among the Jews it was a custom to anoint their kings, and the anointed king was called a Messiah. Saul was a Messiah, David was a Messiah, and so were all the Hebrew kings who were anointed. In the Greek language, the word corresponding to the Hebrew word Messiah is *Christos*, of which Christ is the English; hence any king who was anointed was a Christ. This is the meaning, and the only meaning, which was given to the word Christ previous to the birth of Jesus. The Jews, who had been conquered and subdued by the Romans, who had lost their place among the nations of the earth—confident of the favor of Jehovah, their people’s God, “the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,”—looked for a man among their tribes who should, with the power of God, restore their lost supremacy. “A king of the Jews,” was the prophecy and prayer of the Israelites for three centuries before the birth of Jesus; and the Romans in derision hailed the Nazarene, when dying on the cross, with the oft-repeated cry of “King of the Jews.” This title, which was given Jesus by the man who put him to death, was accepted by his disciples, and the king, after their custom, was the Anointed, the Messiah, the Christ. This leader of the people, this champion of freedom, this brave teacher and great man, was the Christ of his people, not as their king who should with sword deliver his nation from the Roman yoke; not, as in former days, as the man who had been anointed, but as the King who taught how to live a truer life, how to be a better man; who demanded human rights, and even suffered death for his principles; as the King of men, who led a kingly life and died a kingly death.

From this reflection of history, we see how Jesus was called the Christ, how natural it was for his disciples to give him every honor; how they would love the name “Christ,” which was the highest title among the Jews; and that it was no marvel of greatness, no superhuman possession, that entitled him to the honor of being the King, the Christ of his people. The Hebrews often called their king their Messiah, their Christ, when he had defeated the armies of the enemies, and saved the nation from pillage and destruction,—Savior. “The Savior of the people,” “The Savior of his nation” are common expressions of gratitude among the ancient Israelites. The Christ

is the Savior: Jesus the Christ becomes Jesus the Savior. This is no title which belongs to divine beings, but to human beings. Washington was called "The savior of his country."

We can imagine how the affection of the people for Jesus, after he had been taken away from them, would grow into a reverence which was almost worship, and how much higher and more beautiful would be the idealized Jesus, whom they had seen and known, than the idols of the Romans or the God of the Old Testament. Doubtless, Jesus was regarded by the more ignorant and superstitious of the people as a god; and his deification was the expression of the people's love or fear. The idea of Christ, which is associated with the name of Jesus to-day, is the property of mythology. His divinity is the divinity of all heathen deities.

The theology which grew around the life of Jesus, and which probably found its full expression as late as the second or third century, is the common theology of all nations. Jesus, as the Son of God, as the Word of God, as the Atonement for the world's sin, is not the Jesus who lived in Judea. This Jesus of Christian theology, who is the usurper of the place of Jesus of Nazareth, is the fiction of mythology.

In mythology, whatever is beautiful, whatever is powerful, whatever is good, is divine. Beauty, power, and goodness are gods, and all that helps mankind or saves man is a divine power; hence a savior must be a god. It is the amplification of this idea that has clothed Hercules, Jesus, and other ancients with deific robes. Without the pagan theology, which deified men, Jesus would have belonged to the world's humanity; and the great darkness which has covered the civilized world for so many centuries, and which is the shadow of the Christian Church, could never have been known.

The wrong which has been done in the name of Christ has robbed the word of any good meaning in this age, when used by the Church; and the lustre of Jesus has suffered by being made the Christ of Christianity. The narrow and unimportant meaning of the word Christian must be apparent to all who are familiar with the history of the word. It is only a catchword used by the theology of the age, and is void of the great and grand significance which is assigned it by Christendom.

Christian is a dead word, and its importance belonged to an earlier age. It is only a shadow of a noble virtue, of a brave word, which all are entitled to who live true to the voice of their souls. Christ to-day, in our modern religious thought, is a word which stands for all that helps mankind, for all virtues. Christ is the principle of salvation; not the savior of man, but the saving power of man. It is the name of that virtue which all souls possess,—not the virtue of one soul. Christ is in all men. It is the power of goodness. This idea of Christ is the only one that we can accept. They are not Christians who believe in this Christ, but men and women.

CHRIST'S SECOND COMING.

WHAT SUNDRY BISHOPS, PROFESSORS, AND PASTORS THINK ABOUT IT.

THE SAINTS TO BE CAUGHT UP INTO THE CLOUDS AND THE SINNERS TO BE LEFT BEHIND—WHAT THE GREAT TRIBULATION WILL BE LIKE—A PECULIAR DOCTRINE AND A REMARKABLE DIAGRAM.

A circular has been issued,—signed by the Rev. Dr. James H. Brookes, of the Presbyterian Church, St. Louis; the Rev. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., of this city; Bishop W. R. Nicholson, of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia; W. Y. Morehead; the Rev. A. J. Gordon, of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston; Maurice Baldwin; the Rev. H. M. Parsons, of the Presbyterian Church, Buffalo; and the Rev. Dr. Rufus W. Clarke, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Albany,—inviting those who believe in the personal pre-millennial advent of Jesus Christ to meet at the Church of the Holy Trinity in this city, on the 30th and 31st of October and the 1st of November, to listen to a series of papers on the pre-millennial advent of Jesus Christ, and to join in such discussions as the topics may suggest. A large number of professors, ministers, and laymen have endorsed the call. Among them are the elder Tyng, Bishop Vail, of Kansas, Professor Kellogg, of Alleghany Presbyterian Seminary, the Rev. Dr. Imbrie, of Jersey City, George T. Pentecost, the Boston Evangelist, and other well-known men.

The call sets forth that "the precious doctrine of Christ's second personal appearing has lain under neglect and misapprehension"; that while there is cause to lament this, and to regard it as an alarming symptom of the present state of religion, it is an occasion for the profoundest gratitude that there has been within the last few years such a powerful and wide-spread revival of this ancient faith.

Desiring to know more of this ancient faith, a reporter of the *Sun* visited the Rev. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., yesterday. The young clergyman was in his study, hard at work, but he cheerfully gave up an hour of his time to a conversation upon this subject. The doctrine is evidently a favorite one with the doctor.

"I haven't the slightest objection to talking on this subject," he said, "but I don't want to give you all the points I am going to make in my paper on 'Christ's Coming: Is It Personal and Visible?' which I am to read before the Convention. Neither do I wish to rush into print with my views. It is so easy to be misrepresented; so easy for a reporter to make a man say what he didn't say, especially on a subject like this. When I read my paper before the Conference I expect to stand by that. I shall get hauled over the coals, of course. Already this movement is being made a subject for jest and for paraphrasing, and I come in for more than my share of the ridicule because I happen to be the man on the ground. It's

curious, too, for I've preached this doctrine for many years, and my father preached it before me."

"What was the origin of this particular movement, —this Conference?"

"Well, there is an association called the Believers' Conference for Bible Study, which meets every spring. Last year we met in Clifton Springs, and then it was suggested that a conference of all who hold the pre-millennial doctrine should be held. From that suggestion the plan grew. Each one told such of his friends as he thought might be interested. The result has been surprising. A vast number of people have identified themselves with the movement. I have received as many as fifty letters a day asking for reserved seats. It is going to be a great success. Such a conference was held in London in February last, and the result was gratifying.

"You want to know just what we believe in? Simply this: in the personal and pre-millennial coming of the Savior. We base our belief on more than three hundred passages in the New Testament. As for instance, Matthew xvi., 27: 'For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then he shall reward every man according to his works.' And in the first chapter of Acts the angel says: 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.' And again, the Lord's answer to Pilate: 'Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven.' Then take the attitude of the primitive Church on this doctrine, as expressed in the first chapter of I. Thessalonians, where Paul says: 'How ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven.' And again where he writes: 'Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.' And so I might go on inundating you with texts and passages of Scripture proving the doctrine that we hold."

"But do you mean to say that you believe the Lord will come visibly?"

"I hold just this: that the Lord will come in just such a manner as he disappeared. He may not come to the earth, but he will be visible to his people, wherever they may be, and he will gather his own out of the world, just as Enoch and Elijah and our Lord himself were gathered out of the world. At this coming the dead that have died in Christ will rise first, and then those of his children who are alive will be caught up into the clouds with them, and their bodies will undergo a change, and they will dwell in heavenly places for a season. It will be as if to-day you and I are talking, and suddenly I disappear. You don't know where I have gone. This disappearance of God's people will not affect society, except that there will be a great many missing persons. New York City will be governed by the same men; business will go on without interruption; the churches will go on as they are, with a good many people in the pews. I hope there won't be many preachers left in the pulpits. Then will begin that period of great tribulation prophesied in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew. All the good will have been taken away. Only the bad will remain. You take all the salt out of the world and it will be in a bad way."

"Then," continued the doctor, evidently much interested in his theme, "God's people having been taken away to heavenly places, in those heavenly places will be fulfilled the promises addressed to God's people. There will be the judgment seat, which will be a judgment for services, not for sins. The judgment for sins was on the cross. And then will follow the marriage supper of the Lamb, when those who were united with Christ by faith on earth shall be recognized before the multitude of the heavenly host. Meantime, on earth, for how long a time I don't know, there will be the great tribulation. I don't know times. Some there are who fix dates and the like. I can't. Dr. Cummins, of London, deals with prophecies largely. I prefer to abide by the promises. The former relates to the development of God's purpose on earth; the latter to the manifestations to his people of his desires concerning them."

"Well," continued the doctor, "after the tribulation the Lord will come with his people to the earth. In Matthew, twenty-fourth chapter, beginning at the twenty-ninth verse, you will find the passage referring particularly to this coming. It is the coming of the Lord with his people to establish his kingdom on the earth. Then begins the millennium."

"I believe that the Scriptures are plain upon the point that the Lord is to come to Jerusalem personally. The temple and the city shall be rebuilt, and the ceremonial of the restored tribes reestablished for a memorial of grace. The Lord may not long remain personally on the earth, but he will govern, King of kings. I read the Scriptures literally. Now I have given you a brief outline of the doctrine held by the pre-millennialists."

"It ought to be said that in relation to details of the truth, there is a wide difference of opinion among expositors; but there is one point of agreement, and that is, the belief in the personal and pre-millennial coming of the Lord. It is not a new doctrine. It is old as the Church. And by Church I mean our Lord's people. A gentleman said to me, 'You'll be charged with heresy, won't you?' I told him that it was particularly a doctrine of the Episcopal Church. It is expressed in our Advent services, in the creed, in the *Te Deum*; it is the *quat central* truth. This conference was called without reference to denominations, but care had to be taken not to overrun it with Episcopallans. A funny incident occurred. I wrote to Bishop Cox inviting him to the conference. He answered, giving his firm allegiance to the doc-

trine, but declining to take part, because the conference is not under the presidency of the bishop of the diocese."

"How do you differ from other Adventists?"

"There are evangelical and non-evangelical Adventists. The former believe as we do, except, perhaps, in details; the latter advocate the unconsciousness theory, annihilation, and other heresies. They do not believe in the soul's existence, the existence of a personal devil and a personal Holy Ghost, and are a low grade of materialists. Miller's idea was that Christ's coming was to introduce the great catastrophe spoken of by Peter, the destruction of the world by fire. Bible expositors now are divided into two great classes: the pre and post-millennialists, or those who expect Christ before the millennium, and those who postpone his appearance until the close of the millennium. The post-millennialist holds that Christ has spiritually come, and that in death he mystically comes to every believer, and that in the influence of Christianity he is always coming. He denies the literal interpretation of the promises, construed according to the laws of language, but spiritualizes the promises and prophecies. He looks for an extension of Christianity under the present dispensation, and by its instrumentalities, until the whole world shall be converted. By the development of the present Christianity, and its control through government and society, he expects the millennium; and at the close of this period, however prolonged, believes that the Lord will come to judge the earth. The pre-millennialist believes that the world is every day growing worse, and that the gospel is the instrument used to gather a people out of the world, not to convert the world. At the Lord's appearing, crime and discontent and evil will be worse than ever. He believes that things are going to the bad instead of getting better, and that, as in the past, so in the future, the Lord will come, by a new manifestation of himself, to introduce the promised millennium. The post-millennialist is an optimist; the pre-millennialist is a pessimist."

"The whole question," continued Dr. Tyng, "rests on the principle of interpretation of the Bible. If interpreted according to the laws of language, it means one thing; if taken in an esoteric sense, another. If interpreted in the latter sense, then Brigham Young and the Pope have just as much ground for their doctrines as Protestants. Said a little girl to her mother, 'Mamma, if God didn't mean what he says, why didn't he say what he meant?' That's the whole question. The post-millennialist, for instance, says that when in Matthew the coming of the Son of Man is spoken of, it means the coming of Titus and the Roman army. We think it means what it says. Again, take the correspondence between the prophecies and the literal life of our Lord. The post-millennialist will not deny that the prophecies were fulfilled in the life. The birth, crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and ascension were all prophesied, and the prophecies fulfilled. Is it not sense to believe that the prophecies concerning his second coming will be in like manner fulfilled?"

"This conference will not attempt to decide anything. It will be a meeting of expositors, students, and believers. A series of papers, written to cover the disk of the doctrine, will be read and discussed, in order to give the doctrine a new and complete statement. Then it is hoped, by their publication and circulation, to bring the matter before the people."—*New York Sun*, Oct. 15.

A NON-POLITICAL, BUT IMPORTANT ISSUE.

The great political parties of the country have not as yet made any issue concerning the right of the Government to prohibit the sending through the mails of obscene and indecent publications, but an issue has been joined on that point, and the battle is soon to be fought. The contest will be waged between the two wings of the National Liberal League at the second annual Congress of that body, which is to be held in Syracuse on Saturday and Sunday next. The radicals, or extremists, in the League demand the repeal of all laws which prohibit, or seek to restrain, the publication and circulation of obscene literature. They urge that the dangers to liberty are very great when the power to decide what is and what is not obscene is confided to individuals like Anthony Comstock, whose prejudices are very strong, and whose zeal is utterly disproportioned to his knowledge. They point to two or three cases where Comstock has prosecuted men for violations of the law which, in their judgment, are no more violations than would be the sending of the Scriptures by mail.

The Conservatives, under the lead of the President of the League, Mr. Francis E. Abbot, admit the danger to liberty, and do not deny that Comstock has grossly abused the powers conferred on him by the law. They do not deny, indeed, that the law is susceptible of grave abuses. They insist, however, that the remedy for these evils is to be found in the revision and amendment of the objectionable and obnoxious laws, and not in their repeal. Such repeal, they urge, would inflict upon the community an evil tenfold greater than any which the laws referred to bring to individuals.

In such a conflict as this, the sympathies of all thoughtful people must be with the conservative portion of the Liberal League. The liberty of the press is a sacred right, and so is the right to a free use of the United States mails. Neither of these rights is so sacred, however, as to sanctify its abuse to the destruction of another right equally sacred,—the right of the people to protect themselves from the filthy flood of corruption which has been poured out on the community in times past through the mails. It may not be easy at all times to distinguish between that which is obscene and that which is not. Fallible

men in their private capacity, in the jury-box or on the bench, may find it very hard to draw the line, just as they often find it hard to draw the line between morality and immorality. Men may, with the best of intentions, and from the purest and most philanthropic motives, write and publish what other men, equally pure in motive, may consider immoral or obscene. These facts furnish, however, no sort of basis for the obliteration of all distinction between morality and immorality, obscenity and purity. There have been publications—are still, we are sorry to say—concerning the indecent and corrupting character of which no sane man, whatever his private character may be, has any doubt, and which every right-thinking man knows should be kept out of the hands of childhood and youth. Whatever of legal enactment may be necessary to accomplish this end, or to punish the wilful corrupters of the rising generation, will be cheerfully acquiesced in by the vast majority of the people; and no man who honestly has at heart the popular welfare, and especially the physical and mental purity of those who are coming to manhood and womanhood, will raise any objections, either in the name of liberty or otherwise, to such legislation.

That the present laws on this subject are grossly defective there can be no reasonable question; and there is quite as little that the power conferred by the laws has been outrageously over-stained and misused. They ought to be amended, and that speedily. There should not be on the statute book any legal excuse for oppressing any man because the doctrine he teaches or publishes is unpopular or distasteful to the professor of any creed or belief. Every possibility of such oppression should be as carefully guarded against as human foresight can do it. Where doubt exists, the accused should have fullest benefit of it; but the barrier against obscenity should not be thrown down. It would be a thousand pities if any honest friend of humanity should be deprived of his right to publish and circulate his opinions, because to some self-righteous fanatics in the detective service or on the bench these views seem immoral. But it would be a million pities to expose the youth of the country to a renewal of the outrageous license in the dissemination of undoubted immorality which held sway so long in this land of the free.—*Detroit Post*, October 20.

A BATTLE FOR DECENCY.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League is to be held in Syracuse, N. Y., on the 28th and 27th of October. Mr. Francis E. Abbot, editor of THE INDEX, who willingly accepted the presidency of the League "because it was a place to work hard in and be shot at," is carrying on a vigorous canvass in advance against the element of lawlessness represented by D. M. Bennett of the *Truth Seeker*. The issue which arises, and which must be met at Syracuse, is thus stated in the "call":—

"Shall the National Liberal League abandon the stand it originally took on the 'obscene literature' question at Philadelphia, July 4, 1876, or shall it continue to defend equally the cause of public morality, and the cause of free mails and a free press? Shall it now demand the total repeal of the existing laws on this subject, and thereby practically protect and foster the circulation of obscene literature? Or shall it continue to demand the radical reform of those laws, in such manner as shall protect freedom of thought to the uttermost without protecting obscenity in the least?"

Mr. Abbot and three other officers of the League have published a card, in which they offer themselves as candidates for reelection on the sole condition that the League shall demand a reform of the laws against obscenity, and not a repeal. This issue has been hurried forward by the prosecution and imprisonment of Ezra H. Heywood for publishing a pamphlet which the court pronounced obscene,—a case which involved at once the definition of obscenity and the rights of opinion.

As a champion of just liberty under just law, Mr. Abbot is doing battle for civilization against a tendency which sweeps backward toward barbarism. But the attempt to use the Liberal League for the destruction of law rather than for its improvement, is the outcome of a philosophy so crazy and an impulse so gross that we believe it will have few open advocates.—*Christian Register*, October 19.

ROUSSEAU.

It has been maintained by a recent English writer, of signal ability, that the influence of Rousseau gave an important impulse to the American Revolution, and that his ideas and phrases are embodied in the great charter of American liberties. But there is a looseness in this assertion of which we do not find frequent examples in the writings of its author. The Declaration of Independence was not a political charter. Nor does it attempt to establish the foundations of civil government as a matter of precedent and authority. It was the simple expression of convictions that had been current among thinking men since the first settlement of the country. It did not pretend to announce any novelties in doctrine, to introduce any strange speculations into the flowing stream of American thought, but simply to embody the ideas which had been of household influence from the earliest history of the American colonies. The principles of the Revolution were distinctly formulated in the cabin of the "Mayflower," nearly a century previous to the birth of Rousseau. His writings had little circulation in this country at the colonial epoch. An acquaintance with French literature was a rare accomplishment. The studious men of the period investigated the principles of liberty in the works of Sidney and Milton and Locke, but never acknowledged the vehement declaimer of France as their master in political science. Traces of Rousseau may no doubt be detected in the writings

of Thomas Paine. He made a strong impression on the ardent and susceptible mind of Jefferson; but the serene and grave wisdom of the youthful Washington was never dazzled by the brilliant lights of foreign eloquence. The salutary Puritan of Boston, Samuel Adams, would have shrunk from the "self-torturing sophist," as from a glittering but poisonous snake. Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, Jr., the early hero, if not the martyr of American freedom, John Adams, had been cradled in the principles of liberty before the name of Rousseau had ever been uttered on American soil. The liberty of which we boast is a plant of nobler lineage and more wholesome growth. It is not the inheritance of French exaggeration; it has not been nourished by the stimulus of heated rhetoric; but has matured with the life of the people, and gained health and vigor at every step of national progress.—*George Ripley*, in the *Weekly Tribune*.

SOJOURNER TRUTH.

SOME OF THE SABLE-FACED PHILOSOPHER'S EXPERIENCES IN HER EVENTFUL LIFE.

Sojourner, on being introduced to the audience, related how, when a slave on the Hudson River, many years previous to the war, she had changed hands from one master to another, her name being changed each time. She was first called Bell Hard- enburgh, then Neeley, then Schriver, then Dilemon, and finally Bell Van Waggoner. The Lord had "redeemed" her out of all those names. She had suffered almost everything since she was born,—if she ever was born,—for everything was here when she came. The first thing she ever remembered was a steamboat on the North River, and then she was as big as now. She said it was a dreadful thing that she had lived until forty years old and never knew that Jesus Christ was any different from Washington or Napoleon Bonaparte, for all three of 'em were considerably talked about then. "Now, ain't it sing'lar, chill'n," asked she of her hearers, "dat I was so poor dat I knew nothing 'bout Jesus so long?" She said she used to talk to the Lord, and say, "Now, God, if I was you, an' you was me, I'd give you a good master, so's you could be good. But I thought God seemed to pay no 'tention to me, an' I'd make a new bargain with him. I said now, God, I can't get free; oughtn't I to walk off?—for I did 'spise a runaway nigger, and thought that was something low like. An' it came to me 'fore daylight in de morn'n dat I ought to walk off 'fore sun-up." She went on to tell how she went to a distant friend with her child, and of how she told him that since her master had not kept his promise to give her freedom, she had started out and left him. She finally got a home with Isaac Van Waggoner, who bought of her old master her child, and gave it to her. He told her not to call him master, but Isaac. "Oh, mercy, how large I felt den, wid no master no more! God was no 'count no more, for you see well enough knows no God." She then went on to tell how, when she got ready to leave there and went out toward the wagon, she actually saw God, and she sang out to him "O, God! I didn't know you was so big. No, God, 'twasn't me; 'twas somebody else." "An' den," said she, "I wiled down like a cabbage leaf." She then told of her struggle, and how, without any previous Christian teaching, she had heard uttered in her heart the word "Jesus" and the sentence "Jesus loves you." The picture she drew of her joy on finding a Savior was a most vivid and interesting one. She had felt him come between her and God, just as sensibly as she ever felt an umbrella come between her and the sun. "But, you see," said she, "the devil was chas'n' of me all aroun', an' wherever I went it seemed as though the devil was there fust. An' when I went to a Methodist speakin' meetin' an' heard a woman tell the same 'periences, and how the same devil was after her too, an' a tempting of her, I was so glad he was after some one else dat I jumped up an' shouted, 'Why, dat's de same devil as is after me!' An' one brother tole me to just call on Jesus, an' de devil would leave me. An' I tole him I knowed dat all de time, but I didn't happen to think of it afore." . . .

This was a wonderful age, and its people had every invention to lessen and lighten labor. "Why," says she, "dey almos' has machines to put de virtuals down your throat an' plug 'em down! But who gives God the glory? It's all 'we' an' 'us' an' 'ours' an' 'see what we have done.'" She was very glad to have a place to speak in and to have an audience to hear her, for she wanted to speak and spread the truth. Vanity and pride and all such things among her sister women were great stumbling-blocks which hindered them from being like the Marthas and the Marys who ministered to Jesus. She told of how she was scrubbing and cleaning houses in New York city, to earn money, and how it came to her that she was earning all this money and taking it from others who needed it worse than she did. "And," said she, "'You're worse than a thief an' a robber' was whispered in my heart. But I say to myself, 'My Lord, I never stole nuffin in my life.' But it come to me dat I mus' leave dat city, an' I asked de Lord whar he would have me to go, an' he said, 'Go East.' An' den I knew dat I was goin' to have a new name, an' I started on de ferry-boat for Long Island. When I stepped off'm dat boat I heard whispered plainly in my ear the new name. It was 'Journar.' De fust place I stopped the woman asked me what my name was, an' I tole her 'twas Journar. Why, chill'n, when she heard dat she seemed to think I was foolish; and when I tole her my ole name was Bell, but de Lord had given me de new name, she thought more'n ever 't I was foolish. She did pick dat name to pieces so, dat it begun to look kinder small an' no 'count to me. So when I went out to go on East, I prayed an' said,

'Lord, do give me a name with a handle to it! Then it came out, clear an' plain, 'Sojourner Truth.' An' that's how I got my name. Hain't de Lord 'shamed o' dat name at all, for it come from de Lord, an' he knowed de name bes' fitted to me.'—*Detroit Post*.

PAPAL SUPREMACY.

Hon. Richard W. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, in his great work entitled "The Papacy and the Civil Power," published by the Harpers, speaking of the claim set up by the Pope to universal supremacy over civil rulers, makes this logical statement:—

"Nothing is plainer than that if these principles should prevail here, our institutions would necessarily fall. The two cannot exist together. They are in open and direct antagonism with the fundamental theory of our Government, and of all popular government everywhere. The Constitution of the United States repudiates the idea of an established religion: yet the Pope tells us that this is in violation of God's law, and that, by that law, the Roman Catholic religion should be made exclusive, and the Roman Catholic Church, acting alone through him, should have sovereign authority 'not only over individuals, but nations, peoples, and sovereigns,' so that the whole world may be brought under its dominion, and be made to obey all the laws that he and his hierarchy shall choose to promulgate; and that this same church shall have power also to inflict whatever penalties he shall prescribe upon all those who dare to violate any of these laws! The Constitution secures the right to every man of worshipping God according to the convictions of his own conscience: yet the Pope calls this insanity, and declares it to be 'most pernicious to the Catholic Church.' The Constitution guarantees liberty of speech and of the press; yet the Pope says that is 'the liberty of perdition,' and should not be tolerated. The Constitution provides for its own perpetuity, by making its principles 'the supreme law of the land'; yet the Pope says that if he shall find, as he has already done, any of its provisions against the law of God, as he interprets it, they do not acquire the 'force of right' from the fact of its existence, as the fundamental law of the nation. The Constitution requires that all the people and all the churches shall obey the laws of the United States; yet the Pope anathematizes this provision, because it requires the Roman Catholic Church to pay the same measure of obedience to law that is paid by the Protestant churches, and claims that the Government shall obey him in all religious affairs, and in all 'secular affairs' which pertain to religion and the church, so that his will, in all these matters, shall become the law of the land. The Constitution subordinates all churches to the civil power, except in matters of faith and discipline; yet the Pope declares this to be heresy, because God has commanded that the Government of the United States, and all other governments, shall be subordinate to the Roman Catholic Church! The Constitution is based upon the principle that the people of the United States are the primary source of all civil power; yet the Pope insists that this is heretical and unjust, because God has ordained that all governments shall 'rest upon the foundation of the Catholic faith,' with himself alone as the source and interpreter of law. The Constitution repudiates all 'royal power'; yet the Pope condemns this, and proclaims that the world must be governed by 'royal power,' in order that it may protect the Roman Catholic Church to the exclusion of all other churches! The Constitution allows the free circulation of the Bible, and the right of private judgment in interpreting it; yet the Pope denounces this, and says that the Roman Catholic Church is the only 'living authority' which has the right to interpret it, and that its interpretation should be the only one allowed, and should be protected by law, while all others should be condemned and disallowed. In all these respects, and upon each of these important and fundamental ideas of government, there is an irreconcilable difference between the Constitution of the United States and the papal principles announced by this encyclical letter. The two classes of principles cannot both exist, anywhere, at the same time. Where one is, there it is impossible for the other to be."—*American Protestant*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, &c.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 26.

Henry Gersoni, \$3.20; Dr. D. Ayres, \$5; William Drury, \$2.20; Doeringer & Co., \$1.50; J. S. Howes, 10 cents; John W. Group, \$3.25; John Logan, \$3.20; B. G. Haynes, \$3.20; J. L. Batchelor, \$1.20; Chas. D. Miller, \$3.20; O. B. Vose, \$5; H. E. Burgess, \$1.50; C. F. Williston, \$3.20; Jno. Sawyer, 94 cents; Cornelius Wellington, \$6.40; L. Frang & Co., \$3.20; Dr. G. E. Francis, \$3.20; G. F. Lapham, \$3.20; C. W. Storey, \$13.20; Rev. O. C. Carpenter, \$3.20; New England News Co., \$2.72; J. A. Gager, \$3.20; Dr. E. Moyer, \$2; Dr. E. Evans, \$3.88; W. C. Kelley, \$4; Geo. N. Newhall, \$3.20; John Consalus, \$3.20; E. G. Macgill, \$3.20; Dr. W. H. Bates, \$2; Lillie Cecil, \$1; Chas. H. Shepard, \$3.20; A. Miller, \$1.50; C. W. Paige, \$2; J. F. Ruggles, \$1; J. W. Marchant, \$3.20; Clark & Co., \$12.63; Caroline B. Kingman, \$3.20; Henry Grew, \$3.20; W. B. Studley, \$3.20; O. H. Dana, \$1.20; Mrs. S. A. White, \$1.60; Mrs. L. B. Atwill, \$3.20; George Hea, \$2.60; Rev. Samuel Longfellow, \$3.20; T. Whittemore, 10 cents; Thomas Tibbets, \$1; J. C. Smith, \$5.

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

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The Index.

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

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

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

N. B.—The following resolution was adopted by the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, July 3, 1876: "Resolved, That we accept the offer of the Boston INDEX to be our official organ of communication with the public, for the publication of announcements, acknowledgments, and other official papers of the Board of Directors; but that we assume no responsibility for anything else published in its columns and claim no control or influence in its general editorial management."

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WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

THE NEW YORK Nation says: "The new régime at Rome does not seem likely to help the clericals in either France or Germany. Pope Leo XIII. was at first supposed to be a moderate, and likely to abate the extravagant pretensions of his predecessor, and come to terms with the Italian Government and modern society. He has already, in his Encyclical *Inscrutable*, called for the restoration of the temporal power; and he has now gone further, and has given, in a letter to the Cardinal Vicar in June last, as a reason for his not leaving the Vatican, the existence in Rome of Protestant temples and schools, and the godless schools of the municipality, in the midst of which he could not, he says, 'attend, respected and tranquil, to the duties of his Pontifical ministry.' In explanation and enforcement of this view, the Cardinal Vicar has issued instructions to the parish priests of Rome, in which, after calling their attention to the schools for boys and girls, and churches or 'temples,' set up by the Protestants in Rome, he excommunicates the architects, contractors, foremen, and artists concerned in their erection; the persons who attend worship or furnish music in them, the printers and compositors who make Protestant books, or posters announcing Protestant meetings; nobody, in fact, who has anything to do with bringing such temples and schools into existence, or carrying them on, is exempted from the curse, except the bricklayers and hodcarriers. These 'additional rules,' it is announced, have received the Pope's express sanction, after having been submitted to the College of Cardinals. Last month, too, in an address to a deputation, the Pope indicated what he would do with these pest-houses if he had his way, and what he expects the Italian Government to do for him. 'It is greatly to be deplored,' said he, 'that in this our Rome, the centre of Catholicism, august seat of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, it is permitted heterodox sects to erect temples, open schools, and diffuse corrupting publications among the people, while to us it is not given to oppose, as we would do, an efficacious remedy against inundating impiety.' As he had already used all his spiritual weapons against it, this efficacious remedy must mean the arm of flesh. It is easy to see what valuable ammunition talk of this kind furnishes to the Radicals. They have, at least, got the arm of flesh for which His Holiness sighs on their side, and they mean to make him feel it. But how is it that Christ and the Apostles were able to carry on their work in the presence of wicked schools, temples, sinful architects, contractors, and bill-posters, without the aid of the army and navy? Another curious exhibition of the intractableness of the clerical temper has been shown in Marseilles, where the new bishop, availing himself of an old and obsolete law of the Consulate, insisted, in defiance of the entreaties of the authorities, on having the streets lined with troops when he came to take possession of his diocese, a guard of honor of thirty soldiers at his heels, and a salute of artillery."

THE THEORY OF THE ROCHESTER PLATFORM.

The following brief analysis is partly due to a thoughtful lady friend, the chairman of the Tompkins County Liberal League's Committee on Public Work.

The "planks" of the Rochester "platform" are three: State Secularity, National Protection for National Citizens in their Equal Rights, and Compulsory Elementary Education as the Basis of Universal Suffrage. The possibility of future "addition of . . . planks on other issues" is also recognized; and so the Liberal League may, in time, grow into that long-wished-for movement which, by dealing justly and wisely with all great public questions as they arise, shall redeem American politics from its present degradation.

But such a movement must be based upon a clear theory of government. What theory, then, underlies the Rochester platform?

First, there is our demand for complete State secularity; and however its details may be criticized by those who forget the catholic spirit in which the Rochester convention construed them, its principle forms the very basis of our organization, and is the one thing to which our membership in the league commits us. It is, that the State should be strictly impartial as to religious views, neither preferring, patronizing, nor discouraging any religious or anti-religious practices as such. Now evidently this demand is not based upon the "laissez-faire" doctrine that "the best government is that which governs least," but simply upon its own intrinsic justice. For, in the second plank, we propose to increase the power of the government, and even of the central government, by affording, through the United States Constitution and courts, protection to personal rights whether civil, political, or religious.

By the third plank, we propose to extend this governmental protection to another class of personal rights; and in two ways our project is instructive.

First, we would have the government recognize and protect every child's right to education. Through untold effort and suffering, the world has arrived at certain results of experience, certain intellectual and moral truths, certain ways of developing healthy character, whose substantial soundness and value can no longer be doubted; and we insist that the benefit of these results be extended to every child, so that if in after life he fail to reach the full stature of noble and useful manhood, the fault shall be his own. And this does not conflict with our protest against any provision by the State for religious instruction; both because no religion is as yet so indubitable as to command the assent of all sound and well-trained minds, and also because any instruction based upon the authority of sacred books must almost necessarily forget that the best results which the world has reached are not dogmas, but rational methods of self-guidance.

Secondly, we would have the child's right to a suitable education secured, not merely against the indifference of communities and of parents, but against the immature impulses of the child himself. We would have the United States Constitution "require every State . . . to PERMIT no child to grow up without a good elementary education." In other words, we recognize that the child is the ward of the nation; and that he may rightly be even constrained, for his own future good, as the mature man may not.

Perhaps our demands as to education can also be based upon State necessity. If the public safety really requires it, the nation may rightly compel the child to attend school, as it may compel the man to bear arms. The plea of "State necessity" should be received with extreme caution when it seems to conflict with natural rights; but in this case, as with the emancipation of 1863, there is no conflict.

And finally, we demand "universal suffrage"; that is, for every man and woman, excepting such as have proved themselves unworthy or incompetent. We would not enfranchise criminals under sentence, nor idiots and maniacs under guardianship. Neither would I extend the suffrage to unnaturalized foreigners; nor to any who have once used votes or public trusts corruptly; nor to drones or imbeciles who, having had a fair opportunity, have not qualified themselves intellectually to deal with the problems of our complex modern life. Perhaps I would even limit the power of non-tax-payers over city expenditures; while, *per contra*, I would tax large estates at a higher ratio than small ones. All this seems to me theoretically sound, though it is not the Rochester doctrine.

We may well be proud of our platform, for it would base government upon justice and individual rights. Among these rights, let us not forget the right of every adult who respects his neighbor's rights to complete personal independence, the rights of conscience, and the right to the freest utterance of all social, political, and religious opinions. Nor let us forget the right of the man who, as yet, is latent in the boy, that the boy be so trained, and so kept from moral harm, that the man shall not blame his guardian, the State, for his half-irresponsible childhood having been exposed to blighting influences whose effects he will never wholly outlive. Neither let us ignore the right of future generations to be well born, and to receive from us, undiminished, all of good which we have received from our fathers. Let us remember that the right to the fruit of one's own labor and enterprise has its complement, the right of every one to his fair share of the world's common heritage of comfort and opportunity, and that both should be fully secured. Again, let us insist upon the right to have good government, and not to be at the mercy of ignorant or unscrupulous majorities; while we also claim for all who will intelligently prepare themselves, the right to aid in shaping the course of the government. To some of these topics I hope to return in future articles, in connection with questions of property, communism; population, etc. Their theory seems to me, in the main, accordant with the Rochester doctrine, though not deducible from it. But let us close by seeing how that doctrine does apply to another question that is now in controversy.

Many earnest and pure-minded liberals find it hard to reconcile the legal protection of their children against vile literature with the freedom of the press. They pertinently ask, "If spoken and printed discussion about religion, etc., ought to be free, why not likewise about sexual ethics and physiology? Without such free discussion, must not society continue to suffer even graver evils than a licentious free press could inflict? With vile publications, as with drinking-shops, gambling-hells, and the like, must we not do merely this: explain to the boy or girl the harm they will do; rob them and their subject-matter, as far as may be, of the charm of mystery; preoccupy the young mind with healthier and nobler instincts; and cultivate such relations of parental and filial confidence that the child will not go far astray without telling the parent all?"

Yes, this is better than to suppress free discussion; and, if done aright, it will educate the young to a pure and robust morality. Most of us liberals can, if we will take the trouble, exert this kind of influence, for it accords well enough with our general ideas about education. But the vast majority of young people have not parents who are liberal and sympathetic as well as pure-minded, and so the poison of vile reading would come to them without the antidote. Many of the most conscientious parents are unfitted to help their children in this respect, because they base their own ethics largely upon authority, and fear to inquire too curiously into the reasons of things. Hence, if there were no other way to reconcile the interests of purity and of intellectual freedom, we could not greatly blame those who, for their children's sake, keep aloof from us.

But the Rochester theory meets the whole difficulty, by emphasizing the old distinction between the legal rights of minors and of adults. It is a distinction already often made; for instance, in the laws of New York and other States, which make it criminal to sell liquor to a minor. Such laws can be enforced when public sentiment appreciates them; and their principle, I think, is sound. Like all laws, they should be drawn with care, so as to make serious abuse impossible, and to interfere as little as may be with the convenience and independence of good citizens; but this minimum of inconvenience should be cheerfully borne.

Hence, if the "Comstock law" of 1873 be constitutional, we ought on principle to preserve and enforce it as regards the sending of improper matter to minors; and if not constitutional, it should be replaced by laws that are. But every such law should be guarded by provisos exempting from its penalties any mere advocacy of opinions, and making impossible the outrage which was recently committed in England when prisoners were convicted for circulating a book which the jury were not allowed to examine. Other provisos may suggest themselves, to the end that laws of this kind, so necessary in themselves, may not in the least endanger the freedom of public discussion nor our civil liberties.

J. E. O.

THE RIGHT OF DISCUSSION.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Mr. Whyte, in the THE INDEX of October 17, lays down the broad principle that "society has the right to protect itself against any doctrine which is subversive of its own structure." I lay down the still broader one that every individual in the land has the right to combat every doctrine which does not recommend itself to his reason; but I add that he must combat doctrine with doctrine, argument with argument. If a man whose opinion I question replies by knocking me down, he will certainly create the impression that he could not conveniently reply by argument; and if I choose to carry the case before the police-court, the knock-down will be informed that his peculiar mode of dealing with adverse opinions is not permissible in a free country. Mr. Whyte would have the community reply by a knock-down argument to any reasonings hostile to the marriage-laws of our time; but I hold that society can only rightfully do what its individual members (whose delegated powers it exercises) might rightfully do; and if it is universally recognized that individuals can only rightfully reply to argument by argument, then I do not see how, in their collective capacity, they can rightfully reply to argument by prison or the stake.

The "alliance of freethought with indecency" would, indeed, be a most unfortunate thing, but not one whit more unfortunate than the alliance recommended to us by Mr. Whyte of freethought with tyranny. We are told that no one is allowed the free expression of his opinion if it injures the character of his neighbor,—a statement which, under important limitations, may pass as correct. By character Mr. Whyte here means "reputation," and the reason for the interference of the law in this case is, that a man's reputation is held to have a commercial value. An action for libel generally takes the form of an action for damages. But supposing a man's character, in the true sense of the word, his moral make-up, so to speak, has been injured by something he has heard or read, is any legal recourse open to him? Can he go into court and say, I am not as honest, or as charitable, or as humane, or as pure-minded as a man as I was before reading this book, or hearing that lecture, or conversing with Mr. So-and-so, and I therefore wish to be avenged of my enemy? Such a man would be laughed out of court, and told to go and mend his own honesty, or whatever else it was that was broken. Yet Mr. Whyte would have "society" prosecute on behalf of people who, if they sought to prosecute in their own behalf, would be objects of universal ridicule.

Mr. Whyte says that "no one is allowed to preach down the government of the country in which he lives." I reply that in a free State any one is allowed to advance what theories of government he likes, and with as close an application as he likes to the circumstances of his own country. Thus Mr. Frederic Harrison discusses *Monarchy* in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review* with as much freedom as he could do in the United States. In a tyrannical State, from which possibly Mr. Whyte wishes us to draw our lessons, this of course would not be permitted. But possibly in such a State Mr. Whyte himself might be placed under restrictions which would give him much food for thought.

If "Nature" is such a good regulator of the population question, why should she need such a backing up of penal statutes on the marriage-question? Has lust so much to do with the latter, and so little with the former? If our marriage-laws do not work well, says Mr. Whyte, it is the imperfect characters of men and women we must blame, not the laws. How does this agree with the testimony borne by a writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, a few years ago, that, in the manufacturing districts of England, numbers of women preferred to live with men, unmarried, because they thus, in general, secured better treatment?

Mr. Whyte is surprised that Mr. Wright and others, while "abhorring" Mr. Heywood's doctrines, should interest themselves in what they regard as his unjust sentence. According to this elevating doctrine, then, if a man is your enemy upon one point, you need not mind what befalls him,—not even if the powers which you have delegated to the State are abused for the suppression of his opinions. Therefore, if Mr. Whyte were imprisoned for his theological opinions, it would be very absurd for any Christian who "abhorred" his opinions to cry out, "That is not a righteous way of dealing with error."

Lastly, we are to consider women as children. I leave that proposition to others to discuss. There is much to be said on it.

In conclusion I would only say that, sympathizing

as deeply as I do with the zeal which I know Mr. Whyte to possess for purity of life and thought, I very much regret his want of faith in the inherent vigor of right principles. I do not know what could more strengthen the hearts of his enemies than just such a display of nervous trepidation as his letter affords. "Let us shield our women from such doctrines," he virtually says, or society is undone. Fie on such faint-heartedness! Not thus can liberty flourish. Talk of "reversions"! But if what he proposes to us is not a reversion, what on earth could be? Very faithfully yours, WM. D. LE SURUR.
OTTAWA, Oct. 19, 1878.

"WHAT FOOLS THESE MORTALS BE!"

Emerson remarks in one of his inspired essays, regarding the actual capacity of the large majority of mankind, as follows: "The fossil strata show us that Nature began with rudimentary forms, and rose to the more complex, as fast as the earth was fit for their dwelling-place; and that the lower perish as the higher appear. Very few of our race can be said to be yet finished men. We still carry sticking to us some remains of the preceding inferior quadruped organization. Half engaged in the soil, pawing to get free, we call these millions men; but they are not yet men." And Plato has shown us, in his immortal *Republic*, how absurd it would appear, outside the realm of politics, to place the shepherd in command of the war-vessel, to apply to the physician to mend the kitchen table, or to expect the village blacksmith to expound the abstruse sciences. Nevertheless, the citizens of the United States are perpetually guilty of the consummate folly of expecting to get more power out of the machine than they put into it; continually insisting that a new cog here, or a different application of force there, will produce results out of all proportion to the means that are, of necessity, to be employed.

Thus all our rampant "reformers," who would correct the various ills of the body politic by mere legislative enactments—the Neal Dows and Dr. Miners, who expect to eradicate the taste for alcoholic stimulants by making the selling of liquor a crime; the Republican party, which, having coerced the bodies of Southern secessionists, vainly attempts to extirpate the "States-rights" theory by amendments to the Constitution; the Democrats, who would force the full-grown man to retain always the garments of his boyhood, by insisting upon obsolete constitutional forms now outgrown forever; the greenbackers, who argue themselves into the irrational belief that any edict of any government can ever reverse the immutable laws of supply and demand,—each and every one of our various political organizations give evidence of the general incapacity of the average American to comprehend the most obvious laws of his social and political environment, and betray how slight is his real claim to the right of "governing" his neighbors.

And yet it is deemed little less than treason soberly to discuss the restriction of popular suffrage as a possible cure for some of the evils at present afflicting the United States of America. It has been assumed for so long a period that every intelligent human being is entitled to equal opportunities for manifesting his tastes or prejudices, without reference to his special qualifications, that it has become difficult and wellnigh impossible to obtain a hearing for the other side of the case. But the signs of the times serve to show that (Democracy having been reduced to very nearly its lowest terms, and requiring only that women and children, Chinese and native American Indians, be admitted to the free exercise of the suffrage) a hopeful reaction is at hand, and that leading minds are turning their attention to the only possible ultimate solution of the question.

Because all decent men are entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," protection to their property, and the opportunity of educating their children at the public expense, it does not follow that knaves and fools should secure equal opportunity for perpetuating their vices, crimes, follies, ignorance, and "quadrupedal instincts"! But, says some one in favor of universal license, under the specious caption of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," who shall decide what constitutes decency? The answer is not far to seek; for all mankind being wiser than the wisest individual, have an inalienable right to institute certain laws requiring universal conformity, or emigration: as, for instance, that men shall wear clothing, so long as they desire to live in New York City, and, if they have an irrepressible desire to go nude, must either be restrained of their liberty or secure a passage for Central Africa. In like manner the instinct of self-

preservation forces all civilized communities to enact laws against the circulation of obscene literature; nor will men stop to scrutinize too closely the—possibly—well-intended motives of the man who helps to disseminate such publications. What parent would hesitate in taking the law into his own hands, when confronted with the actual evidence that this same much-abused Anthony Comstock is able to produce, in scores of cases, where the susceptible minds of girls and boys have been tampered with for the basest of purposes? Because a certain individual honestly believes that the sure way to elevate the morals of the youth of the country is to leave them free to peruse any class of literature, whatever its character, it does not follow that his intention justifies the experiment! Universal suffrage has produced only its natural and legitimate results in making commonplace mediocrity the successful standard. Never since Christ was crucified and Aristides ostracized, has great preëminence in well-doing, and exceptional purity of character, failed to excite the envy, malice, and hatred of a large proportion of contemporary mankind. One of the most thoughtful and experienced of the present generation of American statesmen, Horatio Seymour of New York, gives it as his deliberate opinion that the longer he lives the higher he inclines to estimate the vague, general intentions of the majority of American voters, and the lower their capacity for realizing their aspirations. Their hearts are all right, he thinks, but their minds are sadly unequal to the tasks that are devolved upon them. This is but another proof of the old adage, "Hell is paved with good intentions"! And unprejudiced observers of the course of events in America, ever since the adoption of the principle of indiscriminate and all but universal suffrage, must confess that if the true theory of government is to provide peaceful prosperity to all good citizens at the smallest possible expense, the United States are still far from the end desired. "The greatest good of the greatest number" requires a preconceived idea as to what constitutes "good," and also implies that "the greatest number" shall be worthy of that good. If it could once be proven that the vast majority of mankind—left to follow only the devices of their own hearts—would straightway transform themselves into human wolves, tigers, hyenas, and seek to prey upon the innocent cattle and sheep forming the minority, it would be easy to demonstrate, first, that after the latter had been nearly or quite exterminated, the former would destroy one another; and next, that the law of the "survival of the fittest," in such circumstances, might mean morally the survival of the unfittest! But the majority of mankind is largely in favor of "law and order," because repeated experiments have taught them that "live and let live" is better for the individual as well as for the community; in other words, an enlightened utilitarianism is at the foundation of the accepted ideas of conventional morality. What is most needed at the present day is some modern Kung-fu-Tze, whose authoritative announcement that "every cobbler should stick to his last," might be heeded.

ALBERT WARREN KELSEY.

THE HONORS OF THE ECLIPSE.—W. Fraser Rae, one of the British observers of the recent solar eclipse, awards the principal honors to Prof. Watson for his discovery of the heretofore hypothetical planet Vulcan, between the sun and Mercury. Mr. Rae observes that it is a striking illustration of the irony of events that the University of Michigan—which we may add is scarcely known out of the State except by Prof. Watson's connection with it—should have decided to cut down the astronomer's salary some hundreds of dollars next October. He might have had a place under the khédive and made his fortune; but he preferred his native land, and came back to discover asteroids and this shy planet of Leverrier's predicting, which all the astronomers in the world have been looking after for twenty years,—all for the glory of an institution which keeps him as cheap as possible. Mr. Rae also singles out for admiration Mr. Edison and his micro-tasimeter. He watched the inventor's experiments with it in respect to the stars, and then in determining the temperature of the sun's corona during the eclipse, and pronounces it "a heat-measurer of unprecedented range and delicacy." He adds that Mr. Edison intends to design a telescope in connection with this apparatus, whereby the heavens may be swept and stars detected that are too remote to reveal themselves to the telescope alone, by watching the manner in which the tasimeter is affected. Mr. Rae considers that this may possibly be the prevision of a new era in astronomy. In regard to the general observations and deductions, Rae tells the *Tribune* (to which paper all this is addressed) that the astronomers are as yet in complete disagreement all around.—Lockyer with Draper, President Morton with Prof. Hastings, etc. The eclipse as a spectacle was the finest from Pike's Peak, where the observer was impressed by the extraordinary and awe-inspiring prospect of the moon's vast shadow sweeping over the ebon below him.—*Springfield Republican*.

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

NO. XXX.

Let us now expound, or, in strict propriety, really translate this brilliant semi-poetic Oriental allegory, into the soberest of modern prose, in accordance with the principles of interpretation previously indicated; bearing in mind that "the woman clothed with the sun" is presumably the same as "the lamb's wife," which last is elsewhere (Rev. xxi., 9, 10,) as specifically identified with the New Jerusalem as is "the harlot" with Babylon; and that the New Jerusalem is the undoubted and well-recognized symbol of Christianity, in its prospective triumph and ultimate glory, in the world. The reader is again referred to the twelfth, thirteenth, and seventeenth chapters of the Revelation.

Translation.

There is a wonderful conflict now instituted and actually going on in the world, between the new doctrine, that of the Christian Church, and the old superstitions. In the foreground of the scope of vision of the observer ("a great wonder, in heaven")—[lifted, as it were, in the sky], is the Church ("a woman"), warmly affectional, loving, devout, and gloriously feminine ("clothed with the sun")—[the heat of which denotes the warmth of sentiment and affection]; with, however, a subordinate degree, also, of rational philosophy ["the moon under her feet"]—the moon symbolizing reflection, and its subordinate place denoting the secondary rank assigned to the intellect in the scheme of religion; the woman with her predominant affectionality and the warm rays of the sun holding precedence; that is to say, the communion of affection being the staple of Christianity, and the doctrine developed in its dogma secondary. The Church has also a grand array of special sources of enlightenment ("and upon her head a crown of twelve stars"). And, notwithstanding the fact that Christianity is as yet a sentiment rather than a philosophy; notwithstanding she is as yet only in a subordinate sense intellectual, she is nevertheless pregnant with, and gestating, and near to the production of the final and absolute philosophy. ("And she, being with child, and travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.")

The opposing object of consideration, lifted also into the same scope of critical observation, and appearing prominently before the world, is the ancient and traditional kabbalistic system of doctrine, which has prevailed and still prevails among mankind, with its ten fundamental doctrines, its three general and its seven specialized principles,—its characteristic heads and points of doctrine ("the dragon")—[with his "heads and horns"].

This old traditional system of belief is the most formidable enemy both of the Church as such ("the woman") and of the new scientific philosophy which the Church is about to produce, and which is destined to rule the world. It is especially antagonistic to the new philosophy, which is to be produced through the Church [the son to be born of the woman]. "And the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered," standing ready "to devour her child as soon as it was born"—[a philosophy forefelt and foreshadowed, if not foreseen, as the true science-and-philosophy of the future; and so of this latter day]—with its critical and vigorous principles and methods: ("the rod of iron") with which the son of the woman, the resultant philosophy of the Church, is to rule the whole earth. [Such is to be the masculine or intellectual progeny of the Church; though she is herself ruled by affection and sentiment.] This new philosophy, to be born of the Church, will certainly escape the hostility of the old traditional system ("the dragon"), and will rise into the supreme place, and will be triumphant over all. ("And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.")

[John was probably a Jew by birth; a Roman by citizenship; a Greek-and-Jewish Kabbalist; an adept of "the secret wisdom" by education and training; and a Christian by conversion. Like all converts, he employs the learning of the old system against the old system. He is fighting Kabbalism, by the use of the occult and mystical style and methods of the Kabbala; and he was, we cannot doubt, far better understood by the adepts and initiates of that day than he has been since. Observe also, again, that the Kabbala which in its day had treated all popular belief as mere tradition, and scorned it as such, is now, in its turn, treated as tradition, and as the worst enemy of the new doctrine.]

There is [the writer continues], undoubtedly, an open warfare between these two systems, the modern doctrine of truth and progress ("Michael and his angels"—the advocates of truth), and the old traditional doctrine the dragon and his angels—the advocates of error. ("And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels.") But the old tradition so far from conquering ("and prevailed not") is destined to fade out, and to be known no more in the world. ("Neither was their place found any more in heaven"; i.e., within the scope of the mental vision of mankind.)

Virtually (the author proceeds), learned tradition ("the great dragon, the old serpent called the devil and Satan"), the popular (philosophic) error of the past (which deceiveth the whole world"), with its followers ("his angels"), is already conquered in its worst form, as merely traditional; and is landed upon a somewhat more rational basis ("cast out upon the earth"). [Hence the water-serpent or sea-serpent and dragon or saurian reappear subsequently—ch. xiii.—

as a land beast, with the same characteristics, the seven heads and ten horns, and no longer as a serpent of the sea or a dragon. The dragon, an intermediate reptile of the waters' slimy edge—the crocodile,—is the transitional stage between the other two. The serpent, the dragon, and the beast are three stages of the development and governing influence of the old doctrine; first as pure tradition and mystery, with no philosophic ground, properly speaking, to stand upon; the serpent—then as tradition modified by philosophy,—the reading of myths into story, the dragon or saurian; and finally as a full-fledged or grounded philosophy, the beast that came up "out of the sea." "The sea," the slime, and "the earth" repeat the symbolism, or represent, in another form, the same three stages.] ("And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the devil and Satan [the adversary of the truth], which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.")

[The figure is here mixed. It was a real progress, an elevation, for the serpent to become a dragon, and then a land-beast; but the favorers of the new doctrine, the lovers of truth were conceived of as elevated into heaven or the air, and so as above both sea and land; and hence from the point of view of their position it was a being cast down for the adversary to be thrown on the earth. And even then he is allowed but a short time to exist.] ("Therefore, rejoice ye heavens and ye that dwell in them" disciples of the true doctrine.) "Wo to the inhabitants of the earth and the sea" (disciples of all the stages of the old doctrine), for the devil is come down unto you having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."

The highest and best grounded form of the old doctrine ("the beast with seven heads and ten horns"), (so the revelator proceeds), is still a mere derivation from the earliest and most debased form of it.

I hold it, therefore, to its legitimate genesis from mere tradition (as "coming up out of the sea"). I speak from that point of view ("standing upon the sand of the sea"). It is not the less a profane and false system ("and upon his heads the name of blasphemy"). The ten fundamental principles of this old doctrine are still propounded and exulted in ("and upon his horns ten crowns"; "and I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy"). The description of the old doctrine is here resumed and amplified, as it presents itself, at the best, as symbolized by the land-beast in the place of the saurian and ophidian.

The old doctrine (the symbolist continues) is, at its best, a motley patchwork of contradictions ("like unto a leopard"); its real basis, or pedimental supports, if allowed to be represented by the nobler quadrupedal animals at all, must be likened to the feet of the inferior style of such brutes ("and his feet as the feet of a bear"); while yet the loud-mouthed and pretentious promulgations of the sect would present it as a lion ("and his mouth as the mouth of a lion"). But whatsoever it be, its character and authority are, as we have said, wholly derived from and merely transferred to him from the dragon, and so farther back from the serpent; that is to say, the most advanced school is not distinctively different from the earlier schools. ("And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were like unto the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the dragon gave him his power and his seat and great authority.")

One of the fundamental doctrines of this system was, indeed, at one time supposed to be refuted and abandoned ("and I saw one of his heads wounded, as it were, unto death"); but it is really upheld and defended as staunchly as ever (but "his deadly wound was healed"), and mankind have continued to delight in this false philosophy ("and all the world wondered after the beast"). But they were, in reality, doing homage to ignorant tradition merely ("and they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast"), etc.

[Many details of exposition have here to be omitted for the want of space.]

There is another great system of philosophy also prevalent in the world (so the account proceeds); namely, Persianism or Zoroastrianism, with its two fundamental principles of good and evil. This doctrine seems innocent, amiable, and lamb-like in comparison with the other; but at bottom it is nowise different. Its teachings are equally pernicious ("he spoke as a dragon"), and are indeed allied with those of the Kabbala, notwithstanding the fact that it is undoubtedly better grounded in philosophic reasonings ("coming up out of the earth") [not out of the unstable sea like the other]. ("And I beheld another beast, coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns [points of doctrine] like a lamb [but], "he spoke as a dragon.")

And so (the account proceeds) these two systems, Kabbalism and Persianism, have blended into each other, and have virtually become one system. Persianism has succumbed to Kabbalism, and now in effect teaches the same doctrine, and so enhances its influence in the world. ("And he [the lamb-like beast] exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them that dwell therein [the great mass of unchristianized philosophers and religionists] to worship the first beast [Kabbalism] whose deadly wound was healed.")

There is also (the account proceeds) a corresponding social system, or state of society—a grand phase of human evolution—which rests upon and is due to the prevalence of this double form of false philosophy. ("And I saw a woman [the chosen emblem for humanity, or any special civilization or collective state of mankind—as the Church was, as we have seen, represented by a woman] sit upon a scarlet-colored beast [the same color is here assigned to the beast as

previously to the serpent], full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns" (ch. xvii., v., 8). This entire social polity or condition is the old and yet prevalent one in the world, full of wrongs and outrages of every conceivable kind, rich, luxurious, and hypocritical ("and the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color [identified in character with the beast], and decked with gold and precious stones," etc.); meretricious and false and sustained (up-held) by the old traditional doctrine [sitting or riding upon the beast. Our doctrines are our hobbies or "hobby-horses." We still speak of "riding our hobbies." What with us is a trivial illustration or figure of speech was with the Kabbalists an elaborate symbol. Swedenborg makes the Scripture symbol of a doctrine to be a "bed," which is only another form of something to rest upon. Bed, couch, seat, saddle, or mounted hobby, the genuine idea is the same. Kabbalism was an elaborate form of literature wrought out in the spirit of such symbols, and any attempt to translate or expound it otherwise than by using the key, can lead only to absurdity.]

Still (continues our Kabbalistic author), the crowning sin and branded shame ("upon her forehead") of the extant social order is its babel of conflicting doctrines and deceptive usages ("Babylon the great"); and, again, the essential cause, the whole, in spirit, of this confused mass of ideas and conducts may be summed up in the one word MYSTERY. [And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."] This alone is the source of all falsities and extravagant conceptions of the nature of things. [The initiate and adept of the ancient and sacred mysteries, eleusinian, etc., here solemnly renounces and defies them as the very fountain of error; and we of this day can hardly conceive the strength of conviction and the hardihood of bravery required for that act. To make such a renunciation, or to vulgarize the sanctified wisdom of the wide-spread secret society of which the mysteries were functional manifestations had been, for ages, punishable with death.] The old social order (so the account proceeds) is just now especially engaged in the attempt to stamp out the new doctrine by bloody persecutions and other means. ("And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.") And one can only look with wonder at the great conflict, as it progresses. At this point the angel, the admonishing demon, the muse, suggests a needed explanation to the writer's mind (v., 7); but the explanation is given in the terms of the same symbolism. It is to the effect, previously implied, that the beast is merely a re-presentation of the serpent, and so merely means tradition (time, or time-lore). "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not," yet; consists, in other words, of the past and the future; the two great divisions of time. Below they are increased to three, by inserting the present. "The beast that was (past), and is not, yet (future), and yet is," now, the present. (v., 8.) The interpolated clause, "shall ascend out of the bottomless pit and go into perdition," repeats the "was and is not" as describing the past and future, meaning time. The bottomless pit, the abyss of the mystics, was that past incomprehensibility out of which all things came, and the perdition of the future is that ulterior incomprehensibility into which all things go. "They that dwell upon the earth," and who wonder at or admire the beast, are the unenlightened masses ("whose names were not written in the book," etc.).

"And here is the mind that hath wisdom," means merely, "I am now about to make a learned statement, which only such as are well versed in this mystic lore will comprehend." "The seven heads are seven mountains" means that "heads and mountains—mountain-peaks—are synonyms, or mean alike, and may be indifferently used to denote fundamental points of doctrine, horns denoting minor points." "And there are seven kings" means that kings is another word employed, in this form of literature to mean principles, as in the Zohar (compare princes and principles in their etymology). "Five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space." This clause has a sufficiently obscure look, and after what exposition I can give of it, may still retain somewhat of obscurity; but in the main it is easily apprehended. The writer for some reason, not wholly clear, throws the seven ground doctrines of the Kabbala into a series, and allies five of them with the past, one with the present, and one with the future—as if we were to ally them with the musical septave, taking the sixth for the present. "Five are fallen," i.e., relate to the past (as we say that a note has fallen due, when its time is past); "one is" (relates to the present), and "the other is not yet come" (relates to the future); "and when he cometh," when this future arrives (becomes the present), "he must continue a short space" (will be transitory, like the present). "And the beast that was and is not" yet—time at large, past, and future—"even he is the eighth"—is the full octave, "and is of the seven"—subsumes or unifies the seven in one totality aspect which is the eighth—the whole of time—"and which goeth into perdition"—is lost in the incomprehensibility of an eternity to come. Perdition means simply a being lost or lost sight of.]

And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings [principles] which have received no kingdom as yet [minor or more general] in character, not so vigorously stated as principles], but receive power as kings one hour with the beast, [accessory commentaries which are attached temporarily to the general body of the doctrine—the beast]. "These have one mind," etc. "These shall make war," etc. The meaning of the seventeenth and eighteenth verses (ch. xvii.) seems then to be that the habit of adding commentaries, of making comments upon the old

doctrine will help to undermine and destroy it; God thus intervening to convert evil into good. "And the woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth,"—that on-going of the social order, which moulds and modifies the operation of all philosophical and doctrinal views.

The contents of the eighteenth chapter (and indeed of all the chapters to the end of the Revelation) become now perfectly luminous in the light of these principles of interpretation; and nowhere in the whole range of literature is there a more gorgeous exhibition of the power of language to produce a stupendous picture in words.

CONNECTICUT CHURCH-AND-STATE LAWS.

From the Constitution of the State of Connecticut.

ARTICLE I.

Sec. 3.—"The exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this State, provided that the right hereby declared and established shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State."

Sec. 4.—"No preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship."

ARTICLE VII.

Sec. 1.—"It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the Universe, and their right to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of their consciences; no person shall by law be compelled to join or support, nor be classed with, or associated to, any congregation, church, or religious association," etc. "Each and every society or denomination of Christians in this State shall have and enjoy the same and equal rights and privileges," etc., etc.

Sec. 2.—"If any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination of Christians to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of such society, he shall thereupon no longer be liable for any future expenses which may be incurred by said society."

From the Revised Statutes of 1875.

Ecclesiastical Societies.

ARTICLE I. (1821.)

Sec. 1.—"Christians of every denomination and Jews may unite to form religious societies; and societies incorporated, or formed by voluntary association, for public religious worship, shall hold and manage all property belonging to them, appropriated to the use and support of public worship, and may receive grants or donations, or, by voluntary agreement, establish funds for the same object."

1868.—"Any person may terminate his membership of any religious society by giving notice in writing of his intention so to do, to its clerk, or if there be no clerk, to any other officer thereof."

1821 (Note).—"Towns not divided into societies are corporations for the purpose of supporting religious worship, and may hold property for this purpose in the name of the town. (Kirby, 46: 3 Conn. 35.)"

Note.—"The legislature cannot divide an ancient territorial ecclesiastical society into two, nor divide its funds and assign a portion to a new society."

Blasphemy Law. (Code of 1842 and 1821. Still in force.)

Sec. 1.—"Every person who shall blaspheme against God, either of the persons of the Holy Trinity, the Christian Religion, or the Holy Scriptures, shall be fined not more than one hundred dollars, and imprisoned not more than one year, and may also be bound to his good behavior."

Note.—"Blasphemy was made a capital offence and punished with death in the code of 1842, and remained so until the revision of 1784, when the penalty was changed to whipping upon the naked body, not exceeding forty stripes, and sitting in the pillory one hour."

In the revision of 1821, the present provisions were enacted:—

Sunday Laws.

Sec. 57 (1702).—"Every person who shall travel, or do any secular business, or labor, except works of necessity or mercy, or keep open any shop, warehouse, or manufacturing or mechanical establishment, or expose any property for sale, or engage in any sport or recreation on Sunday, between sunrise and sunset, shall be fined not more than four dollars, nor less than one dollar: but haywards may perform all their official duties on said day."

Sec. 58 (1784).—"Every person who shall be present at any concert of music, dancing, or other public diversion on Sunday, or the evening thereof, shall be fined four dollars."

Sec. 62 (1814).—"Every proprietor or driver of any vehicle, not employed in carrying the United States mail, who shall allow any person to travel therein on Sunday between sunrise and sunset, except for necessity or mercy, shall be fined \$20 (twenty dollars), to be paid to the town in which the offence is committed."

Evidence Admissible.

For evidence admissible, v. 11 Conn. 455. Grand Juror may, on sight, arrest and detain offender. Accused is not entitled to trial by jury. 12 Conn. 448. Note given on Sunday void. 1 Root, 474. Money loaned on Sunday cannot be recovered. 35 Conn. 216. Contracts made on Sunday void. 37 Conn. 555. Value of horse hired on Sunday and killed by hirer may be recovered. 40 Conn. 111.

Sec. 63 (1821).—"No person who conscientiously believes that the seventh day of the week ought to be observed as the Sabbath, and actually refrains from secular business and labor on that day, shall be liable to prosecution for performing secular business and labor

on such day, provided he disturbs no other person while attending public worship."

Exempt from Taxation.

Sec. 12 (1872).—"Buildings and portions of buildings occupied exclusively as colleges, academies, churches, or public school-houses or infirmaries; parsonages of any ecclesiastical society to the value of \$5000, while used solely as such; buildings belonging to and used exclusively for scientific, literary, benevolent or ecclesiastical societies, not including any real estate, conveyed by any ecclesiastical society or public or charitable institution, without reserving an annual income or rent, by a conveyance intended to be a perpetual alienation."

"Lands used exclusively for cemetery purposes."
"Musical instruments, used exclusively in churches, or by any organized band, and others, not exceeding in value \$25." Cash, to the value of \$100. Books, to the value of \$200. Mechanics' tools, to the value of \$200. Furniture, to the value of \$500," etc., etc.

"The statute of 1702, exempting from taxation certain lands given for the maintenance of the ministry of the gospel, or for any public or charitable use, did not constitute a contract between this State and the donors or donees that such property should forever remain so exempt; but if it is a contract, a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, without reserving rent, is a violation of such contract," 38 Conn. 116, "and such property may be taxed at the will of the legislature. No act since 1821 has repealed the exemption. Improvements not permanent and such as may be removed at the expiration of the lease, are taxable. A lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years is, for all practical purposes, a conveyance in fee."

Administration of Oaths.

Sec. 2 (1855).—"When any person required to take an oath, shall, from scruples of conscience, decline to take it in the usual form, a solemn affirmation may be administered to him in the form of the oath prescribed, except that instead of the word 'swear,' the words 'solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare' shall be used; and instead of the words, 'so help you God,' the words, 'upon the pains and penalties of perjury,' shall be used."

EXTRACT FROM A LECTURE

ON EMOTION AND INTELLECT.

BY CHARLES ELLIS.

The history of religion reveals the struggle between emotion and intellect that man has made in his slow growth from naked savagery and wall-eyed faith in myth, into the well-clad intellect and the fair-visaged liberty of the present day. Through the whole long history the greater we find the intellectual culture, the freer and better do we find the people. This is equally true of nations. Where a people are governed by emotional faith, there can be no generous development. Progress is made only by stealth and through the energies of those who are sceptics to the old routine of life and faith. Nations die because they have not proper intellectual development. Dead nations are generally suicides.

"Their breath is agitation, and their life A storm whereon they ride, to sink at last; And yet so nursed to bigotry and strife, That, should their days, surviving perils past, Melt to calm twilight, they feel overcast with sorrow, Sorrow and supineness, and so die, Even as a flame unfed which runs to waste With its own flickering."

Ease and luxury, greed and envy, or the emotional and the marvellous, overcome the mind where no healthy intellectual activity is allowed; and so the passions, the forces of the four-footed beast yet lingering in man, sway and overturn the progress of the grandest life upon the globe. Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome, forever point mankind to the sad warning of their self-destruction. All the past hands to us its experience, and warns us to profit by its errors. From the grave of wasted opportunity a voice forever cries, "Move on!" The intellect forever commands, "Forward, march!" Only the passions, the priests, the emotions lure us to camp and loiter and loaf upon the old fields of ease, effeminacy, vice, and death. And so powerful are their influences that, while we move slowly on to new fields, new life, new religion, and new experience, we still keep our eyes over our shoulders, looking for the glory of the past. With all its teaching and progress, the world has not ceased to look backward with longing and regret for some supposed glory, some fictitious "Golden Age" that has long since sunk below the horizon of memory, never realizing that the future is laden with sublimer realities than ever could have been known to the past. Alas! fatal looking back! Oh, why won't people "remember Lot's wife!" Looking back and longing for the things that are past has converted—"converts," you know—millions upon millions of avaricious old ladies, of both sexes, into lifeless pillars of salt that now line the old emigrant trail of humanity across the wide plains of life. And there they stand, perpetually pickled petrifications, a salt and bitter warning to all live people to flee from the past and keep abreast with the pulsing life of the ever-present time.

Priestcraft, in its efforts to keep the yoke upon the neck of man, teaches that the best days of human life were in the long-dead past. And mistaken people of to-day get upon their knees and whine and sniffle and wear long, sad, sour faces—as if that were the only kind "God made in his own image,"—and call themselves ugly names, doubtless the truest words they utter, and pray to God for the return of the days of holy old Adam, when man was supposed to have been an immortal animal, before the too sweet tooth of Mother Eve had ushered gloomy death into the world. For shame, that it should always have been so! They all did it! The ancients looked back to what they called a "Golden Age" when the gods mingled with mortals, and the earth was a garden of roses;

when men lived, like Methuselah, for hundreds of years; and when the "sons of morning" and the angels, girls or daughters, of heaven sang their psalms and hymns together, and flirted the long, luxurious hours away. And, alas! too many in this grand century are still looking into the night of mythology, and are striving, under the lead of priestcraft, to carry our race back into a condition of slavery under the old ghosts, goblins, devils, and divine horrors, instead of looking at the sunlight of intellect and civilization that glows around them, making the only "heaven" that man can ever know by seizing the present hour and improving the golden opportunity of to-day!

Having gorged themselves with the mince-pie of dead theology, they lie on their backs shivering and groaning beneath a horrible nightmare of superstition which gallops down upon them from the past; and when the intellect would turn them upon their sides to let the blood of knowledge run free, and throw off the hideous dream, some pious priest draws back the curtains of hell, shakes down the ashes, turns on the draft, stirs the blue blazes of the burning pile, wakes up the agonies of sweltering souls, and shouts, "HE THAT DOUBTS SHALL BE DAMNED!" So the poor believers remain in torpid misery, the victims of too much gorging on unwholesome theology. Priestcraft keeps God locked up in the past, and there it would force us to remain and worship. Thus we hang between the dead past and the living future,—
"Like a star 'twixt night and morn
Upon the horizon's verge."

We incline to move on, half-conscious that the true way is before us; and yet we sag back as though we should be damned for lifting our over-loaded cart out of the ruts of theology in which it stands hub-deep in the black prairie-mud of superstition. Amid the whirl and rush of the great Mississippi of time and life, emotion-governed man is often confused, as, amid shoals and snags, he has to seek the channel,—sometimes lonely, delayed, disappointed, tearful, fearful, and depressed, but never utterly lost. The intellectual magnet still holds allegiance to the pole-star of destiny, and though the iron bolts and bars of superstition and the iron glove of priestcraft may swerve it aside, strike them off, and the needle will sweep to it, rest, and point again to the starry way in the upward march of man.

Persons desirous of hearing Mr. Ellis lecture should send to him for his circular at No. 8 Portland Street, Boston, Mass.

IS IT A NEW MOVE?

EDITOR INDEX:—

Our Camden Catholicism is becoming more dictatorial; and now our only English-speaking Catholic priest has threatened never to perform any of the rites of the church in behalf or such persons as send their children to the public schools! And all this, too, just after the Catholic has joined effort with the Protestant to keep the Bible as part of New Haven's system of education!

What shall be said of this new pronouncement? It is, perhaps, but a new move in the common principle of spiritual tyranny which the Catholic Church has always enforced; but ill-done as it is, it does not seem just the proper thing for our Protestant friends, who make the public schools sectarian and tax us all to support them so, to condemn, as they do here, the faith-blind or hypocritical priest who but legitimately favors an argument of similar purport to their own. What will be the end to all this? Shall the public schools be destroyed, and upon their ruins each petty or gross sect establish its own methods of education, or shall they be made so honest in their establishment, so pure in their aims and means, so impartial in their manner of teaching, that no grounds could be found for objecting to them as favoring any religious creed on the face of the globe?

This school-question is a perplexing one; but it is evident our Camden priest has taken some kind of a bull by the horns, to what effect I suppose will appear hereafter. A friend, just the other day, told me of one poor lady who wished heartily to leave her child in the public school it is now attending, but has sadly, by her superstitious reverence for her priest, succumbed to the fears that arose from the latter's threatening. Neither can hers be an isolated case, for 'tis really a phenomenon how people, even in this age, consult less their own inclinations and promptings of heart than they do those of the fleshly priest, who cannot by any miracle of nature enter into a true communion with their feelings.

I would like to ask you—for perhaps you know—whether this action of Camden Catholicism is a purely individual whim of the priest, or is of common practice in all the churches of the sect? We all know that the priests hate the schools; but I am curious for information as to whether this method of threatening is of universal acceptance.

What a great, grand fight the Liberal League has before it! How vast is this unsightly monster of sectarianism that has even polluted with its touch America's halls of education! HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

CAMDEN, N. J., Oct. 6, 1878.

[We understand it to be the fixed policy of the Catholic Church in this country to do what the Camden priest has done, and to require the children of its adherents to be sent to Catholic parochial schools wherever they exist. It is not by any means a "new move."—ED.]

"WERE THERE any aliens and strangers among the Jews at the time of their journey to the promised land?" asked the superintendent last Sunday. "No, sir," replied the smart bad boy on the back seat; "they were all to the manna born." School closed with singing.—*Burlington Hawkeye.*

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Prof. MAX MUELLER, of Oxford, England, in a letter to the Editor published in THE INDEX for January 4, 1873, says: "That the want of a journal entirely devoted to Religion in the widest sense of the word should be felt in America--that such a journal should have been started and so powerfully supported by the best minds of your country,--is a good sign of the times. There is no such journal in England, France, or Germany; though the number of so-called religious or theological periodicals is, as you know, very large."

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Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1876. Contains a full abstract of the interesting discussion at the Business Meeting on the Practical Methods and Work of the Association; the annual report of the Executive Committee; address of the President, O. B. Frothingham; essay by James Parton, on "The Relation of Religion to the State" (or, as he styles it, "Cathedrals and Beer"), with addresses on the subject by Miss Susan H. Wilson and Rev. M. J. Savage; essay by Samuel Longfellow, on "The Relation of Free Religion to Churches," with the addresses that followed it by Prof. Felix Adler, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Rev. Brooke Herford, and John Weiss,--together with letters from Judge Doe, Rev. Joseph Cook, and others, invited to speak.

Proceedings of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1877. Contains Essays by Rev. Wm. E. Alger, on "Steps towards Religious Emancipation in Christendom," and by C. D. B. Mills, Esq., on "Internal Danger to Free Thought and Free Religion"; Addresses by O. B. Frothingham, Wm. Henry Channing, Rabbi Lasker, Dr. J. L. Dudley, and T. W. Higginson; and tenth annual reports of the Executive Committee, Treasurer, etc.

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For series of important Tracts see last page of THE INDEX.

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7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
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The above is the platform of THE INDEX, so far as the editor is individually concerned. But no other person, and no organization, can be justly or truthfully held responsible for it without his or its explicit approval.

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GLIMPSERS.

GAMBETTA sees clearly the great and growing peril of the claims of Clericalism, and the necessity of upholding the secular State in its prior claims upon the citizen. Says the *Tribune*: "Eighteen months ago, when the Italian Ministry were striving to bind the clergy hand and foot by means of the Mancini bill, Gambetta demanded the introduction of a similar act in France. At Romans he declares that it is in the Church that the spirit of the past takes refuge and gathers strength. He inveighs against 'the spirit of the Vatican and of the Syllabus, which is nothing but the abuse of ignorance, with the purpose of enslaving.' He calls for the abolition of indulgences and privileges, which 'form half the power of these priests, who live on public credulity alone.' He maintains that young men who are being educated for the priesthood must serve their time in the army, and that obligatory service must be made a reality without respect to vocations. Not only will seminary students be forced to go into camp and learn to be soldiers, but priests will have to leave their parish work and train with the reserves. A body of two hundred and fifty thousand men employed in or training for the service of the Catholic Church will thus be exposed to the burdens of military service and to the temptations of barrack life, not only in time of war but during years of peace and prosperity. This seems to be the leading feature of the Republican policy which the leader of the party has outlined." This account of the matter is colored by the *Tribune's* usual prejudice in favor of "the Church." But one may well ask by what right two hundred and fifty thousand young men evade duties which all others must share. "Privilege for none—justice for all."

WHAT THE *Independent* says in this paragraph is exactly what the American people ought to take to heart: "The Protestants in some of the manufacturing towns in Connecticut are complaining that the Catholics, through their control in school-boards, are in effect turning the public school into an instrumentality for the propagation of their peculiar religious faith, at the expense of the general public. In Waterbury, one of the most thriving manufacturing towns in the State, a Catholic priest is a member of the school-board; and distinctively Roman Catholic schools, in which all the teachers and all the children are Catholics, and in which Catholicism is taught as a part of school instruction, are established and conducted by this board. The same fact is said to exist in other manufacturing towns of the State. This, of course, is offensive to Protestants, and ought to be to all good citizens. It presents the anomaly of a public school, supported by general taxation, yet practically belonging to and managed in the interests of a religious sect. Bad and anti-American as it is, we do not see that those Protestants who insist that the public school shall be both religious and Protestant in its character can reasonably object to it where the Catholics have the majority. It is simply applying their own principle in support of Catholicism; and, if the principle is a good one at all, it is just as good when a Catholic applies it as it is when applied by the Protestant. We object to it, no matter who applies it. It is no better in the hands of Protestants than in those of Catholics. The public school should not be worked in the interests of either, but in those of the general community, irrespectively of the peculiar tenets of any religious sect; and then no sect will have any just cause of complaint."

COMMENTING on the cipher despatches unearthed by the *Tribune*, the *Nation* unmercifully pricks a bubble of superstition blown by the former journal: "The *Tribune* says that their failure was owing to the direct interposition of Providence. In one of the cipher despatches four words were missing which made it unintelligible, causing a delay,—or, as the *Tribune* puts it: 'But if, in the secret purpose of any

trusted and sworn member of that board of three, upon whose action depended the fate of forty millions of people, there lurked a thought of treachery and crime, the God of Nations saved this land from ruin and dishonor, for his lightnings refused, until it was too late, to bear intelligibly the shameful order to consummate the crime, and held their secret until the danger had passed.' We cannot believe, however, that such astute politicians as 'Zach' and 'Bill' Chandler in their dealings with Dennis and McLin trusted altogether in the God of Nations. We fear we shall never know precisely what saved us from ruin and dishonor until we know what the Republican agents did between the 30th of November and the 5th of December, 1876, and get a glimpse of the secret despatches on their side. We know from their own appearance before the Potter Committee what manner of men the Florida counters were; that some of them, at least, were marketable the cipher telegrams show, and we therefore have our curiosity roused as to the precise means employed by the God of Nations to make them give the Presidency to the right man, and yet satisfy the longings of their corrupt nature for money or goods. That anything in the nature of a miracle, such as change in the quality of electricity or of iron wires, was resorted to for this purpose we refuse to believe. We feel quite sure no such tremendous exercise of power was needed to overrule Dennis or McLin for good in any required direction."

THIS is what Gambetta said at Romans on the eighteenth of last September: "The clerical question—that is to say, the question of the relations of the Church and the State—keeps all the other questions in suspense. Here in the Church it is that the spirit of the past takes refuge and gathers strength. I denounce the ever greater danger society runs from the Ultramontane spirit,—the spirit of the Vatican, of the Syllabus, which is nothing but the abuse of ignorance with the purpose of enslaving. I have spoken of the relations of the Church and the State; I am perfectly aware that to be correct I should have said of the churches; but from the governmental and national point of view it is only Ultramontanism which persists in opposition to the State. The clerical spirit endeavors to filtrate into everything,—into the army and the magistracy; and there is this that is peculiar to it: it is always when the fortune of the country is falling that Jesuitism rises. Far be it from me to wish to put shackles on liberty. I am an obstinate partisan of liberty of conscience. But the ministers of religion have duties to the State, and what we exact is the fulfilment of these duties. Apply the laws—all the laws—and abolish indulgences. If the law is applied, order will be restored to France, without persecution, by simply continuing the traditions which prevailed from the aurora of the Revolution in 1789 till the last glimmer of the Revolution in 1848. They were not abandoned till in December the mitrailleurs, and those who blest the mitrailleurs, combined. Indulgences must be abolished. Privileges form half the power of these men. They live on public credulity alone. Yes, every one must be subject to the common law. Obligatory service must be made a reality. Vocations must only be allowed after the first of all vocations—that of serving the Fatherland—has been fulfilled. As to public instruction, it must be the passionate solicitude of your legislators, senators, deputies, and public servants. It is their duty to make the people of France the most cultivated and best educated of all peoples. To attain this result, again, the enterprises of clericalism must be thwarted. The reasoning power of our children must be exercised; only healthy and safe notions must be deposited in their minds, in order to accelerate the progress of the public mind. Give them notions of our public law, teach them their duties as citizens, make them not illiterate, but sensible and patriotic men."

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Free Religion.

THE ORDINATION ADDRESS OF FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY.

The Free Religious Society of Providence held its first service for the season Sunday last. After the singing of a hymn and the reading of selections from Emerson and Weiss, by Mr. A. W. Stevens, of Boston, Mr. B. A. Ballou, President of the Society, addressed the Resident Minister elect as follows:—

MR. FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY:— I am instructed by the Free Religious Society of Providence to officially recognize you as our Resident Minister; and we therefore ordain and install you as such, in accordance with the principles and usage of our religious fellowship. To which Mr. Hinckley responded:— MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE FREE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF PROVIDENCE:— It is with no formal ceremony, but with the earnest purpose of the heart, that I here and now assume the trust you have tendered me. I assume it with a sincere desire to consecrate my best efforts to the service it implies. I assume it in the spirit of liberty. I assume it in the spirit of brotherly love. And may all the good influences which the past or the present can bring bless this, our united effort, to carry the principles of a natural, free, and practical religion to the souls of men.

After the singing of another hymn, Mr. Hinckley delivered the following address:—

THE WORK OF A FREE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.

Friends,—The occasion dictates the theme to-day. Summoned by you to service in a field as yet but little tilled, where the rules of guidance are few and the opportunities many, it seems natural that we should pause a moment on the boundary, to survey the work to be done; for a clear conception of its character and hearty cooperation in its performance are the most vital prerequisites of success.

The first thought which comes to me is of the difference between the duties I now assume and those of a minister in the churches. The Catholic, the Evangelical, even the so-called liberal clergyman is an official. He wears in spirit, if not in fact, the robes of office; he is the representative of an ecclesiastical dynasty, of a creed of greater or less sternness, of a close corporation. His position commands for him respect, independent of anything he really is or does. Whatever he may be individually, the moment he enters the pulpit, he is expected to conform to certain customs, which have essentially become laws in church government. He is to read selections from the Bible of only one of the world's many religions, and is not to expound even them in the clear light of reason; he is to use certain pet phrases which are often made to cover a multitude of sins; and he is to guard and shave down and pair off his thought, to the end that it may never fall in seeming respect for the system whose willing servant he is supposed to be, but whose slave he often is. Thus he must produce from forty to fifty discourses annually, with his brain in chains, and keep the Christian institution under his charge in vigorous condition on a mixed diet of fettered thought, superstitious reverence for meaningless forms, and a shallow, not to say, lazy conformity to custom.

But I have not come here to be an administrator upon the estate of the past. You neither confer, nor would I accept, any robes or authority of office. The only respect which I have either the right or desire to claim from you is that which you are bound to give to honest thinking and honest living. I could not if I would, I would not if I could, appeal to any other standard of judgment. When I occupy this desk, my first and highest duty will be to speak, not what you think, but what I think; not what the Christian system may approve, but what it seems to me universal religion, including the good in all systems, approves; not what is in the interests of a sect, a social condition, a race, but what conforms to the truth which is greater than all sects, underlies all social conditions, and is the life and hope of all races. In doing this part of my work, I am not limited to our own Bible; I may, I must, seek the light which is in other scriptures, ancient and modern. I must recognize the fact that the world has had many saviors, and is yet to have many more. Nor is this all. Surrounded, as we all are, by the only materialism much to be feared—the greed for office, for honor, and for gold—it will be a part of my duty to emphasize the ideal, and to show, if possible, that whatever may be in store for man hereafter, be it personal or impersonal immortality, or total annihilation, there is a life of the spirit, a life which means the subordination of the sensual, the cunning, the grasping to the pure, the just, the divine, which can and ought to be lived here and now. When I see a practice which to me seems immoral, a social condition which to me seems unjust, a national act or relation which to me seems a wrong, it will be my duty to say so. You know me well enough to know that you have not invited a man here who believes much in metaphysical dreaming. When we say we are for truth and justice, I am sure we are agreed in indorsing Emerson's statement, that "Truth is the summit of being, and justice its application to affairs." Nor is there serious danger in being a little aggressive. There are those who fear so much from the rough waters of free thought and free speech that they never set sail. It seems to me the spray of agitation may have a healthy effect upon the finest organization. Honest thought freely spoken is just what we need. Honest thought suppressed is to-day the curse of the Church. It begets insincerity, hypocrisy, and all manner of sins. The very essence of our movement, the distinguishing characteristic of this platform, is its freedom. I hope, however, I may "never forget the prudence which should temper firmness"; I hope I may never

fail to recognize the difference between liberty and license; I hope I may always practice that real virtue which consists in cherishing what the great declaration calls "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." The animating spirit of the Free Religious movement is not the same as that of the old and some of the present reform movements. In the anti-slavery days, much hard language was used, sometimes of a very personal nature. It was a hand-to-hand contest, and there was little opportunity for careful weighing of words. No one need regret it; but the method then so prevalent is not exactly our method. However bad a man's opinion may be, we believe he has the same right to it, so he be honest, that we have to our own. We believe in knocking down the opinion; we do not believe in knocking down the man. We would speak the truth as it is given us to see it, but we would speak it in the spirit of love. I hardly need remind you, friends, that while we all have much in common, the body of Free Religious people was never yet seen in which there were not great and often very vital differences of opinion. Indeed, there is not one of us who would believe there was much free religion in an assembly where these differences were wanting. The lesson is obvious. You could not expect any one man's thought to represent you all, even if any one man could be found who could do justice to himself or to his hearers in one discourse per week the year round. And so very wisely you have arranged to hear a portion of the time from speakers from abroad. But in the selection of these, and the use of so much of the time as you have allotted to me, it may not be possible to satisfy all. I can only say, so far as I am concerned, that it will be my constant endeavor, in so far as I may conscientiously do so, to see that all the phases of your thought are represented; and to this end I not only invite, but I urge you to make suggestions and criticisms. However it may be in the Church, your representative ought not to be beyond friendly criticism, for he is neither above you nor over you, but one of you; and the friendships which such a relation will naturally beget ought to stand and be benefited by mutual criticism as well as general cooperation. So while I think the language of Burke to his Bristol electors applicable to my own little self, that you have not chosen me to be "a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale," I nevertheless feel sincerely that there is much homely sense in the old proverb, "Many heads are better than one," and that we may all sit in reverent and equal fellowship at the feet of the only leader we can own, the one universal spirit of truth.

But the time has come in your life, as an organization, when you recognize what many thoughtful people in our movement everywhere are recognizing, that if free religion is the broad and comprehensive thing we have regarded it, it must do something more than provide weekly afternoon entertainment for the mental faculties of adults. It must consider the children and young people; for it is a simple truism to say that no movement can long survive which does not enlist the sympathies of the rising generation. More than that, every observing parent among us has seen that Sunday is a poor day for the children, unless something is provided to occupy their minds, and that in many cases the invitations constantly extended from the Sunday-schools of liberals and even Evangelical churches, accompanied with the temptation, natural and legitimate, of a desire to mingle in social enjoyment with their peers in age and tastes, lead our children into an atmosphere not such as we should select, and fill their minds with ideas far different from those which we ourselves hold very vital and dear. I have heard of a free religious mother, who hearing her children's voices after she had put them to bed one night, listened—with what astonishment you may imagine—to hear them singing with all the innocence and enthusiasm of childhood, "We are Saved by the Blood of the Crucified One." It is not strange that under such circumstances there has been a growing perception of the need, which has finally with you resulted in a demand for the application of free religious principles to the wants of the children. So we say we are trying to organize a Sunday-school, but that title gives no idea of what we wish it to be. In the first place, it is not simply a school which is purposed. Teaching according to the methods of modern evolutionary thought is, indeed, a large and valuable portion of the work to be done in it; but the wholesome influence of rational worship is distinctly recognized, and general exercises of a purifying and inspiring, and yet a plain and practical character are an essential part of what is needed. Then the associations of the term Sunday-school are such as are calculated to mislead. To the popular mind, Sunday-school means something inconceivably stupid,—an attempt to cram little brains with what they cannot understand, and the routine performance of general exercises, which if comprehended at all, undermine the reason, and ultimately crush that natural, spontaneous freedom which makes childhood so beautiful and so well-nigh omnipotent. I hope I do no injustice to the popular Sunday-school. I know its social advantages, which we have been too slow to adopt, but it undertakes to deal with some of the most tender elements of human character, and it almost without exception perverts them. In what is entitled "A Short Catechism for Young Children," claiming to contain "most of what is absolutely necessary to be known in order to salvation," and which it is said may be taught to children before they can read, may be found these questions and answers, and they are a good example of the whole book.

- Q.—Who made you? Ans.—God. Q.—Who redeemed you? Ans.—Christ. Q.—Who sanctifies you? Ans.—The Holy Ghost.

CHUNDER SEN'S OPINION OF CHRIST.—We sincerely wish, sometimes, that Christ had been an Indian instead of a Jew. At the present day there is not a Hindu down whose cheeks tears do not copiously flow at hearing of the heavenly love and purity of Rama Chandra. His exploits are sung, his name is uttered, his mercies remembered in every village and family of the country. The great Rama has mixed himself up with the blood of the people; and, whether one be living or dead, Rama Chandra is the consolation, hope, and salvation to all. A prophet like Christ would not have fared worse. A devout bhakta would have shed rivers of tears as he pronounced the name of that sweet prophet. Creeds and formulas would not have come to disfigure him, and there would have been no sects to kindle the flame of persecution which has burnt up the very love which Christ came to preach. In India Rama has left us no bitter legacy of dogmas. The only thing we have inherited from him is his name, his life, his triumph. So it would have been if Christ had been with us. We should have devoted an epic to his glory, sung his name through every city and village, comforted the weak in their sorrows and the dying on their death-bed, remembered him in every act of daily life, and died finding consolation and strength in his holy example. We wish, indeed, that Christ had been born in India.—Indian Mirror.

THE Scientific American says: "During the Centennial summer samples of air were collected on various occasions, upon the Exhibition grounds at Philadelphia and in the different buildings; also in this city, in Brooklyn, Hoboken, and on many of the Adirondack Mountains, with a view to transmitting them to the chemists of 1870, to determine whether the earth's atmosphere is undergoing change. That the atmosphere has undergone enormous changes since the earlier geological ages is beyond a doubt. The present question is whether such changes are still slowly going on, and what their nature may be. The ordinary statement that the air has an invariable composition is not strictly true, since samples of air collected at different times and in different places are never found to be absolutely identical. The difference may be slight; but an apparently insignificant decrease in the percentage of oxygen becomes of grave importance when the deficiency, as is usually the case, is made up of less beneficial elements."

Q.—Of what were you made? Ans.—Of dust.
 Q.—What does that teach you? Ans.—To be humble and mindful of death.
 Q.—For what end were you made? Ans.—To serve God.
 Q.—How should you serve God? Ans.—By believing on His Son, calling on His name, and obeying His commands.

And in an appeal to the rising generation this occurs, addressed, remember, to young children, even before they can read. "Oh, think, seriously think, how deplorable is your natural estate!"

Well, that is a catechism of the old school, pernicious, utterly pernicious, from beginning to end. What do children know about redemption and sanctification? What do they know about serving God in any way, and especially in the way of such a meaningless abstraction as by believing in His Son and calling on His name? Why, friends, it occurs to me that a child born into this world of parents who have paid any regard whatever to the laws of life is already redeemed and sanctified, and that a religion which meets him with the inglorious announcement that his natural estate is deplorable is a sham and a lie.

All this, however, is being slowly but surely outgrown, and let us be thankful for it. It is the natural revolt of human nature against an inhuman belief and inhuman methods. But how is it with the more liberal text books? Take the Unitarian, for example. Running through them all can be seen a direct attempt to teach the child that Jesus was in some special and exceptional sense a Savior, and that the Church and its forms are divinely ordained. Worse than that, the child is taught to accept on trust, as facts, certain things which the teacher himself does not and cannot know to be facts. Take such subjects as the character of God and the immortality of the soul. What right have we to fill the child's mind with our mere opinions and hopes; or, if you please, our intuitive conception about the unknowable in precisely the same tone of assured confidence that we teach him the demonstrable facts of physical and mathematical science? For that matter, why should we seek to impose upon him anything of this nature? The misconception of education so prevalent in all our systems of teaching has done nowhere such serious harm as in Sunday-schools even of the most liberal denominations. The idea has been adopted that the child's mind is a little empty vessel, and that outside parties have only to turn on the faucets of human knowledge, and let the stream run until it is full. Such a process is an outrage upon the young and growing reason everywhere, and especially so in the realm of religion. Well, that is not what we propose to do here. So far as I know, there has never been a Sunday-school text-book published which we could possibly use without violating our conscientious convictions. We start on a new basis. Our system must be one of evolution. Here stands the child before us, just brimful of inquisitiveness, full of energy, full of mental acuteness. He has hands, he has a heart, he has a head. His salvation consists infinitely more in being well employed than in believing—let me say it with all reverence—in Jesus Christ or even in God. It is not in his nature to speculate, any more than it is in the nature of the little seed just sending its tiny shoot above the soil to at once bear flower and fruit. He is to be a growth, slow, natural, sure. And we, we are to minister to that growth, to guide it towards, but never to pervert it from, its legitimate tendencies. We should respect the laws of that little mind as profoundly as Newton must have respected the law of gravitation when he saw the apple fall. So, then, if we would do a true work in education, we must study the evolution of individual minds and hearts.

How shall we, in the work we are now undertaking, do that? We need, it seems to me, to recognize at the outset that a child is a social being, a moral being, and an intellectual being. From this recognition it is easy to see that we must provide social enjoyment, endeavor to guide and strengthen character, and lead the mind in its search for knowledge. Every one may feel, and it's according to the genius of our faith to so order our arrangements that he shall feel, that he comes to our free religious school to have a rational good time; that its atmosphere is one full of cheerfulness, and that associated with it in social meetings, for games, dances, and the like, is an amount of real attractive pleasure which he would not willingly forego. I mention this first, not because it is the most important, but because it is a necessary first step toward success, and because it ministers directly to that thorough acquaintance between all connected with our movement, young and old, which is also an essential element of success. Of course it is a means, not the end. But, before we can reach the end, we must all be children together. Social enjoyment, therefore, with all that promotes it in the highest and best sense, is an important feature of our work.

We naturally desire, also, to influence for good the growing character. How shall we do that? It is claimed by many—mistakenly, as I think—that the silent influence which comes from personal contact is the only way. That it is the best way, few will question, but by no means is it the only way. To read a good book, an inspiring hymn, or to sing an elevating song, is to come into indirect contact with so much of personal character as has gone into book, hymn, and song; sometimes, too, with this advantage that books, and especially hymns and songs, may be selected which represent the highest and purest enforcements of character, and so are far beyond the average tone of the life which created them. We have thought, therefore, that a few general exercises, joined in by old as well as young, simple in form and reverent in spirit, expressive of the loftiest

human aspirations and the purest moral precepts would have a direct and powerful influence on individual character and upon the character of our movement as a whole. So we have procured a little book of songs, called *The Morning Stars*, by J. Villa Blake, a radical minister; and a book of selections, prose and poetical, for general exercises, originally published by a school similar to ours in another city. These books are not made up as most books of the kind are,—about one-third good and two-thirds bad or indifferent. The music of *The Morning Stars* is exceptionally good, and the words free from the objectionable theology which so frequently and imperceptibly asserts itself in songs and hymns. Its publisher told me that on one occasion a committee from a Universalist school bought a large number of copies of it, because of its beautiful music, but after a few days use, came back with them in great dismay, saying they could not possibly use the book, for they could find nothing about Jesus Christ in it. The name of Jesus does occur in it, and it is full of his spirit; but it has none of the qualifications calculated to make it acceptable to institutional religion. When it is remembered how far the hymns of a people lay behind their most advanced thought, I think all will agree that *The Morning Stars* shines with a clear and unmistakable brightness which will not lead astray. Of the little service book, let me say it is as successful in what has been kept out of it as in what has been put in. And it is said, you know, that Bryant's work, on the *New York Evening Post*, during the latter part of his life, was in filling the waste-basket. Certainly there is no more important part in the making up of a book or a newspaper. Well, this little book is very limited. The means of those who published it made it necessarily so, but it is choice. He must be critical indeed who can object to anything in it. It opens with an exercise to be read or repeated by the superintendent and school, designed to take the place of the prayer usually used in Sunday-schools. It is a prayer in the good sense; that is, it is the natural expression of an aspiration, a longing for something higher and better than we have yet attained. It is not a prayer in the, to many of us, objectionable sense, of being addressed to any one or of being a special appeal or plea. It looks to and aims at an inward condition rather than an outside power. Following this aspiration, if you choose so to call it—we purposely refrained from calling it by any name—come prose and poetical selections, from some of the Bibles of the world and some of our more modern prophets. These are intended for alternate readings by the superintendent and school. Their subjects will indicate somewhat their character: Noble Living, Three old Saws, Rest, A Happy Life, Brotherhood, Small Beginnings, The Fountain, Wisdom, Charity, Cheer, Nobility, Suppose, Longing; and the collection closes with a few simple lines, which again we did not name, to be repeated by the superintendent and school in place of a benediction. Of course there is room for difference of opinion as to the effect of such exercises as these; but, for one, I am strongly of the conviction that they will always prove an advantage, provided they are kept, as they always should be, reasonably spontaneous and attractive. An occasional talk by the superintendent, or by some other person selected by him, provided it be very brief and to the point, can be made to add interest and profit to the general exercises. Another feature of interest which we hope to cultivate, and one not without its moral influences, too, is that of self-government. The members of the school should, it seems to me, feel that this is an affair of their own. To accomplish this, let them elect a portion of their officers, and vote under certain limitations on questions of policy. For example, suppose they elect a secretary who shall keep a brief record, and read it each Sunday at a time in the session specially devoted to business, and a treasurer who shall hold the collections taken up each Sunday, together with any donations of money which may be received. When a social meeting is proposed, or an anniversary meeting, or a picnic, let the school vote upon it, and appoint its own committee to act with the superintendent in arranging for it. In these and many other matters constantly coming up, the hearty interest of children and young people can be enlisted by giving them a voice in the decision. I have known young people of all ages to discuss in a frank and mutually respectful but very earnest way, in a school thus governed, many a question of school management; and I believe their interest in the work they were doing was greatly increased thereby. Certainly the education derived from it for future duty in the formation and expression of opinion was of no mean value.

But what shall we teach, and how? Shall we teach about a personal God, or about the character of the great first cause, call it by what name you will? I should say never, save as in the natural development of the young mind it comes to crave knowledge concerning its origin and the origin of things. Even then we should be extremely careful to state the case just as it is—to confess that we have no positive information, and in the nature of things can have none; that we may conjecture and form our individual conceptions, but that after all they are mere conjectures; that some men have held one view, and others entirely different views; that the highest conception of which man is capable is what he usually calls God, but that whether there is such a Being, and if so, what is his character, are questions upon which mankind are not agreed, and of whose solution they must so long as they live in this world, at any rate, remain in ignorance. That is the only honest way of stating the case when it must be stated. Then the child can be left as he should be, to form his own conceptions. Nor do I conceive this to be a matter for regret. It is of infinitely more importance to teach the godlike than to teach God. Truth,

justice, mercy,—we know what these are. They have not been veiled from our eyes, and it will not weigh against a man in this world or any other that he seeks truth, does justice, and loves mercy, but knows not the Author of his being. Brimstone won't burn for such men as it did once.

Shall we teach the doctrine of a future life? I should say no, again. Simply when it becomes necessary, but not before, represent the case as it is. Say that here again we trench upon the unknowable; that men differ, too, about that, some thinking they know there is a life beyond, and some say they know there is not. Say what is the truth, that it cannot be demonstrated either way beyond dispute, but that most people and races have ever hoped for a new form of life after what we call death; and that the hope which to many of us has seemed an intuitive faith may not be without its significance.

Is there, then, nothing left to teach? Why, I had almost said everything is left! If there be a God, as I believe, but cannot demonstrate, I am sure he will be better pleased to have me apply myself to the duty he has placed next me, than in wandering in dreamy speculations into realms I know not of. If there be a future life, in some form or other, as I also believe, but cannot demonstrate, I am sure I shall be better prepared for it if I earnestly and contentedly live my life here and now. If there is any one thing which seems to me hinted by Nature, by every faculty and circumstance of our being, it is that we are denizens of mother earth, and our chief duty is to consider her affairs. As Pope has interpreted it, "The proper study of mankind is man." The broadest possible culture of humanity—that is our end and aim, is it not?

Now it has seemed to me that, with this purpose kept constantly in view, we need to enter upon such class or group work as follows:—

1st. The comparative study of religions. There should be an opportunity for all wishing it, and all should wish it sooner or later, to obtain a reasonably correct idea of each of the great religious systems of the world, and their relation to each other. Few will desire to make this branch of human knowledge an exhaustive study, nor can many do so with profit; but a general idea of each system and its place in the world's history is desirable, and its acquisition may be made easy and attractive to young men and women from eighteen or twenty upward.

2d. An elementary knowledge of social science and political economy is invaluable, and directly in the line of our work. The acquirement of this, too, may be made practicable and attractive. How men live together, the principles of trade, the laws of productive and distributive industry,—in a word, the science of society, presented not in the way of advancing pet theories, but giving as settled principles only such as are universally accepted, and where there are two or more sides, stating each with judicial impartiality—what more important feature in religious education can there be than that? This group is well adapted, is it not? to young men and women from say fifteen years upward.

3d. Popular biography. The lives of the great and good of the past and present can be made an exceedingly interesting and profitable study between the ages of ten and fifteen, or thereabouts. Take some of the names in our own history; for example, Washington, Jefferson, Sumner, Franklin, Morse, Burritt, and the like; the contemplation of such character as these possessed, under skillful treatment, can hardly fail to ennoble the whole of life.

4th. For children ranging, perhaps, from eight to ten and twelve, or even older, there is the great realm of natural science. And how easily the little folks, even when they can but just run and play, take to this realm. One member of this group finds discarded birds' nests; another has been to the beach, and picked up a pocketful of pretty stones and shells; another has been gathering wild or garden flowers; another has a piece of tin-foil which can be made to sing; and so on *ad infinitum*. Why, what a world of texts they all have in their keeping! Very slowly but very surely a student of science, who has not forgotten how to be a child with children,—who, like all successful teachers, prefers to study with them rather than lecture to them,—will find the youngest minds passing from the simple to the complex in a way that will be a constant surprise.

5th. The youngest children, those who are just passing from babyhood, the smallest, but by no means least important element in our undertaking. They need to be taken, after the close of the general exercises, into a room by themselves, and under the lead of some one who understands and cannot help loving childhood, taught simple songs and games such as are familiar to Kindergartners, and such as a good Kindergarten can invent and develop indefinitely.

And 6th. The adults, even the oldest of us, shall we not find the "Conversational Group" proposed for us a mutually helpful thing? We are needed in the general exercises of the school; and, after they are over, we can pass to this group and spend from thirty to forty minutes or more in considering such topics as may be of interest and profit. Such a company of adults has been maintained in a movement similar to ours, and there is every reason to believe it will be successful with us; successful, I mean, not simply in point of numbers, but of real, substantial results. These class or group lessons, together with an occasional general lesson for the entire school, cover the plan for special teaching so far as it has been developed; but it can be extended indefinitely, as there shall be a demand for special branches of study.

I have very briefly, and I know very imperfectly, hinted at the work we propose doing in our school; but in truth it cannot be fully foretold. It will grow upon our hands, and we shall need to adapt our methods to the circumstances of the case as they arise. Do not hesitate, friends, any or all of you, to

attend our school sessions, and to suggest to me improvements, if any occur to you. It is not an iron system which we are inaugurating. It is pliable, and, so far as I am concerned, will ever be kept so. No method of education, secular or religious, can be in the highest degree successful otherwise. I think you will agree with me that what we propose is not merely a new Sunday-school after the old type, it is a movement essentially unique in its character, and must ultimately be judged by its own merits and defects, and not by any name it bears, or any power of wealth or ecclesiastical history which stands behind it. And when we remember that we are doing this work, not simply for our own children, though that should be inducement enough, but that in and through it we are making an effort to solve a problem of general and increasing interest, ought we not to resolve to make it as thorough and complete as our capacities will permit? I am sure that if we realize its importance, we shall not hesitate to do so.

I ought to say something of our proposed way of using the fourth Sunday of each month—the meeting for discussion or conversation. At this meeting it is designed to have a paper or papers read by members of the society, presenting one or both sides of some subject of interest, and to follow it or them with general conversation. I use the word conversation rather than discussion, because it seems to me more in accord with the spirit which should characterize this meeting. In the latter, the aim too often is to say smart things and to trip each other up. In the former, it is by a friendly comparison of notes to arrive at the real and substantial truth. If we all shun the spirit of mere discussion, and adopt the conversational method, I feel sure that this experiment will not be the least successful one of our movement.

One word more. We have not fulfilled our mission here when we have provided entertainment and instruction for ourselves and for our children. We are members of society, and citizens of a State and nation; to these we owe a duty not only as individuals, but as free-religious organizations. Free religion has a word for every relation in life. It is our duty to voice that word. This movement can be, may I not say it should be? a recognized power on the side of social purity and universal justice. Whatever difference of opinion there may be concerning methods,—and there always will be very great difference,—I for one feel that in the face of impurity or injustice of any kind whatsoever there should be nothing equivocal in the attitude of free religion. It needs not a microscope to read the clear handwriting of liberty, and she it is who sets for us our copy. More than that, friends, we ought to hold ourselves above prejudices; we should aim to represent nothing less than humanity. Any law or custom which makes a distinction on account of color of the skin, of wealth, of sex, of social position,—may I not say it is obnoxious to all free-religious eyes? Are we not agreed in demanding the total separation of Church and State, equality of rights and duties for all, and sober, virtuous living? Well, that is an anomaly in the religious world. No church ever took such a position as that without causing an earthquake, and perhaps being itself buried in the ruins. The Church has encouraged profession at the expense of practice; it has divorced religion from morality. If there is any one thing for which we stand more than for any other, it is their indissoluble union. Free religion means nothing, if it does not mean a morality which will not forge paper and appropriate trust-funds; it means nothing, if it does not mean ultimately the abolition of tricks in trade; it means nothing, if it does not mean universal brotherhood, where there shall be neither Jew nor Gentile, neither black nor white, neither male nor female, neither master nor slave, but all shall be free to make the most of the faculties with which they have been endowed.

That is the word of free religion to city, State, and nation. It is a sublime word. Let us be neither ashamed nor afraid of it; it will touch customs grown hoary with time; it cannot fail to come into conflict with iniquity organized into statute law. Not the less must it be spoken, spoken in the aggressive spirit of impartial justice, tempered by personal love and good-will.

In such a work as all this plainly is, the maintenance of a free platform, the adaptation of free religious principles to the young, the introduction into one of our Sunday meetings each month of the conversational method, the championship of truth, justice, and purity, in the community—we shall need and naturally develop the fellowship of the spirit. Through the work itself, through social meetings, through the sober and the joyous experiences of life, we shall be drawn almost irresistibly into closer friendships, and thus come to appreciate more fully in each other some characteristics which in the colder light of mere superficial acquaintance we might condemn.

And so, friends, not without distrust of my own ability, but with assured faith in the value of the work we are undertaking, and relying on your considerate coöperation, I assume the responsibilities to which you have called me. I assume them in the simple faith of the spirit, recognizing no ignorance which an earnest search for the truth will not overcome, and no chains save such as link humanity together in the omnipotent bonds of universal love.

As Sunday after Sunday we gather here, it will not be as an army with banners flying. No bell from tower-crowned cathedral shall summon us to ceremonial and formal prayer; but down deep in our heart of hearts, a principle shall be quietly at work, making every place a temple of worship, and every act of life a prayer.

Thus shall we lift ourselves into the calm repose of an unshakable faith in the integrity of the universe; strengthen the moral tone, and enlighten the minds of our children; make our city, State, and nation better for our living in them; and do our little part, in a

rational, common-sense way, toward converting the world from sin and ignorance and shame to the divine life of virtue, knowledge, love.

That is the mighty work we have undertaken. I know, friends, that in its performance, you will help me, and I hope earnestly and sincerely that I may be of some little help to you.

Mr. A. W. Stevens, of Boston, then made an address full of thoughtful suggestions, after which the meeting was closed with a hymn, followed by a closing word from the resident minister.—*Providence Journal*, Oct. 12, 1878.

AN IMPORTANT OPINION: THE COMSTOCK LAW CONSTITUTIONAL.

BOSTON, Oct. 21, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

My dear Sir.—As junior counsel in the Heywood case, I had facilities for observing, if not for directing, the proceedings. I assisted in examining the questions of law affecting the case, and have watched the subsequent discussion with much interest. I join in claiming that his conviction and punishment were wholly unjust, and agree that whatever real and well-grounded objections may be made to the book are only for offences against good taste, and not against any existing law. The injustice and illegality are likewise, in my mind, attributable to causes that I have not yet seen discussed.

Upon the most mature reflection that I have been able to give the subject, I do not reach the conclusion that the statute under which this indictment was found is either unconstitutional or unsound, or that it can certainly be framed in any better form of words. It has been stated that the statute can exclude matter from the mails only for "postal reasons." This ground of unconstitutionality was carefully examined by us, long before it appeared in print; and, although on first view quite plausible, it was abandoned, and never presented to the Court, because believed to be clearly unsound. The constitutionality of a statute is a question of powers, and not a question of reasons. Power is the legal point of jurisdiction, while reasons only affect the policy or discretion of the law-making department. If Congress has not the power to determine what may or may not be carried in the mails, then it cannot make such regulations for any reason, however good. If that body has such power, then it can make such regulations, which will be valid in law, without respect to the reasons that may have operated to bring about their enactment. It is certainly settled that the power to make such regulations is vested in the source whence this statute comes.

Moreover, as governments are established to promote the general good, it is implied in their institution that they will necessarily act in view of the promotion of sound morality, and that, therefore, all proper measures look to this, as one of their ends. This seems to me to establish the propriety of any measure tending to repress the acknowledged evils of distributing really obscene literature. In this great incidental purpose of promoting morality, there can be no difference between the national and State governments, and each may so shape its measures within the scope of its powers as to present or restrain any form of immorality. In the national government, however, this repression is incidental only to the exercise of its powers, for police regulations as such belong to the States.

In the administration of justice by civilized methods, it has been found that men, even when dressed in the ermine and mounted on the bench, are made more considerate of rights and more attentive to justice, by giving the suitor the right to appeal from the first decision, and have the same reviewed in a higher tribunal, whose more deliberate course of proceeding may furnish a better test of accuracy. This is a well-settled conclusion of history. The tone and purity of the Court of last resort are maintained by its removal from the original scene of conflict, the character and learning of its judges, and their independent position; while the salutary check upon the tribunal of original jurisdiction is here replaced by the necessity of having the final decisions published, and subjected to the criticism of a bar as learned and just as the Court, and to the further criticism of all mankind.

In the Circuit Courts of the United States, no appeal or writ of error has ever been provided in criminal cases; so that the ruling of the judge who presides at the trial is final. Here, in my opinion, arose the trouble in the case of Heywood. The brutal manner in which he was at first arrested aroused much feeling, and this brought a great many persons who sympathized with him to the trial. Therefore a strong reactionary feeling arose among those engaged in the prosecution, and in this I think the Court had far too large a share; and I believe the excitement of the judge had an undue and biasing influence on the jury. I am not aware that just such a trial ever before occurred in one of our national courts. I believe that many of the rulings in matters of law were erroneous, that the charge to the jury was shocking, and that in consequence thereof Heywood was improperly and illegally convicted. There were no means of having these rulings reviewed in the Supreme Court, and punishment followed as a matter of course. I believe the practice of omitting the book from the indictment, and substituting the characterization thereof by the prosecuting officer, is contrary to principle and all practice except that of Massachusetts; and that in this case it deprived Heywood of the benefit of a deliberate opinion of the Court on the principal question in dispute; i. e., the obscenity of the book.

I believe that a plain and direct method of carrying law questions in these cases from the Circuit to the Supreme Court would place these prosecutions where the corresponding cases in the State Courts now stand, and confine them to the cases of really obscene

literature; and this so effectually that no pestiferous fellow, sent out by a few bigots in the city of New York, could put the innocent citizens of other States in prison. The remedy, in my opinion, is to apply to Congress for a writ of error in these cases to the Supreme Court of the United States; and not for a repeal of the statute of 1873, or even for a modification thereof. It is impossible to make a statute that may not be abused; so that, with good laws, it is equally essential to secure upright and intelligent administration of justice.

GEORGE W. PARK.

VICTOR HUGO AND HIS ADMIRERS.

I have said Victor Hugo was the great central figure of the whole (literary congress). It was success enough for a literary convention that he took its presidency. It is not easy to imagine the atmosphere of veneration in which the veteran author is lying. His admirers speak of him with bated breath. After his oration they bowed down around him with almost canine servility. At the banquet at the Continental Hotel, I saw them kiss his hand passionately. He receives all with a sort of solemn benignity,—the sort of manner people who have an idea of greatness expect in their celebrity. But has he not had practice? In 1830 already, when he had struck with "Hernani" the death-blow of the old-fashioned classic drama, he had about him followers who thought it strange that he could walk the street like an ordinary mortal; that he ought only to appear in a triumphal car with a winged Victory holding laurels over his head. His "Hernani," revived at the Français, is a long way from its proper daylight now, when realism has come so near finishing romanticism in its turn; but it is gorgeously done, and one can be half-way dazzled by it into a conception as of some wild, different plane of existence, of a melodramatic life where all is Herculean feats, raptures, agonies, flashing rapiers, incredible sacrifices. At Belleville, if one will go to the other extreme of society, he can see at the same time a version of "Les Misérables." At the fine-arts exhibition of the year appears not only *Emeralda*, long since become a standard theme, but a new subject, *Gilliat* and his devil-fish cut in marble. Observing all this to which the writer can attain, perhaps it is not always so great a hardship, one reflects, that his income falls below that of some tradesmen.

We saw him first when he came to open the public séance on the third day at the Châtelet Theatre,—a short old man with hair and beard cropped close, square in every dimension, in a dress-coat with the waistcoat buttoned nearly to the throat, where an end of white scarf shows. His face is much wrinkled, and the almost absence of eyebrows gives it a senile feature; but the voice is strong and deep, and shows an abundant fund of force remaining. He does not use the trick of our orators of beginning in an undertone and rising by degrees. He launches at once upon a side of swelling, prophet-like sentences, his eyes raised to heaven. "The greatness of the memorable year in which we are is in this: It gives the hearing to civilization. . . . Menaces recede. The union of the people's smiles. . . . What is civilization? It is the perpetual discovery made by the human spirit on its march. Hence the word progress."

How well we know them, these sonorous sentences, into which no ray of humor ever enters—the "big injun" talk, as I have heard it called. They have always the manner of inspiration. It is their admirable feature that more than half the time they have its real matter. Behind me, in the audience, is a man who cries at every one of them, "Ah, quel mot!" "Quel mot, français!" "C'est d'une finesse!" "Il est le plus grande poète du monde."—*New York Nation*.

GEORGE ELIOT AT HOME.

I was led to an old-fashioned sofa that stood at one end of the room, some distance from the wall. My hand was held for a moment by a lady in the plainest possible attire, who is thus vaguely described in *Routledge's Men of the Time*: "George Eliot, said to be the daughter of a clergyman, born about 1820." Somewhat to my surprise I found her intensely feminine. Her slight figure—it might almost be called diminutive,—her gentle, persuasive air, her constrained gesticulation, the low, sweet voice,—all were as far removed from the repulsive phenomenon, the "man-woman," as it is possible to conceive. The brow alone seemed to betray her intellectual superiority. Her face reminded me somewhat of the portrait of Charlotte Brontë that every one is familiar with. Yet there was no striking similarity. I should rather say the types of head and face are the same. When she crossed the room to call attention to a volume under discussion, she seemed almost like an invalid, and evidenced also an invalid's indifference to fashion and frivolity in dress. The guest, who sat careless, crosswise in his chair, was Edward Burne Jones, the preraphaelite artist to whom Swinburne dedicates "L'aus Veneris," and to whom he sings:—

"Though the world of your hands be more gracious,
And lovelier in lordship of things,
Clothed round by sweet art with the spacious,
Warm heaven of her imminent wings,
Let them enter unfledged, and nigh fainting,
For the love of old loves and lost times;
And receive in your palace of painting
This revel of rhymes."

Burne Jones had evidently not arrayed himself for the occasion. He wore a blue merino shirt-collar and cuffs as blue as indigo, artist jacket, and a general every-day air that bordered upon affectation. The conversation which I had interrupted was soon renewed, and it was better than a thousand books to hear the riches that these three souls lavished upon one another. Art, philosophy, the music of Wagner,

Rome ancient and Rome modern, Florence,—how they all love Florence and how they detest modern Rome! All English people seem to inherit the love of Florence. The conversation was presently interrupted. Some one entered, and, having said his opening lines, withdrew to a chair and subsided. The artist departed; the artistic atmosphere grew thinner and thinner. The three who had been discoursing like prophets upon a mountain-top came down out of the high places, and it was discovered that, after all, they were only a little more than ordinary when taken off their guard. Professor Lewes was the life of the circle, which increased as the reception hours drew to a close. Mrs. Lewes was the same placid, self-poised, kind-hearted, womanly soul who suffered no one present to feel neglected, for she took care to call the forlorn ones to her and distinguish them for a moment at least. Perhaps it is half true, the strange story that I heard in all its variations, for there were those present who sat transfixed and gazed rapturously upon the creator of *Romola* and *Adam Bede*. Every syllable she uttered sank into fertile hearts. They will all spring up, blossom and bear fruit; but not in this paper. It is said that there are note-books that go regularly to the priory and gorge themselves with wisdom; it is said that the professor has dipped his pen into the pages of *Daniel Deronda*. I know nothing of this. I can speak for the homely home that seemed almost bare, and for the homely hospitality, than which nothing can be less pretentious; and if I had doubted myself up to date, the exquisite charm of the hostess, as she detained me to renew an invitation which was to embrace the season—each Sunday from 2.30 to 5 P.M.—was sufficient to dismiss me in the best of humors. I shall never forget the absolute repose of Mrs. Lewes, the deliberation with which she discussed the affairs of life, speaking always as if she were revealing only about a tenth part of her knowledge upon the subject in question. With her it seemed as if all the tides had come in; as if she had weathered the ultimate storm; as if circumstances and not desire had swept her apart from her kind and left her isolated, the unrivalled mistress of a passionate experience. The professor accompanied me to the door, offering me a cigar of the very best brand. People, mild-eyed ladies with severely correct escorts, followed us, still dazed with the delicious awfulness of their interview. A young woman, without escort, stalked solemnly up the gravel path, gurgled at the threshold, and passed into the presence of the high priestess. The professor shook me warmly by the hand and whispered, "That is Miss —," but I failed to catch the name. I smiled knowingly, turned on my heel, and it was all over.—*San Francisco Chronicle*.

SECULARISM IN HOLLAND.

A dispatch from the Hague informs us that an educational law has been adopted by the Chambers of that town, and sanctioned by the king, excluding the Bible and religious teaching from the primary schools. This prohibition, though confined to the lower grade of schools, is significant, and may hereafter be extended to all the public schools of the Hague and Holland. If the principle is proper for the primary schools it would be proper for all the higher grades. Where people of all religious sects are required to pay taxes for the support of common schools it is manifestly improper to compel the teaching of the tenets of any one sect, and the school authorities in this country might learn wisdom and justice from the people of the Netherlands. The teaching of religion should be left to parents and the churches. The business of the public school is to inculcate the general principles of morality and to instruct children in the common branches of learning. It is not for the State, in this country, to assume the duty of giving religious instruction to anybody, child or adult. Here Church and State have no legitimate connection, and it should be the aim of all true friends of religious liberty to keep them separate forever. The evils incident to all alliances between them in the Old World should be a sufficient warning to the people of this country to beware of any such coalition. No sect in the majority, in any city or district, should be allowed to force its religious doctrines down the throats of the minority in the public schools, or in any institution created and supported by the State, by the people at large. How would the Protestants take it if in districts where the Catholics predominate the latter should compel the reading of their version of the Bible and their religious books in the public schools? How would Christians generally like it if the Jews, being in a majority in a district, should compel the reading of the Talmud in the schools? And have not the Jews and the Catholics a right to complain if others force upon their children religious teachings contrary to their doctrines? The Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this State recognize no religious sect, but protect all in their right to worship God in their own way. "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," says the Federal Constitution; and the same instrument provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States"; and the Constitution of Pennsylvania declares that "all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience, and no preference shall ever be given to any religious establishment or mode of worship." These provisions sufficiently indicate the genius and spirit of our government respecting religious liberty, and

exhibit as plainly as possible the enormity of any attempt by any religious sect to force its doctrines upon any other sect or class, through the public schools or by any other means. The school authorities of the Hague and the King of Holland have set a good example to those controlling the public schools in this country, and have shown themselves to be true friends of religious liberty and of religion itself, which should everywhere be free and untrammelled by State interference.—*Philadelphia Record*.

SALARIES OF THE ENGLISH CLERGY.

In addition to their stated salaries, the archbishops and bishops have each an episcopal residence or palace rent free, and residences are also furnished the deans of the cathedrals. The Archbishop of Canterbury's salary is \$75,000 per year; that of the Archbishop of York \$50,000; Bishop of London \$50,000; Bishop of Durham \$40,000; Bishop of Winchester \$35,000; Bishop of Ely \$27,500; six bishops have \$25,000 each; eight have \$22,500 each; eight others have \$21,000 each; one, the Bishop of Truro, has \$15,000; and one, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, has but \$12,000. The average salary of the thirty archbishops and bishops is \$26,750. In the various cathedrals there are twenty-nine deans, with an average salary of \$7007 each. The highest is that of the Dean of Durham, \$15,000, and the lowest \$1025, that of the Dean of St. David's. The deans of St. Paul's and Westminster have \$10,000 each. Most of the cathedrals have also from four to six canons each. The whole number is one hundred and twenty-eight, and the average salary \$3813. A number receive as much as \$8250 each, and a few have as little as \$1750. The most expensive see is that of Durham. The bishop has \$40,000, the dean, \$15,000; one canon has \$7500, five other canons have \$5000 each, and three archdeacons receive an aggregate of \$7290. The total of items given is \$94,790. This, however, is only a part of the whole expense, for there are prebendaries, minor canons, singing men, choirsters, a treasurer, chancellor, registrar, chapter clerk, etc., besides, who are a part of the force of every cathedral.

In a parish, the rector is more than a mere tenant. He is the absolute owner of the parsonage, glebe lands, and other parochial real property for life. It is possible to dispossess him of his benefice; but this is a thing very rarely done, and is by no means an easy matter. The rector owns this property just as much as the Duke of Devonshire owns his vast estates. The rector cannot sell it, it is true; neither can the Duke of Devonshire sell his without a special act of Parliament. Nearly all the large estates in the kingdom are under the law of entail; that is, the descent is fixed, and the owner cannot sell it, or change the course of descent. However, when all interested parties are agreed, the estate may be disentailed by special act of Parliament. The value of livings is various. The *clergy list* gives the incomes of over thirteen thousand benefices,—mostly parishes; and from these it appears that ten hundred and fifty-four clergymen get less than \$500 per year; two thousand nine hundred and ninety-one get from \$500 to \$1000; six thousand eight hundred and fifty-three get from \$1000 to \$2500; one thousand eight hundred and nine get from \$2500 to \$5000; two hundred and forty-nine get above \$5000; and the remaining incomes are not stated. The average of those stated is \$1600, and to this must always be added the use of the parsonage rent free.—*London cor. Cincinnati Gazette*.

THE SALE OF CHURCH LIVINGS IN ENGLAND.

The *Ecclesiastical Gazette* is a kind of official organ of the Church of England, and in this there is a large advertising business of this kind. In size it is about ten inches by eight. I bought a copy a short time ago, and that number has very nearly four entire pages devoted wholly to such advertisements. One agent begins by saying that "Patrons desirous of effecting private sales of advowsons, presentations, chapels, etc., should confidentially communicate with Mr. James Beck, 27 Bedford St., Strand, London." Another agency is "managed by a clergyman long benefited." He says his commissions are "very moderate," and that "desirable advowsons are now on sale with prospect of immediate possession, and numerous clients are desirous of purchasing livings for exchange in every diocese in England." He has some livings in and near London which will be disposed of "at a sacrifice." A little further down the column this clergyman-agent offers for sale the next presentation to a living in the county of Buckinghamshire, and delicately says, "The present incumbent is about seventy-five years of age, and in a very bad state of health." That makes it doubly desirable. The law objects to the sale of a presentation when the place is actually vacant, and sales are generally of the next presentation, and subject to the life of the present incumbent. He closes by saying that "if sold at once, no reasonable offer will be refused." Interest is often allowed on purchase money until the next presentation occurs. In that number of the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, eighty-seven livings are offered for sale or exchange. The *Times* and other papers also often have such advertisements.

The query naturally arises whether the law allows transactions like these. Strictly it does not; and simony, or the buying and selling of church preferment, is a crime at law. There are two express statutes on the subject. One forbids the passing of money or other valuable property between the recipient and the patron. This is easily evaded, however. The intending purchaser simply hands a friend the necessary amount of money, and this friend buys of the patron the right of the next presentation; that is, of filling the next vacancy. This seems to satisfy the

law; and yet no one would say that the real meaning of the law was not violated, for the living is sold just as truly as if there were no intervention of a third party at all. It is really a marvel that so definite a law is not held to cover even that violation of it. Another law prohibits even the sale of the right of presentation when the living is actually vacant. Even this may be evaded, however, by making a temporary appointment, and placing the recipient under bond to surrender it when desired to do so; that is, when a satisfactory sale has been effected to some one else.

Patrons are usually prudent enough to have a candidate in waiting when a vacancy occurs, and the almost universal method of selling a living is by selling the right of next presentation. Nevertheless, I see a few advertisements which promise immediate possession, which makes it clear that the second law is also often violated. A man once went to the eight London agencies and found that they gave in the aggregate particulars of sixteen hundred and seventy-six livings that were then offered for sale or exchange; and one prominent agent declared that he had enough more on his private books at home to swell the total to twenty-three hundred and eighty-three. Nearly all the eight thousand livings at the disposal of private parties are regularly sold; or, if not sold, given to some relative or friend out of mere favoritism. I do not for a moment suppose that the lord chancellor or any of the bishops dispose of any of the immense number of livings in their gift for money.—*London cor., Cincinnati Gazette*.

PROTESTANTISM is split into one hundred and one different sects. The Greek Church, separated from the centre of unity, and shutting its ears to the voice of the infallible guide, is also undergoing a rapid progress of disintegration. Every year one or more new sects arise, and some of them have attained large proportions. In 1868 appeared a sect who call themselves "Little Christians." The founders of it began by baptizing each other, and changing their names. They reject the use of holy water and images; they have no priests and only a slight form of prayer. This sect has become very numerous. In the same year the sect of the "Helpers" appeared. They never entered a church, and perform such worship as suits them in secret and in their own houses. Notwithstanding that in the province of Niakta there were more than twenty different sects, a new one appeared there in 1870, whose principle tenet was, not to owe no man anything, but to owe every one everything. They are called "Non Rent Payers," and the sect is popular, save with its creditors. Still another new sect are the "Cheslenniks," or "Counters." It was founded by a man named Maxim, who says that he was accosted in the woods, one night, by a venerable personage "who offered him a book to read. Opening it, Maxim found the message of salvation written in the Slavonic tongue. It commanded the people of God to count themselves, and be set apart from the world. It called the national church the devil's church; it declared Thursday to be the true Sabbath; it spoke contemptuously of saints and angels, and abolished the seven sacraments and the priesthood. Maxim returned to Semenov and preached the new doctrine. He speedily made converts, who counted themselves off and formed the 'Secret Semenov Church.' They show the bitterest contempt for the Council and the State. While the Orthodox pass by to church on Sunday morning, they shut themselves in their houses and manifest their despite in true Oriental style. Their chief tenet is that man must sin in order to be saved from sin. This doctrine, of course, leads to wild excesses, and the sect is looked upon as very immoral." Another extraordinary sect is called the "Napoleonists." Their cardinal principle is hatred of the Established Church and of the Government, and "as Napoleon was the chief enemy of Russia in recent times, they look upon him as the true Messiah, and worship him as God. Placing his bust on an altar, they fall before it in prayer. The worship has to be maintained privately; but they are said to be numerous, even in Moscow. They believe that Napoleon is still alive; that he fled from St. Helena to Central Asia; that he is now dwelling in Irkutsk, near Lake Baikal, on the frontiers of Chinese Tartary; and that he will come forth at the appointed time, leading a great army to the overthrow of Russia and to the uplifting of his church to glory and to power." The Greek Church, it will be seen, with all the power of the State at its back, has not been able to retain its unity or to prevent its people from straying away into these fearful, if ludicrous, heresies. Schism, like heresy, has within itself the seeds of its own disintegration.—*Catholic Review*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 2.

Erwin Brown, \$2; William Kincaid, \$1; Edw. Doyle, \$10; Jacob Hoffner, \$13.20; W. D. Pitt, \$3.20; S. N. Allen, \$1; Louis J. Doyle, \$5; New England News Co., \$5.48; S. H. Roper, \$23.20; Mrs. E. P. Robeson, \$10; Ellizur Wright, \$200; James Eddy, \$20; B. R. Tucker, \$10; C. A. Tucker, \$10; A. Folsom, \$50; Dr. J. C. Michener, \$3.20; Mrs. M. E. Bird, \$10; Dr. J. E. Oliver, \$12; T. H. Knowles, \$10; L. O. Bass, \$10; Mrs. K. G. Wells, \$10; C. Graeter, \$10; George Riker, \$5; L. Spaulding, 10 cents; R. D. Leet, \$1; H. Laid, \$1.00; W. H. Fitch, Jr., \$3.20; Miss E. J. Leonard, \$5; Mrs. A. C. Spooner, \$1.00; A. S. Brown, \$13.20; Nath'l Cummings, \$10; Dr. C. H. Horsch, \$20; W. L. Taylor, \$10; J. Sawyer, \$10; Mrs. C. P. Cummings, \$10; Dr. H. K. Oliver, \$40; Mrs. M. C. Perkins, \$10; Jno. D. Caldwell, \$3.25; N. E. Jams, \$1; E. North, 80 cents; Cash, \$2.50; Mrs. Eliz. B. Miller, \$10; Jas. A. Dupee, \$10; Prof. W. C. Russell, \$20.

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOV. 7, 1878.

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THE SYRACUSE CONGRESS.

The Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League convened at Syracuse, N. Y., Saturday, Oct. 26, 1878, at 10 o'clock, A. M. According to the report of the Committee on Membership, it was composed of twelve charter-members, one life-member, two annual members, and one hundred and twenty-three delegates representing thirty-two Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues, making one hundred and thirty-eight members in all.

Saturday Morning Session.

The President made brief introductory remarks, welcoming the delegates, and expressing a hope that harmony and courtesy would prevail throughout their deliberations. He stated that the Directors had endeavored, in all their arrangements, to secure perfect fairness and justice to all; and with this object in view he submitted to the consideration and free action of the Congress, on behalf of the Board, the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That the proceedings of this Congress shall be governed by the general rules of parliamentary law.
2. Resolved, That the Committee on Membership are hereby instructed to report a complete list of the members of this Congress, classified respectively as delegates, charter-members, life-members, and annual members; and to add the name of each delegate to the name of the Local League which he or she represents.
3. Resolved, That, in order to secure the prompt and orderly transaction of the important business of this Congress, all resolutions, after being read, shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.
4. Resolved, That the general order of business for the several sessions of this Congress shall be as follows:—

Saturday, Oct. 26.

BUSINESS SESSION, AT 10 A. M.

1. Reading of Records of last Congress by the Secretary (if required).
2. Appointment of Committee on Membership.
3. Address by T. B. Wakeman, Esq., of New York; being his speech on the Constitutionality of the Comstock laws, delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Aug. 1, 1878.
4. Address by Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany, on "The Liberty of Printing."
5. Report of the Committee on Membership.
6. Appointment of Committees on Resolutions, on Nominations, and on Finance.
7. Report of the Directors.
8. Report of the Treasurer.
9. Temporary Adjournment.

BUSINESS SESSION, 3 P. M.

1. Report of Committee on Resolutions.
2. Debate and Vote on the Resolutions concerning Freedom of the Press and Obscene Literature.
3. Temporary Adjournment.

PUBLIC SESSION, 8 P. M.

1. Addresses by Invited Speakers.
2. Temporary Adjournment.

Sunday, Oct. 27.

BUSINESS SESSION, 10 A. M.

1. Debate and Vote on the remainder of the Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
2. Temporary Adjournment.

BUSINESS SESSION, 3 P. M.

1. Report of the Committee on Nominations, and Election of Officers for the ensuing year.
2. Report of the Finance Committee.
3. Miscellaneous business.
4. Free Conference; short speeches, etc.
5. Temporary Adjournment.

PUBLIC SESSION, 8 P. M.

1. Addresses by Invited Speakers.
2. Final Adjournment.

The spirit of the "repeal" party immediately revealed itself in the objections made to the above order of business. Nobody could find any fault with the order itself, or even attempted to do so; it was on its very face too fair, systematic, and in every way proper, for any reasonable objection. But it was declared to be an "undemocratic" attempt to tyrannize over the Congress, to prevent it from managing its own affairs, etc., regardless of the fact that it was simply submitted for approval, and could

be amended or changed in any manner the Congress saw fit. A fair, orderly, and expeditious course of proceedings was evidently not desired. After long and profitless wrangling, the first three of the resolutions were adopted; on motion of Mr. H. L. Green, the fourth was amended as follows, and then adopted:—

Resolved, That a committee on order of business be appointed by the Congress, and that such committee nominate the members of the standing committees and officers of the League, subject to the approval of the Congress.

On motion of Mr. T. B. Wakeman, it was then

Resolved, That this committee consist of one member to be appointed by each Local League represented, and one by the life and one by the charter-members, with power to appoint sub-committees.

The entire remainder of the morning session was wasted in the election of this committee, which had only to do over again in a bungling and loose manner what had already been well done by the Directors beforehand, with a self-evident purpose to save time and trouble for the Congress and facilitate its business. Great confusion of course followed the destruction of this well-laid plan; and the sincere efforts of the President to reduce it to a minimum, and to help the Congress out of the snarl in which the mere perversity of the majority had entangled it, were necessarily to a considerable extent neutralized by the want of support. The Directors had proposed an Order of Business; the majority preferred a Disorder of Business; and the latter had their way.

During the interval between the morning and afternoon sessions, the general committee elected the following sub-committees:—

On Resolutions, Messrs. E. P. Hurlbut, C. D. B. Mills, B. F. Underwood, T. B. Wakeman, J. E. Oliver, T. C. Leland, F. Rivers—four for "reform," and three for "repeal."

On Nominations, Messrs. J. H. W. Toohy, J. McArthur, G. E. Gordon, D. H. Clark, T. L. Brown—three for "reform," and two for "repeal."

On Membership, Messrs. D. G. Crandon, J. H. W. Toohy, H. L. Green, Mrs. Amy Post, Mrs. L. N. Colman—one for "reform," three for "repeal," and one doubtful.

Some changes appear to have been subsequently made. These sub-committees, however, were not even reported to the Congress for "approval," as required by the vote,—much less elected. Nothing could be conceived more "undemocratic" than the mode in which these committees were appointed; but nevertheless a majority in each of the two leading committees was opposed to "repeal."

Saturday Afternoon Session.

Pending the report of the Committee on Resolutions, the general committee reported through Mr. Rivers, the chairman, as the order of business for the afternoon, the addresses by Mr. Wakeman and Judge Hurlbut, with a subsequent discussion of fifteen-minute speeches on the main question. This report was adopted, with an amendment limiting the speeches to ten minutes. If the original order of business submitted by the Directors had been adopted, these addresses would have been made in the forenoon, thus giving ample opportunity for a full and fair debate in the afternoon. As it was, many hours had been squandered in getting the convention started, and nothing remained but to repair the blunder as well as might be, by crowding into the afternoon the forenoon's work.

Mr. Wakeman then read his Faneuil Hall Speech on "The Comstock Law considered as to its Constitutionality." It was an ingenious, plausible, but narrow and sophistical plea for "repeal," ignoring distinctions which exist, and inventing others which do not, and raising a cloud of empty technicalities which a small circle of personal followers mistake for solid and substantial arguments.

Judge Hurlbut next delivered his address on "The Liberty of Printing," which we shall next week be permitted to lay before our readers in full. His venerable and dignified appearance, his impressive and deliberate manner, his wit, brilliancy, and epigrammatic pungency, leading to his restless logic a popular effectiveness which we never saw surpassed by any other public speaker, carried the audience by storm, and fairly convulsed them with alternate laughter and applause. The address, though not at all controversial, left not an inch of standing-room for Mr. Wakeman's specious argument; it was demonstration, impregnable and complete, and convinced every close reasoner in the hall that the cry of "unconstitutionality" is mere whistling against the wind. If "repeal" had not been a foregone conclusion with the majority, resting on grounds with which reason

has nothing to do, the debate would have ended then and there with a unanimous vote against it. More than thirty years ago, Judge Hurlbut published in Edinburgh and London his *Essays on Human Rights and their Political Guaranties*, with a preface and notes by the famous George Combe—a work which gave its author the highest reputation as a philosophical jurist and a champion of human liberty in its noblest sense; while his little treatise of 1870 on *Religion and the State* is one of the noblest and most powerful contributions to the literature of political secularism ever made. When such a mind as this ponders, digests, and deliberately rejects the legal theory to which "repeal" is now clinging with desperate determination,—when it delivers its calm, judicial decision in favor of the constitutionality of the so-called Comstock law,—those who know the ultimate invincibility of reason will know what fate awaits the pert unscrupulousness of "repeal."

Judge Hurlbut closed his magnificently victorious paper with a draft of such a statute as the United States may constitutionally enforce for the exclusion of obscene literature from the mails, without infringing in the slightest degree upon the freedom of the press:—

A LAW TO PREVENT THE FORWARDING AND DISTRIBUTION OF OBSCENE LITERATURE BY THE MAILS.

SECT. I. Be it enacted, etc.

That there shall not be forwarded by the mails, nor distributed by any deputy postmaster, any obscene print, picture, drawing, or printed composition, manifestly designed, or mainly tending, to corrupt the morals of youth.

SECT. II. If any person shall deliver at any post-office, with intent to have forwarded, or distributed, any obscene print, picture, drawing, or printed composition, mentioned in the preceding section, he shall be fined, for the first offence, not exceeding — dollars, and for the second or any subsequent offence shall be imprisoned not exceeding — months.

Provided, however, that no printed book, argument, essay, treatise, or disquisition, put forth in sincerity and good faith, and in which no obscene words, phrases, or pictures shall be employed, although its doctrines or sentiments, if carried into practice, would have a bad influence on society or government, shall be deemed obscene within the meaning of this law.

In connection with this draft of a statute submitted by Judge Hurlbut to the Congress itself, we add here the draft of some resolutions on the same subject which we personally wrote and submitted to the Committee on Resolutions, in order that the public may understand how earnestly and practically the "reform" party at this Congress strove to protect liberty to the uttermost, yet without denying the nation's indubitable right to refuse to be made an involuntary accomplice in the crime of circulating obscene literature:—

ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND OBSCENE LITERATURE.

1. Resolved, That the freedom of the press which is guaranteed by the United States Constitution includes freedom to publish, and freedom to circulate by all customary channels, all theoretical opinions on all literary, scientific, political, social, moral, religious, or other subjects; that no indecencies of a merely incidental or occasional character, however reprehensible and deserving of public censure on moral or literary grounds, cause a forfeiture of this freedom, or constitute a just reason for legal prosecution or punishment; and that any narrower rules of judgment on this subject must compel legal condemnation of many of the most precious works of human genius, including the Bible.

2. Resolved, That by "obscene literature" we understand such writings or publications as do not appeal to or seek to elevate either the intellectual, moral, or aesthetic condition of their readers, but show on their face that they were composed with unmistakably base motives, in order to poison the imagination, inflame and pervert the passions, and incite to vicious practices; that it is justly made a crime at common law to circulate such literature in any manner; and that it is an outrage on common decency to claim for such literature the freedom of the press.

3. Resolved, That, while we recognize the supreme importance of extinguishing as far as possible the demand for obscene literature by educational and moral means, we also recognize the practical necessity of legislation against the crime of circulating it; and we maintain the right and duty of both Congress and State Legislatures, each in its appropriate province, to enact laws for the punishment of this crime.

4. Resolved, That, owing to the absence of definition in the United States statutes on this subject, and the abuse of power by the officers appointed to execute it, great wrong has been done to individuals, and dangerous violations of the freedom of the press have been consummated; and we seriously and earnestly protest against these wrongs and violations.

5. Resolved, That, in order to prevent these evils for the future, the following safeguards should be

secured: (1) the amendment of the United States laws concerning obscene literature, in accordance with the principles enunciated in the foregoing resolutions; (2) the right of appeal and writs of error from the circuit courts to the Supreme Court of the United States in all criminal cases under these laws; and (3) a new legislative provision requiring that the entire publication alleged to be obscene, for circulating which through the mails any person shall be hereafter prosecuted in the United States courts, shall be set forth in the indictment.

6. *Resolved*, That a commission should be appointed, composed of able and influential citizens of the highest character, who shall be charged with the duty of devising, adopting, and carrying into execution such measures, as in their judgment, shall be best calculated to obtain from Congress the above-mentioned safeguards; and the Directors of this League are hereby empowered and instructed to select and appoint the members of said commission, and to cooperate with them in all possible ways.

7. *Resolved*, That, in order to enable the Directors to discharge the duty imposed upon them by the preceding resolution, we hereby appeal to all citizens who love equity and prize the freedom of the press to contribute liberal donations towards a fund of five thousand dollars, said fund to be paid to the Treasurer of this League, and appropriated by the Directors to the sole purpose of defraying the expenses of the said commission.

These were the practical measures for the protection of liberty which the "reform" party were desirous to carry into execution. The advocacy of these principles and measures was the avowed reason, and the only reason, why the old Board of Directors was dismissed with an evident but impotent purpose to make the dismissal disgraceful. The inference was forced upon the minority at Syracuse, and is now forced upon the public, that the "repeal" party are seeking something more than the effectual protection of liberty; and the question is most pertinent—*What is that more?* Let thoughtful minds answer that question for themselves.

Saturday Evening Session.

Mrs. Clara Neymann, of New York, delivered with her accustomed grace and earnestness an address on "The Issues of the League," which was a plea for harmony and peace on the basis of rejecting the whole question, and taking ground "neither for reform nor repeal." If the League had not already taken strong "reform" ground at Philadelphia, which it must necessarily retain till this ground was changed, her gentle appeal would have had a better chance of being heeded; as it was, the "repeal" party were determined to carry out their purpose of forcing a change of ground on this question.

Professor Oliver followed with an address on "The Nature of the Liberal League Movement," which bore throughout the impress of his own high thought and earnest spirit, and ended too soon for those who knew the wealth of his mind and heart.

During the afternoon, it had leaked out that the majority of the Committee on Resolutions were in favor of "reform," not "repeal." This was a most vexatious circumstance to the majority. In order to overcome this almost insuperable obstacle to the success of the "repeal" programme, Mr. Courtlandt Palmer very unexpectedly moved the adoption of two resolutions, as follows:—

Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to report a resolution in favor of the repeal of the Comstock postal laws.

Resolved, That they be also instructed to report a resolution in favor of the practical enforcement of constitutional and State laws against obscenity.

After a necessary suspension of the order of business by vote, these resolutions were declared in order.

Mr. R. P. Hollowell, of Boston, moved to amend them by substituting the following:—

Resolved, That total separation of Church and State is the sole purpose of the National Liberal League.

Resolved, That the platform adopted at our last annual convention, whereby this League merged into an equal civil, political, and religious rights association, is hereby repealed.

Dr. John Winslow, of Ithaca, moved to amend Mr. Hollowell's amendment, by substituting the following:

Resolved, That, however its members may differ as to questions of constitutionality, the National Liberal League fully recognizes the necessity of suppressing obscene literature by such legislation as shall be proper and constitutional, and shall also protect absolute freedom of discussion upon all subjects.

The evening was consumed in debating these amendments and others, and in getting out of the parliamentary snarl in which the Congress entangled itself. The "reform" side were accused of "filibustering" by their opponents; but, if that epithet was deserved, the "repeal" side earned their share of it. Neither side intended to filibuster; the amendments offered were finally disposed of by substituting Dr. Winslow's for Mr. Hollowell's, and then appending it to Mr. Palmer's as a third resolution. At this point, when

a vote might have been reached, Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr., of New York, moved to amend the series of three resolutions then before the Congress, by substituting therefor some new ones of his own, as follows:—

Resolved, That we believe the United States postal law concerning obscenity to have been enacted without due deliberation; that there are high precedents and good reasons for doubting the constitutionality of such legislation; that it is certain that unjust prosecutions have been made under this law, and, as it stands, it should be repealed.

Resolved, That the present laws for the suppression of obscenity in the various States are so construed as to be dangerous to the liberties of the people and the press by their failure properly to define obscenity, and must be so modified as to render them sufficient for the total suppression of obscenity without endangering the liberties of the press.

Motions to adjourn (it was nearly eleven o'clock) had been several times made and lost. But Dr. Foote's amendment was too much for the patience of the Congress. It was moved and voted to refer this new amendment to the Committee on Resolutions; the President ruled that the amendment necessarily carried with itself the resolutions it was to amend, and that thus the entire batch of resolutions was removed from the Congress to the Committee. This result, though apparently exasperating to those who wanted to force through a vote for "repeal" that evening, was a mistake of the "repeal" party itself, and had to be digested. The adjournment was then effected.

We frankly confess we regretted that amendment after amendment should have been made to Mr. Palmer's resolutions instead of meeting squarely the issue forced on the Congress, and debating the merits of the question. The majority was clearly on the "repeal" side; they hungered and thirsted for a decisive vote; but, with all their eagerness and their evident collusion to carry their point, they were wretched tacticians, and did not know how to do it. It was a blunder to spring Mr. Palmer's resolutions on the Congress that evening, contrary to their own order of business; if these resolutions had passed, no committee would obey such instructions against their own self-respect. The "repeal" party, moreover, should have respected their own order of business, which permitted discussion, but not action, on the main question that night; and they only betrayed a reckless disregard of fair play, in attempting to overrule in advance the report of their own committee on resolutions. Notwithstanding all this, we regretted the failure to meet the issue on its merits.

Sunday Morning Session. *

The Syracuse *Standard* of Monday morning said:—

The Sunday morning session was in some respects a quiet one and in others rather troublesome to the New York party. During the recess the majority, who had sought to force the Congress to express an opinion in favor of the repeal of the law, had become frightened. Rivers, of Boston, now resting under indictment for the sale of obscene literature, urged a square expression of the Congress in favor of his views. He wanted the United States authorities rebuked for what they had done. Wakeman, of New York, a supporter of Rivers, was more politic, and hesitated about giving the Abbot party such open cause for disruption. He, and others who stood with him, feared the odium which would fall upon them if the Abbot party should secede, on the ground that they could not live with those who sustained and fostered the sale of obscene literature and sought to repeal the laws making the sale a crime. Wakeman believed the majority had better make concession rather than be compelled to stand alone before the public; and hence the Committee on Resolutions fixed up a compromise that the Comstock postal law question should not be touched by either party.

At the opening of the morning session, J. H. Adamson, of Passaic City, N.J., alleged that he would show up the New York party in its true light; he had facts to back him.

Cries from the New York faction—"Give us the facts!"

Adamson—"I'll give 'em to you fast enough!" Mr. Adamson fixed his papers, and was proceeding to tell how Bennett, of the *Truth Seeker*, by letter had offered his League a bribe of ten dollars to vote with the New Yorkers.

That made the New York party frantic, and Bennett called for the letter he had written; he didn't want his letter produced in a garbled manner.

Adamson went on to read that his League had refused to be bribed, when he was called to order, and the Chair was asked to rule that Adamson must produce the letter.

Adamson said he had not the letter with him, but he would willingly send for it and have it published; and then he averred he had some more bottom facts which he could give, but the New York party cried him down, and the President finally ruled him out of order unless he produced the letter.

Mr. Courtlandt Palmer, of New York, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following partial report as a measure of conciliation and honorable compromise:—

Resolved, That this Congress does not, at the present session, express any judgment in regard to the

Comstock postal law question, but that it hereby recommends that the members of the League and all liberals inform themselves, as far as possible, as to its constitutionality, with a view to decisive action at the next Congress.

Resolved, That the freedom of the press, which is guaranteed by the United States Constitution, includes freedom to publish and freedom to circulate by the customary channels all opinions on literary, scientific, political, social, moral, religious, or other subjects.

Resolved, That while we recognize the supreme importance of extinguishing, as far as possible, the demand for obscene literature by educational and moral means, we also recognize the practical necessity of legislation by the proper and constitutional authority against the crime of publishing it, and laws for the punishment of the same.

The first of these resolutions was urged upon the Congress by Mr. Wakeman as an act of extraordinary "magnanimity" on the part of the majority. According to the *Standard*, he "said he appreciated the position of Mr. Palmer, who did not wish to force a conscience not prepared for conviction, referring to the Abbot party. He regretted, however, to be obliged to go home while two League members lay under arrest, and that arrest instigated by church authorities. He believed the arrested parties were guilty of no wrong whatever; and yet he thought, before generally asking the Congress to favor the repeal of the Comstock postal laws, they had better take another year to fully think the matter over. He had yielded this much to save heart-burnings."

Rev. Mr. Gordon emphatically opposed any proposition to leave the League a whole year under the disgrace of not knowing its own mind on this subject. This was not a constitutional question; it was a moral question, and could not be too soon decided.

The President asked and received permission to express his opinion on the resolutions. He stated distinctly that he understood this to be a proposition to leave the League for another year exactly as it was left at Philadelphia; that that position was in favor of "reform," and against "repeal"; that he himself, with all the rest of the League, had been perfectly satisfied to hold that position for two years, and desired simply that it should not be changed at all now; that he could not oppose these resolutions, since they proposed to leave that position wholly unchanged; that he appreciated the "magnanimity" of the majority in not exercising their evident power to force a vote for "repeal," and was in favor of the resolutions, not as a compromise,—which it was not,—but a complete postponement of the whole question for a year.

And thus the "reform" party fell into the trap. The resolutions passed, as did also the following, presented by Mr. Underwood on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions:—

Resolved, That since the growth and influence of the Liberal League movement depends primarily on the multiplication of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues, and since the multiplication of these Leagues depends chiefly on the zeal and activity of the members of the Executive Committee of the National Liberal League, we recommend to their earnest attention the following points:—

(1.) That they appoint at least three of their associates in their own immediate neighborhood, to the end that the several State sub-committees may hold frequent and regular meetings for consultation and action.

(2.) That they use all diligence in forming as large a list as possible of the names of prominent and active members throughout their respective States.

(3.) That they enter into correspondence with the latter as local agents, for the purpose of stimulating them to initiate the organization of Local Leagues in their respective towns.

(4.) That they continually impress upon these local agents, and through them upon liberals everywhere, the innumerable advantages which must accrue to themselves and the liberal cause by building up numerous Local Leagues, and thereby creating a vast and strong constituency for the National League.

(5.) That if any of the Executive Committee finds himself unable to discharge the duties of his office, he should nominate to the Directors, as his successor, some capable and energetic man or woman who is willing to assume these important duties.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient at this time to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, and that it must remain inexpedient to take this step until the local constituency of the National Liberal League is vastly increased.

Resolved, That the sinister and ruinous bearings of the Edmunds' constitutional amendment upon the cause of State secularization are dangerously misunderstood and disregarded by nearly the whole people, and especially by liberals; that notwithstanding the excellence of the major part of this amendment, the proviso that it shall not have the effect to exclude the Bible from the public schools would indirectly but completely Christianize the now secular Constitution, by recognizing the Bible as having a divine right to be read in public schools, which is superior to the right of Congress and of the people, and would thus plant the nation unawares on the found-

dation principle of orthodoxy; while the further proviso that this amendment shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested is designed to secure the perpetual exemption of church property from taxation, with all the growing evils of that mountainous injustice.

Resolved, That we earnestly counsel all Local Leagues to hold frequent public meetings for the purpose of enlightening the people as to the unspeakable importance involved in this still pending attempt to Christianize the Constitution by stealth, and as to the paramount necessity of defeating the proviso now attached to this proposed amendment.

Mr. Hamlen, the Secretary, read the report of the Directors for the past year, showing that the number of Local Leagues had more than trebled in that time.

Mr. Wilcox, the Treasurer, read his own report, showing that the receipts for the year had been \$911.98, the expenditures \$588.87, and the balance on hand \$323.11.

Mrs. Neymann read a communication from the German Union of Radicals, which was courteously received, and a time was set for its consideration.

Sunday Afternoon Session.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was the first business in order on Sunday afternoon. It was divided; the majority report of three proposing the re-election of the old list of officers without change, while the minority report of two proposed that "the chief officers of the past year be dropped, and men known to be for the repeal of the Comstock postal law be elected in their stead." As finally made up and elected, this latter list was as follows:—

President, Hon. Ellsuz Wright.

Vice-Presidents, as before, but dropping the names of Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, R. P. Hollowell, and B. F. Underwood, and adding the names of Mrs. James Parton, Miss Jane P. Titcomb, Francis W. Titus, Mrs. A. C. Bristol, J. H. W. Toohey, Dr. J. R. Monroe, Prof. J. E. Oliver, Mrs. C. Neymann, Henry Damon, and Hon. S. Brewer.

Secretary, A. L. Rawson.

Assistant-Secretary, Mrs. A. C. Bristol.

Treasurer, Courtlandt Palmer.

Executive Committee, H. L. Green, chairman, and the rest as before.

Finance Committee, Mrs. L. N. Colman, Frank Rivers, J. S. Verity.

The Board of Directors was thus composed exclusively of persons known or believed to be strongly in favor of "repeal," as opposed to "reform," of the postal law of 1873. If the new Board had been constituted of persons in favor of "reform," so that the attitude of the League might remain unchanged on this question, there would probably have been no withdrawal; certainly we should not have withdrawn. But the mutual agreement of the two parties to "express no judgment" on the question at this session, and to postpone for a year "decisive action" upon it, was flagrantly violated by this total sweep of the chief offices and the election of a new administration unanimously pledged to "repeal." The minority saw, as the outside world sees, that the League can "express its judgment," and take "decisive action," just as effectually by a change of administration as by a mere formal resolution; they saw that the agreement had been broken and that they themselves had been treacherously deceived.

The two reports of the committee were received, and the Congress proceeded to elect officers for the ensuing year. We called Vice-President Brown to the chair, which we vacated for that purpose. A motion was made by Asa K. Butts, one of the leading spirits of the "repeal" party, to cut off all debate on the subject of candidates; but it was voted to allow half an hour of debate, limiting the speeches to five minutes. The speeches made showed unmistakably the animus and purpose of the proposed change; it was meant to punish the old Board for their position of "reform," and to make a new Board whose position should be for "repeal."

The vote for President was taken by ballot. Hon. Ellsuz Wright had 76 votes, and F. E. Abbot 51; and Mr. Wright was declared elected. Let us say here that Mr. Wright is one of our best and most honored personal friends, who, if he had been present, would have been disgusted at the spirit, tactics, and proceedings of those who used his name without authority. As to his real position on the Comstock postal law, it is not for us to speak; he was claimed to be in favor of "repeal," and as such elected. When his election was announced, our uppermost feeling was simply one of deep relief at our own release from all further care, labor, and responsibility for the conduct of the League; and after a short interval we took our seat in the body of the house, with the intention of

remaining a quiet spectator of the proceedings for the remainder of the session. The statement in the papers that we "headed" the withdrawal is utterly untrue. After the agreement of the morning, our expectation that a moral protest would be necessary had ceased. The idea of organizing a new League originated with Judge Hurlbut, not with us; before we had left the platform, he was the first to rise, resign his Vice-Presidency and life-membership, and leave the hall. Mr. B. F. Underwood and Mr. R. P. Hollowell successively rose also, and resigned their Vice-Presidencies and charter-memberships. It was not till after we had taken our seat in the body of the house that Rev. G. E. Gordon rose, and said: "I wish to say that, as the minority are out of sympathy with this League, I invite them to meet me in the parlors of the Syracuse House, in order that we may advise together as to what course we shall take to DEFEND OURSELVES."

That was the purpose of the withdrawal—to "defend ourselves" from the treacherous action of the majority in pledging the League to "repeal" after they had agreed to "express no judgment" and take no "decisive action" for another year; and to save the liberal cause from public shame. The withdrawal was neither suggested nor headed by us; we simply followed Mr. Gordon with the rest. If a new Board had been elected which, like the old one, stood four to one in favor of "reform" and against "repeal," we should have refused to withdraw and remained with the old League, a contented and satisfied member. The question was a personal one neither with us nor with the other seceders, as is sufficiently evident from the resolutions they presently adopted. Nothing is more contemptible than a wrangle for office; this spontaneous, impressive, solemn movement of the minority was a great and unexpected moral protest, which filled us with awe, and imperatively commanded our adhesion. The cause of just liberty and pure morality was at stake; that cause must not be abandoned, though calumnies buzz about us like flies in midsummer. We bear our enthusiastic testimony to the strength, elevation, and grandeur of the moral purpose of the minority in taking simultaneously this impressive step of withdrawal. Let them have the glory of it; it is theirs, not ours, except as simply one of many moved by a common spirit.

The Phoenix rising out of the Ashes.

While the Congress remained to conclude its session, the minority assembled at 4 P.M. in the parlors of the Syracuse House. Rev. Mr. Gordon called the meeting to order, and suggested the election of a Chairman and Secretary. Hon. E. P. Hurlbut was elected Chairman, and Mr. R. P. Hollowell Secretary. It was voted to appoint a committee of five to draw up a statement of reasons for the withdrawal, and to report one hour hence. This committee was elected as follows: Rev. G. E. Gordon, Mr. C. D. B. Mills, Mr. B. F. Underwood, Hon. E. P. Hurlbut, Mr. R. P. Hollowell.

At 5.15 P.M., the meeting was again called to order, and the committee made the following report:—

WHEREAS, The Congress of the National Liberal League, assembled at Syracuse, October 26 and 27, 1878, to which we were delegates, was radically divided into two parties, one favoring total repeal, and the other opposed to such repeal, of certain laws of the United States relating to the circulation of obscene literature; and

WHEREAS, The whole question was, by the proposition of the majority and the consent of the minority, dropped from the consideration of the present Congress; and

WHEREAS, The subsequent nomination and election of the chief executive officers for the ensuing year, including the President, were made by the majority dependent upon their expressed opinion on the question which had been thus disposed of, to the surprise and deep disappointment of the minority; and

WHEREAS, The minority cannot but regard this action of the majority as a breach of faith and an unjust act toward the minority; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the undersigned, protest against the animus, aims, and results of such proceedings, and hereby withdraw from the session of the Congress to take such action as we may in the future deem advisable.

Resolved, That we believe that the existing United States laws against obscenity need to be reformed and amended, being now in several particulars oppressive in the modes of administration and in the penalties; yet we are in favor of proper laws, by State and National Governments, against the publication and circulation of obscene literature, tending to corrupt the morals of youth.

This report was adopted, and the following names were subscribed to the resolutions:—

E. P. Hurlbut, Albany; Franklin Goodyear, Cortland, N.Y.; Z. T. Watkeys, Syracuse; Nettie C. Truesdell, Syracuse; Gustavus E. Gordon, Milwaukee; Harriet A. Mills, Syracuse; W. H. Hamlen,

Boston; T. C. Gage, Fayetteville, N.Y.; B. F. Underwood, Thorndike, Mass.; Catherine C. Hurlbut, Albany; Eben Turk, Chelsea, Mass.; John Nill, Watertown, N.Y.; E. A. Sawtelle, Boston; Thos. Dugan, Albany; James B. Pike, Rochester; David H. Clark, Florence, Mass.; Moses Hays, Rochester; S. R. Urbino, West Newton, Mass.; W. D. Hunt, Scott, N.Y.; Francis E. Abbot, Cambridge, Mass.; M. N. Lady, Albany; J. H. Adamson, Passaic City, N.J.; Sarah B. Otis, Boston; Hope Whipple, Boston; D. G. Crandon, Chelsea, Mass.; Charles Ellis, Boston; John W. Truesdell, Syracuse; H. P. Stark, Rochester; Joseph McDonough, Albany; M. Schiesinger, Albany; John Preat, Albany; C. D. B. Mills, Syracuse; R. P. Hollowell, Boston. In all, 34 names.

A committee of seven, consisting of F. E. Abbot, C. D. B. Mills, D. H. Clark, J. McDonough, Mrs. S. B. Otis, E. P. Hurlbut, and R. P. Hollowell, were then appointed to report a plan of organization and list of officers of a new League at 9 P.M. The meeting then adjourned to that hour.

At 9 P.M. the meeting was again called to order. Mr. Hollowell, the Secretary of the Committee, reported on its behalf a constitution substantially identical with that adopted at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, excepting the enacting clause of the preamble and the first article, which were as follows:—

Therefore, We, the Protesting Members of the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, convened at Syracuse, N.Y., Oct. 26 and 27, 1878, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION:

ARTICLE I. The name of this association shall be "The National Liberal League of America," founded on the principles originally adopted by the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July 1-4, 1876.

This report also was adopted. A list of officers was then reported, and unanimously elected, as printed on the second page of this issue.

The following resolution was reported by the Committee, and adopted unanimously:—

Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League.

As soon as new charters can be prepared, they will be issued without any additional charge to all Leagues already chartered, on receipt of a properly authenticated notice that they have accepted the above invitation; and all Local Leagues are urged to hold immediately public meetings to decide as to which of the two National Leagues they will give their adhesion.

The following votes were also passed:—

Voted, That THE INDEX be the official organ of the National Liberal League of America.

Voted, That the President be authorized to make such verbal changes in the Constitution as are necessary to enable all persons present who give their names and addresses to the Secretary to become Charter Members.

Voted, That the thanks of this League are hereby extended to Judge Hurlbut for his able paper on "The Liberty of Printing," and for the noble and efficient aid he has rendered to the liberal cause in initiating this movement.

Under the above resolutions, the following additional names have been added to the list of charter-members, though not appended to the resolutions of protest first adopted:—

Mrs. Julia A. J. Perkins, Baldwinsville, N.Y.; Alvin F. Bailey, Syracuse; Mrs. Harry J. Perry, Syracuse; Azel D. Perry, Syracuse; Nathan Hanford, Etna, N.Y.; Mrs. S. A. White, Boston; Gansevoort de W. Hurlbut, Albany, N.Y.; Jeanette Hurlbut, Albany; Ernest Hurlbut, Albany; Mrs. S. A. Underwood, Thorndike, Mass.; Hiram Ladd, Victor, N.Y.; A. C. Stone, Freeville, N.Y.; W. R. Lazenby, J. E. Oliver, John Winslow, W. A. Anthony, N. A. Randolph, all of Ithaca, N.Y.; D. B. Morton, Groton, N.Y.

The meeting was then adjourned *sine die*. The Syracuse Daily Standard of October 28 had these plain-spoken words to say on the events of the two preceding days:—

The Congress of Radical Thinkers held at Wisting Opera House Saturday and yesterday must have furnished much food for thought to those who have any regard for the decency of society and the purity of mankind. But one question arose for consideration, and that related exclusively to obscene literature. By persistent as well as quiet effort, a majority of the League was composed of Free Lovers and dirty literature defenders, and from first to last they were determined upon making a point in favor of its free circulation. Their remarks sometimes almost polluted the atmosphere of the opera house, and one who said that "if they should be left alone, they would stink themselves to death," was not so far out of the way as he might have been.

The decent element was compelled to leave; it had no other refuge than in the organization of a new association. The League in Syracuse represented by Messrs. C. D. B. Mills and John W. Truesdell repu-

diated the perfumers and joined the new association. The one represented by Mrs. Colman remained.

The seceders are entitled to the commendation of all defenders of morality for the course they took. Such a spectacle was never presented in Syracuse before, as that when men and women rose in their places and openly advocated the uprooting of principles of morality. The *Journal* was severely criticised by them for calling things by their right names. In place of "socialistic privileges," it said "free love"; instead of "radical publications," it said "obscene literature." The adherents of immorality should thank the *Journal* rather than blame it for not speaking yet more plainly, and sinking not a few members of the disgraceful combination to a level beneath that of brothels.

It were well if the League had never met here. It were better if only the conservative portion of it had come. While the minority did not hold to Orthodox ideas, its defence of the principles of morality was able and earnest. It would make no compromise with debasing influences, and therein showed an honesty and sincerity of purpose which will be respected by all decent-minded people.

Friends of enlightened liberty and social purity, the crisis has come: you will meet it as you think best. If you approve the action of these men and women whose consciences commanded them to make this earnest and indispensable protest in your own cause, give the new League your heartiest support. It needs money for immediate use, since the balance of nearly two hundred dollars that will remain in the treasury after paying all bills, carefully gathered and husbanded for the cause of State Secularization, must now be turned over to the cause of "repeal." It needs even more the moral support of votes of adhesion from the old Local Leagues, and from many new ones all over the land. Think on these needs, and do what you can to meet them.

THE HONEY OF POISON.

Somebody in the *Commonwealth* reports concisely a sermon of the eloquent Phillips Brooks—and an excellent sermon it seems to have been—from the words in the Gospel of Mark, said to have been uttered by Jesus after his resurrection: "And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."

Mr. Brooks is reported to have said that "for a time the literal fulfilment of these promises followed the disciples of the Lord," but after awhile a change took place, and "it is now no longer material serpents and poisons, and physical illness and demons, over which the believer has control, but the spiritual counterparts of these things." How could preaching more effectually defeat itself? Had the reverend orator referred to his text merely as a venerable fiction, expressive of the truth that a virtuous man with pure and honorable motives may mingle with the vicious without being hurt, he would have been using his high powers at least innocuously. But when he begins by conceding the "literal fulfilment" of words attributed to Jesus, which no intelligent man can believe he uttered, he binds on the souls of a great part of his audience the chains of falsehood and superstition. Worse than that, he belittles human nature as well as God, by implying that there can be a better foundation for good morals than the immutable laws of nature as they reveal themselves to all intelligent human minds in all times and places. Nobody knows better than Phillips Brooks that the historical evidence of the "literal fulfilment" which he concedes, amounts to nothing. To assert as a truth that of which there is no satisfactory evidence is to lie. And a lie does not become a truth by being multiplied by a thousand million liars. Mr. Brooks is an uncommonly humane man. No one can doubt the benevolence of his motives. But is it too much to ask him to stop and think of the terrible responsibility he takes in conceding the literal truth of what neither he nor any other man in this age of the world can possibly know to be true? The great spiritual or subjective truths which Mr. Brooks preaches, no sane man can quarrel with, nor with the telling figures of speech by which he enforces them. But when he goes back to ancient poetry and history, written by superstitious men in a superstitious age, and concedes *literal* truth to every thing he finds there, the young men of this generation, who are schooled more or less in the laws of evidence and the first principles of scientific inquiry, and are therefore unable to believe in the letter of his scriptures, instead of being profited by his subjective truths, are poisoned by the example of what seems to them hypocrisy, in the most fashionable pulpit in the land. O Mr. Brooks! this is a terrible responsibility. E. W.

Communications.

NOTES OF WESTERN UNITARIANISM.

The Western Unitarians are, almost without exception, radicals; what they think they speak freely. They welcome the broadest thought in their conferences. At the Michigan State Conference held last week in Charlotte, George Stickney of Grand Haven read a paper on "Taxation." It was pronounced by all who heard it one of the ablest and most interesting defences of church taxation they had ever heard. A move was at once made to bring the subject of taxing church property before the State Legislature this winter, and a resolution to that effect was unanimously passed. Mr. Stickney was invited to give his essay in the Unitarian Church, at Ann Arbor, and it was proposed to have him go before the Legislature with it.

The little fortnightly published in Chicago, called *Unity*, is published by a committee of Unitarians. Its range of thought is very broad. It has recently republished Higginson's *Sympathy of Religions*. Other papers to come are to be written by men who will keep abreast of modern thought in what they say in its pages. Its department of "Notes and News" endeavors to look all along the line, and to record the doings of all liberal bodies and believers or non-believers. One of the editors of this department, Rev. J. T. Sunderland, has just gone from Chicago to Ann Arbor, Mich. Maintained there by the American Unitarian Association, he is a broad-gauge thinker, who speaks his own mind. It has surprised many that the Association should send such a man there, but all expect the best results from it. Mr. Sunderland is a clear thinker and a good preacher, who deals in strong and effective thought. The other editor of this department of *Unity*, George W. Cooke, of Grand Haven, Mich., has just received a call to Unity Church, Indianapolis, where he expects soon to begin work.

As expressing the tone of the Western Unitarian work, let me call attention to a little book on the Bible, just issued by Putnam's Sons, and written by Rev. J. T. Sunderland. Its title is *What is the Bible?* In a clear, strong way, the author deals with this old book, and shows forth its value in the religious teaching of the present time. The Unitarians have never before issued any book on the Bible so plain, outspoken, and up with advanced scholarship: indeed, there is no other book to be had for a small sum in this country which treats the Bible in a rational way. Though very reverent towards the Bible, Mr. Sunderland does not hesitate to put it fully alongside of other sacred books, and to show up its errors of all kinds, and its contradictions. In showing the Bible to be a growth, and that it is the literature of a thousand years, he fully explains what cannot be understood so long as any theory of "moral winnowedness" is maintained. All the book needs to recommend it to many thoughtful readers is to say, that it represents the rational scholarship of Europe, in presenting the opinions worked out there by the ablest students. In an appendix is a helpful list of books written from a rational standpoint, and which will be of material aid to those seeking to understand the Bible, as it is now interpreted by such men as Kuenen and Davidson.

Mr. Sunderland rejects all supernaturalism, and shows the folly of trying to find anything infallible in the Bible. His opinions are those substantially of Theodore Parker, and furnish another illustration of the influence of that brave, earnest worker. Unitarians have too often dealt with the Bible in an indecisive manner. If they now learn to handle it plainly and with unglued hands, they can do the world much good. As an earnest of what many are ready to do, Mr. Sunderland's book is very promising. Many will enjoy its clear, strong words and its earnest spirit of truth. GEORGE W. COOKE. GRAND HAVEN, Mich., Oct. 15.

A FEW PLAIN POINTS.

NEW HAVEN, Ct., Oct. 16, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

Will you allow me a word in reference to this obscenity business?

1. There are books, pictures, and merchandise manufactured and sold for no other purpose than to debauch the young for the benefit of private purses.
2. We do, we must, have laws prohibiting such manufacture and sale.
3. If it is possible to define this misdemeanor so as to prohibit the manufacture and sale of such goods, it is just as possible to define it so as to prohibit their transmission through the mails.
4. If Congress can properly forbid the mailing of matter which is liable to endanger public life or property, it is not an act of oppression when it deals likewise with that which unquestionably and by universal consent endangers and destroys the moral and physical well-being of the young.
5. When all the State and municipal authorities are doing their utmost to suppress this criminal traffic, the national authorities may properly second their efforts in a region where the State cannot interfere so far as to forbid the cooperation of the mails in the furtherance of that traffic. And when Congress in the enforcement of such a law imposes a penalty upon its violators, it is not an act of oppression. There is no reason why such a provision should suppress anything but crime, if properly worded. Let us then work for reform in this matter, but not commit the mistake of demanding the removal of every restriction upon the circulation, by aid of the mails, of the most abominable nastiness. The post-office department reserves the right to

open all packages consigned to them not paid for by letter postage; let there be no "censorship" beyond that. If no good comes from it other than to impose the burden of letter postage on what would otherwise go as merchandise and books, it will help the cause of decency a little. The Liberal party should be the last to ask freedom for obscenity. R. M. SHERMAN.

VOICES FROM THE LOCAL LIBERAL LEAGUES.

[The following communications from Local Leagues could not be presented to the Syracuse Congress, on account of the chaos into which it was thrown by the perverse rejection of the Order of Business submitted to it by the Directors; but they are here published as the best amends for the omission that can be made under the circumstances. It will be noticed that these three Leagues call for "reform," and not total "repeal," of the postal law of 1873; and in this respect they doubtless represent the vast majority of liberals, notwithstanding the majority for "repeal" obtained in the Congress by extraordinary exertions on the part of a disaffected and vindictive clique.—ED.]

ENTERPRISE, Kansas, Oct. 18, 1878. TO SEC'Y N. L. L., 231 WASHINGTON ST., BOSTON, MASS.:

Dear Sir,—Owing to our great distance from the place of meeting, we shall not be able to secure a delegation in the Second Annual Congress. We have nevertheless taken into consideration the questions announced in the call for the Congress. The following resolutions were adopted by our League at our meeting, Sept. 20, 1878:—

Resolved, That the most efficient measures that can be adopted for a great increase in the number of Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues is an increased circulation of THE INDEX, and all other liberal papers that justly appreciate the great danger to our liberties resulting, on the one hand, from the activity of those who seek to destroy the secularity of the Constitution, to retain and secure still more support from the government for their religious and sectarian institutions, and, on the other hand, from the indifference of the great majority of liberals; also, the employment of lecturers who fully understand the situation and the necessity for immediate action.

Resolved, That every Local Liberal League be called upon to circulate petitions against the Constitutional Amendment now in the hands of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate.

Resolved, That the Comstock laws be so amended as to relieve Comstock of his arbitrary rights and duties.

Resolved, That the resolutions in relation to obscene literature, passed by the Centennial Congress of the National Liberal League, at Philadelphia, Pa., should be confirmed by this Second Annual Congress.

Resolved, That we highly appreciate the value of the services of the Directors of the National Liberal League, and, heartily approving of the platform of their published card, do unanimously vote for the reelection of Francis E. Abbot for President, William H. Hamlen for Secretary, J. A. J. Wilcox for Treasurer, and D. G. Crandon for Chairman of the Finance Committee of the National Liberal League.

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted. The following was laid upon the table:—

Resolved, That it is not expedient to nominate a President and Vice-President of the United States at the second annual Congress of the National Liberal League.

I am very truly yours, E. L. SENFT, Sec'y Liberal League of Enterprise, Kansas.

HALL OF LIBERAL LEAGUE, } VINCENNES, Ind., Oct. 20, 1878. }

Dear Sir,—I am instructed to forward to you the enclosed resolutions, unanimously adopted at our meeting of this date, and request that you cause the same to be presented to the National Liberal Convention. Very truly yours,

ORLAN F. BAKER, Sec'y Vincennes Liberal League.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the "Comstock law," opposed to Comstock himself, and earnestly desire the speedy removal of both. We oppose the prostitution of the United States mail service to vendors of obscene literature, and to the polluting manipulations of the fingers of a spy and public informer, and will lend our efforts to bring about such modification of the present legislation that the people may be reasonably secure from either of these reproaches.

HALL OF ST. LOUIS BRANCH NO. ONE } OF NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, } 408 WASHINGTON AVE., ST. LOUIS, Mo., } Oct. 20, 1878. }

FRANCIS ABBOT, ESQ.:

Dear Sir and Brother,—At a regular meeting of this League, held to-day, the following was passed unanimously:—

Resolved, That the Liberals of the United States demand that the law prohibiting the sending of obscene matter through the mails be required to clearly define what is obscene; and that a copy of said resolution be sent to the National Convention.

Respectfully and fraternally yours, JOSEPH CLARKE, Sec'y.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, NOV. 14, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 464

LIBERAL LEAGUE PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N.Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

THEY ARE OVERDOING it in New Haven. It is not very shrewd to force so big a dose of theology into the children, especially as the doctors disagree. How much pains bigots take to evade the simple requirements of justice! They will have to meet them in the end. The schools will at last be made secular.

THE HERESY-HUNTERS of Chicago are busily at work on Dr. Thomas, a popular Methodist preacher of that city. The wicked man does not believe in vicarious atonement, or plenary inspiration, or everlasting punishment! It is high time to cremate the criminal, and dispatch him on a tour of discovery in the other world. This world is suffering for lack of an explorer like Stanley in those torrid regions.

A MAN named F. W. Mixers, at the time of the Syracuse Congress, took a drink of blue vitriol at Rochester, mistaking it for water, but fortunately recovered under medical treatment. Did it protect him in the least to suppose that he was swallowing water instead of poison? The honest liberals who unsuspectingly drank the dose of "repeal" at Syracuse will find it worse than blue vitriol, unless they protect themselves in season by withdrawal. That is the only medical treatment that will avert the effects of the poison.

THE "REV. A. F. BEARD, D.D.," in the *Christian Union* of November 6, asserts that among the "avowed purposes" of the "second annual call of the National Liberal League" were "the denial of the Bible as a book of divine authority, the denial of personal immortality—of Christianity, in short, . . . the destruction of Christianity." Again he asserts: "Here is a Society which declares that Humanity is God, and seeks to prove that man is kin to the beasts by his body and is not kin to God by his spirit." These assertions are unqualifiedly untrue. If "the Rev. A. F. Beard, D.D.," has not intended to falsify, he will recall them.

PROFESSOR ROMANES, in his address before the British Association, was decidedly sarcastic: "A pike requires three months to learn the position of a sheet of glass in its tank; and when once the association is established, it is never again disestablished, even though the sheet of glass be taken away. From which we see that a pike is very slow in forming his ideas and then again in unforming them, thus resembling many respectable members of a higher community, who spend one-half of their lives in assimilating the obsolete ideas of their fathers, and through the rest of their lives stick to those ideas as the only possible truths. They can never learn when the hand of science has removed a glass partition."

WHAT HAS the New York *Independent* to say to this statement of the Albany *Argus*? "Judge Gildersleeve, of New York City, has decided in a recent case that no guilt attaches to the man invited into a criminal action by an official who issues the invitation to the crime for the purpose of punishing it. The decision has particular interest for the Westport ex-postmaster who was enticed by a government detective into an offence, and then prosecuted for committing it. Also, for those persons in Stamford and Norwalk who were induced by detectives, imported in the former instance by a clergyman, to sell liquor, and then prosecuted for selling it. Morally, the procurement of crime is crime, and it should be made such in law."

THE NEW YORK *Sun*, pointing out how the Protestant and Catholics are already beginning to wrangle over the fruits of their victory on the school question, adds: "And now the Jews of New Haven come forward to say that they would like to be consulted in regard to the liturgy to be used in the public schools. The Rev. Dr. Kleeberg, the Jewish rabbi, avers that

it is unjust to attempt to formulate any worship for tax-supported schools to which all parties are not agreed. The Jews of New Haven, he adds, have three hundred children in the public schools, and mean to present their view of the prayer question to the Board of Education, although they do not fear that anything in the manual which may be adopted will have a proselyting effect upon their offspring. So far the attempt to frame a style of prayer that will satisfy even Christians of all sorts seems to be a sad failure, and now that the Jews claim a hearing the prospect of a harmonious arrangement is more distant than ever."

THE LIBERAL LEAGUE ideas are exerting their influence more and more. In San Francisco, a "large and enthusiastic meeting at Horticultural Hall" recently adopted these strong resolutions:—

Whereas, One of the chief fundamental principles on which this Government is founded in this Republic is full freedom of opinion on religious subjects; and,

Whereas, It is the duty of the State to protect the rights of conscience and give no preference to any particular form of religious belief; and,

Whereas, History proves that all ecclesiastical interference in State affairs is dangerous to liberty;

Resolved, That we, the people of San Francisco, in mass meeting assembled, declare ourselves utterly opposed to the persistent agitation of religious zealots who attempt to force the State into a recognition of their narrow dogmas and peculiar observances.

Resolved, That the entire separation of Church and State is the will of the American people; it is the law of the land, and should ever remain so, practically and not theoretically.

Resolved, That our delegates to the Constitutional Convention are hereby instructed to earnestly oppose, with all their ability, all attempts to engraft upon the Constitution any and every clause looking to a recognition of what is called observance of the "Christian Sabbath," or any form of religious belief.

THE NEW YORK *Christian Union* of October 30 said: "Our information as to the proceedings of the once famous but rapidly becoming infamous National Liberal League, at its Second Annual Congress in Syracuse, reaches us through a telegraphic report in the *New York Times*. The result has more than justified all that the *Christian Union* has said respecting the party which engineered the Faneuil Hall meeting, attempted to give itself respectability by securing as a figure-head the Hon. Elizar Wright, of Boston, and while disavowing free-love doctrines fraternizes with the men and women who hawk about free-love literature and canonize Mr. Heywood, who has happily fallen a martyr to the not yet obsolete public sentiment against obscenity in art and literature. The meeting abandoned from the first its old-time themes, dropped its rather tame tirades against the injustice of Sabbath legislation and the employment of chaplains by the government, and waxed hot in a discussion over the laws for the repression of licentious literature. Finally, the party which whispers its disapprobation of such literature and howls its indignation at all attempts to repress it carried the convention; and the party of decency, headed by Mr. Francis E. Abbot of THE INDEX, and numbering a little over a third of the whole members in attendance, withdrew in a body. Whether they will return again, or whether the somewhat minute National League is to be divided into two smaller National Leagues, was at last reports still under consideration. Mr. Abbot and so far as we know those associated with him are men of high moral character and earnest purposes; and widely as every Christian believer must differ from him in his whole philosophy of life—social, political, and religious—it is impossible not to feel a combined sentiment of pity and respect; pity for one who finds himself and his principles betrayed for the use of such vile purposes, and respect for the courageous battle which he has made against the attempted perversion."

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LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

Chartered by the National Liberal League of America.
FLORENCE, MASS.—President, Seth Hunt; Secretary, Clarence E. Brown.
Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Florence Liberal League.
N.B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their vote to accept the following invitation:—
"Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League."

AMONG THE WASHINGTON RELICS which lately came into the possession of the government, is a ledger in which the Father of his Country kept his personal accounts for a number of years. The book is reported as full of odd items which an admiring country will be astonished to hear about at this late day, although a century ago they may have been well enough. It is recorded in the handwriting of the Father himself how much that illustrious man lost or won at cards, the sums he expended for play-tickets for himself and friends when he went to town, and what it cost him for hair powder, black silk stockings, as well as for claret, which is as favorite a beverage during the warm season now as it was in the stirring times just before the Revolution, although the men of the present day are able to economize some on hair-powder and black silk stockings. There are indications in some parts of the unique accounts that the man who was first in the hearts of his countrymen never missed a horse-race, if he could help it; and he seems to have been a common kind of human being enough to bet on the wrong horse more than was good for one side of his ledger. Perhaps, in the interest of this gentleman's reputation, the government had better not dig up any more relics of the Father of his Country. It would be shocking in the extreme to see our young men growing up in imitation of him, and our Presidents all trying to become second Washingtons.—E.C.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Liberty of Printing.

AN ADDRESS AT THE SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, ON SATURDAY, OCT. 26, 1878.

BY THE HON. E. P. HURLBUT, OF ALBANY, N. Y.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND BRETHREN OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—My subject is "The Liberty of Printing"—a matter of the utmost concern to an enlightened age, and priceless in a land of freedom; and should I stumble under its weight, by reason of age or infirmity, I trust that, in your charity, I may have credit at least for good intentions, which are considered by some as not a mean order of talents.
The Liberty of Printing—what is it? It is, speaking figuratively, to enjoy an intellectual atmosphere as free as the material one which we breathe, being on our guard against impurities.
It is to stimulate and be stimulated by the oxygen and ozone of the cultured human intellect, avoiding the deadly malaria lurking in the marshes and sewers lying at the base of the depraved mind.
It is the parent of science, the educator of our race, the unfettered moral and intellectual giant, under whose tread and at whose call mankind have torn the serf's collar from their necks, broken the chains of kings and emperors, and compelled Pope, prelate, and priest to give a reason for the faith that is in them, or thenceforth to resign their leadership of mankind.
In France it demolished the Bastille; in Spain it abolished the Inquisition, and in New England Cotton Mather as an "institution"; although the latter died hard, maintaining with his latest breath "that there is a God, a devil, and witches."
Public sentiment, stimulated by the press, abolished the slave trade in Great Britain, slavery in her West India colonies, and finally slavery in these United States. It consolidated Italy, and shut up the vicergerent of heaven in the Vatican. Without the liberty of printing, a democratic republic cannot exist; a plea for the former is a plea for the latter.
Thus knowledge, science, virtue, human enlightenment, and progress—law, order, and free government—are founded on books, as the world was once fabled to rest on Atlas. We have been taught to reverence the Book; let us rather hold all good books to be sacred.
But all books are not good; and here we encounter a difficulty which the wisest philosophers, jurists, and statesmen have been greatly embarrassed in their attempts to remove.
Attend to one of the most gifted of mankind, treating of this subject. "I deny not" (says he) "but that it is of the greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves, as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them, to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabled dragon's teeth, and, being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men.
"And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as a good book; who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can restore a life, whereof, perhaps, there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecutions we raise against the living labors of public men,—how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself,—slays an immortality, rather than a life."
Thus wrote that great scholar, statesman, and poet, John Milton, on "The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." His argument was designed to overthrow a statute, then in full force in England, "To regulate printing, that no book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth printed, unless the same shall be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such, as shall be thereto appointed." The statute once abolished, he claimed that all printing should be free,—except that authors should be held responsible for the abuse of their freedom; or, to use his own words,—that the law should "thereafter confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors" for the printing of offensive books.
But how are we to enjoy the benefit of good books without incurring the evil of bad ones?
In the olden time, it was attempted to draw the line in Greece; and books which were regarded as atheistical and blasphemous, or libellous, were burned, and the authors banished. Of books tending to voluptuousness, they took no heed; and an ancient poet complained that for this reason there was a dearth of chastity.
Ancient Rome did but little on the subject; some

books were condemned and burnt,—books that were blasphemous,—but a censorship was never established until after the invention of printing, when the Popes were alarmed at its influence in the diffusion of knowledge. They prohibited the printing of certain heretical books, and forbade their subjects to read them, by their famous Index, under pain of censure or excommunication.
This censorship spread over Europe like a malarious atmosphere, until even liberty-loving England at last embraced it. But as she was the last to adopt, so, let it be remembered to her honor, that she was the first to abolish it; and now, so far as I know, the main, if not the only restrictions, which are in practical operation on the liberty of the press in that country are in reference to libels on private character, and obscene books, prints, drawings, and pictures.
In these United States, there has never existed a censorship of the press; but of late it has been compelled to attend to a grim farce, in which a notable Paul Pry has been the sole actor. Such has been the success of his performances, that he has completely "brought down the house"—but mainly, I trust, on his own head. Now, while I do not object to the ostensible aim and object of this procedure,—to wit, the suppression of obscene literature,—I protest, in the name of liberty and human rights, against the course and manner of it, as low and mean, too cunning to be innocent, too sharp to be honest, oppressive, and at war with the whole theory of administration in a free government.
Let us examine this subject, with a view to secure the just freedom of the press, and at the same time to prevent so much of its licentiousness as is practicable. I know this is delicate ground, and is rendered doubly so under our complicated system of government; so that we need all the lights of the law, and of human experience and philosophy, in order to achieve success.
Now, as I have said, England intends that her press shall be free; and yet in the reign of her present beneficent queen she has passed statutes against obscene books, pictures, etc., and endeavored to suppress them.
The wilful exposing of an obscene print, or indecent exhibition, is an indictable offence at common law, ranking with the indecent exposure of the person. As there is no absolute freedom for man in the social state, so there is and can be none for the press. All social and moral freedom is limited by rights. There is a natural, and there is a civil freedom; and the latter only is accorded to man in the social state. The first, if he were the only ape-like man existing at the beginning of our evolution, was absolutely free. But the moment he came to have peers, he found he had to conduct within certain limits, which respected the rights and feelings of others, or he would be treated not as a respectable Adam, but rather as the first "tramp."
At length, after long ages of experience in the social state, the idea of not doing to another what he would not have done to himself became seated in the fibres of his brain, and was transmitted by heredity; so that now the essence of all morality and all law may be summed up in a precept of eight words, and can be taught without express revelation or a burdensome priesthood: to wit,—He just and kind to all sensitive beings.
There is, as I was saying, no liberty in the social state which has not respect to others' rights and feelings. You may not slander a man or woman, without being amenable to the law; and yet this responsibility, which is a decided infringement of the absolute freedom of speech, obtains in every State in the Union.
The Constitutions of these States all, however, declare that speech shall be free; but by what language do they declare it? In this—to wit: "Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press." And in the New York Constitution, it is written that "in all prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence"—clearly showing that the Constitutional freedom of speech and of the press, thus secured to every citizen, was to be limited by the rights of others; that libellers should be held responsible as for an abuse, and that the just restraint and punishment of the licentious exercise of that freedom was not to be regarded as a violation of it.
If by the words, "being responsible for the abuse of that right," it were intended to limit such abuse to libels on private character, as some contend, why did not the framers of the Constitution say so in exact words, instead of employing a phraseology which implied a great deal more? They were familiar with the common law, which went further, and condemned as offenders as well the authors of obscene prints, drawings, and pictures as others who offended against good morals and manners.
The Constitution of Louisiana in the days of Edward Livingston declared that, "Printing presses should be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of the government; that the free communications of thoughts and opinions are one of the invaluable rights of man, and that every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty."
Mr. Livingston was appointed a commissioner to frame a criminal code under this Constitution. He was a truly great man, statesman, and jurist. No American lawyer ever enjoyed a higher reputation, either at home or abroad. He was a firm supporter of the liberty of the press, and his code provided penalties against its infringement. He was liberal in his views of religion, and expressly provided, for the first time in this country, that the religious opin-

lon of a witness should neither affect his competency nor his credibility. His code as reported was the admiration of jurists and publicists all over the world, and will endure as a perpetual monument to his fame. I feel the utmost assurance that, in framing the law on this subject, Mr. Livingston weighed most critically all the objections that can be raised against a law punishing the authors of obscene prints. While deliberating on the provisions of the common law as to the offences of a moral nature, he had doubts and misgivings as to what portion of them he would embody in his code; and, "while yet he had formed no decision," he wrote to a learned doctor of the civil law, expressing his doubts and difficulties, asking for advice and suggestion, and saying that one of his embarrassments arose from "the difficulty of defining the offence." He objected to the "general expression of the English law," as "putting too much power in the hands of a fanatic judge with a like-minded jury." But after full reflection, he at last settled upon the following as a safe and salutary law, and reported it to the Legislature of Louisiana for enactment.

Title sixteen of his code concerns "Offences against Morals," and the second chapter of this title provides for the punishment of "Offences against Decency," the first section whereof is as follows:—

"If any one shall make, publish, or print any obscene print, picture, or written or printed composition, manifestly designed to corrupt the morals of youth, or shall designedly make any indecent or obscene exhibition of his person, or the persons of others, by which pudicity (modesty or chastity) is offended, he shall be imprisoned not more than six months, or fined not more than one thousand dollars, or both; and the imprisonment, or a part of it, shall be in close custody."

This statute he considered to be in entire harmony with the liberty of the press, as secured by the American Constitutions; and I emphatically concur in his opinion, and see now how wise and guarded is the law he proposed. The print or picture must be "obscene." The instinct of every man and woman of ordinary intellect and common modesty defines the meaning of that word. You seem to need hardly any explanation about it, any more than you do to define the peculiar odor of that animal of which this country is so happy as to enjoy the monopoly, and known to our natural history as *mephitis Americana*. Your sense of smell defines his odor. So in the case of an obscene picture; you look at it, and turn away offended, disgusted. You read the obscene book, and are shocked in every modest fibre of your brain. If you need any further guide, the common law everywhere prevalent will supply illustrative cases.

But this wise and cautious law-giver did not stop with the one word "obscene"; the book or print must also be "manifestly designed to corrupt the morals of youth"—the author having the wisdom to foresee that any further abridgment of the liberty of the press would work more evil than good; while the suppression of obscene prints, designed, or mainly tending, to corrupt the morals of youth, was such a beneficial work as no law-giver could properly neglect.

There are those who demand that the statute shall define what it means by "obscenity." With jurors in general it would not be necessary, and it requires their verdict in order to convict. I confess I have not the capacity to define it by words, so as to preclude all possibility of error in the courts. That cannot be done for any law. Perhaps the only thing that can be done would be to specify certain prints that shall not be deemed obscene, which would be saying what is not rather than what is obscenity. You see the difficulty when the law is applied to pictures, in which case you would have to give illustrations, in order to be definite, and your statute book itself would become pictorial and immoral at once. The picture defines itself, and so do most obscene prints. A lawyer would say, after adopting Mr. Livingston's provision, leave it to the juries and the courts under the common law, and be sure you have intelligent juries and competent judges.

I have no objection, however, to a proviso by which it should be declared that an argument or treatise written in sincerity and good faith—in which no obscene words should be employed, although its doctrines, if carried into practice, would have a corrupting influence—should not be deemed within the meaning of the statute against obscene prints; but I feel assured that, when we narrow down the offence, as in the Louisiana code, we shall be reasonably secure from dangerous constructions.

A case has arisen in which the author of a pamphlet, without employing an obscene word, has advocated a course of conduct between the sexes utterly subversive of civilization, the family, and the State; leading to a return to the manners of the ape-like man, or rather to those of the man-like ape. It is a clear case of inverse evolution; of an author, as the phrase is, "exceedingly backward in coming forward," and particularly forward in going backward; but I should pause long before I held it to be obscene in a legal sense, or if so, such a species of obscenity as the law could condemn, without danger of trenching on the freedom of discussion and the proper liberty of printing. It might be indictable in the court of Judge Lynch, as "an assault and battery" on society and morals, and the culprit be punished according to his code, which some are inclined to regard as an implied and necessary supplement to the Democratic constitution of government.

When young and sanguine, I published certain essays on human rights, in which I remember to have argued in favor of their natural origin; and among other things I maintained that a man had a legal right to be a fool, since Nature made him so; but that society could not afford to allow him to be a knave, however Nature may have abused him. And

now that I am old I see no reason to depart from that doctrine, and I would apply it to the liberty of printing. If there were nothing else to be considered but practicability, think what an army of martyrs would spring up in the literary world under a contrary rule! As the world even now can scarcely contain all the foolish books, including dollar and dime novels, so the prisons could by no means contain their authors; and moreover Dame Nature would have to get up a special evolution of Pillsbury's in order to supply the keepers!

Here, then, I take my stand. I will ask no further limitation of the liberty of printing than the code of Mr. Livingston creates, and I incline to accept no less. It is in harmony with the common law; it is constitutional; it is called for by the cultivated sentiments of mankind; and it is conservative of the morals of youth. If we maintain the residue of our criminal code, let us by no means omit that.

Having now drawn a line of separation between the liberty of the press and its licentious abuse in the State governments, we are prepared to look at the Constitution of the United States, and to see what rule is to obtain in our Federal Union.

We encounter at once the provision in the Constitution of the United States, that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press"; so that the question again recurs, What is this freedom of the press; and is it one in the States and in the Confederacy? I have labored in vain, unless I have shown that it is not absolute and unlimited; that the press is not at liberty to print false libels on private character, nor to publish obscene prints or pictures. This would not be freedom, but licentiousness; and it is nowhere written that laws cannot be passed by the proper authorities restraining that. That which the State Constitutions and laws ordain on this subject defines the freedom of the press. Nay, the framers of the Constitutions of the States and also of the United States, in employing the phrase "freedom of the press," used it in the sense well understood, and as defined by the writers on the common law; and let us see what they say on the subject. Sir William Blackstone, the most accomplished of them all, who wrote before any of these Constitutions were framed, holds this language:—

"The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free State; but this consists in laying no previous restraints on publications, and not in freedom from censure for criminal matters when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public; to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequences of his own temerity. To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser, as was formerly done both before and since the Revolution, is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government." He argues then in favor of punishing the licentiousness of the press, and concludes thus: "And to this we may add, that the only plausible argument heretofore used for the restraining the just freedom of the press, 'that it was necessary to prevent the daily abuse of it,' will entirely lose its force when it is shown (by a reasonable exertion of the laws) that the press cannot be abused to any bad purpose without incurring a suitable punishment; whereas it never can be used to any good one, when under the control of an inspector. So true it will be found that to censure its licentiousness is to maintain the liberty of the press."

Now, I hold that the phrase, "freedom of the press," means the same in the Federal and the State Constitutions, and in all nothing more than *freedom from previous censorship*; the States, and not the Federal Government, having the power to punish abuses.

And now assuming that the States where the printing is conducted by their laws condemn and punish obscene prints, can a paper containing matter condemned by such laws gain any new right or exemption by being placed in the mails? Is it suddenly cleansed there? The obscene print was not free at its birth, and can gain nothing by setting out on its travels through the mails. The stigma and the disability still rest on it. It was never free (except from a licenser), and can never become so until obscene literature becomes innocent and right by the common law and the statutes of the several States. And when that shall happen, it will be of little consequence what matter shall be printed or mailed, for law, reason, and morality will have departed from the land.

It is a maxim of the law, that a man shall gain nothing by his illegal act. A print that has no right to exist can claim no protection from the law, which does not cherish, but rather abates, nuisances. Shall the law, then, not only protect, but carry thousands of miles, and distribute to tens of thousands of people, prints which it condemns as infamous, and whose authors it punishes by fine and imprisonment? Shall the government become an accessory after the fact, and at the same time hold its lash over the head of the principal? This would be to the last degree unreasonable.

The State and Federal Governments together constitute a *complete sovereignty* over the press and the distribution of printed matter through the mails, and this would be the sum of their *joint operations*: the State would define and control the liberty of the press, would punish and condemn obscene prints, and imprison offenders; while the United States would circulate such prints to the utmost limits of the very State that forbids and punishes them. The State would fine the offensive author and printer, while the United States would take a fee from them,

a reward as carrier, and assist their trade in corrupting the morals of youth. The State would have acted wisely; but Uncle Sam would have played either the knave or the fool, and he might devoutly cry "In God we trust" forever, and stamp it holly on every poor penny he has got, but he would share the fate of other hypocrites, for nobody would trust him!

Now the power to establish post-offices and post-roads, and to carry the mails, having been delegated as a Federal power, resides in the government of the United States, to the exclusion of the several States. In executing this power, the government is clothed with a limited sovereignty, and may do whatever is necessary and proper or conducive to the end of carrying the mails, so as to answer the intent and object of their institution. It may appoint and control its agents; may punish fraud, robbery, and other offences which obstruct, hinder, or prevent the success of the mail enterprise. When it punishes a robbery, or other offence against the mails, it is not for the purpose of a general correction of the public morals, or of enforcing any of the Ten Commandments, but to enable it to succeed in safely delivering the mails. It is the duty of the government to remove all obstacles to the complete and beneficial exercise of its power, which is useful, beneficial, and concerns all the people. It therefore punishes offences which interrupt, prevent, or embarrass its operations, lest it should fall short and fail of its duty.

But the power delegated to the general government was bestowed by the States, which made criminal the printing and sending abroad of obscene publications; and when they surrendered the power of carrying the mails, did they intend to destroy or defeat their own purposes, and to arm an enemy in the agent which they created that should destroy the efficacy of their own laws? Was it not expected that the power delegated should be so exercised as not only to be beneficial, but innocent in its operation? That in respect of the matter carried, the States and the United States should act in concert? That the latter should not disseminate what the former stamped with infamy?

Would the State itself, if carrying the mail, imprison the obscene author, and yet carry and distribute his filthy goods? And shall we hold to such a narrow construction of the Federal powers as will make the States and the United States thus play at cross-purposes? I think not.

By stuffing the mails with obscene matter, the service is made to exceed and overdo its proper office; to be harmful and a nuisance, rather than a benefit to the people; and it seems hardly to be straining a point to hold that, by the delegation of power to Congress to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into effect the powers conferred in reference to the mails, authority is desired to prevent as well the mischiefs of carrying obscene literature as those arising from mail robbery, so that the service should be protected as well from the dangers of *excessive*, as those of inadequate performance, and be not only useful, but harmless,—at least to such extent as not to be accessory to crime. It is but a mode, in either case, of protecting its limited sovereignty, and discharging its office with integrity and decent dignity.

The case is widely different from that presented in the days of Jackson, when Congress was agitated by a proposal to exclude printed articles, against slavery, from the mails. Slavery is not sanctioned by the law of Nature, nor by the common law, and can only obtain by local and wrongful legislation. Being contrary to natural right, and offensive to the just sentiments of the civilized world, it was universally lawful, and even commendable, to write and speak against it.

The exception in a few of the Southern States, created by unjust legislation, could not render a dissertation against slavery, written and printed in a free country, unlawful in itself. If the paper were innocent in its inception, by the law of the place where it had its origin, it did not lose its character by being placed in the mails. And so it is evident that Congress could not throw it out of the mails without trespassing on the right of property and abusing its power. The only act of repression could be done by the slave State after the mail service was completed. The paper was innocent when placed in the mails, innocent while being transported, and when delivered, and could only become offensive by force of a local law, operating on the person to whom the printed matter was addressed, after he had received it. No wonder that learned jurists and wise senators refrained from laying hands on such printed matter, and thrusting it out of the mails, as mentioned in the very able and ingenious argument of Mr. Wakeman, delivered at the late "Indignation Meeting" in Boston.

But the printed matter which I would exclude from the mails is unlawful in the place of its origin, unlawful during its transit, and unlawful at the place of its destination. Its preparation is a crime, its author a criminal, its possession and circulation a crime, in most, if not all, civilized countries, and wherever the common law prevails, or its spirit has been embodied in a statute; and if the carrier or distributor be a private person, he would be *particeps criminis* in judgment of law. And now shall we place the Federal Government in the same category?

This government assumes the burden of the mails; it may say when and where it will carry them, what it will carry, and what it will not; for it seems too clear for debate that a power to choose implies also a power to reject. And if there be a power to reject any printed matter—as I contend there is, if it be obscene and unlawful,—an incidental power exists to make that rejection effectual. This is usually done by the infliction of pains and penalties; and in the infliction of these the government proceeds, not as against moral offences, but offences against the proper regulation of the mail service. I concede

that any step beyond this would be pure usurpation and tyranny on the part of the Federal Government.

It is a business, this carrying of the mails, within the competency of private persons. Let us imagine our Uncle Sam carrying the mail-bag on his own broad shoulders, having told everybody what he would carry, and what he would not, and a person should come and insist upon cramming his mail-bag with bad matter which the old gentleman had sworn he would not carry, I think our uncle would make no bones of settling the matter off-hand, *pedibus et manibus*, to the utter discomfiture of the assailant; and he would serve him right. It would be a mode, according to the rhetoric of such cases, of "putting a head on him"—an article of furniture which he would seem greatly to need.

It is conceded that a single undivided sovereignty like the Government of Great Britain can exclude obscene literature from the mails by seizing the foul prints, and the infliction of pains and penalties. But it is claimed that in our distribution of powers between the States and the Federal Government this authority has not been conferred on the latter. Where, then, can it be found? If reserved to the States, or the people, it is clearly not available; for no State can touch the mail service without trenching on a power it has in general terms delegated to Congress; and no popular mass can meddle with the mails without being guilty of riot. So it is left that, if the Congress of the United States has not the power to exclude obscene prints from the mails, *this one item of sovereignty is lost*, and our government has tied its hands, so as to be at the mercy of those who deal in obscene literature as a profession and business. A construction of the Federal Constitution which leads to such a conclusion is surely too narrow to be sound.

Now to my mind there seems to be nothing in the way of protecting the mails from foul matter but the fear of violating the freedom of the press; and as I trust you are by this time satisfied that there ought to be no obstacle in that, we come to the inquiry, What is the Federal Government to do in reference to obscene prints?

In my judgment, Congress should declare that such prints are not mailable matter; but in doing so should employ the word "obscene" only, following the language of the provision in the code of Mr. Livingston as to the corruption of youth; being exceedingly particular, so that no religious fanatic or visionary moralist could find a word or clause on which to base a persecution of anybody for God's sake!

A God of ordinary ability is supposed to be capable of taking excellent care of himself, and to scorn the assistance of a creature but imperfectly developed from the ape.

The law should then affix such a penalty as would be sufficient to deter people from mailing obscene publications, and no more; for the object is not to make a moral code, nor a penal code, nor enforce a creed, nor build up a catechism, but simply to protect the government in the fit and proper discharge of its function as mail carrier.

A fine of a moderate sum for the first offence would be sufficient, say not exceeding fifty or a hundred dollars; and for the second offence, imprisonment not exceeding six months. In all cases where punishment and penalties are inflicted, the legislature should be careful to observe the supreme law, which ordains that excessive fines shall not be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

If the government should find it necessary to go further, and to seize the foul matter mailed (a delicate procedure, and one which nothing but necessity can warrant), it would encounter a provision in the Constitution securing the people against unreasonable searches and seizures, and forbidding warrants for that purpose except upon probable cause, and supported by oath. The people are not secure from all searches, but only from unreasonable ones, without probable cause and legal warrant.

So used are the people to this, that the first thing a plain man thinks of when he loses anything mysteriously is a search warrant. It is the one idea with him, as was an "alibi" in every case at law, with Tony, the venerable parent of Sam Weller.

It may be a very difficult process, but it can hardly be deemed "unreasonable," to search for and to seize prints whose aim is to corrupt youth, whose existence is a crime, and which are forced into the mails against the express injunction of the law. I will leave this to the mothers of the land; they have a right to be heard on this subject, and to have their feelings respected by the laws. Let their quick sense of fitness, their apt and delicate judgment, make the decision, and woe to that man and that nation that ventures to disregard it!

But if the government shall be compelled by the persistence of wrong-doers to seize the foul prints, how shall this be done? The only course which occurs to my mind, from what reflection I have been able to bestow on the subject, would be to commit the search to the several deputy post-masters, who should apply to a United States commissioner or judge for a warrant, and under that to seize the suspected prints, and carry them before the officer issuing the warrant, who should determine on reading or inspection whether obscene, and tending to corrupt the morals of youth, or not. If he held them obscene, the owner should have notice and a right of appeal to the Circuit Court, and thence to the Supreme Court of the United States; for no man should be thus deprived of his property, and stigmatized as a public offender, without the full benefit of a judicial trial.

It is better that obscene literature should prevail for a season than that any man, however humble, however depraved, should be deprived of his legal rights without due process, and the enlightened judgment of the law.

Brethren of the National Liberal League, you are

organized to perform a necessary and a noble work,—no less than that of perfecting our system of free government, founded by a wise and virtuous generation, and intended to effect a perfect separation of the Church from the State. The task which you have assumed to execute is Herculean, taxing your strength and resources to the utmost. You have to make war on the myths, traditions, and prejudices of long ages. You have a thoroughly organized majority, misled by their spiritual guides, to contend against,—a majority which, though differing in many things, and forever disputing among themselves, nevertheless is always ready to unite against you, as a common enemy; and you see Catholic and Protestant hugging each other in sweet embrace, as of late in New Haven, while maintaining the Bible, prayer, and psalmody in the common schools. If all the discordant religious sects could unite, they would paralyze your efforts, render the idea of a purely secular government infamous, and make religion the parent and master of the State. The plan of our forefathers would be stamped out, and time might restore that grand Christian invention, the Inquisition.

Be sure, then, that you do nothing to unite and consolidate forces so dangerous to a free State. As yet you are not surrounded by such intelligence as will forgive your slightest mistake in reasoning, or error in morals. A believer can do with impunity what will excite the utmost horror if done by a sceptic. As such of you as have no Redeemer may not commit fraud nor forgery, nor rob a bank, nor poison, nor commit adultery with impunity, so you cannot commit a mistake, even in respect of the liberty of unlicensed printing, without calling down on your heads and on your cause the loudest denunciations of the "unco gild." "Ah! ha!" would say those who pardon the offences of the godly, "It is just as we expected. These infidels oppose our holy religion from no other motive than to get rid of the moral restraints which it imposes; for you see that where two or three of them are gathered together, they incontinently betake themselves to reading and circulating *The Fruits of Philosophy* and *Cupid's Yokes*." And all the congregation would lift up their pious voices, and exclaim in the language of the immortal Widow Bedott, "O Elder Sniffles, how true that is!"

I entreat you, therefore, to be wise; and being in fact the true friends of morality and enlightened freedom, that you take no such position on the subject of the freedom of the press as will enable even a Jesuit to argue that you are the friends of licentiousness.

Above all things, reverence the family as founded in Nature, and tolerate nothing which can corrupt the morals of youth. All power, even the most salutary, is capable of being abused; but an argument based on its abuses cannot overthrow the power itself. If otherwise, no government could stand. Let imperfect laws be amended; let unjust ones be abolished; let abuses in administration be corrected; and when government appoints to office one who, like Satan, becomes—

"The tempter ere the accuser of mankind,"

a spy whose moral qualities fall below the requirements of even that mean office, let him, but not the government, be abolished.

Judge Hurlbut then read the following draft of a United States statute on this subject:—

A LAW TO PREVENT THE FORWARDING AND DISTRIBUTION OF OBSCENE LITERATURE BY THE MAILS.

SECT. I. *Be it enacted, etc.*
That there shall not be forwarded by the mails, nor distributed by any deputy post-master, any obscene print, picture, drawing, or printed composition, manifestly designed, or mainly tending, to corrupt the morals of youth.

SECT. II. If any person shall deliver at any post-office, with intent to have forwarded, or distributed, any obscene print, picture, drawing, or printed composition, mentioned in the preceding section, he shall be fined, for the first offence, not exceeding — dollars, and for the second or any subsequent offence shall be imprisoned not exceeding — months.

Provided however, that no printed book, argument, essay, treatise, or disquisition, put forth in sincerity and good faith, and in which no obscene words, phrases, or pictures shall be employed, although its doctrines or sentiments, if carried into practice, would have a bad influence on society or government, shall be deemed obscene within the meaning of this law.

A SPLIT IN THE LIBERAL LEAGUE.

The "irrepressible conflict" between the two wings of the Liberal League has culminated at last. For several months there has been a fierce contest between the Heywood faction on the one side, and on the other a minority headed by F. E. Abbot, editor of THE INDEX. The former party have endeavored to obtain the repeal of the Comstock postal law, which has so hindered the spread of obscene literature; the latter have opposed them, desiring that the law be amended, not repealed. At the convention of the League, which has been in session at Syracuse, this week, the majority prevailed, and elected officers of the Heywood party. Immediately Abbot and his friends seceded. "Judge E. P. Hurlbut, of Albany, declared he could no longer remain in the League after its action in the displacing of Abbot from the Presidency, and directed the President to strike his name from the roll. The members who seceded, led by Abbot and Judge Hurlbut, organized a new League, to be called the National Liberal League of

America, and elected F. E. Abbot President. Fifty members of the old League, comprising the most intelligent and respectable portion, signed the Constitution of the new League."

The sympathies of all decent people must be with Abbot and his party, against whom all this fierce opposition has been excited simply because he was not willing to countenance the free circulation of obscene literature through the mails. We do not agree with a great many of Mr. Abbot's opinions; we are sorry for him because he thinks he has outgrown the Christian religion; and we hope that he will yet be converted to that faith. But we honor him for the stand he has taken against the lawless clique who think that "free thought" requires them to become the champions of indecency and vice; and we hope that his secession may have the effect of causing them to appear before the world in their true light, so that all decent persons may be warned away from them.—*Milwaukee Christian Statesman, Oct. 31.*

REPEAL—AMEND.

THE ROCK ON WHICH THE LIBERAL LEAGUE CONGRESS WENT TO PIECES.

Last year we published a petition to Congress, asking the repeal of certain sections of the law regulating the transmission of obscene literature in the United States mails. That petition was signed by several thousands, and, with others aggregating over fifty thousand signatures, was presented to Congress. We asked the signatures to the petition because we believed the law, which is better known as the Comstock law, was unconstitutional in some of its provisions, and oppressive. In this view our readers coincided, and all are of the same opinion still. Neither the *Journal*, nor a single subscriber, however, has any excuse to offer for those engaged in the dissemination of obscene literature, but will do all that is possible to suppress such traffic, and bring the vile utterers of the soul-debasing stuff to such punishment as shall prove reformatory. Not a single subscriber of the *Journal* signed that petition with a view to having the field left clear for these nefarious scoundrels to cultivate. All desired, and still desire, such laws as shall effectually squelch an evil which has grown to mammoth proportions. If the present law can be so amended as to relieve it of objectionable features, without impairing its effectiveness, we are willing to labor for such amendment, rather than for its repeal.

The active part taken by thousands of the best citizens in protesting against the law because they believe it to be, as it is now written, a dangerous precedent and tending towards an impairment of the inalienable rights of citizenship, seems to have encouraged the lepers who feed upon the profits of the forbidden traffic to believe that in the abrogation of the present law was their license, and that no new law would hold them with so firm a grip, and anyway things could be no worse for them. It is a most significant fact, deserving the serious attention of every law-abiding, moral citizen, that the movement for the repeal of the law has the unanimous and enthusiastic support of free-lovers, vendors of obscene literature, quack doctors, and the immoral, licentious element generally. Why is this so? It must be because the law as it now stands is far more effective in breaking up the obnoxious traffic than has ever been the case before; for no respectable person will assert that this scandalous horde are actuated by a deep patriotism, or unselfish love of constitutional rights. Indeed, when such champions of repeal prate about the sanctity of citizenship, and fear it is to be debauched, the respectable citizen will interpret the sentiment as he sees it written in letters of living brass upon the countenance of each canting hypocrite: "I fear we cannot longer trench upon the sanctity of virtuous homes nor debauch the minds of the young for our profit and pleasure."

In view of the grave interests involved in the issue between repeal and amendment, and the knowledge that the National Liberal League Congress as a body would be far from a unit in its action on the matter, and the certainty that the bad blood which had been engendered by months of ill-natured bickerings would surely burst forth and flood the assemblage with disgrace, if decisive action was forced upon the Congress, it was well to postpone discussion.

The Committee on Resolutions, through their calm, clear-headed chairman, presented an able series of resolutions calculated to produce the desired effect, and the Congress adopted them.

Had the committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year been actuated solely by a desire to serve their country; had they held in abeyance their partisan feelings and pursued the policy likely to have secured the confidence of the great Liberal public, all would have been well. We know nothing about the "true inwardness" of the proceeding, and care less. When such cool, dispassionate, able, and patriotic men as G. E. Gordon, B. F. Underwood, C. B. D. Mills, Judge Hurlbut, and others, withdraw from the Congress, and solemnly declare there has been a breach of faith, such declaration will be believed by nine-tenths of the people. It seems to us inevitable that the new organization will soon embody an overwhelming majority of the liberals, who are in favor of a pure morality, united with civil and religious liberty.—*Chicago Religio-Philosophical Journal, Nov. 9.*

AFTER-DINNER ORATOR: "It's in the wonderful insight inter 'uman nature that Dickens gets the pull over Thackeray; but, on t'other hand, it's in the brilliant shafts o' satire, t'gether with a keen sense o' humor, that Dickens gets the pull over Thackeray. It's just this: Thickery is the humorist, and Dackens is the satirist. But, after all, it's 'bsurb to instoot any comparison between Dackery and Thickens."

MR. CONWAY ON THE TRUELOVE FETE.

Mr. Edward Truelove, imprisoned four months for selling a Malthusian pamphlet by Robert Dale Owen, had a welcome on his release from prison which will not have failed to make its impression. There has been far more and more wide-spread feeling about this affair than you are likely to have noted in America. Mr. Truelove is one of the most venerable booksellers in London. He is a man not only of unblemished character, but of singularly modest manners and unaggressive temper. He probably has not an enemy on earth. But by the necessity that the officials of the Vice Society should preserve their salaries by perpetually parading before the community as suppressors of vice, and through the timidity of jurors lest they should be proclaimed as supporters of vice, this excellent man was thrown into prison, and the Home Secretary had not the moral courage to stigmatize the wealthy puritans who pay the Vice Society detectives (without knowing that they have sunk to mere slanderers) by releasing him. He did not even mitigate the imprisonment. For a month Mr. Truelove had no bed to sleep on (for we do not live in the days of Howard), and for several months he was allowed no communication with his family. He was dealt with as a felon for doing what he honestly believed would preserve society from felons. It was a terrible blow to his devoted wife and to his lovely daughter, but they bore it nobly. They declined all offers of money and were satisfied with the warm sympathy extended to them from multitudes,—among these some members of Parliament, and others of high position. Mr. Truelove cared little for the physical hardships of his imprisonment. He says that his suffering was being cut off from communication with his family and friends. He did not know how it fared with his family, or how with others who were subjected to similar persecutions. When toward the close of his term the Governor of the prison was allowed to read to him his letters, and he learned that it had fared well with those he loved, he wept the first tears, and they were tears of joy. He will prepare some account of his imprisonment for publication.

His release was celebrated by a festivity at the Hall of Science, which was beautifully decorated and crowded with a company whose appearance was enough to attest the many social circles which have been moved by interest in this case. Many ladies had volunteered to decorate the hall with flowers and evergreen, and mottoes were on all sides, such as "Thorough," "Honor," "Welcome, brave Champion!" Many-colored flags were hung through the room, but they were not flags of England or of any country, nor did they hold antique devices. They were simply colored and decorative designs. Mr. Bradlaugh presided as President of the Secular Society, and Dr. Drysdale with him as President of the Malthusian League, and they were supported on the platform by as many gentlemen and ladies as it would hold, representing many shades of opinion, from Mrs. Besant on one side to a clergyman, the Rev. Stewart B. Headlam, on the other. There was great enthusiasm, and when Mr. Truelove came on the platform he was welcomed with prolonged cheers. There was excellent music, also. Mr. Bradlaugh made a stirring speech to Mr. Truelove, saying to him that while he was in jail one hundred memorials, bearing eleven thousand signatures, had been sent up to the Home Secretary, but they had all been treated with contempt. Then cries of "Shame!" resounded through the room. "Yes," cried Bradlaugh, "but the shame will not be ours, if at the next election that contempt is not answered, and the Tory Government made to receive what we owe it." At one point when Bradlaugh spoke of the honor we had come to pay him, Mr. Truelove said, "The cause." "Ay!" said the speaker; "but the cause cannot win save through the men who work and suffer for it; and in honoring our cause we honor you!" Loud cheers frequently interrupted this introductory speech, in the course of which Bradlaugh said that, though brief, Mr. Truelove's imprisonment had been the harshest ever suffered in defence of liberty of the press.

Some apprehension was felt by the many friends of Mrs. Besant at seeing her also on the platform. Since the severe ordeal through which she has passed she has suffered an alarming illness (brain fever), and has had to abstain from public work. It was evident that she ought not to have come to this meeting. She began by saying that she was not strong enough to speak at any length. She held in her hand a purse (it contained at the time £177, but will have reached £200 since). "We give it to you," she said, addressing Mr. Truelove, "not as payment for a courage that cannot be paid for; not for a loyalty which cannot be purchased; but as a sign of our reverence and gratitude. It is not gold I hand you in this purse, but the love and sympathy of men and women. But we must remember that though a step forward has been taken, the victory is not yet won. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty' that is won; but liberty not won is far costlier. Already great has been the cost exacted by our oppressors. You, sir (turning to Mr. Truelove), they robbed of your liberty; your family they robbed of your love and care; me they have robbed of my child." As the beautiful young mother said this, and her voice lowered, there passed over the audience a feeling that not only called forth tears, but even made them tremble as branches agitated by a wind. The room was hushed in a deathlike stillness. "What is the next price we are to be called upon to pay?" she continued. "We know not. Yet one thing I know: so long as Liberty needs champions to battle for her, and sacrifices to worship her, so long also will there be found gallant spirits to fight for her, loyal hearts ready to lay their dearest on her shrine."

When the enthusiastic plaudits which followed these words, uttered in the most impressive manner of this strangely magnetic and eloquent woman, had subsided, they arose again as happier cheers to greet Mr. Truelove, who, however, said but few words, and evidently labored under strong feeling. He limited himself on this occasion to a hearty expression of gratitude. Other addresses followed, the most important being from Dr. Drysdale, who mentioned two distinguished professors—Bain, of Aberdeen, and Hunter, of University College, London—as strong sympathizers with the Malthusian League. The clergyman (Headlam) made an excellent speech. He said he was not a Malthusian, though he might be one, perhaps, if he had studied the question. He was there for three reasons: first, because we ought to reverence law and order, and in proportion to our reverence should be condemnation of their dishonor when an innocent man is punished for trying to do good; secondly, because the more he differed from a man the more did he desire that man's freedom to express his opinions,—it is they who gag thought who suffered in the end, not the gagged; thirdly, he felt strongly that the population question ought to be discussed; it is praiseworthy in them who have brought it forward, and all the more because it is a delicate one. Should not all try and help? He also declared that he was not alone in this opinion, but knew other clergymen who felt the need of such discussion.

The Secular Choral Union, at the close, sang a stirring "Song to the Men of England," to music by its conductor, an able German named Trousselle; after which Mr. Truelove had a good deal of hand-shaking to do. And so ended what I venture to predict will be the last gathering which will be here needed to pay honor to a prisoner so worthy of honor as Edward Truelove. — *Cincinnati Commercial*, Oct. 6.

CATHOLIC WORSHIP IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The *Hartford Courant* says that three Protestants of New Haven—ex-President Woolsey, Dr. Harwood, and the Rev. John E. Todd—have been in consultation with two Roman Catholics—Fathers Fitzpatrick and Murphy—and "have agreed upon the following manual, which is yet to be submitted to the Board of Education." It gives it as for the use of all the schools. Our own readers, to whom we gave the facts a fortnight ago, will easily recognize it as being only the form of worship agreed upon for those pupils who are Roman Catholics. We give it entire:

MANUAL.

(To be said kneeling.)

Teacher.—In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Let us pray:

Direct, we beseech Thee, O Lord, all our actions by Thy holy grace, and by Thy assistance bring them to a happy issue, that every prayer and work of ours may always begin by Thee, and under Thy guidance may be finished, through Christ our Lord.

Children respond.—Amen.

Teacher.—Come, O Holy Ghost, replenish the hearts of Thy faithful and enkindle in them the fire of Thy love. Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created.

Children respond.—And Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

Teacher.—Let us pray:

O God, who by the light of the Holy Ghost didst instruct the hearts of the faithful, grant us, we beseech Thee, through the same Holy Spirit, a love and relish of what is right and just, and a constant enjoyment of His consolation, who livest and reignest world without end.

Children respond.—Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Teacher.—Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy will be done on earth

Children.—As it is in Heaven.

Teacher.—Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

Children.—Amen.

THE ANGELIC SALUTATION.

Teacher.—Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with Thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.

Children respond.—Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death.—Amen.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

Teacher.—I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into Hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; He ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He will

Children.—Come to judge the living and the dead.

Teacher.—I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of Saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and life everlasting. Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Here the Ten Commandments, as found in Exodus xx., 1-17, will be repeated, either by the teacher alone or by the children in unison, all being seated. Finally a hymn chosen from the Selection will be sung by the pupils.

This is the manual of worship to be said every

morning by the Catholic children wherever these reach thirty per cent. of the whole number of pupils, and a very good manual it is. It contains a pretty full body of divinity, and excellent prayers for help to secure rightness of character; and it has a peculiarly Roman Catholic quality in the response of the children "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death." We find no fault with it in any respect, and we think that, the principle of religious teaching in the State schools being granted, Fathers Fitzpatrick and Murphy have probably prepared a better manual than the Protestant one.

But we disapprove utterly of either the Protestant or Catholic religion's being taught in the State's buildings, in the State's time, and at the State's expense. We simply present this manual to our Protestant people, and we repeat the question: Are you willing to teach Romanism in the public schools? Are you willing to pay for it? For you Protestants pay for having the children taught to pray "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death." Are you willing to do it? Are you willing to purchase at such a price the privilege of adding just a little in the public schools to the religious teaching which you give your children in your churches? We are not, and we protest against such a perversion of the rights of the State. It is the first step to denominational schools, and the breaking up of our public-school system.—*N. Y. Independent*.

DR. ADAM CLARK, who had a strong aversion to pork, was called upon to say grace at dinner, where the principal dish was roast pig. He is reported to have said, "O Lord, if thou canst bless under the Gospel what thou didst curse under the Law, bless this pig."

Poetry.

WHEN THE MISTS HAVE ROLLED AWAY.

When the mists have rolled in splendor
From the beauty of the hills,
And the sunshine, warm and tender,
Falls in kisses on the rills,
We may read love's shining letter
In the rainbow of the spray;
We shall know each other better
When the mists have cleared away.

CHORUS.—We shall know, as we are known,
Never more to walk alone,
In the dawning of the morning,
When the mists have cleared away:
We shall know, as we are known,
Never more to walk alone,
In the dawning of the morning,
When the mists have cleared away.

If we err, in human blindness,
And forget that we are dust;
If we miss the law of kindness
When we struggle to be just,
Snowy wings of peace shall cover
All the anguish of to-day,
When the weary watch is over,
And the mists have cleared away.

CHORUS.—We shall know, etc.

When the allver mist has veiled us
From the faces of our own,
Oft we deem their love has failed us,
And we tread our path alone;
We should see them near and truly,
We should trust them thru' day by day;
Neither love nor blame untuly,
If the mists were cleared away.

CHORUS.—We shall know, etc.

When the mists have ris'n above us,
As our Father knows his own,
Face to face with those that love us,
We shall know as we are known;
Love, beyond the orient meadows
Floats the golden fringe of day;
Heart to heart we'll bide the shadows
Till the mists have cleared away.

CHORUS.—We shall know, etc.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 9.

A. J. Grover, \$1; Lewis G. Jones, \$3.20; Clemens Vonnegut, \$10; Mrs. L. E. Blount, \$13.20; Carl Edelhelm, \$3.20; J. C. Fargo, \$2; Wm. H. Ovington, \$3.20; Leopold Gospeper, \$3.20; John Curtis, \$1.20; New England News Co., \$3.88; C. D. B. Mills, \$10; Mrs. Clara M. Rotch, \$50; A. D. Dickenson, \$3.20; William Jones, \$3.20; J. G. Richardson, \$10; Mrs. M. M. Ballou, \$10; Mrs. Benj. Ireson, \$10; Ellsbur Wright, \$100; E. W. Hooper, \$3.20; H. D. Bennett, \$10; Mrs. S. S. Pierce, \$3; E. Whitcher, \$3.20; Mrs. F. Wason, \$1.80; Mrs. E. B. Chace, \$16.40; S. G. Morgan, \$30; W. C. Gannett, \$50.

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

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

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

N. B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOV. 14, 1878.

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM, WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERNEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CODY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

WE ARE very sorry that we credited the excellent article on "A Non-Political but Important Issue," in THE INDEX of October 31, to the Detroit Post instead of to the true source, the Detroit Free Press. The article was so good that we ought to correct our own inadvertency, and we do so most cheerfully.

AT A CONVENTION of non-Mormon women, held in Salt Lake City, Utah, November 7, the following appeal to "Mrs. R. B. Hayes and the women of the United States" was adopted: "It is more than thirty years since polygamy planted itself on the shores of the great Salt Lake. During these years Congress utterly failed to enact efficient or enforce existing laws for the abolition of this great crime, and we believe that more of these unlawful and unhallowed alliances have been consummated the past year than ever before in the history of the Mormon church, endowment houses, under the name of temples, being erected in different parts of the country, costing millions. It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of polygamous marriages, for they are consecrated in these endowment houses, an institution no Gentile is permitted to enter, where brotherhood and sisterhood are sealed and bound by oaths so strong that even apostates will not reveal them, and to mention which witnesses on the witness-stand unblushingly perjure themselves, abjuring of late all considerations of oath and duty. Considering all our surroundings, polygamy has never taken such a degrading and debasing form in any nation or among any people above the condition of barbarians as in Utah. It is degrading to man and woman, a curse to children, and a destruction to the sacred relation of family, upon which the civilization of nations depends; and there are things that cannot be repeated or printed that reduce the system to the lowest form of indecency. That it should be practiced in the name and under the cloak of religion; that an apostle polygamist with four acknowledged wives is permitted to sit in Congress, only adds to the enormity of the crime and makes it more revolting to our common Christian principles. Our legislature is composed almost entirely of polygamists and members of the Mormon priesthood, and they have thrown around polygamy every possible safeguard in their power, and the right of dower has been abolished to break down the distinction between lawful wife and concubine. The Mormons are rapidly extending their settlements in Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, and Wyoming. They have the balance of power in two territories, and are, without doubt, plotting for it in others. We call upon the Christian women of the United States to join us in urging Congress to empower its courts to arrest the further progress of this evil, and to delay the admittance of Utah into Statehood until this is accomplished; and we ask you to circulate and publish our appeal, in order to arouse public sentiment, which should be against an abomination that peculiarly oppresses and stigmatizes women. It is our purpose to ask names to a petition designed for Congress; and we hope also, that every minister of the gospel will commend it to the women of his congregation, and that all Christian associations will do what they can to obtain signatures. With the cordial cooperation and concerted action of the Christian women of our land we may confidently hope that the great sin of polygamy may be abolished."

HAS LIBERALISM A MISSION?

Is there or can there be any valid reason why those who have once climbed above the malarious intellectual and moral lowlands in which most men live, and reached the uplands where the clear, cool winds of truth and higher purpose bring fresh life to their half-smothered souls, should ever plunge again into the stifling atmosphere they have left behind? Is the hope of rousing others to effect an escape which they have not even learned to desire a sufficient motive in the eye of reason? Is it true, as some say and more evidently believe, that personal culture is the one thing needful, and that all generous identification of self with the multitude tends simply to hold back or even drag down the individual without raising the multitude up? Must all who thus make common cause with the common people, who strive to give voice to their semi-articulate needs and clearness to their confused thoughts and aspirations, and who seek to unite for useful purposes the energies that aimlessly waste themselves in all directions or are guided by artful hands to purposes worse than useless,—must all such be set down in truth, as the fashionable school of culture are quick to set them down, as persons whose hearts are better than their heads, to be pitied or contemptuously ignored by all who can rise superior to the follies of philanthropy? Does reason, coldly and critically comparing the outlay with the result, justify or condemn the attempt to emancipate mankind from low ideas, low aims, low conditions, and to sow the seeds of something better? In a word, has liberalism any mission to fulfil other than the careful coddling of Number One?

These questions are sure to be forced sooner or later into the consciousness of every one who takes up the work of bettering society in any large, enlightened, and unselfish spirit. The first lesson taught him by experience is that, with all their lip-homage to truth, truth is the last thing in the world that men generally desire. Nothing is easier than to win their applause by giving them back their own crude opinions and calling it truth; but whoever offers them a better article than their own opinions must take the consequences of his temerity. The churches contrive to excommunicate every minister who can see farther than the church-creed and intrepidly tells what he sees. The liberals exclaim against the churches for their narrowness and blindness, and then straightway go and do likewise. All the world shouts the praises of truth; but nearly every one of the shouters means merely his own opinion!

So far as our observation goes, the school of positive science is almost the only school in which the love and practice of truth can be thoroughly learned: we say positive science, for outside of that, and especially in matters of religious belief, most scientific men are just as dogmatic as their neighbors. It was a wonderfully advanced idea, that of submitting one's private thinking to the objective test of VERIFICATION, and rising above the petty conceit that the test of truth lies in the thinker's own mind. Here lies the corrective, and the only possible corrective, of that inordinate vanity which makes of the average churchman and the average come-outer a mere top, spinning restlessly but unprogressively about its own axis. Until men learn this difficult and doubtless humiliating lesson of submitting their opinions to the test of facts, it makes precious little difference whether they "stay in" or "come out"; they are nothing but bundles of prejudices, that is, of prejudgments. The truth-lover is he who has no love whatever for his own opinion as such, but an overmastering passion for that which, no matter at what cost to his pride, shall prove to be true. If we were called upon to name the one man of the nineteenth century in whom this chief of spiritual virtues has shone out with a brilliancy surpassing that of all his contemporaries, we should unhesitatingly name Charles Darwin. Let all the theologians and all the philosophies, Christian or what not, lay their heads together to nominate his equal; they cannot produce another in whom the love of truth has so utterly burned out of his soul all trace of dogmatism and opinionativeness, or lit so pure a flame of devotion to the unbribable veracity of Nature. It is a cheap and tawdry heroism to die for one's opinions; it is the grandest of human achievements to live, like Darwin, for the truth. And science, not Christianity, nor any type of semi-dogmatic heresy, is the altar on which that supreme sacrifice is laid.

The first lesson of the high-souled reformer's experience, we repeat, is that men do not generally love or seek truth for its own sake. It takes a richly developed and highly cultivated mind even to com-

prehend what the love of truth for its own sake is. The types of culture which are furnished by the universities, outside the field of positive science, seldom include it. The various schools of radicalisms, however devoted their adherents may be to the propagation of their own peculiar forms of belief, seldom include it. The numerous systems of philosophy, however well represented by acute defenders, seldom include it. The churches, pledged to their creeds, seldom include it. The countless special reforms of the day, each with its petty panacea for the universal ills which flesh is heir to, show not the faintest conception of it. Where shall it be found? Only here and there, in the rarest, the noblest, the most highly intellectual natures, which by virtue of brain can comprehend it and by exaltation of soul can dedicate themselves to it. The love of truth cannot be orthodox, for orthodoxy, the "right doxy," rules it out at the start by a brazen-faced assumption of infallibility in somebody's *ipse dixit*. But heterodoxy is no proof of the love of truth, since heterodoxy is too often a mere blind, bull-headed, dogged plunge into the "other doxy." The love of truth will have none of these things, but exacts the single eye, the clear head, the lofty soul, the will passive in all things save the pursuit of truth itself, and in that the will resistless as the gravitation that swings the planets round the sun. The love of truth is that supreme spiritual liberty which is absolute obedience to Nature, and thus constitutes the soul of all liberalism that deserves the name. This is the liberalism, and the only form of it, to which a great and generous nature can surrender itself with glad abandon, as something to which life may be consecrated without self-degradation—the liberalism which scorns the trick of cherishing reserved finalities, set up like little idols in some secret inner shrine of superstition—the liberalism which elevates the love of truth and righteousness (for righteousness is nothing but the *truth of life*) into a religion. He is the genuine liberal, he alone, whose whole soul glows with the permanent and intense white-heat of devotion to the truth of Nature in all its boundless universality, over and above his own inadequate conceptions of it—who knows and feels and obeys the supremacy of that envioning Universe which stamps upon his mind, as upon a feebly sensitized spiritual surface, those impressions of surrounding relationships which he calls his perceptions of truth and right. This subordination of subjective conceit to objective verification becomes the warp and woof of his religion, on its intellectual side; it is the love of truth elevated to a positive, powerful, living faith; it is the liberalism which stands ready to make all mankind one with themselves, one with each other, one with that boundless Nature which Humboldt loved to call the "Living Whole."

Has liberalism, then, no mission?

Look about you, and ask yourself if the world has no need of the love of truth we have portrayed. If not, then liberalism has no needed mission, and it is folly unfathomable to waste time and soul in the effort to fulfil it,—sheer abuse of life's opportunities to bend one's strength to the task of planting unwanted seed in sterile soil. But if the world suffers from nothing so much as from the lack of a love of truth for its own sake,—if amelioration of the evils which oppress mankind is deferred or defeated chiefly because the intellectual and moral energies of the race run to waste in the service of superstition, selfishness, and crazy misconstruction of humanity's real wants,—then liberalism has a mission more important than that of all the religions put together: namely, to teach mankind to deal with the facts of this universe in the spirit of absolute honesty, and to treat as their deadliest foe whatever tends to shut out the light of reality from their own minds. Despite the bitter hostility which awaits every effort to dispel popular prejudice, there is no worthier life than that which devotes itself to turning darkness into daylight in matters of public concern. The species of culture which ignores the unity of human interests, and fancies it can perfect itself in isolation, rests on the morality of barbarism, and belies the name it assumes. By neglecting their natural function of popular exposition and turning aside from the thankless work of showing to the bewildered many wherein lies the real truth and the actual duty, men of cultivation not only betray their brethren, but also themselves, and forfeit the personal culture which they aspire to win. This melancholy exhibition is constantly before the observer; it is the saddest aspect of the age. Liberalism's chief mission is to those who think themselves liberals; it cannot ennoble the many before it has inspired and dominated the few.

Not until the ideal of personal culture includes the high obligation of making plain to the perplexed common mind the path of duty in the field of living practical issues, however humble, can culture in the genuine sense be won. Fastidiousness, delicacy, the natural repugnance against coming into personal contact with lower types of feeling or thought, are no excuses for neglecting this obligation. The moral integrity of the individual, to foster which is an essential part of true personal culture, requires him to integrate himself with his race, and bear his proportion of the common burdens, according to the degree of his capacity. He will stand aloof at his own peril, and cannot escape his individual share in a common disaster. Liberalism has indeed its mission to the world. But has it none to us who bear its name?

A CARD.

I notice by the report, in the last issue of THE INDEX, of the recent Congress of the Liberal League at Syracuse, that my name was left on the list of Vice-Presidents of the old League. I have received no official information of such election, and do not know the address of the new Secretary of the League. Therefore I take this method and this earliest opportunity to say that, had I been present at the Congress, I should have been one of the seceding minority on the question at issue, and that I cannot longer hold office nor retain my membership in the old League.

WM. J. POTTER.

A CARD.

On page 536 of THE INDEX of Nov. 7, the impression is unintentionally conveyed that all the present officers of the National Liberal League were selected as "men known to be for the repeal of the Comstock postal law." This was true of the chief officers, perhaps, but not of the Vice-Presidents. For instance, Judge Brewer, Mrs. Neymann, and myself were chosen expressly as being non-seceding friends of Mr. Abbot; and I think it was known that both Judge Brewer and I were opposed to "repeal."

I resigned the position, however, after the adjournment, fearing lest, when the position of the League came to be misrepresented, the odium which I would have accepted for myself might fall upon the University.

J. E. OLIVER.

[Professor Oliver misunderstood the "page" referred to, through not remembering that the "administration" of the League is vested exclusively in the Board of Directors, consisting of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Finance Committee. There was no error, and no ground of misconception if this fact is borne in mind.—ED.]

SIGNIFICANT WORDS.

We presume that we shall obey the wishes of the writers in printing the subjoined extracts from letters recently received.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton says: "I write specially to have my name registered as a member of that division of the League of which you are President. While our country is flooded with obscene literature, mailed to our sons and daughters in every college and seminary in the land, we certainly need some restrictive laws and supervision. If our present laws are, as claimed by some, unconstitutional, they should be amended, but surely not repealed altogether. If Anthony Comstock has not sufficient wisdom and discretion to do justice, to discriminate between what may be published in the interests of social science and what is radically obscene and vicious, let his place be filled by some wiser man. . . . I am glad to see that my friends Judge Hurlbut and Charles D. B. Mills stand with you. I do most unequivocally."

Miss Jane P. Titcomb energetically refuses to be a Vice-President of the "repeal" League as follows: "In your reported list of the new 'repeal' Board, so disgracefully thrust upon the sturdy old League, I note with dismay my own name figuring as one of the Vice-Presidents in the renegade crew. My immediate friends are wholly aware it could not have stood there long enough to get into print, had I been present at the Congress; but lest more remote acquaintances should thus receive the impression of any sympathy on my part with that noxious body of fevered pulse and flaccid vertebrae, I beg you to give me the benefit of this public denial."

Hon. George W. Julian writes: "I am glad things went as well as they did, and that decency has the substantial victory. I shall await the full proceedings with interest, and in the mean time you will of

course understand my position, and that, if I am to be Vice-President, it must be in the new organization."

William Little, Esq., a prominent lawyer of Manchester, N.H., who was elected member for that State of the Executive Committee of both the National Leagues, indicates his probable action as follows: "I am in full sympathy with your position on the Comstock laws question, and think your friends did right at Syracuse."

Mr. Clarence E. Brown, Secretary of the Liberal League of Florence, Mass., wrote as follows on the third of November: "At a regular meeting of the Florence Liberal League, held this evening at the house of David H. Clark, it was voted to surrender our charter as Auxiliary League to the National League, and procure a charter from the new organization. This is to ask for a charter under the new organization, and to send you the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, We, the members of the Liberal League of Florence, Mass., having listened to the report of our delegate, David H. Clark, to the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League held at Syracuse, N.Y., Oct. 26 and 27, hereby express our hearty approval of the course pursued by the minority in withdrawing from that body:

"Resolved, That we withdraw as an Auxiliary League of the National Liberal League and surrender our charter under that organization. And further

"Resolved, That our Secretary be instructed to procure a charter under the National Liberal League of America.

"Said charter will be actually surrendered as soon as circumstances shall promise its legal reception by the National Liberal League."

THE SYRACUSE CONGRESS.

The withdrawal and protest of the seceding members of the National Liberal League have abundant justification, as the circumstances are reviewed that preceded and occasioned it. That occasion substantially is well described in the protest that was drawn up and signed by the names of those who united in it. There are other things beside that in the haste of the moment were omitted to be mentioned, which are of almost equal significance, as furnishing ground for the painful final step that the minority felt themselves compelled to take.

It was quite plain to those who had closely watched the spirit and the movements of the party, which by dint of most extraordinary and persistent effort had secured a majority on the floor of this Congress, that there were two objective points in their strategy to be carried in this meeting: one was *repeal*, a declaration by the Convention demanding the total repeal of the Comstock laws, so-called; the other was to displace the President from the chairmanship of the League, or (to put it briefly) to "bounce Abbot."

This individual had grievously offended in the matter of opposing the unqualified repeal of the Comstock postal laws; he had committed that sin which knows no forgiveness either in this world or the world to come. He had been found, moreover, to be guilty of "culture"; and how could such a man be qualified to be President of the Liberal League? He had insisted, and endeavored to make sure, that the initial organization of this Congress should be vested solely in those who came as duly accredited delegates or duly accredited charter or life-members, and so had been caught in the very act of attempting to "put the Convention in his pocket." There were a thousand reasons demonstrating his utter unfitness for the position he occupied. The *Truth Seeker* had lately very kindly pointed out about fifty of these in a single article. He must go. Down with him!

Both the objects named above were sacredly dear to the repealing heart; and both were, if possible, to be carried without involving chance of any rupture and severance of the body.

The first of these points, by an apparent change of base on the second day of the Convention, the majority "magnanimously" waived, generously consenting to hold all expression of opinion, so far as the Congress was concerned, in abeyance until the next annual Convention, sending us all home, meanwhile, to study for a twelve-month and inform ourselves in regard to the constitutionality question, that we might at the end of the time come together, ripened for "decisive action." It was a shrewd stroke, a card well played, and the minority with all becoming gratitude signified their acceptance and their joy. The sequel presently showed the extent and the meaning of the concession, and by consequence the reach of the conciliation.

The second point came up, and this was presumably, if possible, more dear and vital in the eye of the repealer than the first. That point was deter-

minedly carried,—carried over the heads and against the earnest, pressing protest of the minority, carried, too, in specially offensive and ruthless manner. The act itself of displacing Mr. Abbot from the Presidency for the reason for which it was done,—the man who had been the very father and founder of the League, who had sacrificed and wrought more for it than any other one in it, nay, almost *more than all others*, and who was up to this hour the very life and soul of the organization,—this act was a deliberate indignity to him, and not less than that to all the non-repealing members. But, as one of the ardent repealers expressed it in the Convention (this, according to my recollection, was his language): "I found, this morning, I had been sold out by some of my friends in regard to one of the things I came here to do (i.e., get a declaration for repeal); and now I am determined not to be sold out on the other." So, doubtless, said they all.

Then note two or three points in the procedure: the attempt was made at the outset, after the nominations were submitted from the two sections of the committee, to cut off all debate, and take the vote instantly. That failing, a vote was passed, crowding all debate within the space of thirty minutes; nobody must be allowed a word thereafter. And finally to that most reasonable demand—a demand which none with any regard for fairness would think of refusing—that the vote be taken by roll-call, and the ayes and noes recorded, a peremptory denial was returned. It is no excuse to say that the roll was not ready, and the preparation of it would involve some slight delay. The Committee on Membership had been instructed by the Convention to make out a roll of the members in attendance, and it was by neglect of their duty that it was not at hand. It would have been simply just to require them to make it out. And the denial was in face of the affirmation of one member that there were, or had been, persons on the floor who, as he was very credibly informed, were not delegates.

There were other features in the transactions of this Convention that must go unmentioned here, which mark the procedure as a most extraordinary indignity of very pronounced type and character.

When, for instance, the chairman (one of the Vice-presidents at this time), in reply to the boisterous demonstration from the side of the majority that was attempting to clamor down a member from the other side, who was speaking both temperately and fittingly, "sustained" him in this fashion: "Let him blow through; he will feel better when he has done,"—it was plain that not only the spirit of fairness had then departed, but that the sense of decency and shame was also on the wing.

The demand and heated clamor for repeal will, in part certainly, be interpreted, and justly, too, by the public mind, by and through transpiring events that lie along beside it. Note the persistent and resolute effort to push out before the public a kind of literature which, if not technically and under legal construction obscene, is manifestly in extreme degree demoralizing, adapted to break up and annihilate the very foundations of social order, and blot out to extinction the primal decencies of our civilized life. Those who are doing this thing, and those who are winking at, abetting, or defending it, will be held to a strict accountability by the public mind. It cannot possibly, and it ought not, to be otherwise.

I have friends, old and dear, that to my surprise and sorrow are ranged on this wrong side that was taken in the Convention. I trust that awhile they will see that they are placed in a false, in a fatally false position, and will hasten to abandon it. Free discussion, sober, earnest, candid thought, however radical, an appeal to the intelligence, the reason, is ever to be not only tolerated, but encouraged and welcomed. That is always in order. Nastiness, coated and disguised as you will, has no right but to be extinguished.

It is the extreme of absurdity and folly, it is sheer madness, in fact, for any party, any body of persons, small or great, well-meaning or otherwise, to array themselves against the clear moral sentiment of the age, nay, of the ages of mankind. That sentiment, and the life, the behavior, that is based upon and inspired from it, is too precious, costly, blood-bought, have come down from too many centuries and millenniums of toil and struggle on the part of man to master himself, to tame and subjugate, or to curb and restrain the ferocious, hot passions within him,—there is too much at stake in it to permit that it be lightly treated, or sought ruthlessly to be ravished away. The organization that shall attempt that, if such a one be possible, will be quickly and irrevoca-

bly ground to powder. If radicalism cannot get farther than that, it shall infinitely better shut shop, stop business, and close the concern. The law of "natural selection" and the "survival of the fittest" will take it in hand, and swiftly smother it to utter extinction.

Members and friends of the National Liberal League of America! We stand at immense moral vantage at this new beginning of our career, in the approval and the sympathy of clear-seeing and right-minded people throughout the country. They mark the issue that has been brought out; and the moral sentiment, the conviction of society, is challenged and stands with us. Shall we be prompt and discerning enough to show ourselves equal to the hour, worthy the great privilege and the grand occasion that is open before us? Everything depends now on the quickness, the wisdom, and courage of our response.

C. D. B. M.

Communications.

ÆSTHETIC SENSE OF ANIMALS.

NO. II.

If, then, sounds do, according to their loudness, timbre, or pitch, produce in animals different states of consciousness that may be classed either as pleasurable or painful, we can hardly doubt that the pleasurable states are in very many cases the result of the excitation of the æsthetic sense,—perhaps in nearly all those cases where the sounds producing them are in no way connected with arousing into action the life-serving functions. While all, or most all, æsthetic emotions are pleasurable, all pleasurable states are by no means associated with a sense of the beautiful. If we are hungry, eating produces a pleasurable state, but ideas of the beautiful are not thereby aroused. And so on in similar numerous instances. I have no doubt but that there are very many cases in which it would be quite impossible to tell by the expressions or language of the emotions whether a given emotion is the result of the excitation of the æsthetic sense, or the arousing of pleasurable feelings connected with the life-serving functions. While the excitation of the æsthetic sense and a pleasurable state of consciousness produced by some prospective benefit about to be received, cause the contractions and relaxations of nearly the same facial muscles, and similar movements of the limbs and body indicative of the feelings, yet if the feelings are strong in either case—so strong as to visibly affect the limbs and body,—we can sometimes distinguish an æsthetic emotion from an emotion aroused by a prospective benefit or other cause not associated with a sense of the beautiful. The attitude and general expression of a dog listening to the music of a piano, may, perhaps for a few moments, be about the same as under many other circumstances,—such as when he is about to receive kind attentions or a benefit from his master. But presently as the music becomes more stirring or pathetic, he will get down and crawl, or roll and howl, thus showing in the clearest possible manner that he appreciates those combinations of sounds we call music. At least, such actions of a dog have come under my notice when he was permitted to come into the parlor and a piece of music was played for him with a view of noting the effects it produced. I do not believe that dogs ever act in the same manner when about to receive kind attentions or food. If the same muscles of expression perform different functions, it must be that they receive nervous discharges of different strengths and intensities, and from different nervous centres, caused by different kinds of emotions.

Probably almost every one has read of instances in the early settlement of some of the States of the Union, where wolves were kept at bay and their fierceness allayed by the music of the violin or fiddle. To what extent animals in a feral state are capable of appreciating music as arranged for the ears of the civilized man, we have no definite means of knowing; but from such evidence as we have, it seems probable that it will depend upon the degree of intelligence possessed by the individuals of any particular species. For instance, I believe, as a class, that the ungulate or toed animals, as lions, tigers, wolves, etc., are more intelligent and more capable of appreciating music arranged according to the scale of the civilized man, than gulate or hoofed animals, as cattle, sheep, etc. While we know well enough that various species of animals can be taught to distinguish one musical air from another, we know very little about how music affects the feelings of the individuals of any given species, between a state of indifference up to a strong pleasurable emotion. As indicated by the expressions or language of the emotions, very few observations have been carefully made under this head. But from such facts as we have, it seems probable that if careful experiments could be made under favorable conditions, it would be found that most animals would show an appreciation of music, but that the appreciation would be different in different species, and in different individuals of the same species.

That various species of animals produce sounds and songs for the satisfaction or entertainment of each other, independent, too, of the life serving functions, cannot for a moment be questioned. The male of the prairie chicken (*Tetrao cupido*) of the Western States, early in the morning, during the spring or commencement of the breeding season, produces a peculiar sound at a low pitch, accompa-

nied by a kind of strut and erection of the feathers of the body, but more prominently those about the neck, apparently for the purpose of attracting or charming the females, as several are always spectators to these queer antics. While we would perhaps be unable to distinguish any difference in the sounds thus produced by the males, the female prairie hen may be able to distinguish a difference as marked as that of the voices of several persons we hear conversing together.

Different pieces of music, which with us arouse different sentiments and emotions, would probably appear all alike to the savage,—a mere babel of sounds. As the voices of those with whom we are familiar are recognized as having different degrees of sweetness or harshness, so it may be with animals that endeavor to attract each other by such sounds as they are able to produce. Does it not seem just as reasonable to suppose that creatures of relatively simple organizations should require only simple sounds to satisfy their rudimentary æsthetic sense, as that creatures of very complex organizations should require complex combinations of sounds to satisfy their relatively developed æsthetic sense?

When we see what a wide difference there is among ourselves as to what constitutes beautiful combinations of sounds or good music, we ought not to hesitate to go further and admit that an æsthetic sense of some degree between zero and the highest phase of development may belong to animals. The actions of the mocking-bird (*Mimus polyglottus*) in imitating the voices of other birds and animals, and sometimes even in singing the fragments of a tune, may perhaps as well be considered instinctive, as the actions of the cuckoo in laying her eggs in other birds' nests. But if the female selects from the competing singers a male with the most melodious voice, and the power of combining with the best effect into his melody the songs of other birds and the sounds produced by other animals, it is difficult to see how we can resist the conclusion that she displays a sense of the beautiful in the appreciation of sounds, when slightly different in timbre and pitch, sweetness and harshness. Even if it be admitted that most of such actions are instinctive, still it can hardly be denied but that in some of them a small dose of judgment or reason comes into play. Nor would it in the case of human beings be thought to weaken the force of the argument to say that a certain individual instinctively appreciated a beautiful landscape view, a fine piece of music or an elegant painting or statue.

By the process of sexual selection continued through thousands of generations, we can easily see how the mocking-bird has attained its wonderful power of imitating the notes of other birds, and the sounds produced by other animals. The competitive singing contests of the males to attract the females are common to quite a number of species of birds; and to say that the females in such cases do not display a sense of the beautiful in the appreciation of auditory impressions, in selecting as partners the best singers, would be contrary to the experience of those who have given considerable attention to the subject of sexual selection among birds.

Nor does it seem easy to believe that accidental selection, that is, selection without any regard to a sense of the beautiful, would have ever produced so many species of singing-birds as are known to exist throughout the world. In most cases we can satisfactorily account for the peculiar habits and structure of an animal as being of advantage to it in the struggle for existence. We can see, for instance, that the webbed feet of a water-bird are of advantage to it, serving as paddles in swimming; and that the peculiar structure of the bill of the woodpecker is suitable to its mode of life in catching insects between the chinks of bark of trees; and so on in endless other cases. But it will not be claimed that being a good singer would be of especial advantage to a bird in gaining a living, in capturing insects, or in escaping from enemies.

The various facts above referred to (and numerous similar ones might have been given), I think, show beyond a reasonable doubt that animals have an æsthetic sense, and that it may be excited by sensations and impressions received through the sense of hearing.

Do animals have a sense of the beautiful aroused by sensations and impressions received through the sense of sight? We shall find evidence of the required kind showing that they do. Indeed, the evidence ought to be more abundant here than where we find it through auditory impressions. The erection of the feathers and the pompous struts of the males of the prairie-chicken, already mentioned, probably have equally as much to do in attracting the females as the accompanying low thundering sounds. Though the male may not appear as elegant to us during the performance of these strange actions, as when his feathers are unerected in his natural state; yet the case may be quite different with the females. During these competitive charming contests of the males, there may be something in their carriage eminently attractive to the females, unperceived by us. Even according to our ideas of beauty, the prairie chicken may be considered as rather elegant in form and color, superior, perhaps, to most birds of the same size, among whom courting contests between the males for the purpose of attracting the females are not known to exist.

Mr. Darwin, in his work on the *Origin of Species*, refers to the rock-thrush of Gulana and birds of paradise congregating and of the males displaying their gorgeous plumage before females, and of the females choosing for their partners the males most attractive according to their sense of beauty. The brilliant and variegated colors of these birds show that the females, during the process of selection through thousands of generations, not only have appreciated

brilliant colors, but complex combinations of colors. And in this respect their sense of the beautiful has had a marked correspondence with ours; for there is no one so vulgar in his taste as not to admire the fine plumage of the bird of paradise.

WILEY BRITTON.

THE MYSTERY OF MONEY.

The word money is susceptible of many definitions, according to the point from which it is viewed. It is a device whereby the money-getters enslave the value-creators; it is a weapon used in the universal struggle after more than an equal share of the common wealth; it is the exchange-medium which renders possible the division of labor and such measure of civilization as we enjoy and suffer; it is the abstract ideal of value, or appropriable desirableness to which all concrete commodities are referred; it is—but never mind any more definitions; after all, money remains a mystery.

A dollar is neither here nor there. It is nothing in particular. It means, like everything else, whatever we make it mean. Do you say it means a certain number of grains of gold of a certain fineness? But, suppose gold to become suddenly plentier through improvements in the modes of its extraction, is it not certain that at once it would be claimed that so many grains of gold no longer constitute a dollar? What so many grains of gold are worth depends on the relative plentifulness of gold. So with all other commodities, including labor. In a word, abstract value is a myth; there is no absolute standard of value. Commercial value signifies the relative desirableness of all exchangeable articles, and varies in each according to its varying quantitative relation to the others. Pardon these truisms.

But in order to buy and sell understandingly,—that is to say, with hope and chance of profit, or at least even exchange,—in order to be able to guess how much of this goes for how much of that, some approximate general measure of value is desirable. This comes nearer being found in labor than aught else; but labor itself being unavailable for currency, an indestructible, portable, condensed product of labor,—namely, the precious metals,—has been generally found most available.

But what is used for money is of little importance; the main point is how much is used. And even this question would be of little account if the muchness or the littleness of it were unvarying or uniformly varying, so that people might know what to calculate upon. All commodities are continually changing in value (relative desirableness) according to their ever-changing relative plenteousness. But of money it is desired that it shall vary in its ratio to the aggregate of wealth as little as possible. The fact that gold and silver, owing to their slow-varying difficulty of production, have been so much used for money does not certify that they are eternally to remain the sole or principal currency. In fact, they are much like the big stone that the boy carried so many years in one end of the bag to balance the grist across the old mare's back. Some day the boy finds out that he need not carry the extra weight of the stone; some day mankind will find out that gold and silver mining is an enormous waste of labor.

The emergencies of the late war revealed in a clearer light than had ever been seen before the capabilities of a national currency based not upon gold and silver but upon national credit. In fact, faith is the real basis of all money; he who parts with a load of wheat for a gold piece does so because he knows that others also have faith in the intrinsically worthless gold, and will exchange for it any commodity he may chance to want. Faith must float any currency; and faith in a currency depends on its general acceptance, founded on its material fitness and the belief that its volume will not be suddenly sensibly expanded or contracted. Faith in gold is a conventionalism which it undoubtedly took ages to create, and means a general belief, evolved from long experience, that the difficulties of gold-extraction cannot be suddenly overcome in such degree as to make gold so plenty as to unsettle prices. It is a conventionalism that has long been gradually giving place to a more enlightened and less expensive one.

The prime desideratum in a currency is the rigidity that makes it an approximation to abstract value, and makes it an equitable and calculable solvent of obligations. This quality can evidently be imparted to a so-called irredeemable paper currency by any people arrived at the proper stage of self-control and harmonious compromise of opposed interests. Are we that people? Can we hold a paper currency as steady as Nature holds a metallic one?

We observe a marked difference of opinion upon this and most other economic questions between the capitalist or creditor, or absorptive class on the one hand, and the popular laboring tax-paying class on the other. In both these classes, and in the middle class, neither rich nor poor, that acts as "bumper" and peacemaker between the two extremes, we see that opinion is mainly generated by class-interest. In fact, there is little science of money matters only after the fact; there are simply certain results from the conflict of class-interests. Economic questions look entirely different to the many who get only a poorish living by constant toil, from what they do to the less numerous optimistic class who are luxuriously supported by some legal lien upon labor.

The people by giving way to their patriotic passions in the late war got themselves into a fix; the class who fauten in proportion as the people grow lean and pauperized desire to hold them to the utmost calamitousness of the consequences. The masses, who have to do all and pay all, desire to pay off the mortgage upon the fruits of labor in the easiest obtainable currency; the holders of the mortgage desire payment in the scarcest, hardest dollar. It is a

problem in the solution of which equity is difficult if not impossible, and soulless legalism is cruel and dangerous. It is certain at this day and age of the world that no important case is going to be decided against the people by default; things are not to be completely one-sided. Few people, I guess, have much faith in the essential humanitarianism of the capitalistic class; there is a deep-seated, if not very definite feeling that they own the government, and play fast and loose with financial legislation and currency contrivances; and that, whoever wins, the workers lose.

The well-worn "hifalutin" about the "paramount importance of preserving inviolate the public faith" is not near so decisive as interested moralists would have us believe. The national credit is valuable only as it ministers to national well-being; in itself and as an ultimate it is naught. To build up an aristocracy of wealth upon widespread popular pauperization and virtual enslavement is none the less a devilish thing for being done legally. When did any anti-popular party ever fall to have the law of the land and the formulas of nominal morality on their side? We hold that the greatest good of the greatest number overrides all those stereotyped canons of conduct which political tricksters are so loud-mouthed to preach up when advantageous to them, and equally ready to ignore when not.

A confederation of Shylocks stand to-day demanding with starkest legalism their pound of flesh nearest the people's heart. They have captured the President and his Cabinet; they present a bold front. Note this, that their influence is strongest on the governmental departments farthest removed from direct accountability to the popular will. A schism is growing between government and people, which if it continues must amount to revolution. In millions of homes where men sit unemployed, watching their families slowly sinking into the degradation of extreme poverty, is gathering a force which the men who do nothing but draw interest would do well to make some sort of living arrangement with. Admit that our national government has become the well-managed agency of the creditor interest; still it is a fact that this is not the era in which any government can long endure that is radically alienated from its people.

Gold and silver are not, and never again will be, the basis of American currency. They are intrinsically useless commodities, valuable chiefly to trade off for about equally useless foreign fineries and poisons. The real basis of American currency is to be the needs and the mutual faith of the American people. Speed the coming of the American Dollar! a dollar with an idea in it; a dollar that represents science, faith, and progress, as the old earth-bound dollar represents unfaith in the capacity of the people to emancipate themselves from the pressure of barbaric necessity without running into destructive excesses.

The American unit of value that has long been shaping itself—call it labor-dollar, greenback, national value-certificate, or what you please,—will be a national promissory note, legal tender in all transactions of citizens with the government, and each other, and redeemable in no definite amount of labor, gold, silver, or any other commodity, but worth, as everything is, whatever it will bring. What it will bring will depend mainly on how plenty it is, and the prospect of its steady uniformity in volume. It makes no manner of odds whether it is scarce enough to make wheat sell for half a dollar a bushel, or plenty enough to make it sell for ten dollars; the main point, in order that the people may not be too badly plucked by the currency-gamblers, is that it should be unvarying in volume. How is this to be effected? By a constitutional apportionment of the issue to the population. A ratio of dollars to persons must be adopted and adhered to. This is a compromise (as far as the currency is concerned) between those who want and those who have, such as no one can well object to.

There is no intrinsic value in gold and silver such as fits them for currency. If they could be had for the picking up, their availability as money would plainly be gone. They make good money because they are durable and equally scarce. Their value as money is wholly conventional. The general agreement to use them as vouchers may be transferred to a less expensive set of counters.

G. E. TUFTS.
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE.

Oct. 25, 1878.

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

I have felt a strong impulse many times to seize my pen and enter into some of the warm and interesting discussions that have filled your columns of late. THE INDEX is a most provocative sheet. You are sure either to heartily agree or disagree with every word it utters. It never inspires indifference. The entire change in the spirit of the paper under the administration of Mr. Stevens was noteworthy and curious. He had much to say for the claims of literature over polemic, and the advantages offered in a quiet, peaceful, meditative life, over one spent in the turmoil of controversy and reform. Mr. Stevens evidently places more emphasis on the *to be of life*, than the *to do*, with its consequent *to suffer*. There is no more seductive appeal under the sun than that which pleads for the universal in contradistinction to small and wearisome particulars. The strongest heart of the most active worker in the world's great work of suffering and wrong is often assailed by such temptations, and longs to turn from the agitation and the strife, and lie down in the cool and pleasant places of the earth, to be henceforth "divinely unemployed." Doubtless there is much of truth and wisdom in what Mr. Stevens had to say concerning the benefits arising from a reposeful, contemplative existence, one not unmindful of, but unharassed by, the toil and sorrow

of a troublous world. Very likely we all need to acquire the art of keeping cool; to learn to temper our judgments, steady our wills, and abate our enthusiasms. The world is too full of fanatics, and too empty of philosophers; and if some of these over-zealous actors could be induced to step outside the arena, and become mere lookers-on, the world would have gained at least that much less noise. But this it is unreasonable to hope for. The clamor and confusion of present transitions must continue for many years to come. The world has just awakened from a long night of superstition, and the morning hour is the time for dispelling shadows, for clearing away the rubbish of yesterday and putting the house in order. By and by will come the noontide of fulfillment, followed by the afternoon of peace and quiet repose. There are harder tasks set to our doing just now than to con the lessons of ancient wisdom and lore; more solemn duties to perform than that of comfortably adjusting oneself to the softer side of life. Not but that the world greatly needs a higher culture, and more symmetrical development of the individual; but these are finer issues, which must abide the settlement of coarser, if not graver needs. The reformer's task is not an easy one. He may prefer the quiet of his study to the excitements of public life, the companionship of congenial friends to the society of his coadjutors; but he looks upon life as something more than a boon, as a duty and responsibility which he must bear to the end. The man most in accord with the spirit of the times is not he who under the banner of reform rushes in hot-headed pursuit after every moral phantasm of the day; much less is it he who turns coldly aside from the more active phases of thought and endeavor with the excuse that they are so many useless agitations, which distract and weary the soul. The world owes much to the student and recluse. The inspiration which comes from lofty and lonely thinking, from the calm meditation of the philosopher and song of the poet is too great to be measured; but inspiration is not meant simply to exalt and refine the soul of him that receives it, but some few of heroic metal must work it out into deeds, and a positive benefit to mankind. He, then, is the man for to-day who, avoiding the errors of the fanatic and the delusions of the dreamer, combines hope, courage, and patience. The world never needed reform more than to-day; but the reformer must become the thinker as well, and not be unmindful of the sweeter side of life,—that of love and charity and brotherly good-will. The man who can mingle with and uplift the multitude, yet not feed on its excitements, but withdraw into and above himself for support and sustenance, who lives for the world but to himself, whose faith in humanity and the "eternal rightness of things" outruns even his faith in himself and his cause,—such a man is the hero of the hour.

No one can deny that there is a great deal of bluster and swagger connected with present reformatory movements; that the ends proposed are often puerile, the means devised inadequate. The strain and tension of modern social life, with its various philanthropies and benevolent enterprises, its reforms and iconoclasms, is felt by every one, but that is because we are spurred on by a too greedy spirit of accomplishment. We have learned to labor, but not to wait. The latter, the new philosophy is teaching us how to do. Evolution is the doctrine of small beginnings and small results, with an infinite waiting spell between. The reformer needs to study the methods of nature, and not add an impatient fuss and worry to his hope for better things.

"THE WOMAN QUESTION."

An article in a late number of THE INDEX, with the above heading, is worthy of a careful reading, and no doubt meets the assent of all thoughtful advocates of woman's rights.

The writer says "we are in favor of woman's rights because we are in favor of human rights." This is all that any true woman demands. "Human rights" is synonymous with "woman's rights." Had our masculine law-makers been always in favor of human rights, no agitation of the woman question would ever have been called up. Women only want equality and justice. They have no wish to ignore the line which Nature has drawn between the sex capacities of woman and man. They only want the opportunity of making the most of themselves as women. They do not want to take the positions of men, nor to exchange places or occupations with them. Neither would they take it upon themselves to designate men's sphere, as men are so often doing for women. A man is supposed to know the sphere to which he belongs. No woman presumes to attempt to enlighten him on that subject. Why not conclude that a woman also will know her sphere? Why the necessity of repeatedly reminding her that she is a woman? Surely women need this assistance from men no more than men need it from women. Let us have more confidence in each other; let us presume that the man will be manly, and the woman womanly; that the husband and father will study to promote the happiness of those under his care, and that the wife and mother will find her delight in her husband and children, endeavoring on her part to do all she can to make her home a paradise. Admitting all this,—say, more,—admitting that a woman has, or rather can have, no higher ambition than to fill this position, and scrupulously educates herself for the place, what then? Are there no women eminently qualified for the responsible post who never marry? That young lady whose lover was killed in the army, who has no heart to grace another man's fireside, what shall we do with her? Should she enter a business partnership with her brother, where her energies would be so taxed as to leave no time for morbid complainings for her loss, would not public opinion

say she was out of her sphere,—that she was competing with men? Suppose again, what is daily happening, that a happy, contented, capable wife and mother is suddenly left a widow. She looks about for the best method of caring for herself and her fatherless little ones. A public office is sought which requires her attendance but a part of each day, commanding a salary sufficient for support, leaving much time still to devote to the loved family. Ah, she is seeking a public position,—scrambling for the loaves and fishes. Too long have the loaves and fishes fallen to men. It is time that women came in for their share.

Truly, "not all men are fit to be entrusted with the suffrage." Yet many unfit men are entrusted with it. It is likewise true that many women are fit to be entrusted with the franchise, and many more would fit themselves for it if it were entrusted to them. They would "quietly visit the polls, and then go about their private business." It is to be regretted that "some public women by their masculine manners and gestures and fierce invective" have caused apprehension on the part of men that the womanly name will be cheapened and coarsened by too much publicity. Few women are pleased with "fierce invective" even from a man. But men have for so long a time been the teachers and example, it would be singular if they were not imitated. Women will out-grow that, and speak in a less masculine and more womanly way ere long.

L. R.

"BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER."

St. Louis, Nov. 2, 1878.

MR. ABBOT:

My dear Sir,—It seems that there are two classes of liberals. One class consists of sober-minded thinkers, bred to habits of morality and honor, who have grown dissatisfied with the doctrines of the Church, who believe that its promises are empty and worthless. They separate from the Church because they cannot feel it honorable to seem to believe what they really doubt. I hope this class is a large one.

The other class has the reputation of rejecting the Church and its doctrines, because they do not wish to practice the morality which the Church teaches. This class is always described by the clergy under the name of "liberal," the former one being usually ignored altogether. I must say just here that these two classes are also found in the Church, and liberals usually allude to only one class in describing the characteristics of churchmen.

Now what I wish to say is that, if the Syracuse Convention has been the means of separating these two classes in a manner that will be recognized by all the world, it will be a great relief. Some of us are inclined to be choice in our moral associations. We cannot expect to eliminate all bad men from any association of human beings; but we would like to have a large majority of our associates in favor of order and honor.

F. E. NIPHER.

[That there were not a few of the above-mentioned second class in the majority at Syracuse, was painfully evident; but there were also others of the first class, who did not understand the character of the movement they had been misled into sanctioning. Time will undeceive the latter. Indiscriminate judgments are always unjust, and we must all carefully avoid this injustice. But Professor Nipher is substantially correct. The position of "repeal" is morally indefensible, and in the long run will be understood to be such by liberals as well as by the general public.—ED.]

THE GREAT DANGER.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The danger that threatens our Republican system, which is, theoretically at least, the best form of government yet devised for the equal protection of all, and the welfare of the people is, that the unintelligent and reckless, outnumbering the intelligent and law-abiding classes, and, mistaking liberty for license, may run the Democratic engine off the track into the dismal swamp of anarchy. Free religion, also, is liable to the same danger, and from similar causes.

As we observe among Christians, that they are divided into two classes,—the true believers, whom we may respect, and the hypocrites, whom we must despise,—so, also, among freethinkers we find the intellectual and the thoughtless classes; the former, while rejecting all ecclesiastical authority, insisting on moral and conventional restraints; while the latter—in general from want of due reflection, I think,—in their zeal for toleration are in danger of rushing into the slough of moral chaos. Let us hope that, in the Convention of the National Liberal League, about to assemble at Syracuse, good sense and calm judgment will guide its deliberations; and that, by the action of its delegates, the banner of the organization will be planted upon the impregnable side of the momentous question that seems likely to disturb its councils.

A more suicidal act could not be performed than to pledge the Liberal League to the support of the movement for the repeal of all national laws for the suppression of the beastly vice of circulating obscene publications, pictures, etc., among the young people, through the agency of the United States mails.

D. C.

WOBURN, Mass., Oct. 19.

SMALL BOY (entering shop): "I want a penny worth o' canary seed." Shopkeeper (who knows the boy): "Is it for your mother?" Small boy (contemptuously): "No; it's for the bird."

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The Index.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, NOV. 21, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 465.

LIBERAL LEAGUE PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT

PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification to any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

LEO XIII. evidently hankers after temporal sovereignty quite as strongly as his predecessor. All Popes come to that at last, however liberal at the start; "it's the nature of the beast."

PROFESSOR R. A. PROCTOR, in the *Echo*, asks if there can be anything more ghastly or more grotesque than the thought that the Almighty destroyed the women and children who were on board the *Princess Alice*, because certain politicians in England have regarded too lightly the sufferings of women and children in Bulgaria. He remarks that the Oriental mind could form no better conception of God than as a despot, cruel, treacherous, and merciless, slaying not only those who had offended him, even unwittingly, but their wives and children, and all belonging to their household; but it has been left to English theologians to invent a false God even more horrible,—“a God who, being offended with one set of persons, would wreak vengeance on an entirely different set, avenging the wrongs of women and children, not by punishing the persons who had offended him, but by destroying hundreds of women and children, and bringing sorrow on thousands more.”

THE SAN FRANCISCO *Post*, like many other secular journals, is growing restive under the multiplying exposures of dishonest church-members: “He was a member of the Second Baptist Church, a treasurer of the Sunday-school, and an active member of the Young Men's Christian Association.” This description follows the telegraphic notice of the defalcation of Calder, the bank cashier at Providence, R. I. With the addition, ‘and a thief,’ it would have been perfect. It is not exceptional, however. It comes so frequently over the wires nowadays that when any glaring crime against morals, any conspicuous breach of trust, any malignant meanness, is reported anywhere and by any person, we invariably expect to read at the close the explanatory note: ‘He was a pious young man.’ How is it that religious profession and recalcitancy walk along the highway of life nowadays rascally together like the Siamese twins? Has the ‘Gospel of Greed according to Beecher,’ and the fashionable lights of the Church who ‘prophecy smooth things to the people,’ anything to do with it? Anyhow, the occurrence is so frequent that it has ceased to be accidental. There is cause somewhere for such results.”

THE “Prophetic Conference,” at New York, was an astounding anachronism. Here was a great collection of ecclesiastical leaders, uniting in this melancholy confession of their own mediocrity:—

“We desire disclaiming what doctrines have been or may be held in connection with the belief of the pre-millennial coming of the Lord which conflict with the faith once delivered to the saints and received by the Church universal along the ages, and to bear our united testimony to that which we believe to be the truth of the gospel in the particulars which follow; *viz.*, First, we affirm our belief in the supreme and absolute authority of the written Word of God on all questions of doctrine and duty; second, the prophetic words of the Old Testament concerning the first coming of our Lord Jesus Christ were literally fulfilled in his birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension; and so the prophetic words of both the Old and New Testament concerning his second coming will be literally fulfilled in his visible body returning to this earth in like manner as he went into heaven, and this glorious epiphany of the great God, our Savior Jesus Christ, is the blessed hope of the believer and of the Church during the entire dispensation; third, that this second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ is everywhere represented in the Scriptures as imminent and may occur at any moment; yet the precise day and hour thereof is unknown to man and known only to God; fourth, the Scriptures nowhere teach that the whole world will be converted to God, or that there will be a reign of universal righteousness and peace before the return of our blessed Lord; but that only at and by his coming in power and glory will the prophecies concerning the progress of evil and the development of anti-Christ,

the times of the Gentiles and the in-gatherings of Israel, the resurrection of the dead in Christ and the transfiguration of his living saints, receive their fulfillment and the period of the millennial blessedness its inauguration; fifth, the duty of the Church during the absence of the bridegroom is to watch and pray, to work and wait, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and thus hasten the coming of the day of God, and to his later promise, ‘Surely I come quickly,’ to respond in joyous hope: ‘Even so; come, Lord Jesus.’

“Resolved, That the doctrine of our Lord's pre-millennial advent instead of paralyzing evangelistic and missionary efforts, is one of the highest incentives to earnestness in preaching the gospel to every creature ‘till He cometh.’”

SCOTLAND is taking painful but instructive lessons on the necessity of looking deeper than church-membership to find the secret of moral integrity. In the light of the now constant occurrence of such events as the *Fall Mall Gazette* here records, the public mind is becoming gradually weaned from the superstitious notion that Christianity is the “foundation of morality”: “The Scotch papers are beginning to be very communicative respecting the personal career, character, and claims to notice of the six or seven gentlemen who, as directors and officers of the City of Glasgow Bank, seem to have contrived to divide among themselves and their friends, and otherwise to squander, very nearly seven millions of money; and it is very edifying and instructive to find that these gentlemen were mostly distinguished for the exemplary nature of their walk and conversation. One of the most distinguished of the group, on account both of his high moral example and the extent to which he helped himself and his friends to the bank's cash, was Mr. Lewis Potter, a native of Scotland, and himself and relatives long connected with the City of Glasgow Bank. This gentleman, we are told, ‘has lived sumptuously on a beautiful estate near Edinburgh, and has taken an active part in all movements affecting the moral and religious welfare of the district, and was warmly attached to the Free Church.’ Indeed, so warmly was he attached to that institution that five years ago he built the Burnbank Free Church, and became responsible for the greater portion of the cost of the fabric, and in consequence of this liberality has enjoyed great fame for pious zeal and benevolence. A slight drawback, however, has come to light by the failure, since it now appears that the cost of the Burnbank edifice did not come out of Mr. Lewis Potter's own pocket; and it is considered to be very doubtful whether, in consequence of Mr. Lewis Potter's ingenious manipulation of the transaction, the share-holders of the bank will be able to establish any lien over this ecclesiastical asset. So that Mr. Lewis Potter furnishes one more to the very, very long roll of instances in which, as Swift says, ‘There was a man who, of his great bounty, built a church at the expense of the county.’ But upon the special test of sufficiency and rectitude to which the Scottish nation attaches the highest value,—namely, the observance of the Sabbath,—Mr. Lewis Potter is described as giving forth a testimony most consistent and emphatic. During all the years when, according to the inspectors' report, he actively assisted in falsifying the accounts, in making away with the cash reserve, and in deceiving the share-holders and the public, he steadily refused to take in or read Monday's newspapers because they were printed on the first day of the week. Of Mr. William Taylor, also, another director of the City of Glasgow Bank, it is remarked that he occupied a prominent position as president of the Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association, and as a representative on several occasions of St. Enoch's Church in the General Assembly. It is lamentable to have to add that, notwithstanding the eminence of these two gentlemen in all the pious virtues, they went on steadily year after year falsifying the accounts and ruining the share-holders.”

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Chartered by the National Liberal League of America.

- FLORENCE, MASS.—President, Seth Hunt; Secretary, Clarence E. Brown. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Florence Liberal League. SYRACUSE, N. Y.—President, John W. Truesdell; Secretary, Mrs. Nettie C. Truesdell. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Onondaga County Liberal League.

N.B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their vote to accept the following invitation:—

"Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League."

THERE IS a genuine ring about this colored sermon, colored only as to its orthography. The tinted Johnson got hold of a bottom fact on which to base his theory, and it would do no harm if it found its way among the pale faces: "Brethren, my 'sperience is dat it ain't de perfection of 'ligion, but de 'casional practice of it dat makes a man 'ceptable up yonder. When yer gits ter de golden gate an' Peter looks yer right in de eye and yer shows him yer long creed an says, pompous like, dat yer 'longed ter de big 'Piscopalian Church, de 'posible 'll shake his head an say, 'Dat ain't nuff ter get yer through.' But if yer takes all yer bills under yer arm, yer grocer bills an' yer rent bills, an' he looks 'em over an' finds 'em all accepted, he'll say, 'Yer title's clear,' an unlock de gate an' let yer pitch yer voice for de angels' song. But 'tain't no use ter trabble along dat narrer path 'less yer can kerry, folded up in yer creed, a good recommendation from yer creditors. Hebben ain't no place fur a man who has to dodge roun' a corner fur fear ob meetin' some one who'll ask fur dat little bill dat nebber was paid."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Liberal League:

ITS OBJECTS AND CONDITIONS OF ITS SUCCESS.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE AT SYRACUSE, N. Y., OCT. 27, 1878.

BY B. F. UNDERWOOD.

Having been invited to address this Congress, I cannot do better, in view of the extraordinary proceedings of its sessions yesterday and to-day, than to explain the reasons of the existence of the Liberal League, state its principles and purposes, point out dangers that threaten its usefulness, and indicate some of the conditions on which alone its growth and success can be reasonably expected.

From the beginning of our national existence, sagacious, just, and courageous men have protested against the wrong, and spoken words of warning against the danger, of preserving in this Republic any vestiges or traces of that union of Church and State which was once complete and universal throughout Christendom. Jefferson thoroughly comprehended the importance of State secularization. So did Franklin. The former declined, against the urgent solicitation of the clergy, to appoint a day of fasting, thanksgiving, and prayer, on the very just ground that, as President of the United States, his duty was to execute the laws, not to appoint days for religious service. From that time until now, every generation has had men in this country who have raised their voices or wielded their pens in opposition to all those laws and practices which imply a connection between government and religion. Judge Hertell, of New York, and Abner Knesland, of Boston, nearly half a century ago, called attention to the very wrongs against which we, members of the Liberal League, protest to-day; and the so-called "infidel" papers that have been published in this country have without exception insisted that justice, equal rights, and religious liberty demand their entire removal. All honor to the brave men, living and dead, who in years past, with a solid public sentiment against them, for conscience' sake and from love of liberty and right, opposed every law and every practice involving a union of Church and State.

Until within the past few years, however, the number interested in this reformatory movement was comparatively small; and, although some of its features were occasionally forced upon the notice of the people in certain localities, it was too far in advance of public opinion to command permanent attention. Generally, it received no recognition from the press, pulpit, or people. It was regarded as only the outcropping of "infidelity," too insignificant to be worthy of notice.

But of late, the movement has acquired in this country a strength it never possessed before, and it is gaining friends and growing in importance every day, advancing evidently with the progress of education and liberal thought. The prominence given the cause of State secularization by Francis E. Abbot, the ability and persistency with which, in spite of popular ignorance and misconception, and in spite of apathy among liberals, he has stated and maintained its principles, together with the formation of the Liberal League, and the publication of its platform and the proceedings of its meetings and conventions by the liberal and secular press, have, among other causes, contributed greatly to call attention to the subject and to awaken interest in it.

The principles involved in the movement have been presented to the public with great clearness and definiteness. They have been published and circulated widely. They have been explained by many speakers from the platform. Petitions have been circulated and numerously signed, asking for State secularization. The leading papers of the country begin to speak respectfully, and some of them approvingly, of the general objects of the Liberal League. This organization is increasing in number and influence, helping, and (if dissensions do not destroy its efficiency) destined yet more to help, to secure the total separation of Church and State in this Republic.

Thus far, the movement has been sustained by liberals, or those who stand outside of the Christian churches, as was the anti-slavery cause in its early days, when the struggles and sacrifices of its now revered but then despised defenders were rewarded by malicious misrepresentation, bitter denunciation, and open violence. The great majority of the adherents of Orthodox Christianity, and many of those of what is called Liberal Christianity, including prominent leaders, appear to have no sympathy with the objects of the League. Since they recognize Christianity as true and divine, they seem to think the government should so recognize it, and that no harm is done if Pagans, Jews, and Free-thinkers are compelled to help support it. This fact is not very creditable to the adherents of the popular faith. It seems to indicate that between this faith—as many noble men and women as it can claim—and a sentiment of justice there is unfortunately no necessary connection.

It must be admitted, however, that some of the evils against which we protest, especially the use of the Bible in the public schools, have, the past four or five years, been ably and earnestly opposed by a few of the representatives of the Orthodox denominations. Not a few in the churches, probably, see the justice of our claim; but since the agitation for State secularization originated among liberals, and is sustained by them, and since the movement as an organized effort is yet in its infancy, and of course unpopu-

lar with the masses, they avoid any identification with it.

All classes of liberals see and acknowledge the justice of the demands of the Liberal League, but from various reasons many have shown indifference to its success. One reason is, probably, that they have become so accustomed to the evils which the league aims to remove, that they fail to realize fully the flagrant wrong that they involve to themselves and others who reject Christianity,—the infringement on their rights, and the violation of religious liberty,—and hence they think less of working for the success of these great principles of equality than of opposing, in a general way, the creeds of the churches. Slavery in every form tends to make its victims contented and submissive, by the very conditions to which it habituates them. Some trust wholly to the growth of a more just public sentiment, by education and the progress of liberal thought, and justify their inaction by declaring that such reforms cannot be hastened, or if they are they are liable to be succeeded by dangerous reactions; while others dislike from personal considerations to encounter the hostility of the clergy and the churches, and so stand aloof from the League. But it is unquestionable that liberals are fast waking to the importance of this subject, while the public feeling is steadily growing in our favor.

Since the Liberal League is composed wholly of the class known as liberals, a few remarks here in regard to the desirability and practicability of organized effort on their part may be appropriate and timely. It is often asked, Why do not liberals organize for the dissemination of their principles, and thus secure an influence which, without organization, is impossible? The reason that liberals do not unite, and have not in the past united, to advance their views on the subject of religion is, it seems to me, obvious enough, although apparently overlooked by many. The very diversity of belief among liberals renders it impossible for them to subscribe to any creed that may be prepared for them as a basis of union. If they did organize, they would be unable to fix on any religious doctrines as those of the association, and it would be equally impossible to have any representatives, for the reason that no person could represent all the conflicting systems and different schools of thought which have their adherents among liberals. True, different classes of liberals—theists, atheists, spiritualists, materialists, transcendentalists, etc.—might organize as such separately, were they so inclined; but if they should, the basis would be too narrow to suit the broad, liberal minds of the class, even, whose particular views the organization should represent and endeavor to advance. Such an association would be exclusive from the beginning, and liable to become sectarian, rigid, and unprogressive with age. A basis of organization, to secure the support of all classes of liberals that have outgrown the creeds of the churches, must be broad and comprehensive, as that of a body formed to advance particular views on religion, and to oppose all others, never can be. It must be like that of the Free Religious Association, which requires no declaration of religious belief as a test of membership, and is pledged to the support or advancement of no school of thought or system of faith, but whose object is to encourage the study and the courteous discussion of all schools and systems, whose representatives are cordially welcomed to the privileges of membership and to the liberty of the platform. Such an association, too catholic and cosmopolitan to receive sympathy or support from any class of sectarians or zealots, religious or unreligious, is admirably adapted to encourage impartial investigation, to promote breadth of thought, an appreciation of the good in all systems, and a considerate regard for all who love and are searching for the truth.

While an organization of this broad character is possible among those who differ widely on questions of religion and philosophy, it is quite as practicable, and to say the least quite as important, for them to organize for the removal of evils to which they are all opposed, and for the accomplishment of work in which they feel a common interest.

Such an organization is the Liberal League. Its primary object is neither the promulgation nor the discussion of the doctrines of any system of faith or philosophy, except so far as it clearly conflicts in practice with equal rights and the religious liberty of citizens. It is an organization formed in the interests of justice and freedom to all. It declares that in this Republic, where there is great diversity of belief on the subject of religion, all have the right to worship in the manner that seems to them best, or not to worship at all if that is their pleasure, and that there should be no compulsory support of any religion, and no law or practice by the general or State governments directly or indirectly recognizing any religion either as true or false; in other words, that there should be a total, absolute separation of Church and State, both in theory and in practice, now, henceforth, and forever; that the government should be entirely secular, and should have nothing whatever to do with any religion, nor with any anti-religious system or belief, except to protect its adherents, when necessary, in the rightful enjoyment of their faith or convictions, when their beliefs are not of a character that requires them to infringe on the rights and liberties of other citizens. It protests against the use of religious books and the performance of religious service in our public schools; it protests against the exemption of churches from their just proportion of taxation, when liberal halls are taxed like other property; it protests against the recognition by the State of the claims of any religion as to the sacredness of one day over another; it protests against the employment of chaplains by the government, and the conversion of halls of legislation into places for religious service, and the payment for such service—however small the amount—from the public treasury; it protests against all religious service at the public expense, or by the direction of the constituted authorities, in

any department of the national or State government; it protests against public appropriations for institutions in which religious doctrines are taught; it protests against proclamations by the President of the United States, and by Governors of the States, appointing days for thanksgiving and prayer. Against all these, and other similar practices, the League firmly and earnestly protests; and it demands that they cease, since they are inconsistent with the government of the United States and the genius of free institutions; since they are a denial of that separation of Church and State, and that principle of religious liberty which so many are praising, but which so few seem to understand; and since impartial justice and the cause of religious liberty demand the removal of these wrongs, and the complete secularization of the State.

With these objects in view, the League invites all, without regard to religious belief, nationality, sex, or race, to join in the accomplishment of its work. No question is asked how much or how little you believe; whether you are a Christian, Jew, Buddhist, Mohammedan, Pagan, Spiritualist, Atheist, or Sceptic; whether you are in favor of coin or "flat money"; whether you are for or against woman suffrage; whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, or neither: if you recognize the importance and justice of our work and will assist us in helping educate the people in our principles, your cooperation is desired.

And here I deem it proper to emphasize the fact that, to insure success, the *Liberal League must confine itself to the objects for which it was organized*. It must keep constantly in view State secularization, and, to this end, every other consideration must be subordinate. It is now, and in the future still more will be, composed of somewhat heterogeneous elements. One great danger that is a standing menace to all such organizations is the liability of giving undue prominence to questions which have no direct bearing on their objects, and concerning which there is the same difference inside as there is outside of their membership,—questions which, at certain times, owing to some circumstance, absorb public attention, and which seem to many, under the influence of temporary excitement, of more importance than the objects which called the organization into existence; and thus they are often the cause of dissension, and not unfrequently destroy the harmony and unity of organizations whose aims and objects at the beginning were clear, definite, and well understood.

Let the Liberal League avoid this rock on which so many organizations have been dashed to pieces. Its members, as individuals, are at liberty to advocate what they choose on all subjects, and to join any party or association pledged to other reforms; but as members of the Liberal League it is all-important that they keep constantly in mind the purpose for which the organization was formed. Outside the Liberal League, individually or as members of other organizations, they can use their influence in favor of the Republican or Democratic party, gold or greenbacks, woman-suffrage or anti-woman-suffrage, prohibition or license, Christianity or anti-Christianity, Spiritualism or materialism, theism or atheism, evolution or creation; but the dissemination of any views on these subjects, however desirable, is *no proper part of the work of the Liberal League*. There are indiscriminating minds that will pronounce this a narrow policy, because they fail to distinguish between the legitimate work of the League and their cherished convictions on subjects that are beyond the province and scope of this body. There are some individuals in such a chronic state of excitement in regard to some subject that they must introduce it whenever they have an opportunity to address the public, whatever the object for which the meeting was called. We may concede to such persons honesty and zeal; but they lack judgment and discretion, and constitute the most troublesome element with which conventions have to deal.

But to all such persons we must say: While we welcome you to this organization and desire your assistance, we cannot as members of the League decide on, or consume our time in discussing, questions that are utterly alien to the principles and purposes of this body. By this course alone can harmony be maintained, and the efficiency and success of the League secured.

For two days, nearly the entire proceedings of this Congress have related to the question whether the law of 1873 against the circulation of obscene literature through the mails should be *modified or totally repealed*. The main objects of the Liberal League have been lost sight of, and, from listening to the discussion yesterday and to-day, no person could get any idea of the real purpose for which the National Liberal League was organized.

From the first, I have insisted that the question as to the constitutionality of the law of 1873 is a question with which the Liberal League has nothing to do; and the difference of opinion on this subject has been given a prominence to which, in this body, it is not entitled.

Because there were reasons for believing that persons had been unjustly convicted of circulating obscene literature, owing to the loose and defective character of the law under which they were tried, the National Liberal League at Philadelphia in 1876 passed a resolution demanding, in the interests of justice, that all laws against obscenity should be so clear and definite as to allow only the conviction and punishment of guilty persons; and lest the resolution should be uncharitably construed by anybody to intimate sympathy with any who were engaged in circulating moral filth, it added that it was in favor of proper legislation against obscene literature. That resolution was, I believe, right and timely. Both the contending parties can concur in it now. It was simply a protest against what seemed to be a wrong to individuals in consequence of loose legislation.

In no way did that resolution lead to the discussion that has been going on respecting the Comstock law, or to the scenes we have witnessed at the sessions of this Congress. If we are wise, we will hereafter confine our discussions to the purposes of the League. Unless questions that are not germane to the objects of the organization can be kept out of our Conventions, the usefulness of the League and even its existence will soon end.

While guarding against dissension within, public opinion is the field without, to which we should give constant attention and devote our labors. It is ours to cultivate and to improve to the extent of our ability.

The advancement of the cause of State secularization will not be promoted by trusting simply to the tendency of the age, nor by relying wholly on the course of evolution. The tendency of an age is but the visible expression of the growing convictions and feelings of the people; and it may be encouraged and directed wisely, or it may be retarded or changed for evil by individual, and yet more by organized, effort; while the modifications of beliefs and of institutions are hastened or hindered by our contributions to character and conduct, which are themselves factors in the process called evolution. It becomes our duty, then, to avail ourselves of all practicable means to instruct the people in the principles of the Liberal League, and to enforce the justice of its claims. We should, through the press and by essays and lectures, show how the evils against which we protest imply a union of Church and State; show that equal rights and the best interests of the State call for its total divorce from the Church; that the support of *Christian* morality, even, forms no part of the duty of the national or State governments; that natural morality can alone claim the recognition or constitute the basis of a government that is purely secular; that natural morality is independent of Christianity and of all other systems of religion; that the claim that, because morality is the foundation of the stability and well-being of the nation, it is the right and duty of the government to sustain Christianity is a claim that is unjust and absurd, shallow and false, and involves an insult to the millions of noble men and women, living and dead, whom this religion does not and cannot claim as adherents.

The usual means of reaching the people are open to us,—the platform and the press. Our influence should be brought to bear on all public speakers who are known to be friendly to our principles, to induce them to use their influence with the public in favor of State secularization, whenever a favorable opportunity offers itself. Members of the League should encourage the press to give prominence to this subject whenever possible. All the liberal papers are open to us; and, although some of these papers have treated the work of the League as something of inferior importance to most other matters, yet if the League is active, energetic, and aggressive, it will not only arouse from their "masterly inactivity" some of our liberal journals, but give us, to some extent, the influence of that large class of papers whose editors are in sympathy with us, and who will favor our movement as far as their business interests will permit. It is useless to spend time in denouncing these men for lack of moral heroism or loyalty to principle. It is better to obtain their aid by making it possible for them to support our movement without personal sacrifice. The formation of new Leagues must be encouraged, and money raised for the circulation of our papers and literature.

We must agitate and educate until a strong public sentiment shall be formed in favor of our principles, when political parties will be forced to give their recognition and endorsement by incorporating them in their platforms. There is a large element that will oppose with religious zeal the reforms at which we aim, in proportion as they begin to command general attention. But when the movement gains more strength, it will have the countenance of many of the influential minds whose sympathy is now with us, but who fear they will impair the value and endanger the success of their labors in the fields of reform, if they now connect themselves with the Liberal League. Politicians will smile on us in proportion as we increase in numbers and power. The more sagacious of the religious leaders will defend our movement when its triumph shall appear probable; and possibly the Orthodox clergy, fifty years from now, or sooner, will be pleased to claim the credit of having originated this reform, and will maintain it is clearly taught in their sacred books. Before that time, without doubt, selfish demagogues who now turn from the reform with affected disgust, and are ready by appeals to popular prejudice and religious bigotry to increase the opposition, if thereby they can secure votes for office, will, with the same corrupt motives and designs, endeavor to foil themselves on us, and use the League as a means of gratifying their ambition and greed. There is no beneficent movement which this class has not opposed, when it was weak; nor has a reform ever acquired strength and given promise of speedy success which the same class has not tried to use for personal ends or party schemes. Let us profit by the past, and guard against this charge that will increase with our growth in numbers and influence.

I hope the Liberal League will continue its noble work; and to this end all personal feelings should be subordinated, and the object of the League kept steadily in view. The principles for which we contend are just, and, I am confident, will, in spite of the opposition of enemies and the folly of friends, ultimately triumph.

WHEN MEN grow virtuous in their old age, they are merely making a sacrifice to God of the devil's leavings.—*Swift*.

THE BIBLE IN THE SCHOOLS.

A PECULIAR PHASE OF THE QUESTION IN NEW HAVEN.

PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN UNITING IN PREPARING A MANUAL FOR USE IN THE SCHOOLS.—ONE MANUAL FOR PROTESTANTS, AND ANOTHER FOR ROMAN CATHOLICS.—THE SUGGESTIONS NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

NEW HAVEN, NOV. 3.

The schools of the city of New Haven are under control of a board of education elected at an annual school election. The members of this board, who have been named a Committee on Schools, now have under consideration several interesting documents submitted by citizens, who, either individually or in groups, think they have hit upon something in the way of religious exercises in the schools which will suit all beliefs and shades of opinion. Not long before the last annual election, a majority of the board unceremoniously voted to discontinue the religious or devotional exercises which had, up to that time, been in use in the schools. This action raised a whirlwind in the city. The election was conducted solely with an eye to the religious issue. The tickets were Bible and anti-Bible. The Bible people won by a very heavy majority, and soon after election the board (the new members turning the scale) restored the former condition of things. But in the election, the Bible party had been made up of Protestants and Roman Catholics. The latter fought as manfully as the former for the retention of religious exercises in the schools, and one of the new members of the board is a Roman Catholic. The first thing to be done after election by the Bible party was the preparation of such a directory or manual of worship for the schools as would suit everybody. The most systematic effort made in this direction was the work of several prominent clergymen, including Rev. Dr. Harwood, Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church; Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon, Pastor Emeritus of Centre Church, and sometimes called the Nestor of New England Congregationalism; Rev. John E. Todd, of the Church of the Redeemer, a son of Rev. Dr. Todd, of Pittsfield; ex-President Theodore D. Woolsey, of Yale, and President Porter, of Yale; but the last-named two did little besides giving their signatures.

A good many persons tried their hands at the reconciliation of beliefs, among them George Beckwith, a very eccentric man, whose disregard for his personal appearance is proverbial, whose knowledge is sufficient to make his almanac an authority, and whose old white hat and bare feet are New Haven landmarks. Beckwith is strongly opposed to liquor saloons and churches. In the document he submits to the board, he asks them "to ascertain how many of the parents or guardians are respectively Protestant Christians, Jews, Catholics, Spiritualists, and infidels." He calls for the devotion "of thirty minutes each morning to the reading of passages from the Protestant New Testament, the Old Testament, the Catholic Bible, Andrew Jackson Davis' *Divine Revelations*, and Thomas Paine's theological works, the time to be apportioned to the respective books according to the number of scholars whose parents or guardians are respectively Protestants, Jews, Catholics, Spiritualists, and infidels."

Rev. Dr. E. E. Beardsley, Rector of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, and the author of several biographies and works relating to Church history, suggested to the board that the Lord's Prayer, without the final ascription, and with the following words added, would be sufficient:—

"Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings, with Thy most gracious favor, and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in Thee we may glorify Thy holy name, and finally by Thy mercy obtain everlasting life. Amen."

German residents presented through Maler Zunder, a German member of the board, the following form:

1. Reading from some of the Psalms or Proverbs.
2. Prayer, as follows: "All-kind Father, we are assembled here this day to learn how to develop all the good feelings and noble emotions within us, and to suppress all bad and low desires of wrong and evil. May we learn to understand and appreciate the importance of this day. May we earnestly listen to all the teachings, and may our entire attention now be directed to Thee, O God, and Thy commandments. Amen."
3. Singing of hymns from a selection chosen by the Superintendent of the Schools.

Phillip Pond, an insurance agent, had heard that the devotional exercises were to be confined to certain selected passages of Scripture, and he wrote as follows, in opposition to such action:—

"Myself and thousands of others voted to have the Bible placed back in the schools, not a collection of extracts taken here and there, intermingled with portions of creeds,—which satisfies no one. Let a portion of the Scriptures be read by the teachers, followed by the Lord's Prayer, or, if they choose, offer prayer in their own words."

But the most important suggestion was that which I have already referred to,—the manual prepared by the clergy; and as fragments of it in a garbled condition have already appeared in one or two papers, I gave it entire as it was offered to the board Friday night. It was presented by Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon and Rev. Dr. Harwood, with the following written statement:—

To the Board of Education:—

The people of New Haven having by a large majority manifested their wish that there "shall be appropriate devotional exercises" in the public schools, and it being very desirable that these exercises shall be such as will best satisfy the greatest number, and it being understood that the Board of Education is

ready to hear and consider suggestions on this subject, we, the undersigned, beg leave respectfully to recommend the plan herewith submitted as one which will in all probability be satisfactory to the great body of the friends of religion and of the public schools.

This is signed by forty-one clergymen, including ex-President Woolsey, President Porter, Dr. Bacon, Dr. Harwood, Dr. Noble, five pastors of Roman Catholic churches, one Universalist clergyman, the prominent Baptist and Methodist clergymen, many of the Congregational and Episcopal clergymen, and the pastor of the Yale College Church. Some of the signers are in favor of abolishing devotional exercises in the schools, but in signing "take the ground that if there are to be such exercises, as the people have decided that there shall be, the plan submitted is no more than just and fair." The manual submitted is in three parts. One form is for the use of the schools generally, in all rooms where the Roman Catholics do not amount to thirty per cent.; another is for the use of Roman Catholics in those rooms in which they number thirty per cent.; and the third is a selection of hymns for general use. The plan is described, in a neatly-bound book, as follows:—

1. All the scholars of each school shall assemble in one common room, or in as many different rooms as may be found necessary, at the opening of each morning session, for devotional exercises.

2. The devotional exercises shall be those which are prescribed in manual "A," herewith presented.

3. Where not less than thirty per cent. of the scholars in any school are directed by their parents or guardians to require a separation from the devotional exercises of the whole school, for the purpose of uniting in a different devotional exercise, they shall meet for that purpose in a separate room or in separate rooms, while the other scholars are assembled in the common room or rooms; but neither in that common room nor in that separate devotional exercise shall there be any dogmatic teaching of religion.

4. It is understood that this privilege is to be conceded only to those who cannot, on conscientious grounds, join in the devotional exercises of the whole school.

5. A form of worship, herewith submitted in manual "B," having been prepared by and for the use of those who alone can at present claim the privilege, this form and no other shall be allowed them.

The directions for the use of manual A, which is for the use of the schools generally, are as follows:—

MANUAL A.

The school shall observe a respectful silence while the principal, or one of the teachers or pupils appointed by the principal, shall read the selection for the day of the month. He shall then read the Lord's Prayer. [This follows, with the inscription.] He shall then read the Ten Commandments. The school shall then join in singing a hymn from manual "C," the selection being left to the conductor of the exercises.

The selections of Scripture for each day of the month are, in order, as follows, from the King James version:—

Psalms i. and xliii.; Matthew v., 1-12; Job xxviii., 12-28; Romans xii.; Psalms xix.; Matthew vi., 19-34; Proverbs iv., 1-18; Romans xlii.; Psalms xxiv.; Matthew vii., 1-12; Proverbs viii., 1-21; Matthew xviii., 21-35; Psalms xxxvii., 1-11; Matthew xxv., 1-13; Proverbs xxii., 1-12; I. Corinthians xlii.; Psalms lxiii.; Mark xii., 13-17, 28-34; Ecclesiastes xii.; Ephesians vi., 1-18; Psalms xc.; Luke vii., 40-50; Isaiah lv., 1-11; James i., 12-27; Psalms xci.; Luke xv., 11-32; Psalms ciii.; II. Peter i., 1-11; Psalms cxxi. and cxxx.; Luke x., 25-37; John xv., 1-15.

MANUAL B.

Manual B, the one introduced for the use of Roman Catholic children, is the one which some one of the clergymen betrayed to the outside world before the plan had been fully agreed upon, and was in this way the cause of considerable hard feeling. As submitted to the board it is as follows:—

[To be said kneeling.]

Teacher—In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Let us pray. Direct, we beseech thee, O Lord, all our actions by thy holy grace, and by thy assistance bring them to a happy issue; that every prayer and work of ours may always begin from thee, and under thy guidance may be ended: through Christ our Lord.

Children respond—Amen.

Teacher—Come, O Holy Ghost, replenish the hearts of thy faithful, and enkindle in them the fire of thy love. Send forth thy spirit and they will be created.

Children respond—And thou wilt renew the face of the earth.

Teacher—Let us pray. O God, who by the light of the Holy Ghost didst instruct the hearts of the faithful, grant us, we beseech thee, through the same Holy Spirit, a love and relish of what is right and just, and a constant enjoyment of his consolation who liveth and reigneth, world without end.

Children respond—Amen.

The Lord's Prayer.

Teacher—Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed by thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Children—Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

The Angelic Salutation.

Teacher—Hail, Mary, full of grace. The Lord

with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.

Children—Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and at the hour of our death. Amen.

The Apostles' Creed.

Teacher—I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence he will come to judge the living and the dead.

Children—I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The teacher shall then read the Ten Commandments taken from the Douay version, Exodus xx., 1-17. The scholars shall then join in singing a hymn from Manual C.

The hymns for the third manual have not yet been selected; but if the plan just given be adopted, the promoters of it will choose thirty or forty hymns for general use.

In submitting this plan, Rev. Dr. Bacon spoke at some length in favor of its adoption, and said two Roman Catholic clergymen had aided in its preparation. Gen. Francis A. Walker is a member of the board, who voted for the abolition of the devotional exercises. He asked Dr. Bacon what would be done in a school where the Roman Catholics outnumbered the Protestants; were the Catholics to retire? Dr. Bacon thought some arrangement could be made, even if, as he was informed, there were no unoccupied rooms in the school buildings, which could be used by retiring worshippers. In reply to another question put by Gen. Walker, he said that no provision had been made for the use of rosaries or crucifixes in the schools. Gen. Walker wanted to know whether any provision had been made for the opinions of Hebrews, of whom there are many in the schools; and from what Dr. Bacon said, it didn't appear that the Hebrews had been consulted; but he couldn't see how any Hebrew could object to the chapters of the New Testament in the proposed ritual. Dr. Harwood, of Trinity Church, explained that no new ritual would have been submitted except for the demands of the Roman Catholics. The working of the plan would be awkward at first, but soon it would run smoothly. No ecclesiastic was to be allowed in the schools, nor any ecclesiastical furniture. He had been surprised by the liberality shown in the conference by the Roman Catholic priests. Rev. Dr. Bacon defended at length the rights of the Roman Catholics. He thought there were in the room persons who could settle the question of religion in the schools for the whole country. People were determined not to keep God out of the schools or out of business, and not to allow atheism to become the country's established religion. Before adjournment, George Beckwith condemned the ritual as unjust to atheists, and P. C. Moulton, a prominent architect, pleaded for the use of the "Bible of the Ages," and presented the views of Rev. O. B. Frothingham on the question. The people are now waiting to see what the Committee on Schools will do with the plans submitted. The end is not yet, and many believe that the union between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, who have been bitter antagonists in school elections before the last one, will be short-lived. At all events, the condition of the question of the Bible in the schools in New Haven is peculiar enough to attract much attention from other quarters.—*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 4.

TAKE YOUR CHOICE.

The National Liberal League having split into two factions at Syracuse, it becomes a matter of "taste" as to which one Western rationalists owe allegiance, if to either. The West is a big country, and, united with the South and North-west, it is quite formidable. It might be possible that Western liberals could organize and stand alone, and not pay tribute to warring factions located in the great Eastern cities, the hot-beds of corruption and fraud of all kinds. That such questions as free lust and free transit through the malls of abominable literature should be allowed to creep into and burst up a League of liberal thinkers calling itself "National," is a blasting, blighting, withering disgrace to the freethinkers of this entire continent. But we are glad the line was drawn, and hope that good men—men with pure desires for the elevation of our race—will stand together everywhere.

The *Seymour Times* is not an organ. It owes neither money nor allegiance to any body, league, or clique. It speaks for itself only. Its aim is to defend the right, as it is able to understand the right. It wants no affiliation with anybody who winks at or defends immorality, or any measure that leads to it. Therefore, it is in a position of independence, and its suggestions are its own only. But it has some very positive convictions as to the duty of people who are opposing the fallacies, the follies, the frauds, the impositions, and the tyrannies of what is styled "the Christian religion." If we haven't something better to offer, we had better put up our shutters and quit business. Liberalism as interpreted by those holding to one of the Eastern factions is entirely too liberal. Orthodoxy will hold the fort till the crack of doom, if opposed only by "liberals" who are so liberal as to concede to vice and immorality and abominable indecency equal rights before the law with virtue and morality and refined thought and action.

The only way to oppose the religion of superstition and faith is to come before the people with a purer,

a better, religion. Good people will cling to their old faiths till something better is offered. We cannot expect to succeed with the religion of humanity and justice while we go about, Vandal-like, tearing down the bulwarks and safeguards that society has up-reared to restrain the vicious and immoral. Our doctrine and actions must commend themselves to the good and the virtuous. We cannot become the champions of vice. We must so act and proclaim that the suspicion of evil, even, cannot attach to us. Every man who rejects the "Savior," the myths and the faiths, should so deport himself as to become a shining light to society. He should be noted for his honor, his charities, his love of truth and justice, and for his kindness to everything around him. It is urged by the creeds that "infidelity" leads to immorality. This we must disprove by our daily walk. We must unite with all good men for the promotion of virtue and the suppression of vice. We have nothing to do with people who want to do away with the marriage relation, make the commingling of the sexes promiscuous and indiscriminate, and abandon the offspring to chance. Let such people take care of themselves. If they take ground with us in some matters, so be it; but that doesn't identify us with their cause, nor bind us to fight their battles. Such a question as promiscuity in the sexual relations is foreign to the objects of any League of freethinkers. This question, however, has split the National Liberal League; the advocates of this doctrine have caused the disruption. It is the defence of them and their right to print and circulate scandalous literature that has caused the trouble.

We give elsewhere a communication from H. L. Green, Chairman of the Executive Committee of one of the factions. We advise deliberation and no hasty action. But as we regard the Eastern split as irreconcilable, and as clean-cut as the line between morality and immorality can be, new Leagues forming and old ones in reorganizing might do well to consider what kind of company they desire to keep.

The North-western Liberal League at Indianapolis might form a nucleus for Western Leagues, which might send representatives to the Eastern Leagues, or to whichever they might desire to affiliate with, and this might answer as good a purpose as to organize under a charter obtained from either of the warring factions.—*Seymour (Ind.) Weekly Times*, Nov. 9.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE REFORMATION.

Mr. Gladstone, since his retirement from the Premiership, has been a frequent and copious contributor to the public journals. Not a month, and scarcely a week, has passed in which more than one essay on theology, literature, or politics have not emanated from his versatile pen. The variety of his themes is surprising; they range from an interpretation of some disputed passage in Homer to the Vatican decree of infallibility, or the American theory of universal suffrage. The wide sweep of his studies and the breadth of his literary culture are equally conspicuous. It is certainly gratifying to find a public man—a man busy from his early days in political contests—still cherishing the tastes of a scholar, and discovering a penetrating knowledge of subjects of great moment, to which, however, statesmen and politicians are usually quite indifferent. In this country, we have hardly furnished a parallel instance. Mr. Sumner, in his scholarly tastes, may be thought to have approached nearest to the standard; but Mr. Sumner was not a very exact scholar, and he was no theologian. It must be confessed, however, that, for his present reputation at least, Mr. Gladstone has written too often and too much. The English people do not admire volubility in a public man. An oracle loses prestige by opening its mouth on slight occasions. It is felt that a man who has governed England is playing an inferior part when one of his chief occupations has come to be the composition of magazine articles.

But if Mr. Gladstone's recent productions have called out unfavorable comment of this sort, and if they have sometimes borne marks of haste and of a want of thoroughness, such will not be the verdict respecting his recent article in the *Contemporary*, which is entitled, "The Sixteenth Century Arraigned before the Nineteenth: a Study on the Reformation." The author has passed through changing phases of political opinion, and has been allied to different parties; but on one subject he has adhered constantly to his early position. His theological tendencies, involving a predilection for the High Church and for sacramental piety, have remained substantially unaltered. His views of the necessity of establishments have varied widely between the time when he composed his book on *Church and State*, and his act for disestablishing the Irish Church, to say nothing of his present rather ambiguous position on the general subject. But as to theology proper, he does not appear to have essentially modified his early convictions. He still has a strong leaning toward tractarian and ritualistic views in religion.

The article before us is really a review of the respective claims of the Anglican and Roman Catholic bodies, together with a criticism of the Reformation. The small impression which the Romish Church has made upon the English nation, notwithstanding the great improvement of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the accession to the Roman communion of a considerable number of individuals distinguished for their talents or rank, convinces Mr. Gladstone that there is somehow an insuperable gulf between the Latin Church and the deepest feelings of the English people. He admits a certain narrowness and provincial character which has belonged, at critical eras, to the organization and administration of the English Church, and which renders the opprobrious title of "Anglican paddock" not wholly inapposite. His firm conviction that the English Church is strong against Romanism makes him willing to concede this

much, and to allow, moreover, that the Protestant movement carried in it certain infelicities, if not extravagances, of doctrinal statement which it is the proper business of Anglicanism to correct. The Reformation, he tells us, was a great and necessary upheaval, occasioned by doctrinal error and by a wide-spread profligacy in morals. Yet there are points on which the old Protestant theology is fairly open to some modification. He implies that justification is one of these. On this topic, he thinks that there is no great difficulty in arriving at a statement satisfactory to both the contending parties. The recent ecclesiastical conference at Bonn has proved this. Mr. Gladstone might have referred also to the conferences in the Reformation period, when Melancthon and Contarini joined hands in promulgating this dogma. Then, Mr. Gladstone is of opinion that in denying the scholastic doctrine of purgatory, and in rejecting the obnoxious practical evils connected with it, it was not requisite to cast away prayers for the increase of the rest and holiness of the pious dead, or to maintain the stiff proposition that character, whether good or evil, is fully ripe at the moment of death. Recent vehement protests against the old Protestant conception of the future life are owing, as he supposes, to the extreme form which that conception was made to assume. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone would connect a sacrificial idea with the Eucharist; but in what sense precisely he does not explain. Protestantism has erred, he judges, in a certain exclusive valuing of Scripture, and in a disposition to ignore the other sources of evidence relative to the real nature of primitive Christianity. Troubles about inspiration, he intimates, have their source, and may find a practical remedy, in a more reasonable view of these collateral proofs relative to the character and contents of apostolic teaching; that is, we suppose, in a reference to the testimony of the early Church and the Fathers. In England, he grants that the enhancement of the power of the sovereign by the abolition of Papal authority was, in its effect, unfavorable to civil as well as to ecclesiastical liberty, and that Protestantism is responsible for Erastianism in Church government.

Having made these concessions, which most Protestants will consider to be too generous, Mr. Gladstone returns to the charge, and undertakes to show that English Protestantism has the advantage over Romanism in several main particulars. The Italian Renaissance was saturated with infidelity. This was not true of the same era in England. The great writers of the English Renaissance were, at least, believers, and friendly to religion. This is shown with regard to the Elizabethan period, and even concerning the reign of Anne and the eighteenth century. The Roman Church, as the example of Italy proves, has shown itself to be less competent to cope with infidelity than has the English Church. Then, the Roman body has deliberately given up that spirit of freedom which is vital to the rational defence and the real prosperity of religion. Mr. Gladstone closes his discussion by a critical review of Dr. Newman's tests of a sound development and criteria of an infallible Church. It is pointed out that these criteria may exist, and that there may yet be such inequality in their degree of activity that the result is a one-sided development of doctrine.

We have given only a bare outline of this masterly discussion. No one could have written it save the man who had been long familiar with the history of theology and conversant with ecclesiastical controversies. The reader will be apt to wish for a more definite statement of the author's creed with reference to the points on which he takes issue with popular and traditional Protestantism. But with respect to the vigor and learning manifested in the essay, and the sincerity of belief which pervades it, there can be among competent judges but one sentiment.—*N. Y. Times.*

MODERN JUDAISM.

"DO WE EXPECT THE ADVENT OF A PERSONAL MESSIAH?"

The Rev. Sol. Schindler began a series of lectures on this subject at the Temple Adath Israel, Saturday morning. The motive of the lectures was set forth in the following introduction: Last spring, when Great Britain was about to interfere in the Turco-Russian war, I happened to ride home from the city in a horse car. Right at my side I recognized a gentleman who had formerly lived in my street, and after the usual greeting we entered into a talk about the political condition of the day, considering all the probabilities which might possibly spring from the British intervention. Our chat having arrived at this point, my neighbor solemnly began: "I think that Great Britain has still one mission to fulfil; and this is, to restore Palestine, the Holy Land, to your people; and I firmly believe that the time of the advent of your Messiah is near at hand, and that you will return in a short time to the land of your forefathers." I was astonished at these words, which were sincerely meant, and uttered without any mixture of mockery or sarcasm.

"My dear sir," I answered, "do you really believe that any Israelite residing here would leave the soil of this our blessed country, and return to Palestine for the sake of that superannuated belief? Do you really think that we Israelites of the nineteenth century believe in the coming of a personal Messiah, or in the restoration of the Jewish nation?"

"Do you not believe in the advent of a Messiah?" he exclaimed, personally horrified at my disbelief.

"No, sir, I do not," I calmly replied.

"And do you not wish to return to the Holy Land? Do you not long and sigh and pray for the reestablishment of your people in Palestine?"

"No, sir," was my answer, "I do not, and as far as I know, none of my co-religionists in this country desire it. Though in the orthodox congregations

this hope or this belief still lingers in some superannuated prayers, which are thoughtlessly spoken, there is no individual, even among them, who would give up his realities here, small as they ever may be, for the greatest expectations in Jerusalem. There might perhaps some have been found who would like to go as carpet-baggers to such a newly created country; but if there was not a certainty for them to win, to make a fortune there, they would assuredly not do it. For a mere national pride, or, as you may call it, for religion's sake, perhaps a few enthusiasts who have nothing to lose and all to win might emigrate; but to be sure not a single one of the intelligent Israelites of this country, not a single one of that class of Jews who by their intelligence, industry, honesty, modesty, and humanisms have made the Jewish name honored and respected in this country."

"And do you not believe in your prophets," he exclaimed, "who have foretold the advent of a Messiah?"

"My friend," I answered, "time does not allow me to answer this question now; but let me tell you that it requires more than to be simply a reader of the Bible to understand what prophetism is, and what the prophets which you mean have foretold. To understand that requires a thorough knowledge of history in general; it requires a liberal tendency and a mind free of any prejudices. As far as I know, have those prophets which you refer to never prophesied a Messiah who would appear at our time; as far as I know, has the belief in a personal Messiah always been refuted by the Jewish rabbis as soon as it transgressed the limits of a theory and ventured to assume a practical shape. But even if those prophets had predicted a Messiah for our time, and even if such belief would have been sustained at all times and in every respect by the Jewish ministry of old, neither I nor any other thinking and intelligent Israelite of our age could be compelled to indorse such a belief after the sad experiences which Judaism had with its several Messiahs."

The car stopped, and I left that gentleman with an expression of surprise in his face at hearing such words from an Israelite, and even more from a minister of that denomination. I have not met him since, but this conversation made a deep impression upon me. I had never thought in all my life that any of our Christian friends could be mistaken as to our position in regard to that belief. I had never thought that any of our Christian neighbors could have the slightest doubt in our love for this our country, and could think that we long for exchanging it for Palestine. I had never dreamt that the medieval wish was still alive in this enlightened century, in this free country, and among our friends and neighbors, the wish to see at one fine morning the whole Jewish community depart, with bag and baggage, for Palestine, or for any other place from whence they never might return. I made, therefore, more inquiries about that matter. I questioned here and there, and I found that our Christian friends are generally not only entirely ignorant about our position regarding the Messianic question, but that they almost know nothing about our Judaism,—about the Judaism of the nineteenth century.

To enlighten them on this and kindred subjects is the object of these lectures,—to be continued on alternate Saturday mornings at 10 A.M. The next one will be devoted to an historical inquiry into the origin of the belief in the advent of a personal Messiah.—*Boston Advertiser, Nov. 4.*

IN HIS LITTLE BOOK called, in despite of the definite article, *Fortune of the Republic*, Mr. Emerson has literally undertaken to teach his countrymen

"What makes a nation happy and keeps it so."

And this is one part of his instruction, that morality is the basis of all legislation. "'Tis not free institutions, not a democracy, that is the end,—no, but only the means. Morality is the object of government. We want a state of things in which crime will not pay; a state of things which allows every man the largest liberty compatible with the liberty of every other man. Humanity asks that government shall not be ashamed to be tender and paternal, but that democratic institutions shall be more thoughtful for the interests of women, for the training of children, and for the welfare of sick and unable persons, and serious care of criminals, than was even any—the best—government of the Old World. . . . I hope America will come to have its pride in being a nation of servants, and not of the served." This is akin to Milton's remark in the *Reason of Church Government*,—"For who is there, almost, that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness? We may be well assured that he who disdained not to be born in a manger disdains not to be preached in a barn." Again Emerson says—and Mr. Parkman may well consider it,—"If we found our people clinging to English traditions, which are graceful enough at home, as the English Church, and entailed estates, and distrust of popular election, we should feel this reactionary, and absurdly out of place. Let the passion for America cast out the passion for Europe." Nevertheless, the choice of Butler to represent Concord in Congress, and similar pieces of nonsense in the voting multitude, do not escape the notice of the sage. "The record of the election now and then alarms people by the all but unanimous choice of a rogue and brawler. But how was it done? What lawless mob burst into the polls and threw in these hundreds of ballots in defiance of the magistrates? This was done by the very men you know,—the mildest, most sensible, best-natured people. They have been scared or warped into some association in their mind of the candidate with the interest of their trade or of their property. . . . After every practical mistake, out of which any disaster grows, the people wake and correct it with energy.

In each new threat of faction the ballot has been, beyond expectation, right and decisive." "Justice satisfies everybody, and justice alone. Our helm is given up to a better guidance than our own; the course of events is quite too strong for any helmsman."—*Boston Literary Letter to the Springfield Republican.*

Poetry.

THE HINDU'S SEARCH FOR TRUTH.

All the world over I wander, in lands that I never have trod.
Are the people eternally seeking for the signs and steps of a God?
Westward across the ocean, and northward ayont the snow,
Do they all stand gazing, as ever,—and what do the wisest know?
Here in this mystical India, the deities hover and swarm,
Like the wild bees heard in the tree-tops, or the gusts of a gathering storm;
In the air, men hear their voices; their feet on the rocks are seen;
Yet we all say, Whence is the message, and what may the wonders mean?
A million shrines stand open, and ever the censer swings,
As they bow to mystical symbols, or the figures of ancient kings;
And the incense rises ever, and rises the endless cry
Of those who are heavy laden, and of cowards loath to die;
For the destiny drives us together, like deer in a pass of hills;
Above is the sky, and around us the sound and the shot that kills;
Pushed by a power we see not, and struck by a hand unknown,
We pray to the trees for shelter, and press our lips to a stone.

Here are the tombs of my kinsfolk, the first of an ancient name,—
Chiefs who were slain on the war-field, and women who died in flame;
They are gods, these kings of the foretime, they are spirits who guide our race.
Ever I watch and worship; they sit with a marble face.

And the myriad idols around me, and the legion of muttering priests,
The revels and rites unholy, the dark, unspeakable feasts,—
What have they wrung from the silence? Hath even a whisper come
Of the secret whence and whither? Alas! for the gods are dumb.

Shall I list the words of the English, who come from the uppermost sea?
The secret,—hath it been told you, and what is your message to me?
It is naught but the world-wide story, how the earth and the heavens began;
How the gods are glad and angry, and a deity once was a man.

I had thought: "Perchance in the cities, where the rulers of India dwell,
Whose orders flash from the far land, who girdle the earth with a spell,
They have fathomed the depth we float on, or measured the unknown main.
Sadly they turn from the venture, and say that the quest is vain."

Is life, then, a dream and delusion? and when shall the dreamer awake?
Is the world seen like shadows on water? and what if the mirror break?
Shall it pass like a camp that is struck, as a tent that is gathered and gone,
From the sands that were lamp-lit at eve, and at morning are level and lone.

Is there naught in the heavens above, whence the hail and the levin are hurled,
But the wind that is swept around us by the rush of the rolling world?—
The wind that shall scatter my ashes, and bear me to silence and sleep,
With the dirge, and the sounds of lamenting, and voices of women who weep?
—*Cornhill Magazine.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

N. B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, &c.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 16.

Mrs. E. M. Babb, \$1; John Campbell, \$3.50; William Botch, \$20; Mrs. Sarah Emerson, \$10; John Wilson, \$20; John Hill, \$3.20; John H. Titcomb, \$3.20; William Archibald, \$2.30; O. Braylor, \$1.25; H. W. Wellington, \$5; J. H. Adamson, \$1; J. S. Palmer, \$10; F. H. Badger, 30 cents; P. V. Wise, \$1; G. H. Porter, 85 cents; Hiram Blanchard, \$5.70; Louise M. Thurston, 25 cents; T. B. Skinner, \$2.50; G. A. Bourne, \$13; Warren Emerson, \$10; Lizzie E. Dorr, \$10; D. B. Dunning, 25 cents; Geo. B. Young, \$3.20; F. A. Adams, \$3; J. E. Peck, \$1; W. D. Le Sueur, \$2; J. M. Aldrich, \$10; R. D. Sawyer, \$3; Dr. G. F. Matthes, \$10; G. E. Baxter, \$3.25; J. L. Whiting, \$1.50; W. G. Gage, 50 cents; W. C. Fuller, \$3.20; Cash, \$1.

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The Index.

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

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MR. FROTHINGHAM declines to be a Vice-President of the National Liberal League of America for reasons which he states thus: "The action at Syracuse, dividing the League on a question in my judgment incidental, if not foreign, to the purpose for which it was instituted, has for the time alienated my sympathy. Should harmony be restored and the original work of the Association be resumed, my interest may revive." It is only necessary to say that the minority desired no change in the attitude of the League, as taken originally at Philadelphia; but they could not conscientiously submit to be forced into a position which denies the original principles of the organization, and which in their opinion equally denies the principles of public morality. The responsibility for the division rests with those who insisted on diverting the League to objects hostile to those for which it was founded. Self-respect in this case commanded the exercise of the "divine right to bolt." The public are not slow to understand this moral necessity.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM JAMES, one of the most accomplished instructors of Harvard College, has just delivered at the Lowell Institute, in Boston, a series of extremely able lectures on "The Brain and the Mind." The *Advertiser* of Nov. 2 gave this interesting notice of his closing lecture:—

Professor James, in closing his interesting course of lectures at the Lowell Institute last evening, examined and took issue with the theory advanced by Professor Huxley, Professor Clifford, and others, as to the efficacy of consciousness and its relation to the nervous system. They hold that the mind is pure mechanism; that thoughts follow each other in a certain order, because the brain tracts awaken each other in that order; that feeling is an inert, unimportant passenger. This conscious-automaton theory Mr. James devoted his hour to combating, on the plane of facts and common sense, without appealing to any *a priori* or metaphysical ideas. In closing he said: "If men of science are those who are guided by concrete facts, and metaphysicians be those who dogmatically proclaim as true whatever unverified conceptions may occur to their minds as possible, and may flatter their taste, then we here are men of science, and Huxley, Clifford & Co. are metaphysical dreamers. Many persons nowadays seem to think that any conclusion must be very scientific if the arguments in favor of it are all derived from twitching of frogs' legs—especially if the frogs are decapitated,—and that on the other hand any doctrine chiefly vouched for by the feelings of human beings, with heads on their shoulders, must be benighted and superstitious. They seem to think, too, that any vagary or whim, however unverified, of a scientific man must needs form an integral part of science itself; that when Huxley, for example, has ruled feeling out of the game of life, and called it a mere bystander, supernumerary, the matter is settled. The lecturer knew nothing more deplorable than this indiscriminating gulping down of everything materialistic as peculiarly scientific. Nothing is scientific but what is clearly formulated, reasoned, and verified. An opinion signed by the Pope, if it have these merits, will be a thoroughly scientific opinion. On the other hand, an opinion signed by Professor Huxley, if it violate these requirements, will be unscientific. To talk of science as many persons do whose mental type is best represented by the *Popular Science Monthly* is ridiculous. With these persons it is forever science against philosophy, science against metaphysics, science against religion, science against poetry, science against sentiment, science against all that makes life worth living. The truth is, that science and all these other functions of the human mind are alike results of man's thinking about the phenomena life offers him. No mode of thinking is against any other, except false thinking and illogical thinking. If we think clearly and consistently in theology or philosophy, we are good men of science too. If we think logically in science, we are good theologians and philosophers. If, on the contrary, our thought is muddled in one field, it is worthless in all the rest. It must be that truth is one and thought woven in one piece. I, for one, as a scientific man and a practical man alike, deny utterly that science compels me to believe that my conscience is an *ignis fatuus* or outcast; and I trust that you too, after the evidence of this evening, will go away strengthened in the natural faith that your delights and sorrows, your loves and hates, your aspirations and efforts are real combatants in life's arena, and not impotent, paralytic spectators of the game.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY.

Two great forces are forever contending for the mastery of the world, the constructive and the destructive forces of society. There is no need to spin speculations on the abstract question whether evil is a mere negation, or whether the old dualism of Ahri-man and Ormuzd had any truth in it: what we mean is well enough covered by the familiar truism that "life is a battle,"—that nothing good can be won or kept without struggle, and that the non-resistant inevitably tends to become the non-existent.

Free thought has been the breaking-up of the foundations of the great deep, and the mud has come up with the water. No wonder that morality comes in for its share of the general commotion, when everything else is shaken; no wonder that the most precious acquisitions of the human mind, the costliest gains of civilization, wrested from savagery like the plains of Holland from the sea, threaten to be swept away by the mad outburst of the imprisoned forces. But the crisis is none the less perilous because it is not wonderful. Human society is passing from the old stability of tyranny, based on dogma, to the new stability of freedom, based on knowledge, and no one can doubt less than we the ultimate success of the passage. But the intervening period—possibly a very long one, and certainly one in which this generation is preëminently interested—is full of terrible possibilities of human suffering for the time being. In the presence of mad assaults on morality, non-resistance is the only infallible method for converting these possibilities into actual facts. Social demoralization is the certain cause and precursor of social misery on the most extensive scale; but the morality which will not stoutly assert and defend itself against all comers is a wretched sham, doomed to disappear before the fierce and violent forces which are constantly assailing it.

A spectacle is now offered to the world which ought to startle every noble spirit in the liberal ranks out of his false sense of security, and convince him that events are transpiring which threaten to array against all liberalism the solid, unbroken, overwhelming moral sentiment of the nation. It avails nothing to say: "I am not a member of the Liberal League; it does not concern me in the least whether it goes for 'repeal' or 'reform'; let those settle that question who are personally interested." Such reasons for inaction will not shield any liberal from the disgrace which is darkening now over the whole liberal body, and which will daily grow blacker and blacker if the liberals as a whole tacitly consent to be represented by the party which clamors for total repeal of the postal law of 1873. It is not simply their attitude on this question, but the general element in the community which backs and sustains them, which challenges public attention and gives character to the repeal movement. For instance, Colonel John C. Bundy, editor of the *Chicago Religio-Philosophical Journal*, the leading Spiritualist paper of the West, had these noteworthy words in the article which we republished last week in THE INDEX:—

The active part taken by thousands of the best citizens in protesting against the law because they believe it to be, as it is now written, a dangerous precedent, and tending towards an impairment of the inalienable rights of citizenship, seems to have encouraged the lepers who feed upon the profits of the forbidden traffic to believe that in the abrogation of the present law was their license, and that no new law would hold them with so firm a grip, and anyway things could be no worse for them. It is a most significant fact, deserving the serious attention of every law-abiding, moral citizen, that the movement for the repeal of the law has the unanimous and enthusiastic support of free-lovers, vendors of obscene literature, quack doctors, and the immoral, licentious element generally. Why is this so? It must be because the law as it now stands is far more effective in breaking up the obnoxious traffic than has ever been the case before; for no respectable person will assert that this scandalous horde are actuated by a deep patriotism, or unselfish love of constitutional rights. Indeed, when such champions of repeal prate about the sanctity of citizenship, and fear it is to be debauched, the respectable citizen will interpret the sentiment as he sees it written in letters of living brass upon the countenance of each canting hypocrite: "I fear we cannot longer trench upon the sanctity of virtuous homes nor debase the minds of the young for our profit and pleasure."

So also Dr. J. R. Monroe, editor of the *Seymour, Indiana, Weekly Times*—a most outspoken and thoroughly radical secular journal—says in an article which we reprint in full in another column:—

That such questions as free lust and the free transit through the mails of abominable literature should be allowed to creep into and burst up a league of liberal thinkers calling itself "national" is a blasting, blighting, withering disgrace to the freethinkers of this entire continent. . . . Liberalism as interpreted by those holding to one of the Eastern factions is

entirely too liberal. Orthodoxy will hold the fort till the crack of doom, if opposed only by "liberals" who are so liberal as to concede to vice and immorality and abominable indecency equal rights before the law with virtue and morality and refined thought and action. . . . Such a question as promiscuity in the sexual relations is foreign to the objects of any league of freethinkers. This question, however, has split the National Liberal League; the advocates of this doctrine have caused the disruption. It is the defence of them and their right to print and circulate scandalous literature that has caused the trouble.

Now the writers of these extracts are leading liberals in the West; they write in the interest of liberalism, not of Christianity. They show that this issue between "repeal" and "reform" in the Liberal League is recognized by keen-eyed radicals as only a strategic point in the vaster battle which is always going on between the destructive and constructive forces of society. No doubt there are most excellent and worthy persons, actuated only by the best and purest motives, who are at this very moment throwing their influence on the wrong side in this momentous struggle, utterly unconscious of the nature of the movement they are so disastrously aiding. Mr. Wright himself, whose letter of acceptance will be found in another column, is one of the bravest, noblest, purest, most honorable and upright men in America; he has spent a long life in the service of his race, and would not for worlds lend his sanction to anything which he considers wrong. Nor is he the only one of whom such things should be said; there are others in the ranks of "repeal" of whose purity of purpose there can be no doubt. But—and here lies the tragedy of it all—these persons are powerless, and will speedily find themselves powerless, to control or influence the course of the movement which uses them only as blinds and decoys to the general public. The "repeal" movement itself is only one part of a still larger movement whose constituency, as Colonel Bundy points out, is made up of "free-lovers, vendors of obscene literature, quack doctors, and the immoral, licentious element generally"; and all the protestations of the small minority whose motives are high and pure can neither change nor hide this terrible fact. Whoever gives aid or sympathy to the movement for "repeal" is—we deliberately and emphatically repeat the statement—a "willing or unwilling abettor of obscenity and free-love." Willing or unwilling—conscious or unconscious—that is the only difference; and we should be recreant to every consideration of public duty, were we to suppress or withhold the plain truth of this matter through fear of giving offence. We desire to offend no one; but we must take the consequences of telling the truth. The liberal public needs woefully to be warned as to what is going on; but whoever warns them must expect to be assailed, as we have been for the past year, with such persistent malignity and unscrupulousness as tell their own story of confession to all who can understand.

The fact, of which all liberals must sooner or later become aware, is that liberalism itself is now on trial before the world. Will it, or will it not, submit to be governed, guided, and represented by the combined forces of general licentiousness and immorality? The battle would have been lost at Syracuse, if the minority had not refused to be dragged behind the chariot of "repeal," and made on the spot a solemn moral protest which converted defeat itself into a splendid victory. For themselves, this protest is sufficient; but it will not be, or be considered, the protest of liberalism, unless liberals at large, by a vast majority, endorse it by their open, active, and vigorous support. The movement which, by means characteristic of itself, got control of the Syracuse Congress is merely part and parcel of a vaster movement of the worst elements in the country, whose object is to revolutionize society, break up the foundations of all public morality, and establish a state of things in which the institutions of property and the family shall disappear altogether.

The only question is now whether liberalism shall be hoodwinked and led to the slaughter by this infamous movement, or whether it shall indignantly vindicate its claim to be the true friend of morality and the true reformer, educator, and conservator of society. The struggle for mastery is going on all about us; can any one possibly remain blind to it? The liberal who, for any reason, will not vote on the right side, throws his vote on the wrong side. Silence, inaction, indifference, are the powerful allies of this perverse movement, which is struggling all over the world to destroy the entire fabric of modern civilization, and to restore the fierce, brutal, demoralized rule of a barbarism once outgrown.

Friends who have trusted us these many years,

you have no reason to distrust us now. The cunning falsehoods with which your ears are assailed cannot change the honest motives or the clear insight with which we have acted. You know us too well by this time to believe that mere personal pique, or mere desire for a paltry office, or any unworthy feeling or object whatever, has been the secret spring of our action. You know well that nothing but devotion to the cause of a pure, wise, enlightened, patriotic, and unselfish liberalism has governed our entire course in these painful issues. We therefore calmly rely on your strong moral sense and clear intelligence, in the certainty that time will make perfectly plain the substantial wisdom of what we have done. But meanwhile we appeal to you, not for our own sake in the least, but for the sake of liberalism itself, threatened as it is with deep and damning shame, to do all that you can, by word and deed, to sustain that cause of combined LIBERTY AND MORALITY which the National Liberal League of America was organized to represent and work for. Not for us, but for yourselves and your children, for the cause of truth and freedom and the nobler future of mankind, let it appear unmistakably that liberals, as a class, do not lose sight of the permanent interests of society, but have closely at heart the supremacy of virtue over vice, of liberty over licentiousness, of public order over the madness of moral anarchy and corruption.

MR. WRIGHT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Wright sends us the following correspondence for publication:—

NEW YORK, Oct. 31, 1878.

Honored and Dear Sir,—On behalf of the Congress of the National Liberal League held at Syracuse, N. Y., on the 26th and 27th inst., we have the honor to notify you that you were there elected the President of the League for the ensuing year, and we respectfully request your acceptance of the office. Our appointment as a Committee for this purpose was accompanied with the request that we should present to you some statement of the present position of the League, and the assurance that any suggestions from you as to its future would be gratefully received.

Such statement, and any information you may wish, will be gladly furnished by the members of this Committee, who will present this letter to you. With great respect we remain

Your obliged and obedient servants,

T. B. WAKEMAN, 93 Nassau St., New York City,
H. L. GREEN, Salamanca, N. Y.,
MRS. AUGUSTA COOPER BRISTOL, Vineland, N. J.,
COURTLANDT PALMER, 117 East 21st St., N. Y.,
EDWARD H. SEARING, Sherwood, N. Y.,
J. S. VERITY, 8 Broadway, Cambridge, Mass.,
TO HON. ELIZUR WRIGHT, Boston, Mass.

League Com.

THE REPLY.

BOSTON, November 7, 1878.

Respected Fellow Citizens,—By no means insensible to the kindness which has conferred upon me the office of President of the NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE, by a majority of the votes of its recent Congress at Syracuse, I accept it with extreme sorrow and reluctance, and only in the hope that by doing so that unity which seems essential to success may be restored sooner than it otherwise might be. Believing, as we all do, that freedom cannot exist in a State which punishes or proscribes men for their opinions, we seem logically bound to tolerate among ourselves all differences of opinion not inconsistent with the aim of our movement to bring about a total separation of the functions of the Church from those of the State.

The essence of our secularism is that the State has nothing to do with religion or with the hearts, the motives, the moral character, of the citizen, any further than it must infer a bad motive from a bad act, unless there is proof to the contrary. On the other hand, the Church should have nothing to do with temporal punishment and political proscription, for any cause whatever. It is the proper function of moralists, philosophers, and churchmen to exalt the aims, refine the tastes, enlighten the consciences, and purify the hearts of the people, and with all mine I bid them God-speed in this, provided they use legitimate means,—among which I do not reckon pains and penalties, personal calumny, or any legal coercion or proscription whatever. But the function of the State is far humbler. It can only interfere with morals when moral influences have so far failed that the vices of some have trespassed on the rights of others. And even benevolence itself may trespass upon rights, so that the State may have to interfere to keep the peace. In a secular sense, men have a perfect right to be wicked in their hearts, provided they are innocuous toward others in their acts. Hence I think we are logically inconsistent, if we do not make our fellowship in the League as broad as that we aim to establish in the State. With the highest possible respect for their motives, it seems to me that the minority of the Congress, in seceding from the majority and forming another League, have rather unwittingly seceded from the principle of secularism, in the direction of becoming a church, and that after a year's reflection they will see no reason why they should not reunite with us. I say this after having carefully read, in THE INDEX of this date, Judge Hurlbut's draft of a reformed United States statute. With all possible deference to Judge Hurlbut's legal ability and moral courage, I must confess I think his statute is as unsafe as it is unconstitutional, and withal quite impracticable.

It lacks an essential element of a penal statute, a strict definition of the crime.

Though for more than forty years I have held the opinion that the general government has no right, either rational or constitutional, to exclude anything from the mails on account of its moral character, I should cheerfully, if present, have concurred in the vote to postpone the question of the repeal of the Comstock law for a year; and having done so I certainly should have voted to reelect the former officers, for whose self-denying and meritorious services I feel deeply grateful. While I have no ability to fill the place occupied by either of them, I cannot but recognize the right of others to vote as they saw fit; and on full inquiry and reflection, I cannot believe they committed any breach of faith in doing so.

For my life, I cannot see why the advocates of "repeal" should be stigmatized by anybody as abettors of obscenity, because they believe it should be punished, as most other offences are, by a jurisdiction outside of the mails, where only it can do mischief, and not by the jurisdiction which governs the inside, where it can do none. Of course we must expect to be, and so must our friends of the seceding League, no matter how personally innocent or zealous for the enforcement of law they may be; but so much the worse for those who bring the charge against us without being able to prove it. We can take refuge, if we must, behind the example of one who, for objects he deemed important, made himself of no reputation.

The League is responsible only for its corporate aim, the total separation of Church and State. Men of the most diverse opinions, each responsible for his own—whether saints or sinners—may well agree in this, and especially the saints, if they have any sincere and intelligent desire to save the souls of men; for the largest liberty under just laws is sweet to all. Little do the fanatical persecutors of Heywood think how they may be preparing to have the tables turned upon themselves. If, by the aid of liberals, or without it, they can get a law confirmed which makes it easy to perpetrate such outrages on the liberty of printing, the proudest boast of our republic will be turned to a mockery, and the hearts of kaisers, popes, and inquisitors will be gladdened and strengthened everywhere. Such a thing cannot be without a terrible reaction.

The degradation of the human soul can only be prevented or cured by pure scientific truth—truth, prompt, brave, gentle, unobtrusive—truth, derived not from the human imagination, but from the study of facts—truth that should rather be called the hoe of the human affections, to eradicate tenderly the natural weeds for the benefit of the valuable plants in the heart of the child or the depraved brother, than the Sword of the Spirit. The only use of the sword of steel, in the State, is to perform a grim and by no means angelic duty when abstract sin has ripened into concrete crime. And badly enough does it perform it when only impecunious malefactors feel its edge, while the magnificent corrupters and plunderers of millions are allowed to revel in palaces, and worship in still more gorgeous untaxed churches.

All sincere and intelligent religion must yet be on the side of the League. It is only the people who do not desire to do as they would be done by that can quarrel with the League, when they once understand it.

The wisdom of the ages—and this is the best of it—has come down to us mixed with many of their mistakes, if not their follies, just as ours will go down to posterity. It is for us to winnow the wheat from the chaff at our peril, and do our level best to-day in all fidelity and charity, in all courage and hope, to make the future both wiser and better.

With the most cordial regard, I am truly yours, for the whole of humanity, ELIZUR WRIGHT.
To T. B. Wakeman, H. L. Green, Augusta Cooper Bristol, Courtlandt Palmer, Edward H. Searing, and J. S. Verity, Committee of the National Liberal League.

A LETTER FROM MR. BRADLAUGH.

This letter from Mr. Bradlaugh has just been received:—

LONDON, Nov. 7, 1878.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have seen recently in THE INDEX several references to the case of Queen v. Bradlaugh and Besant. In THE INDEX for October 24, I find the following paragraph:—

"As I understand it, Mr. Heywood now lies in Dedham jail simply because a jury decided that to preach free love is obscene; nor will this verdict surprise any one who knows the public feeling. A decision similar in principle was reached by an English jury in the case of the Crown v. Bradlaugh and Besant."

This is a pure misapprehension. Neither myself nor Mrs. Besant advocates "free love," nor did the jury think so; nor is Dr. Knowlton's pamphlet, for circulating which we were prosecuted, in the most remote manner connected with "free love" advocacy.

Yours obediently,
C. BRADLAUGH.

We are very glad to see this misapprehension corrected authoritatively. If it lay in the passage quoted from Mr. Ellershaw's communication (which we had not supposed), it should have been pointed out at the time. The "decision similar in principle," as we understood the passage, was that to preach preventive checks was obscene. In any case, all doubt will certainly be removed by Mr. Bradlaugh's explicit statement; and no excuse is left for imagining or saying that "free love" has received any countenance from either of the distinguished defendants in that now famous suit.

ANOTHER VOTE OF PROTEST.

Mr. Mills sends for publication the following resolutions:—

Whereas, The Congress of the National Liberal League lately held in this city did, by the action taken by the majority in the selection of officers for the ensuing year, violate in plain and unequivocal manner the spirit and clear purport of the concession and pledge they, the majority, had just made to the minority, displacing the devoted and invaluable president from the chairmanship of the League, for the sole reason, as distinctly appeared, that he had steadfastly stood for, and not against, national legislation for the restraining of the circulation of obscene literature through the mails, and had opposed the unequalled repeal of the Comstock postal laws, remaining therein unwaveringly faithful to the original declared position of the National League, and did, in this action named above, virtually commit the League in its management, conduct, and manifest attitude to their cherished measure of repeal; and

Whereas, The minority in said convention, feeling themselves aggrieved and deeply wronged by the action of the majority in this and sundry other matters, did withdraw from the Congress, and organize themselves into a new League, upon the original foundation of the old, taking the name of "The National Liberal League of America"; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the Onondaga County Liberal League, do hereby withdraw ourselves from associate connection with the National Liberal League, and surrender back our charter received from them.

Resolved, That we do hereby make application for affiliation and membership, as a Local Liberal League, with and in the National Liberal League of America, and that our president and secretary are hereby instructed in our behalf to ask a charter to be issued to us by the directors of the same.

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Onondaga County Liberal League, of Syracuse, N. Y., on the evening of Nov. 3, 1878.

J. W. TRUESDELL, President.

NETTIE C. TRUESDELL, Secretary.

THE MERIDEN LEAGUE.

WEST MERIDEN, Ct., Nov. 15, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

At our League meeting last evening, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved, That while we appreciate the earnest and efficient services of Francis E. Abbot in the National Liberal League, and desired his continuance in the presidency of that League, we believe that in the election of Hon. Elizur Wright, so long and favorably known as a defender of human rights, we have a pledge that the League will continue to aim at justice for all, and that fellowship in the League, being based on this principle, 'will be as broad as that we aim to establish in the State.'"

Cordially yours,
EMILY J. LEONARD.

Communications.

MR. JULIAN'S ESSAY.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—I have just finished reading Hon. George W. Julian's very able discussion of the question, "Is the Reformer any Longer Needed?" republished by you from the *North American Review*. While I most heartily agree with him in his general conclusions as to the need of reforms, and of reformers to carry them out, even though they may be of the species known as fanatics, yet he seems to have an impression as to the position of the evolutionists on this question somewhat different from the impression I had got by reading their works.

The evolutionists do hold that society is a growth, and that civilization is the result of natural laws; but I do not understand them to hold that therefore we should fold our hands and do nothing, letting evolution take the place of individual effort. The evolutionist who is true to his principles ignores no fact. He takes note of every influence that has helped to bring the final result. While he recognizes society as a growth, and civilization as a development, he also sees that this growth, this development, is but the result of the united efforts of the individuals of which society is composed. He, therefore, of all men, should be most anxious that these individual efforts should be well-directed, in order that the result may be the best possible. He deplores misguided fanaticism, but he joins heart and hand with every wisely ordered effort for the advancement of the individual and the consequent improvement of society. He sees that all reforms have progressed slowly and surely, that they have gone on in accordance with a natural law of growth, "of a piece with the development of the embryo, or the unfolding of a flower," and that this is the way that reforms in the future are bound to advance; but he certainly does not ignore the individual effort that has been the cause of their starting, nor the steady and continual, though often apparently spasmodic and misdirected, application of this effort which has kept these reforms growing after they had once taken root. He may say that every condition of the individual or of society is the offspring of a previous condition, modified by the influence of surrounding circumstances; but he also recognizes that each and every one of us has some influence in making the circumstances by which we are surrounded.

Evolution, therefore, when clearly understood, need not lead to scientific fatalism, but should inspire in the breast of every lover of truth a stronger desire to see the reformatory forces of society di-

rected in the proper way, so that the result may be the best that could be reached, considering the circumstances. Most respectfully yours,

CHAS. J. BUELL.

ROSENDALE, N. Y., Nov. 5, 1878.

"THE DESECRATION OF THE SABBATH."

JACKSONVILLE, Ill., Oct. 14, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:—

The enclosed slip from the Jacksonville, Ill., *Daily Journal* gives a series of resolutions passed by the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met recently in this city:—

Methodist vs. Methodist.

"The Foreign Element" of the Methodist Episcopal Church Heard From.

The *Daily Journal* of Oct. 8 contains several resolutions passed by the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as follows:—

Resolved, That, as ministers, we will oppose by tongue and pen, and by our personal influence and example, the desecration of the Sabbath,—such as excursion-trains, whether to camp-meetings or not; the sale of anything on Sunday at camp-meetings; the keeping open on Sunday of barber-shops, tobacco or cigar shops, clothing stores, drug stores (except for the sale of needed medicines), and business houses of all kinds.

Resolved, That we will discourage the burial on Sunday of any person who could as well be buried on Saturday or Monday, thereby preventing interference with the various regular Sabbath services.

Resolved, That, as American citizens, we will insist on our American Sabbaths, and if our foreign element like the foreign Sabbath best, let them go where they can enjoy it without disturbing the rights and privileges of the citizens of this country.

Resolved, That, as newspaper men and newboys ought to have a Sabbath as well as other people, we will discourage Sunday newspapers, and teach our people that it is as sinful to buy newspapers on Sunday as it would be to buy groceries or any other kind of merchandise.

Resolved, That we mean what we say, and that we defend the fourth commandment, even if it renders us unpopular.

In reply to the first item, let us kindly ask our brethren if the "foreign element" only desecrates the Sabbath? By whom only, and for whose benefit, excursions are made up and the Lord's day disgraced? Are barber, cigar, and tobacco shops, drug and clothing stores, kept open by "foreigners" only?

Is it the custom of the American people to bury their dead on the Sabbath? or is such done by the "foreign element" only?

In the third item, we read that those of the "foreign element" who do not like the American Sabbath shall go where they can enjoy it. We fully agree with the above, so far that "those foreigners" who do not respect the Sabbath, and do not obey the laws of the American country, ought to be brought to the way of righteousness (which can be done only by Christian love and good example), and if not, "let them go where they can enjoy it." But Conference has failed to tell us where that portion of the American "element" who do not care for the Sabbath and the laws,—where shall that "element" go to?

We would further request the brethren to explain the difference between the foreign and American Sabbath, or is there any such?—which can be judged best by observers who did have the privilege of keeping the Sabbath in foreign as well as in this land.

In conclusion, the question arises, By which "element" is the country most endangered and the laws disobeyed? Who are those who took the bankrupt law, robbed private and public property, disgracing God, men, and country? Are they of the "foreign element" only?

We mean what we say, and do "defend the fourth commandment, even if it renders us unpopular."

Respectfully,

MEMBERS OF M. E. CHURCH,
of the "Foreign Element."

The *Journal* is Republican in politics, but is run especially in the interest of the Presbyterian Church, and always in opposition to liberal thought. The editor has crawled into his Orthodox shell, pulled the shell after him, and then swallowed himself, shell and all. The above communication would never have appeared in the *Journal*, were it not a sling at the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the editor could not resist the temptation to give Methodism a stab, notwithstanding he well knows that his own, the Presbyterian, Church would endorse the resolutions, if called upon to do so. The resolutions are odious, and would, were their spirit incorporated, in our State laws, be subversive of the rights of our best citizens. The attempt of Orthodoxy to compel all citizens to comply with their idea of the "American Sabbath," and the impudence of telling "our foreign element" to leave the country if they do not wish to comply with it, was never excelled in any country, or by any people. As well might the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church resolve that all persons not Orthodox in their belief should be deprived of one-seventh part of the sunlight as to presume to dictate to any American citizen (whether of foreign birth or native born) how he shall, or how he shall not, occupy any portion of his time, so long as he does not infringe the rights of others. But Orthodoxy presumes to be the sole arbiter for all mankind in the matter of morals and religion, while their dogmas offer a premium (in the way of substitution) for any and all immorality, vice, and crime. "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

This is not sent you expecting you will publish it, but with the hope that, in your own good time, in

the columns of THE INDEX, you will give these resolutions the rebuke they so richly deserve; and no one can do so more effectually than yourself.

Very respectfully, JOHN C. GRIERSON.

P.S.—We are making an effort to have our League represented at Syracuse on the 28th and 27th inst. Your position in regard to obscene literature is correct,—should and will prevail. J. C. G.

[We could not do justice to Mr. Grierson's subject in any better way than by publishing his excellent comments as they stand.—ED.]

BIGOTRY UNITES.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

We have been hearing much during the last few days of a compromise which has been effected by the Protestants and Catholics in New Haven, to the end that the religious exercises held in the schools may be of such a prearranged character as not, by word or purport, to offend the moral sensibilities of either of the two ruling theologies. One curious observation in connection with the matter should not be disregarded by secularists in the views they may chance to form in judgment of this newly-conceived phase of the vexatious school question. I refer to the palpable fact that while the committee that manipulated this arrangement, arranged things evenly for Catholics and Protestants, they showed no little respect for the rights of freethinkers, Jews, and kindred non-Christians. They either hypocritically or by honest bigotry failed to carry their argument for the just treatment of each other to its only legitimate conclusion, which would have claimed from them an equal consideration for the affirmations of secularists, who are taxed for school-support proportionally with Catholics and Protestants. They are blind to the basis of their own position, or, possibly, like Church and State of old, imagine heterodoxy, social or religious, to be without the pale of the conservative many, whom government is bound, perforce, to respect and protect. They tax us, that they may coerce us, and excuse themselves to the populace by making synonyms of "heresy" and "immorality," and then inferring from this premise what they conceive to be a justification for their method of coercion,—the province of government to punish and not be ruled by "vice." This is their virtual position, though they might hesitate to avow it, and is plainly much more gross than acute.

A remarkable change of base is this of the Catholics and Protestants of New Haven,—perhaps a very fortunate one for the secularist, if he will consider that the fight he must enter as one party, should the policy extend further, will be but two-sided, instead of in that perplexing triangular position which requires him to antagonize separately both Protestants, who like the schools but smirch them with bigotry, and the Catholic, who opposes the schools altogether. In so happy an event, the contest would be a direct one, as is self-evident; so let us at least pick this one grain of comfort out of the new manoeuvre of the Connecticut religionists. HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

CAMDEN, N. J.

PRINCIPLES, METHODS, MEN.

NO. IV.

We come to the last term of our formula, *Men*. One hears daily such expressions as these: "I go for principles before measures"; "Measures before men"; "Give us the right men, and measures will take care of themselves." These expressions are as common as the faces you meet. Every quack in religion, politics, or social affairs makes for himself a crutch out of one of these catches, on which he hobbles before the world, and proclaims that that is the pillar of safety to which society must "tie up." But society soon finds to its sorrow that it has been helped neither to a decent crutch to get on with, nor a pillar of support, but to the horn of a sad dilemma instead, on which it is being tossed, without making any advance, or finding any safety or repose. And yet all the doctors know that one does not get on well with a single crutch, if he is badly crippled; and every builder knows that an edifice is not secure with but one support; and every body knows that every stool, even, requires three good legs to stand firmly upon. How, then, can it be supposed that society should find a stable basis and the conditions of an orderly progress with anything short of the threefold support found in the formula of principles, methods or measures, and men? And is not this the true formula, not only for building up society, but for the safe management of every enterprise, whether of business, politics, or education? It is the law of social movement; and no undertaking has any reason to hope for success which wants the completeness of our formula. Principles and methods must not only be right, but they must be personated in true character. The new church of principles and the new state of social equity must of necessity be administered by those whose lives are governed by principles, and coordinated to the methods of the divine social code, which demands unity of interests through universal coöperation. The regenerated state, which is but the regenerate collective life or social institutions, can no more be administered by, or with safety be trusted to, the unregenerate class—the "every-man-for-himself," and "the-devil-take-the-hindmost" class,—than the honest, just, and truly self-respecting or regenerate man can safely enter into and administer the affairs of the existing social state, or the systems of labor, trade, and finance created under it. It would be as dangerous to the state in the former case, as to the morals of the man in the latter: in the former, the man would deprave and pervert the state to his own selfish ends; in the latter, the state would be sure to corrupt the man.

As no movement can succeed by any other formula than that under consideration, let it be conceded that we have at last discovered the key to true social progress—principles, methods, men,—a threefold regeneration.

We have used the term regeneration deliberately and with a purpose. We believe in regeneration fully and entirely, both of the individual and of society, and especially of society. But we may as well say the regeneration we speak of is quite another thing than that which is so much talked about by the religious teachers of the day. That we have faith in is not wrought through fear of divine or satanic wrath; nor through faith in the purgative power of any blood shed on any sacred mount; nor in the imputed righteousness of any Lord; nor in any genuflections or prostrations of the body, eucharistic feasts, holy-day observances, or rites of washing; nor sacred books and inscriptions; but through faith in the everlasting principles of right, planted in our natures—self-evident, self-assertive, and omnipresent,—a living spirit which gently approves, or fills with mournful unrest the erring and disobedient soul. The regeneration which we believe in is such an intelligent regard for the principles of right conduct in individuals and associations as at all times, and under all circumstances, holds the man to honor and rectitude,—convictions so deeply grounded in intelligence and the moral sense, concerning the demands of principles, as to forbid one course of conduct to an individual, and the exact opposite to a member of a business firm, corporation, or of a profession. The regeneration we believe in is such a deep wakening of the moral sense as to make the subject of it feel that he is not only responsible for his own personal conduct, but also for the laws, usages, political and social institutions under which he consents to live. If he may not pick his neighbor's pocket, he cannot, without guilt, take part in a system of trade which does it; if he may not, as an individual, stand over his fellow while at work, with a bludgeon to rob him of his earnings, he cannot do it as a stockholder in a cotton mill; if he may not, as an individual, lurk like a pard by the way-side, to demand of the farmer three-fifths of his produce for being let go to market without having his throat cut, neither can he do it as a shareholder or manager of a railroad company; if he may not, as an individual, steal the land from under your feet for his personal profit, neither can he, as a member of Congress, steal the inheritance of your children by voting away the public domain to a ring of plunderers, of whom he himself is one. Neither can he abet the theft though having no direct interest in it by selling his services as a professional lobbyist.

The regeneration which we have faith in, is that exaltation or growth of the moral nature which lifts the man above the selfish and brute instincts into an apprehension of principles and the nobler sentiments as the rule and motive of conduct in every sphere of life,—a regeneration which insures an integral righteousness that shapes not only the conduct of the individual, but moulds the entire surroundings of his life, his associations, his business, his interests, and the social institutions under which he lives. The regenerate man is not concerned about his own or his neighbor's personal sanctity, while indifferent and silent as to the social relations and forces which, from their very form, must of necessity convert the love and goodness of the purest souls into the hatred and malevolence of demons. The regeneration we preach is not only an exaltation of individual life, a change of purpose in the man, but of the form of society also; and without the latter, the former is a delusion and a snare.

The regenerate man is he in whom the church of principles lives. He does not join the Church, but this church is joined to him, and surely guides his every step. The voice of this divine mother is ever with him, speaking to his affections and his intellect that love and wisdom which embody the regenerate man into the righteous commonwealth.

But where are we to look that we may be gladdened with such a spectacle?—regenerate men forming the regenerated social state—true offspring of the church of principles? Not they who have joined the Church, but to whom the Church is conjoined, and whose individual and collective life she wholly guides. This mother, whose divine voice speaks to their affections and understanding, the love and wisdom of the Eternal Word—that word, that light, which leads and lights all souls who come into the world, the substance of all symbols, rites, and sacrifices, the interpretation of all scriptures, and the authority of all commandments. The church of principles is a church of authority, and the only authority; and she shall yet rule the individual, the State, the trade, industries, and institutions of this world.

Many signs betoken the dawn of that complete social reform, the need of which is proclaimed by so many voices, from every sphere and function of our existing society. We may vainly beat the air for a time, in our partial and isolated efforts. Ere long we shall see that there is a divine method or law of social evolution, a science of reform which it is our first duty to know and apply. Society is the collective man, and must be regarded as an integral organism. A part cannot be made to stand for the whole. Partial efforts at reform are really no advance. It is only through a social mechanism or system homogeneous with the spirit of equity and love to the neighbor, that anything deserving the name of a remedy for our social evils is possible. The isolated competitive régime is not that system, but combined associated interests. Working on the basis of equitable coöperation is that system. By such a system it would be impossible to work ill to one's neighbor; for, as we have already shown, a social organization homogeneous with the principle of justice, could manifest only practical beneficence in harmony with the primordial law announced in the outset,

and which we here repeat; namely, *function determines organization, and organization determines limits, and fixes the relative character and form of manifestation or use.* If thinking is to be done, it demands a brain; digestion, a digestive apparatus; secretion, the organs necessary to that end. But the special kind of thinking, digestion, and secretion is determined by the special kind of organization. If the function is human intelligence, then there must be organized a human being; if brute thinking and feeling, a brute organization. Human thought and feeling, digestion or secretion, cannot be that of the brute; and vice versa. The same food eaten by a man and a brute, becomes, in the one, brute tissue, brute force, and ferocity; in the other, the substance of the "human form divine"; the brain force of the sage, the poetic imagery of the artist, or the divine beneficence of the good great soul.

What is law as to function and organization in one sphere of life is equally law in all spheres; is as true in the sphere of social function and organization as in the material sphere. As it is impossible to get anything but swinish manifestations through a swine, or serpent actions through the serpent, so it is utterly impossible to get honor, truth, and justice from a social organization, the function, spirit, and form whereof are the normal development of the forms of baseness, falsehood, and injustice.

Principles, methods, men: these formulate the only possible conditions of permanent and successful social progress. The supreme love of right and the love of the neighbor as one's self are the eternal rules of social conduct; and universal coöperation, through unity of interest, is their eternal method or mode of action. Opposed as these teachings may be, and will be, by established conservatism; chatter and bark as the mercenary press may at communism; anathematize as a hypocritical and hireling priesthood will upon the infidelity of science; continue though ignorant and corrupt legislators may to "frame iniquity by a law,"—each and all of these know through the ineradicable presence in the soul of the pure ideal life that the supreme love of God and the love of the neighbor as one's self, are the external basis of the science of social conduct, the law of social order and that friendly coöperation in all things is the logical form of such social action. All our dreams of utopias; of divine republics and millenniums are the spontaneous homage or accords paid by all souls to their truths. JOHN ORVIS.

HOW TO PROVE "PLENARY INSPIRATION."

[A subscriber sends the following letter by Rev. Huntington Lyman for publication, with a request that it receive an "able reply" from some one.—ED.]

Perhaps you have not turned your attention to the matter sufficiently to know how strong you may be in asserting the plenary inspiration of the Bible. No matter how strongly you put it,—you may even be defiant if you choose; for if the Bible falls of evidence, then everything falls. Even the battle of Waterloo or that of Gettysburg has not half so much evidence as the fact that God has spoken to us through inspired men. The Bible is its own witness; not that it can prove itself by saying, "I am true"; no book can brace itself in that way. As I am in for it, I will give one or two lines of proof that no disbeliever can or will try to meet. It was very fit that the Bible should start with proof. Our Bible does so.

The science of geology was nothing until this century had got along to its sixteenth year. Now, if it appears that geology was known to Him who inspired the first chapter of Genesis, then two things are proved: First, that God has spoken to man by a written word; second, that he who wrote that chapter was inspired. I say, upon those two points you may be defiant; try it if you meet an unbeliever. First, the Bible asserts *creation*. No man taking a position opposite to that can give any rational account of how things came to be in the earth just as they are needed; how everything that nourishes vegetation came to be there, if God did not make it there. Second chapter of Genesis, second verse, you find the word *darkness*; now science never reached that deep thought until in these last years. Now, it says there must have been *darkness*. Then we have light before the sun. Science agrees. Without following every particular, we come to verse nine, which recognizes the fact, the wonderful fact, that once the whole globe was under water. I would hold the unbeliever hard to that. How came Moses to know that the whole globe was once under water? Manetho, Berossus, Herodotus, did not know it; Abraham did not; our grandfathers did not; but now all the world knows it. So we go on through the chapter.

Now, the facts of geology are such that no two of them would occur to any mind. They are all so out of the track of human thinking that no man can think, or is in the least danger of thinking, that they could have been invented.

1. In this chapter, the great facts are given.

2. They are set forth in the order in which science says they took place.

3. Where two things occurred in one geological period, they are so recorded in the Book and so recorded in the rock.

See II., Genesis, 20, 21. These two creations, fish and birds, occurred on the same geological day. So says the Book, so say the rocks. The same wonder is repeated. See verses 24-27. The mammalian beasts were created the same geologic day with man. So say the rocks, so said the Bible four thousand years ago.

Don't let him off. Require that he should account for the statement of these profound geological facts: that they are stated in their order; that where one creative act was done on one day, where two were

done on one day, where three were done on one day, it is set forth both in the rocks and in Revelation. The Bible and Nature harmonize in all these facts. Don't let him off until he acknowledges that none but God could have informed him. Then you have gained two most important points: First, God has by the hand of man given a written revelation; second, God made Moses to know of things that took place thousands and millions of years before he was born. Then not a particle more is needed to make it probable that he also was made to know of things that should take place thousands of years after his death. You will find it a perfect choker, if you hold the man to it. No man dare write out any argument of denial who has a sixpenny regard for his own reputation. Therefore, I say, you may be defiant.

Perhaps he will say that does not prove the whole Bible. Then ask him if anything you have said shows that you have tried to prove the whole by this single chapter? But make him admit that the two points you undertook to prove are proved. If he wants to go further, take him into Deuteronomy, and ask him to read the twenty-eighth chapter. Then if he knows anything of Jewish history, you may face him down on that chapter. Ask him, Does not that chapter describe the fortunes of the Jews as they were two or three thousand years after it was written? The fact is, there is nothing that is so supported as is the Bible. If men do not know how firm it is, it is through no fault of demonstration.

H. LYMAN.

"PUBLIC ENEMY."

EDITOR INDEX:—

Appropos to your forcibly drawn indictment of the Roman Catholic Church, published in your issue of Sept. 5, I send herewith a transcript of a note which I find in the second volume of *Lecky's History of the Development of European Morals*, which I think will be new to some of your readers, as it certainly was to me. I had not supposed it possible, that in this age of decency and enlightenment, the Catholic Church would dare promulgate such abominable doctrine. It is enough to make the stoutest adult tremble; how much more, then, timid and impressible childhood!

The claim everywhere boastingly set up by evangelical Christians, that the rapid spread of Christianity was solely due to its superiority to all other religions, is hardly sustained by the solid facts of history, and requires much modification. I imagine that a critical examination of the subject would show that the methods adopted by the Church to impress the minds of the uninformed masses with the unlovely doctrines contained in the gospels, were the important factors of its growth, rather than the purely ethical and altogether lovely precepts of Jesus. What here follows will, I think, sustain this view.

Mr. Lecky, writing only a few years ago, says: "Few Englishmen, I imagine, are aware of the infamous publications that are circulated by the Catholic priests among the poor. I have before me a tract 'for children and young persons,' called 'The Sight of Hell,' by the Rev. J. Furniss, C.S.S.R., published, *par missu superionum*, by Duffy (Dublin and London). It is a detailed description of the dungeons of hell, and a few sentences may serve as a sample:—

"See! on the middle of that red-hot floor stands a girl. She looks about sixteen years old. Her feet are bare. She has neither shoes nor stockings. . . . Listen! she speaks. She says, 'I have been standing on this red-hot floor for years. Day and night my only standing place has been this red-hot floor. . . . Look at my burnt and bleeding feet. Let me go off this burning floor for one moment, only for one single short moment.' . . . The fourth dungeon is the boiling kettle; . . . in the middle of it there is a boy. His eyes are burning like two burning coals. Two long flames come out of his ears. . . . Sometimes he opens his mouth and blazing fire rolls out. But listen! there is a sound like a kettle boiling. . . . The blood is boiling in the scalded veins of that boy. The brain is boiling and bubbling in his head. The marrow is boiling in his bones. . . . The fifth dungeon is the red-hot oven. . . . The little child is in this red-hot oven. Hear how it screams to come out. See how it turns and twists itself about in the fire. It beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet on the floor. . . . God was very good to this child. Very likely God saw it would get worse and worse, and would never repent, and so it would have to be punished much more in hell. So God in his mercy called it out of the world in its early childhood."

After reading the foregoing soul-sickening extract, can any man, with a spark of humanity in his bosom, or a particle of honesty in his nature, say that Voltaire wrote either too soon or too harshly of the Romish Church? D. C.

WOBURN, Sept. 23.

THE AMERICAN INQUISITION.

All thinking liberals must have read of the fate which has overtaken Mr. E. H. Heywood with profound attention, and I hope also with some degree of that righteous anger which St. Paul commends.

Mr. Heywood is a man with the courage of his opinions, and whose mouth will not easily be closed by either threats or penalties; but, on the other hand, many people think that he is apt to let his zeal run away with his discretion. I once read a pamphlet of Mr. Heywood's upon the free-love doctrine, and must say that I considered it a singularly weak performance; and this, not so much on account of the inherent feebleness of the author's case, as because he was altogether too passionate and too pathetic, in a certain way, to do justice to it. But with his social opinions we are not now concerned, because no one explicitly denies the right of free discussion.

Nominally Mr. Heywood stands condemned for

having circulated a pamphlet containing certain obscene sentences. But now, what is an obscene sentence? Who shall judge? The current fashion of the day decides. What else can we appeal to? Therefore, it really is for having offended against modern fashion that he is going to suffer so severe a penalty. Is modern fashion worthy of so much credit? Is it so certainly immaculate? nay, is it even the best standard we possess?

There is not one among all Shakespeare's plays which can now be put upon the boards before a New York or London audience without being first expurgated and, in the process, spoiled. Macaulay says, with his usual exaggeration, that the purism of a society's speech is in inverse ratio to its purity of living. And many men superior to Macaulay have believed that a return from the absurd affectations of modern manners to the simpler language which was customary in the Athens of Socrates and in the Europe of the Renaissance would prove, morally, distinctly beneficial. Of the fouler portions of the Bible I omit all mention, because a reference to them would only be an argument *ad hominem*, no doubt legitimate, but less satisfactory than an appeal to the nobler classics. Whatever we may do, of course, offences against taste will always happen; but these can never be held actionable. If they were—ye gods! what a labor should we not have on our hands.

For my part, I am inclined to doubt whether even really obscene literature, written with vile intent, does any considerable harm. To exclude voluptuous images from the eyes and fancies of the young is obviously an hundred times impossible; and therefore probably a large majority of the purchasers of unclean books and pictures were, in fact, corrupted to begin with. There is only one effectual mode whereby this infamous traffic can be finally suppressed. Stop the demand and the supply will cease. Educate the young, and encourage in them a decent (not indecent) familiarity. CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

A FRIENDLY LETTER TO "THE INDEX."

MR. ABBOT:—

If this seems worth its room in your paper, you are at liberty to place it there. I wish to say something about the glorious cause of freethought and liberty, in which I am working about as diligently as I can; but the liberal papers contain so much that is instructive and able that I must write with diffidence.

For three years, I was a member of a church; I was superstitious and extreme; I read one year with the view of preaching the doctrine of the church to which I adhered. By-and-by the "sledge-hammer blows" of the *Age of Reason* were brought to bear upon me, and the scales of Bible superstition tumbled off my eyes. Now, in proportion to my ability, money, and opportunities, I think I am doing as much to impart good and useful ideas, and to undeceive religious dupes, as most of our workers. I feel that we ought to show our religious friends the follies in the Bible and churches. We must reason and kindly persuade them to give up teaching the foolishness and slavery of the Bible. But, when we have detached from their minds all their curious notions, we must give them something better. It seems to me that all you editors of freedom and workers in free religion, all the lecturers of infidelity and Spiritualism, ought to make the *world grow better*; and I trust that it is advancing somewhat. We can't do much with the old fogies who will not read our books nor listen to our lectures. But let us all and each be a constant example of honesty and consistency. Each of us can be upright, and thus help to better the world; why not? Let us not walk too high, so that our heads bump the stars; but let us teach and better the common thinking people. The duty of us all is to teach people by precept and example to be *clean, healthy, honest, and enterprising*. We must be indulgent and kind towards each other, and especially gentle and charitable to Christians. J. CARTRITE.

CASTANA, IOWA.

BOOK NOTICE.

HYGIENE OF THE BRAIN, AND THE CURE OF NERVOUSNESS. by M. L. Holbrook, M.D. New York: M. L. Holbrook, Publisher.

In spite of title, which might seem to give this little volume place only among medical works, a glance at the contents is most convincing proof that the readers of THE INDEX cannot afford to be without a knowledge of it. Dr. Holbrook, who has had long experience in the study and care of nervous diseases has supplemented his own thorough, but most simple and plainly put introduction to nerves in general, by a series of letters from literary and professional men at home and abroad. These letters give minutely the mental and physical habits of men whose life and work we are all eager to know, beginning with O. B. Frothingham, and including Bryant, Gerritt Smith, Dr. E. W. Richardson of London, known as one of the best authorities on "Health and Disease"; Bronson Alcott, the Howitts, Horace and Mary Mann, and so on, through a list of representative names. From this fund of experience, most attractively told, one cannot fail to draw conclusions both helpful and stimulating, as to personal effort in the same direction. Dr. Holbrook is, fortunately, a man not of one, but many ideas, and has a sturdy common-sense and a plainness of presentation which render his book exceptionally valuable to those who have not time for more elaborate works on the same topic; and readers of THE INDEX will find here another most efficient tract, that, if distributed broadcast among "Liberal Leagues" the land over, would tone down asperities, and make "Free Discussion" a much less nervous and wrath-producing factor than at present. CAMPBELL WHEATON.

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WHOLE NO. 466.

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For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

ELI PERKINS certainly made a good joke at last, when he emitted the following: "My Uncle Consider stood looking at one of the new silver dollars, and seeing 'In God we Trust' on one side and the 'United States of America' on the other, sadly remarked: 'Well, Eli, I knew we were becoming a very wicked and worldly people, but I never expected to live to see the day when God and the United States would be on opposite sides.' 'Arise and sing!'"

THIS SLIP is sent to us from the Belfast (Maine) *Progressive Age* of July 4: "Jeremiah Richards, of Lincolnville, was before Trial Justice R. W. Rogers of this city, Tuesday, on a charge of 'travelling and laboring on the Lord's day.' It appeared from the testimony that the respondent had hauled lime on Sunday, June 2, and he was fined \$5.00 and costs for the offence, which he paid. George A. Knight was the complainant, R. F. Dunton appearing for him, and F. A. Greer for the respondent."

IT IS a noticeable indication of the spread of radical thought at the West that so many secular journals, published in the various towns and cities at which Mr. Underwood lectures, should be willing to publish his lectures in full or in part, usually with nothing but complimentary remarks. This is doubtless in no small measure due to the fact that Mr. Underwood never indulges in rant or abuse, but invariably treats his subjects in the manner of a candid and thoughtful gentleman. Yet, for all that, the phenomenon is inexplicable except on the supposition that public opinion is not offended by his very frank radicalism. It is one of the best signs of the times.

HERE IS an old story full of possible applications to modern affairs: "There is a proverb current in Northern India which says of any one who meets with unexpected good fortune that 'he has struck with the axe of Mahmud, the Ghaznvide.' This curious saying takes its origin from a historical episode of the first conquest of India. When Mahmud, of Ghazni (Ghizni), descending upon the Punjab from Afghanistan, entered the City of Somnauth, in which stood the most sacred of all the Hindu temples, the Brahmin priests met him at a gate of the shrine, offering an enormous ransom if he would but spare their temple and its idol. The eyes of the rapacious Afghans sparkled at sight of the treasures thus spread before them, and murmurs of approval were heard here and there; but Mahmud sternly bade them be silent, and, pointing to the huge idol that stood in the midst, shouted, 'God has raised me up, not to traffic in idols, but to sweep them from the earth. Behold my answer!' One downright blow of his battle-axe sent the hideous image crashing on the pavement; and as it broke asunder out poured heaps of gold and jewels worth fifty-fold the offered ransom,—this strange hiding-place being, in fact, the treasury of the cunning Brahmins, who were thus sacrificing a part in order to save the whole."

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* is not deeply impressed with the sincerity of the "new crusade" against Turkey: "Two Christian armies animated by the most intense sentiments of religious animosity against each other are now engaged in introducing the blessings of civilization into European Turkey, at the point of the bayonet. There seems to be some danger that these crusaders in the cause of humanity, after having bathed the plains of Bulgaria and the hill-sides of Bosnia with the blood of the populations they are engaged in reforming, will turn their weapons on each other, in their zeal to see justice done to the Sultan, and to prevent deeds of rapine and spoliation. As a preliminary measure, they are already beginning to accuse each other of committing atrocities. 'It is impossible,' writes the *Golos* of St. Petersburg, commenting on the occupation of Bosnia by Austria, 'to be astonished at the fact that the Sultan has energetically refused the co-operation of a Power which, with-

out anything having authorized it, has violated the territory of a friendly State, in order to perpetrate the most horrible atrocities.' When Christian rogues wrangle over their plunder to such an extent that one of them in his bitterness espouses the cause of the Mohammedan victim, this 'new crusade' may yet have in store for us some novel and instructive development."

THE OCTOBER number of *Scribner's Monthly* said of Mr. Emerson: "Among the inconveniences of age, Mr. Emerson now finds an infirmity of memory which somewhat interferes with his literary work, though it does not wholly impede it, as is shown by this lecture, delivered last March, at the Old South Church in Boston. Characteristic of the man, his aims and patriotic hopes, it is also one of the finest and noblest pieces of writing he has published. Standing at the twilight of a long life of literary activity, and himself aware that his faculties are no longer to be fully relied upon, he is yet able to concentrate his thought upon a lofty subject, and utter, with the pregnant homeliness of his habitual style, words of comfort to a nation in a time of depression, if not actual distress. How many literary men are there who would not, in this case, introduce themselves into the discussion, and lament in one way or another the decay of their faculties, the loss of the pleasures of this world? Emerson has no remark to make about himself; he is absorbed in the future of the United States. Without a trace of the narrowness or querulousness of an old man, he throws all his energy into the old work which he has pursued so long,—that of giving spiritual comfort to his fellow-countrymen. The lofty enthusiasm that has always marked his career burns just as warm now as ever; it seems to burn even more clear, because in this one of the last utterances of the old poet he calls things by their everyday names rather than by their symbols, and, in his eagerness to be explicit, has no leisure for those condensed generalizations which have proved a stumbling-block to many, but to those who relished his style an addition to their pleasure in his work."

THE *Graphic* points out some amusing blunders of the old masters: "Many of the old masters made amusing and curious blunders in their works. Tintoret represented the 'Israelites Gathering Manna,' armed with guns. Cigoli painted 'the aged Simeon at the circumcision of Christ with a pair of spectacles on his nose; and Rubens committed the same error in his famous picture of 'Mary Anointing the Feet of Christ.' In a picture of 'Christ Healing the Sick,' by Verrio, the spectators are represented as wearing periwigs on their heads. Albert Durer painted the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden by an angel in a flounced dress. The same artist, in a picture of 'Peter Denying Christ,' introduces a Roman soldier smoking a German pipe. A Flemish picture of the wise men worshipping the infant Christ has one of them depicted in a large white surplice and in boots and spurs. In this incongruous dress, he is represented in the act of presenting the child with a model of a Dutch man-of-war. An artist of the same school, in a painting of Abraham offering up his son Isaac, the patriarch, instead of using a knife as described in the Scriptures, is holding a blunderbuss to the head of Isaac. Bellini has pictured the virgin and child in the act of listening to a violin; in another picture, he has drawn King David playing a harp at the marriage of Christ with St. Catherine. In a French picture of the 'Last Supper,' the table is ornamented with tumbler filled with cigar-lighters. The crowning blunder is shown in a painting of the Garden of Eden, in which Adam and Eve are represented in all their primitive simplicity, while in the immediate background appears a hunter in a modern sporting-suit, in the act of shooting ducks with a gun."

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- Alabama..... J. H. HALLEY, Selma. Arkansas..... JOHN A. HENNS, Monticello. California..... J. L. HATCO, San Francisco. Colorado..... DAVID T. BEALS, Grenada. Connecticut..... GEORGE W. BALDWIN, Bridgeport. Delaware..... JOSEPH D. GOBLE, Greenville. Florida..... P. D. GIDDINGS, Enterprise. Georgia..... DR. A. A. BELL, Madison. Idaho..... DR. A. G. HUMPHREY, Galeburg. Indiana..... N. D. WATKINS, Xenia. Iowa..... J. C. MICHEESE, Ador. Kansas..... JOHN FARNSWORTH, Fort Scott. Kentucky..... B. E. CLARK, Wilsonville. Louisiana..... EMERSON BENTLEY, New Orleans. Maine..... DR. W. H. BROWN, Bangor. Maryland..... W. H. SAYWARD, Boston. Massachusetts..... J. S. RUSSELL, New Market. Michigan..... KARL BOHMEYER, Detroit. Minnesota..... J. B. BASSETT, Minneapolis. Missouri..... B. PETERSON, St. Louis. Nevada..... W. E. COPELAND, Lincoln. New Hampshire..... V. G. BARRETT, White Rock. New Jersey..... WILLIAM LITTLE, Manchester. New York..... FRANCIS W. OTIS, Passaic. North Carolina..... C. D. B. MILLS (Chairman), Syracuse. Ohio..... J. W. THORN, Warren. Oregon..... E. D. STARR, Cleveland. Pennsylvania..... SAMUEL COULT, Humboldt Basin. Rhode Island..... G. W. BALDWIN, Lincolnton. South Carolina..... GEORGE LEWIS, Providence. Tennessee..... P. W. FULLER, Columbus. Texas..... DR. E. H. PRICE, Chattanooga. Vermont..... DE. L. J. RUSSELL, Ferrisville. Virginia..... B. L. HAUSER, North Bennington. West Virginia..... L. SPAULDING, Norfolk. Wisconsin..... DR. A. M. DENT, Weston. Wyoming..... ROBERT O. SPENCER, Milwaukee. District of Columbia..... D. P. WILCOX, Yankton. Utah..... W. H. DOOLITTLE, Washington. Wyoming..... W. FERGUSON, Provo City. Wyoming..... NORMAN S. PORTER.

Finance Committee.

- D. G. CRANDON, Chairman. Chelsea, Mass. MRS. SARAH B. OTIS. 127 Warren Avenue, Boston. HARRIAN P. HYDE. 231 Washington St., Boston.

LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

Chartered by the National Liberal League of America.

- FLORENCE, Mass.—President, Seth Hunt; Secretary, Clarence E. Brown. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Florence Liberal League. SYRACUSE, N. Y.—President, John W. Truesdell; Secretary, Mrs. Nettie C. Truesdell. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Onondaga County Liberal League. ALBANY, N. Y.—President, Thomas J. Hennessey; Secretary, Thomas Dugan. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Albany Liberal Association.

N. B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their vote to accept the following invitation:—

"Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League."

GENERAL SHARPE is quoted by the Kingston Freeman as telling this story concerning the recent army-meeting at Springfield: "Henry Ward Beecher was the orator and R. H. Stoddard the poet. Mr. Beecher arrived in the morning at the Massasoit House, and in the afternoon came Mr. Stoddard and his wife, who had ordered a new dress to attend the reception. The dress, of course, did not reach Mr. Stoddard's house until after his trunk had been packed and sent by the expressman to the cars. So when the poet entered the hall of the Massasoit House, he was struggling with an enormous paper-box containing the new robe with all its furbelows and furbelows. 'Mr. Beecher,' said General McMahon, 'this is Mr. Stoddard, the poet.' 'Glad to see you, sir,' said Mr. Beecher; and then pointing at the box, he inquired: 'Is this your poem?' 'Part of it,' replied Mr. Stoddard. It is needless to remark that the question and the answer made lively laughter for a few moments."

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States, from beginning to end, in spirit and in letter, is framed in accordance with the principle of the total separation of Church and State; and the Treaty with Tripoli, signed by George Washington as a part of the supreme law of the land, declares emphatically that "the Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion"; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding these facts, the administration of the National Government, and the administrations and constitutions of the several State Governments, maintain numerous practical connections of the State with the Church, thereby violating the spirit of the United States Constitution, and the glorious traditions which dedicate this country exclusively to the natural rights of man; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and peace of the Republic, the equal religious rights and liberties of its citizens, and the most precious interests of civilization, alike require that all the political and educational institutions of the nation which are supported by taxation, should be more faithfully conformed to the spirit of its fundamental law;

Therefore, We, the Protesting Members of the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, convened at Syracuse, N. Y., October 26 and 27, 1878, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—The name of this association shall be "The National Liberal League of America," founded on the principles originally adopted by the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia, July First to July Fourth, 1876.

General Object.

ARTICLE II.—The general object of the National Liberal League of America shall be to accomplish the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood in all human life, may be established, protected, and perpetuated.

Specific Objects.

ARTICLE III.—As means to the accomplishment of this general object, the specific objects of the National Liberal League of America shall be:—

1. To urge the adoption of such a "Religious Freedom Amendment" of the United States Constitution as shall effect the complete secularization of the Government in all its departments and institutions, State and National, and shall secure to every American citizen the full enjoyment of his opinions on the subject of religion, whatever they may be, without molestation, disability, or deprivation of any civil or political right.

2. To advocate the equitable taxation of church property; the total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools; the repeal of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath; the cessation of all appropriations of public funds for religious institutions or purposes of any kind; the abolition of State-paid chaplaincies; the substitution of simple affirmation, under the pains and penalties of perjury, for the judicial oath; the non-appointment of religious fasts, festivals, and holidays by public authority; the practical establishment of simple morality and intelligence as the basis of purely secular government, and the adequate guarantee of public order, prosperity, and righteousness; and whatever other measures or principles may be necessary to the total separation of Church and State.

3. To promote the formation and multiplication of local auxiliary Liberal Leagues throughout the country, in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, in order to institute combined and vigorous agitation for the adoption of the "Religious Freedom Amendment," and, pending its adoption, to secure through State and municipal action the accomplishment of the various special reforms above enumerated.

4. To defend through the courts, by the combined efforts and means of the liberals of the country, any American citizen whose equal religious rights are denied, or who is oppressed on account of any opinions he may have held or expressed on the subject of religion.

5. To promote, by all peaceable and orderly means, active propagandism of the great principles of religious liberty and equal rights, devotion to truth for its own sake, and universal brotherhood on the ground of a common humanity; more particularly, to establish a Liberal Lecture Bureau for the mutual benefit of hearers and lecturers, by which the formation of local liberal societies may be facilitated and stimulated, and by which liberal lecturers of sufficient ability and unblemished moral character, without the least discrimination on account of their religious opinions, may be encouraged, furnished with employment, and helped to devote themselves to the liberal cause.

6. In all other proper and practicable ways, to promote the final emancipation of the State from the control of the Church, and to foster the development of that natural intelligence and morality which constitute the necessary and all-sufficient basis of secular government.

Membership.

ARTICLE IV.—Any person who shall pay one dollar into the treasury shall be entitled to a certificate, signed by the President and Secretary, as an annual member of the National Liberal League of America.

Any person who shall pay twenty-five dollars or more into the treasury shall be entitled to a similar certificate as a life-member. All the persons present as members at the Centennial Congress of Liberals, at which the principles of this Constitution were originally adopted, and all the persons present at the meeting at which this Constitution was itself formally adopted, provided such persons give their names and addresses for this purpose to the Secretary, are hereby declared to be permanent or charter members of the National Liberal League of America.

Annual Congress.

ARTICLE V.—The Annual Congress of the National Liberal League of America shall be held at such time and place and with such sessions as the Board of Directors may announce; and public notice of the Congress shall be given at least one month previously. The first Annual Congress shall be [was] held in the year 1877. Other conventions of the League may be held at such places and times as the Board of Directors shall appoint.

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

Officers.

ARTICLE VI.—The officers of the National Liberal League of America shall be a President, six or more Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, a Board of Directors, an Executive Committee, and a Finance Committee. All these officers shall be elected at the Annual Congress, and shall hold their offices for one year, or until others are chosen in their stead. The Board of Directors shall have power to fill any office of the League that may be left or may become vacant before the meeting of the Annual Congress succeeding their own election.

President.

ARTICLE VII.—The President's duty shall be to preside at the Annual Congress and other conventions of the League, and at the meetings of the Board of Directors, and to countersign all orders upon the treasury duly drawn by the Secretary.

Secretaries.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Secretary's duty shall be to keep the records, complete lists of members, and other papers of the League, and also of the Board of Directors; to report promptly to the Board of Directors all facts communicated to him by the Secretaries of local auxiliary Leagues, and to prepare a careful condensation of the same for the Annual Congress; and to conduct such correspondence as usually pertains to his office. It shall be the duty of the Assistant Secretary to assist in this work under the Secretary's direction.

Treasurer.

ARTICLE IX.—The Treasurer, after giving security satisfactory to the Board of Directors, shall receive and hold all funds of the League, subject to orders duly drawn by the Secretary and countersigned by the President. He shall report the state of the finances of the League at every annual Congress, and oftener if required by the Board of Directors or Finance Committee; and upon the election of a successor, he shall deliver to him all the property of the League that he may hold.

Board of Directors.

ARTICLE X.—The President, Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Finance Committee, shall constitute the Board of Directors, which shall be intrusted with the general management and control of the affairs of the League from year to year. They shall make a full report of their doings on the first day of each Annual Congress. All appropriations from the treasury shall be by vote of the Board of Directors.

Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI.—The Executive Committee shall be composed of one member from each State and Territory of the Union, and shall act under the instructions of the Board of Directors. It shall be the duty of each member of the Executive Committee to select and associate with himself four other good citizens of his own State or Territory, as the Executive Sub-Committee for that State or Territory, and he shall be himself the Chairman of the same, and promptly report its organization to the Secretary of the National Liberal League of America. Each Sub-Committee shall appoint a Local Agent in as many of the cities and towns of its own State or Territory as possible. It shall be the duty of each Local Agent, with the help and cooperation of the State Sub-Committee, to organize, if possible, a local auxiliary Liberal League in his own city or town, to report its organization promptly to the Chairman of the State Sub-Committee, and to promote by its means the general objects of the National Liberal League of America.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall be elected as such by the Annual Congress, and shall be ex officio a member of the Board of Directors.

Finance Committee.

ARTICLE XII.—The Finance Committee shall be composed of three members, elected by the Annual Congress. It shall be their duty to devise ways and means for raising such funds as may be needed for the successful prosecution of the work of the League, and to carry them into execution with the help of the Board of Directors.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee shall be elected as such by the Annual Congress, and shall be ex officio a member of the Board of Directors.

Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Board of Directors shall have

authority, as often as they receive a written application signed by ten or more persons and accompanied by ten dollars, to issue a charter for the formation of a local auxiliary Liberal League.

ARTICLE XIV.—Charters so issued shall contain Constitutions substantially similar to this Constitution, but adapted to local wants, providing for regular and frequent meetings to promote the mental and moral culture and general social enjoyment of the members, for Children's Fraternities to promote the welfare and happiness of their children, for Relief Committees to supply the needs of sick, poor, or distressed members, and in general for whatever may conduce to the private benefit as well as the public usefulness of the local Leagues.

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

ARTICLE XVI.—Every local auxiliary Liberal League organized in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution shall be entitled to send its President and Secretary and three other members as delegates to the Annual Congress.

ARTICLE XVII.—It shall be a special duty of the Secretary of each local auxiliary Liberal League to furnish the Secretary of the National Liberal League of America with a complete list of all the members with their post-office addresses in full, and a list of the officers, and also to furnish him with information of all important action of his own local League.

Amendments.

ARTICLE XVIII.—Amendments to this Constitution may be made at any Annual Congress of the National Liberal League of America by a three-fourths vote of the qualified members present. But no amendment shall be made, unless the proposed amendment shall have been published together with the required public notice of the Annual Congress which is to act upon it.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

Prof. Francis Newman

OF

"THE ATHEISTIC CONTROVERSY."

Under the title of "The Atheistic Controversy," Prof. Newman, in the *Contemporary* for October, reviews "A Candid Examination of Theism," by "Physicus." Of "Physicus," the Professor affirms: "He makes war on everything he entitles supernatural, and professes to fight under the banners of science. He plants his feet on solid earth, with that great and accurate thinker, John Stuart Mill; esteems the axioms of theists 'illegitimate assumptions and begging of the question'; and has the ready answer, How do you prove it? to everything that any of us may regard as a first principle." It is not surprising that in reply to such a challenge one of the illustrious adherents of theism (eminently a religion of faith) should brace himself for the encounter,—should on behalf of theism take up the glove so boldly thrown down, the "prove it" of "experiential philosophy."

As "Physicus" must be aware, Prof. Newman is a trained fencer with the weapons selected in this combat for proof or non-proof of Deity,—logic and metaphysics. Though Prof. Newman does not agree with Mill or with "Physicus" as to the basis for the establishment of first principles, "Physicus," says Newman, "deals with our (supposed) first principles as rudely as Mill." Axioms, according to the champion of theism, must underlie *first principles*; while Mill, he assures us, "had such hostility to axioms that he avowed that only by experience did he know that the whole was greater than a part, and that in a world in which he had no experience two and two might make five." Here, of course, we have "experiential philosophy" carried à l'outrance, to express that it believes in nothing it cannot verify. This school of thought makes the verification of a truth its test. Prof. Newman considers "that first principles should be based on axioms the truth of which has received the consent of the human race as their justification, as in the case of Euclid's twelfth axiom, the truth of which was apprehended solely through mind and not measurements." Certainly, measurements would never demonstrate the existence or non-existence of Deity from any point of view; nor can mind in the abstract be accepted as umpire to determine the universal axiom on which to base first principles in religious belief, as only in the *exact sciences* can this be taken as a test. Have theistic first principles, as here explained by their champion, the right to claim, as basis, axioms which have received the consent of the human race as justification of their truth? "Theists insist now as of old that these two axioms are legitimate. Man is not the highest being in the universe, and the Power which created him must have possessed all the human powers and more beside. From these axioms, we infer that the power which we call God is a mind and something more, or rather much more, independently from the argument of design. They corroborate one another. We appeal to human consent for the establishment of these axioms."

That is to say, "the consent of the human race" that theism is the correct appreciation of Deity? "Physicus" treats first principles founded on such

axioms "with scornful contempt," says the Professor, and "demands proof thereof." We certainly agree with our author when he affirms that "the abyss between theists and agnostics [or atheists, as he adds] is deeper than any doctrine of theism. We differ on metaphysics and logic."

Evidently, the metaphysics of theology and that of experiential philosophy is not the same science, though we do not feel sure this is a true explanation of the difference. "Through the non-cultivation of metaphysics in the spiritual school for at least half a century in England, the atheist has great facility of dictating and passing as current *his own metaphysics*. Hence, by a single surreptitious axiom which makes our five senses our only trustworthy informants he can explode theistic belief as an absurdity." Then, in this case, there are metaphysics common to theism and not so to atheism? This is indeed to make the solid ground tremble beneath one's feet.

To our thinking, the entire controversy hinges on this: whether first principles to be logical must be based on verifiable or unverifiable positions; whether on axioms depending for justification of their truth on the consent of the human race, or on the established results of experience. As opposed to what he considers the postulates of theism, "Physicus," maintains,—"There can no longer be any greater doubt that the existence of a God is wholly unnecessary to explain any of the phenomena of the universe than there is that if I let go of my pen it will fall upon the table." "Physicus" concludes that the doctrine of the "persistence of force" renders the Deity of theism and theology generally a superfluous power in creation, and no doubt in so doing ranks himself as a disciple of Laplace, who said, after his famous explanation of the cosmos and all its wondrous workings, "Dieu est une hypothèse dont je n'ai pas besoin." A sentiment which another great French savant thus reads: "Laplace parlait ainsi du Dieu personnel de qui l'on dit qu'il a créé le monde et qu'il le gouverne. Mais dans ce grand nom de Dieu il est permis d'imaginer de placer une idée différente et non moins grande assurément." Different, indeed, and not less grand. A Deity the omnipotence of which it is not "necessary to limit." A Deity to which the epithet "Almighty" does not seem "improper, misleading, and unjustified, a mere exaggeration," as Prof. Newman holds, "of poetry and uncritical adoration." A Deity which, by those who apprehend the grandeur and sublimity of its nature, is termed "La loi primordiale et finale, la loi suprême, la loi des lois."

Whether "Physicus" associates anything of divine with the power which, according to him, "suffices to explain all the phenomena of the universe" we do not clearly gather. But call it what one will, to the human mind incapable of originating or explaining whence such came or how it acts, it is "Deity"; this power which still to the very princes of science remains a mystery; of which Prof. Tyndall says, "I dare not call it a mind, and I refuse to call it a cause." This same "force" which necessitates the falling of the pen from the relaxed grasp of "Physicus" also regulates all those marvels implied in the word gravitation, a power which, when it burst upon him in all its wondrous possibilities and actualities, Newton rightly termed divine. Divine according to the interpretation of Prof. Newman? "That God had invested matter with the power of gravitation," we cannot determine. It is, however, held that "the *Principia* went to show that, given in matter the force and law of gravitation and the laws of motion, there needed no artificer now to conduct the solar system." In fact, as all devout students of Nature have affirmed, from the infancy of the Greek scientific school down to this nineteenth century, when we can point to our own "Democritus" and "Lucretius," "the infinity of forms under which matter appears was not imposed upon it by an external artificer"; as, in the words of Giordano Bruno, "matter by its intrinsic force and virtue brings forth all these forms which from the lowest develop into the highest," till "the ascidian becomes man." However, to theism as explained by its present champion, this is blank atheism, as Prof. Newman says: "The argument from design, if it be not wholly fallacious, proves mind in the universe. Of course, it is only from experience of our own minds that we have such a word as mind, or can attribute mind to another. In so far, reflection on our own mind is needed, if we are to discern design and a designer." This can bear but one explanation; namely, that, as all psychologists allow, we can only argue from the *known* to the *unknown*; we must judge the mind of God the designer from what we know of the human mind. We cannot follow the discussion carried on as to the "mind of God," and the possibility of the human mind to conceive of what "Physicus" terms "the unknowable" or the "inconceivable existent"; whether "time had a beginning"; or as to that "past eternity" which, according to Herbert Spencer and "Physicus," "constitutes a direct contradiction and confutation of theism."

This contest of able minds on abstract problems not capable of defining, we leave our readers to explore in the *Contemporary*. Our own summing up of the matter is that no satisfaction can accrue from this discussion as to the *logical basis* of theism and agnosticism, as these combatants cannot agree on the nature of the axioms that should underlie *first principles*. For while "Physicus," following his master, John Stuart Mill, fiercely demands of theism, What is your omnipotent, omniscient, good, merciful Heavenly Father about, that half creation groans in agony, the one-half preying on the other, and enjoying life at the expense of all that makes life worth having to that other? the only answer he receives in solution of this fearful mystery is, "that the God of theism is limited in power; that he should not be called omnipotent, but wise, as the task of wisdom is to overcome difficulties,"—the difficulties, namely, "of reconciling the maintenance of strict, unchangeable laws of Nat-

ure and the free will of man, with the general well-being of the world." How, we would ask, can this view of Deity satisfy those who can worship nothing less than perfection? How can the reply to such a statement of theism be other than in the well-known words of Epicurus, "Ou Dieu veut ôter le mal de ce monde et ne le peut; ou il le peut et ne le veut pas." "Against this *rocher inébranlable*," says Voltaire, "thousands of learned theologians and savans have bent their bows in vain, beneath whose shelter all atheists have taken refuge." And on this account specially, we take exception to the definition of Deity as here set forth by the champion of theism; for, but limit its power, and to the human mind there is no more either of belief in it or reverence for it.

Our own escape out of this quagmire of theological conception concerning Deity, free will, and necessitarianism is by following on the lines of that philosophic conception of the problem of evil which maintains that "the injustice and misfortune incidental to this life are solely the work of man; that, as he is king of the universe, it is by an abuse of his liberty in the choice between good and evil that the latter prevails in his kingdom." In view of the theistic as well as Christian argument "that evil is permitted to abound by an infinitely wise and good Providence," M. Alexandre Weill demands, "What is the meaning of the word *progress*? What use is it for man to combat these things, if in their nature they are essential to humanity? Why struggle to abolish injustice, brutal force, the law that might is right,—in fact, the sum total of evil, if it is the work, designedly, of the Creator?" We certainly indorse this reading of "the enigma of evil," which every one born into the world might help to abate, would he, as a unit of the great human family, remember that as surely as the sun rises and sets on our good or evil deeds, it is an immutable law that "le bien produit toujours le bien, et le mal engendre le mal."

The grand idea of perfecting one's own nature morally and physically, that thereby we may assure the perfecting of humanity, is the key-note of the teaching of the great Hindu and Chinese sages. Confucius sums up the whole matter in these terse lines: "Renouvez-vous chaque jour; faites le de nouveau, et toujours encore." And in place of the "divine Providence" of theology, let us commend the study of this ideal. "Le parfait, le vrai dégagé de tout mélange est la loi du ciel. La perfection on le perfectionnement, qui consiste à employer tous ses efforts pour découvrir la loi céleste, le vrai principe du mandat du ciel, est la loi de l'homme. Celui qui tend constamment à son perfectionnement est le sage qui sait distinguer le bien du mal, qui choisit le bien et s'y attache fortement pour ne jamais le perdre."*

M. Alexandre Weill also claims these ethics of Confucius as the essence of the Mosaic philosophy. And unless Christianity and theism can present a higher conception of Deity than is traced for us under the grand figure of Justice, immutable and incorruptible, they must mutually consent to stand on that lower level, the failure to harmonize man's highest aspirations towards perfection with his intellectual and rational instincts.

From this study of "The Atheistic Controversy,"—the controversy on "truths that never can be proved,"—we turn to Bunson's fine expression on such themes: "What were the first questions that posed mankind? Exactly those which pose him to-day. The grandest, the most sublime, the most difficult, of all which still make themselves heard above the turmoils of earth. Whence comes this universe? Why was creation at all? Whence came it? Whither goes it? Who made the light? Who made the night? In nearly the same terms, this inextinguishable curiosity is found expressed in the Vedas of the Hindu, in the Zend Avesta of the Medes, and the Eddas of the Scandinavian. Now, as then, man seeks on the face of Nature the traces of her vanished God." J. W.

LONDON, October, 1878.

A REVISED SCRIPTURE.

THE BIBLE OF TO-DAY. By JOHN W. CHADWICK. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This volume makes no pretension to independent research or original learning. It merely aims to present, in compact and solid form, the results in biblical criticism reached by the "liberal" school of thinkers, especially summarizing the conclusions of what is known as the Dutch school, at the head of which stands Dr. Abram Kuenen, Professor of Theology at the University of Leyden. The book is the more valuable for being a compilation; for the critics whose conclusions it reports are among the most distinguished for learning and sagacity; their works are but little known, and until they are more widely read and understood than they are, any fresh studies would be out of time and place.

In a modest preface, Mr. Chadwick remarks that "those who have kept abreast of modern critical studies (their name is legion in the most Orthodox circles) must be aware that these results are almost without exception those which have been reached by many scholars of unimpeachable Orthodoxy." This statement is in substance true. That is to say, a few scholars of unimpeachable Orthodoxy have reached the results embodied in Mr. Chadwick's volume. But that legions of people in the most Orthodox circles are aware of this fact, we cannot believe. On the contrary, we think it unlikely that any outside the ranks of scholars, or that more than a comparatively few outside the ranks of "liberal" scholars, are acquainted with them. The very names of the writers he alludes to as his authorities, Goldziher, Tiele, Knappert, Muir, Keim, Reville, will sound strange in the common ear. In this country, very few of the

*Quatre Livres de Philosophie Morale et Politique de la Chine. (M. G. Panther.)

lality bestow attention on books of this description; and the clergy, being chiefly preachers devoted to professional routine, read in the direction of accepted tradition, and keep within the confines of their sect. It is true that Prof. Robertson Smith, of Aberdeen, though holding heretical opinions in regard to the Pentateuch, could not be convicted of heresy by his local presbytery. But it is also true that the opinions were deemed heretical, and that vehement efforts were made to convict him. Dean Stanley finds himself secure in his ecclesiastical position, notwithstanding his breadth of doctrinal sympathy; and Benjamin Jowett maintains his position as Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford, in spite of opinions to the last degree unorthodox. But these gentlemen owe their security to the elasticity of the National Church rather than to the enlightenment of the religious community. They are not loved or approved of. Voices are loud against them. They are accused of disingenuousness and disloyalty. The evangelical churchmen of England inveigh bitterly against them, and they would be condemned by an overwhelming vote, if a vote could be taken. Their opinions are abhorred, simply because the grounds of them are not understood. It were a poor compliment to pay to the popular clergy, to suppose them familiar with these views, and at the same time hot in their opposition to those who profess them.

The preface of Mr. Chadwick's book contains a list of the important works consulted and relied on for his conclusions. Deservedly, he ranks high Baur's *Paulus*, but he makes no mention of a volume by Baur quite as important, *Die Kanonische Evangelien*, a book which embodies the remarkable studies first published in successive numbers of the *Theologische Jahrbücher*. We are more surprised at his reference to the essays of Mr. Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma, God and the Bible*, etc. Mr. Arnold is a cunning scribe, an accomplished man of letters, a delicate critic of the forms of literary art; but as a biblical scholar he is of no reputation. His volumes on these subjects are clever and interesting, valuable, too, as studies in contemporaneous speculation; but as contributions to knowledge they are without worth. We respect his judgment on the literary merits of the Fourth Gospel, even when he is almost alone in declaring them to be "almost inappreciable"; but his opinion of the genuineness of that gospel is of no weight whatever against Hilgenfeld or Reuss, to say nothing of Baur. He is not to be mentioned the same day with Reville, Nicolas, or Kuenen. Mr. Chadwick really weakens the authority of his conclusions by appealing to such an authority.

And this is a pity; for the conclusions are valuable, and his way of putting them is clear, candid, and convincing. He has studied hard and sat longest at the feet of the ablest of his teachers, pondering on their words, comparing them with one another, and, when required, deciding between them with intelligence. His book conveys the solid results of a very laborious and thoroughly competent research, conducted by master minds. Ewald, Baur, Zeller, among the older men; Reville, Nicolas, Kuenen, among the more recent, are authorities. Their conclusions, no doubt, are, in some respects, open to question. In important respects they are questioned. But they deserve respectful consideration; and he renders a great service who reports them accurately. To pronounce a critical opinion on the validity of these conclusions would be out of place in a notice of Mr. Chadwick's book. We have not room even to describe or enumerate them. Two or three samples, however, must be given to illustrate their character. In regard to the Old Testament, the most prominent general feature of the criticism is the complete rearrangement of the writings, the consequent shifting of dates, the incidental revision of the arguments respecting the authority, genuineness, and composition of the separate documents, and the inevitable reconstruction of the entire Hebrew history, literary, political, moral, and religious. The assignment of the first place to the prophetic books, making them the bed-rock, the hard-pan, on which the whole structure of Church and State rested, compels a reconsideration of the whole of Israel's case; and the assignment of these writings to so late a period as eight hundred years before Christ, at the earliest, compresses the history into much less than half the space originally allowed, while it ascribes the shaping of ideas and institutions to local causes and the action of motives quite other than spiritual. Thus, the very groundwork of the accepted theories is removed; the "first principles" are shaken by revolution.

The shock is felt in the region of the New Testament and of primitive Christianity. The ideas that shaped the expectations and dictated the literature of the age of Jesus, his disciples, and apostles are set in new positions. The New-Testament literature is arranged according to new methods. The Gospels are scrutinized with fresh eyes. The Epistles take their place under the direction of a different authority. The reconstruction is thorough. The old arguments are not so much as mentioned; the old explanations are passed by without notice; the old discussions are regarded as obsolete. New criteria of judgment are set up; writings are arranged according to the order suggested by ideas, no longer according to the order suggested by tradition. The unguineness of the Gospels, as they stand, is conceded; the authorship of the Epistles is decided or left doubtful, according to the type of doctrine which they represent. The "Gospel of John" becomes a "dogmatic exposition of a theological conception," published about the year 140. The "Acts of the Apostles" is "a theological romance with a set purpose." The Christ of Paul was "an ideal conception, evolved from his own feeling and imagination, and taking on new powers and attributes, from year to year, to suit each new emergency." As to the great apostle's witness to the resurrection of Jesus, the result of the new

criticism is that "he puts his own vision of Jesus, years after his death, exactly on a level with his previous appearances; or rather that he puts his previous appearances exactly on a level with his own vision,"—a demonstration which might have been sufficient for Paul, but can hardly be satisfactory to a modern inquirer.

Mr. Chadwick is right in his conjecture that such conclusions will be astonishing, if not offensive, to people of conventional opinions. He, however, is not responsible for them. Objectors must smite his masters, not him. He has performed his task as expositor with carefulness, calmness, and dignity. His pages are free from exaggeration; and, while the reader is never left in uncertainty as to the direction of his own sympathies, no expression is given to his theological or critical antipathies. The style is clear, compact, vital. Plainly, the writer enjoyed his task. Evidences of a bright, quick, active, sympathetic intelligence are everywhere present: flashes of wit illuminate the chapters. Mr. Chadwick has shown himself amply capable of writing admirable books of his own. It is the more remarkable that he succeeds so well in interpreting the thoughts of others. This book is, so far as we know, the only book of the kind in existence in any language. It is full of curious information. It is comprehensive and detailed, literal, and at the same time suggestive. The chronological tables are exceedingly useful for reference. An index would be an assistance to the seeker for separate items. But the arrangement is so clear and the table of contents so minute that really no index is required. For the rest, an index might prevent hasty readers from diligently perusing the entire volume, which would be a misfortune.—O. B. Frothingham, in the *Library Table*, Nov. 9.

JOSEPH COOK ON THE SYRACUSE CONGRESS.

PRELUDE TO HIS ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH LECTURE, BOSTON, NOV. 18.

The Rev. Joseph Cook continued his discussion of great social questions of the day, on Monday. The subject of his prelude was the present attitude of the Free Religionists of the country. His address included a review of the proceedings of the Syracuse Convention of the National Free Religious Association in regard to the postal laws relating to the circulation of infamous literature through the mails. Upon this matter, he spoke with his usual force and fearlessness, and his expressions were heartily endorsed by his audience. . . .

On current events, Mr. Cook said:—

As the agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice was engaged in the performance of his duties at Newark not many years ago, he was stabbed twice by a criminal who had been making an infamous use of the mails under eighteen different aliases and through fifteen post-offices. The second blow of the dagger laid open a great flesh wound in the face, severed four arteries, and came very near being fatal. (First annual report of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, p. 9.) It is with men of the type of this assassin that the majority of the National League of Free Religionists have now publicly struck hands, in demanding the total repeal of the laws which repress in the United States the most abominable traffic known to the leprous outlawry of the ghouls and ogres of the city slums. I am not speaking at random, nor in haste. Utterly incredible as the news may appear to excellent people who are slow to believe reports of ghastly crime, and too busy to attend to the obscure performances of infidel conventions, the following facts are all matters of painful public notoriety in Boston, and susceptible of the most explicit proof from the pages of the Free Religionist official publication which I hold in my hands.

1. A Free Religionist infidel lecturer has lately been arrested in Boston and sent to Dedham jail, for making an immoral use of the mails.
 2. A meeting in sympathy with this public criminal was held by Free Religionist infidels in Boston in Faneuil Hall.
 3. At the National Convention of Free Religionist infidels at Syracuse in October, a large majority of the one hundred and thirty-eight representatives of cultured freethought present there elected a set of officers known to be in favor of the total repeal of the present United States laws against the immoral use of the mails.
 4. A minority at this convention seceded, and formed a new National Liberal League, of which the object is to make the postal laws loose, rather than to repeal them, so far as they touch the topic of the distribution of infamous matter.
 5. Men under indictment for crimes against the postal laws were prominent at the Syracuse Convention, and their sentiments are reflected in the action of the majority.
 6. The lawlessness of the majority is officially denounced by the loose minority in terms too scathing to be publicly cited.
 7. Official and unofficial authorities agree that the public language of the men and women representing the majority of the Free Religionist Infidel Convention of Syracuse was unreportably odious, immoral, and vile.
 8. According to the official confession of the minority, therefore, the principal branch of the National League of Free Religionists is now in alliance with criminals of the most low and infamous type.
- At Syracuse, the National Infidel League of Free Religionists, so far as their principal organization is concerned, transformed themselves into a national lepers' league or moral cancer-planters. [Applause.] There are several things that injure a man more than to cut his throat. An honorable daughter dead is

mourned less than a daughter dishonored. I know a school of superb culture, a temple of sanctity, where three hundred young women are gathered under the very best religious influences and the loftiest educational incitements. I have wandered up and down the halls of the palatial building in which their instruction is given; I have admired the works of art there; and had occasion to study minutely the enthusiasms for art and social improvement and religious usefulness which fill that school, and vivify its lofty regard for intellectual culture. But this institution publishes no catalogue. Why? Go to the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, to the Boston Society, or to the committees which have been organized to suppress vice at Providence and New Haven and Cincinnati and St. Louis and Chicago, and you will find that school catalogues are made the lattice-work through which moral lepers and assassins, secretly at night, under the cover of the mails, throw their poison into seminaries of all grades. It is a terrific sign of the times when shrewd men of affairs, conducting a great school, dare not publish a catalogue. The criminals whom the Free Religionist infidels encourage make this caution necessary. I show you the caution in actual exercise. Within twenty miles of Boston the resplendent school I have described stands in its stately park, and within fifty rods of this platform is a hall, the most honored in this city, where a meeting was held in sympathy with the Free Religionist criminal who is now in Dedham jail. The thoughts which these facts suggest cannot be publicly expressed, but if they did not incite to moral rage, our apathy would itself deserve to be smitten with thunderbolts.

Daniel Webster once found Faneuil Hall shut to himself and his political friends. A hundred signatures opened it last summer to sympathizers with a moral cancer-plant. All your reputable press was against the meeting. Boston, so far as she noticed any such gathering of apologists for a convicted criminal of the most infamous type, shuddered at it. This city believes in free speech and the right of assembly, but not in moral assassins in masks. Is it quite decent or safe to give the enemies of Boston an opportunity to injure its good name? Is freedom of speech to be carried so far that speech becomes so free that it could not be reported and sent through the mails without being actionable at law? It is evident, from the New York press and Syracuse journals, and from the testimony of this infidel paper which I hold in my hands, that the language of the defenders of the successful majority of Free Religionists at Syracuse was so infamous that it could not be reported, published, and sent through the mails without subjecting the newspapers thus publishing it to prosecution.

A small minority, less than a quarter, of the Syracuse Convention seceded from it, and protested against the action of the majority; and this minority thinks itself very virtuous because it wishes to have a little restriction put upon the immoral use of the mails. But, after all, what does even the seceding party want? The editor of the special organ of that party drew up and submitted to the proper committee a series of resolutions, and he prints them in columns now before me; and one of their first requirements is "that no indecencies of a merely incidental or occasional character, however reprehensible and deserving of public censure on moral or literary grounds, shall cause a forfeiture of the freedom of the press or constitute a just reason for legal prosecution or punishment." That is the style of law the minority wants,—a law with loop-holes in it large enough to drive a coach and four through. This same set of resolutions asks for "a new legislative provision requiring that the entire publication, for circulating which through the mails any person shall be prosecuted in the United States courts, shall be set forth in the indictment." Who does not see what these provisions mean?

There were two parties at Syracuse, this paper alleges,—one for repeal, and one for reform. A more accurate statement would be, that there were two parties there,—one for lawlessness, and one for looseness. [Applause.] There was a party there in favor of no law, and there was a party there in favor of a coach-and-four loop-hole law. I respect the remnants of virtue in this little minority. The editor of this paper says that when the minority resolved to secede, their action was a great and to him "unexpected" protest, and "filled him with awe." [Laughter.] The epic dignity with which the collisions between the petty factions of this small convention are described in this official sheet reminds one of Horace's description of the trip of the country mouse and the city mouse to Rome:—

"Jamque tenebat
Nox medium cœli spatium."
(Satires, Book II., vi.)

In language approvingly cited from the brave Syracuse *Standard* into this official organ of the Free Religionists (Nov. 7, 1878, p. 535), I read that "Rivers, of Boston, now resting under indictment for the sale of infamous literature, urged a square expression of the Congress in favor of his views. He wanted the United States authorities rebuked for what they had done. Wakeman, of New York, a supporter of Rivers, was more politic, and hesitated about giving the minority such open cause for disruption. He, and others who stood with him, feared the odium which would fall upon them if the minority should secede on the ground that they could not live with those who sustained and fostered the sale of infamous literature, and sought to repeal the laws making the sale a crime. Wakeman believed the majority had better make concession rather than be compelled to stand alone before the public; and hence the Committee on Resolutions fixed up a compromise that the postal-law question should not be touched by either party."

The scheme was that nothing should be said on the subject for another year; that is, that on this stupendous theme, this blazing matter of common morality and decency, a convention of the representatives of cultured freethought should not know its own mind for a year! A promising compromise was patched up on this precious basis; and then the majority, violating it, elected a board of officers, composed, according to the official statement, of men "known or believed to be strongly in favor of repeal, as opposed to reform, of the postal law of 1873." Thereupon, when a vote had been taken electing a president by the majority of seventy-eight votes, leaving only fifty-one to the man who represented the minority, the latter seceded, and thirty-four of them signed a protest. A few more names were obtained afterwards; and the result of all is, that there are now two Liberal National Leagues.

The local leagues which furnished the majority at Syracuse are scattered through many States, and their lecturers can be relied upon to teach the abominable doctrines of that majority. The evil of such inculcations is not a small one, and frankness concerning it will be justified by all thoughtful friends of moral order. At Toronto, not long since, and at Chicago, I met representatives of Free Religion distributing documents at the door of my lecture-halls. I have heard of them in St. Louis and in Cincinnati and in Rochester, Baltimore, Washington, and New York.

In this same official organ (*Ibid.*, p. 536), I find language cited from the faithful Syracuse press that I dare not read. You would drive me out of the door yonder if I were to recite language that was uttered at Syracuse by Free Religionist women. "But one question arose for consideration, and that related exclusively to infamous literature. By persistent as well as quiet effort, a majority of the League was composed of free-lovers and infamous-literature defenders, and from first to last they were determined upon making a point in favor of its free circulation. Their remarks sometimes almost polluted the atmosphere of the opera house." The sense of what remains of this official extract is, that if Thomas Carlyle's advice concerning raw sceptics had been followed, and the majority had been covered under a glass bell, the atmosphere there would have caused them to perish in their own corruption. [Applause.]

God be thanked that behind this scheme of infidelity for the immoral use of the mails, there is, most significantly, little financial strength. It is officially stated (*Ibid.*, p. 437) that the balance of money which will remain in the treasury after paying all bills had been "carefully gathered and husbanded for the cause of State secularization," and that it will now "be turned over to the cause of repeal,"—that is, of lawlessness. The Free Religionists have had an organization more than ten years. They have swept the Pacific Coast; they have officers at work in the Mississippi Valley; they have used skillful men as agents. Some of them have ability; I suppose some of them have wealth. But, after more than ten years of effort, sweeping the whole broad floor of this Union, there occurs this division, and the amount of plunder to be carried off amounts to "nearly \$200." [Laughter.] God be thanked for this phenomenal impunctuality! [Laughter.]

Large sums are now required by the Societies of Boston and New York for the Suppression of Vice, and are called for by such men as Howard Crosby, Dr. William M. Taylor, Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., William E. Dodge, and Dr. John Hall. I might name in a similar connection a dozen of the prominent leaders of thought of the great metropolis and in Boston, and of all the religious creeds.

God has said that whoever offends one of his little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he drowned in the depths of the sea. Is there no granite left in Massachusetts of the old-fashioned sort, out of which millstones can be made for the necks of cancer-planters? [Applause.]

Both these schismatic organizations, the majority and the minority, have presidents in Boston. I have in my hand the list of officers of both bodies, and I find that the chief of them are from this cultured city. They are nearly all men unknown to me; I do not know even the philosophical school-boy who edits this paper. [Laughter.] In the list of officers of the seceding Liberal League, we have the names of Mr. Frothingham, of New York, Mr. James Parton, of Newburyport, and Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, of Peoria, Ill. The finance committee, composed of three members, is from Chelsea and Boston. This is the party of looseness, as opposed to that of lawlessness. This is the minority which, turning State's evidence, now denounces the majority, and so gives us at last official authority to proclaim as an indisputable historical fact that the word "Infamy" is written across the forehead of the majority of the Syracuse representatives of Free Religion on this continent. [Applause.]

Do but behold yon poor and starved band,
And your fair show shall suck away their souls,
Leaving them but husks and shales of men.
There is not work enough for all our hands;
Scarce blood enough in all their sickly veins
To give our naked curtle-axes stain.
(Shakespeare, Henry V., act iv., scene 2.)

—Advertiser, Nov. 20.

A DOCTOR in Vermont kept missing his wood and set watch. As expected, it proved to be the work of a near neighbor, who soon appeared, and, carefully culling out all dry wood, started off with an armful. The doctor hastily gathered up an armful of green wood and followed, tugging as fast as he could; and just as the man threw down his armful, the doctor did the same, exclaiming: "There, you must burn green wood part of the time—I have to," and departed, leaving the thief to his own reflections.

A PROMISED AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

A rumor reaches us that Mr. Thomas Carlyle has determined to write an autobiography, and that he is already engaged in its preparation. This will be agreeable intelligence to a great number of readers,—to all who like remarkable books, and take pleasure as well as find profit in studying the characters of remarkable men. After many years spent in elucidating the mysteries and the morals of hero-worship, Mr. Carlyle has become his own hero, and in his own original way will tell us the story of his struggles and experiences, his successes and failures, since he left the little village of Ecclefechan, and began to study men, to write books, and to do desperate battle against shams. We shall know why he refused to become a clergyman; what chance directed him to the study of the German literature and language; and how he became to be what he calls himself in his copyright petition to Parliament, "a writer of books," beginning with a translation of Legendre's *Geometry*. There will be something said of the *Life of Schiller*; of the translation of *Wilhelm Meister*; of the long residence among the hills and morasses of Craigenputtock; of the sound, honest work done for the *Edinburgh Review*; of the *Sartor Resartus*, which in 1833 so astonished the readers of *Fraser's Magazine*,—the wonderful philosophy of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh. Perhaps we shall be told how it was that the startling article on "Characteristics" so suddenly terminated his connection with the *Edinburgh Review*. We cannot venture to predict the method which Mr. Carlyle will adopt in telling his story, but we may be sure that it will be truthfully and attractively told. Indeed, so fascinating a work may be anticipated that it would be a real disappointment to learn that the rumor is without foundation. If written veraciously, and Mr. Carlyle could not possibly write in any other way, autobiography is the most desirable and valuable and agreeable form in which the events of a man's life can be recorded. Indeed, it is so inherently and naturally entertaining that the lives even of ignorant men, no matter how clumsily they may be put together, hardly ever weary us. There are scores of religious autobiographies, for instance, which hold our attention by their obvious and passionate sincerity, although they may be void altogether of literary merit. There are lives of men written by themselves which are one long confession of dishonesty and selfishness, made with such a frankness that we may almost regard their authors as under some superior influence. There are the *Memoirs of Bubb Doddington* (Lord Melcomb Regis), a book valuable, inasmuch as it proves that a man may be absolutely void of moral sense, as some are deficient in the sense of smell. Really, though Bubb was a peer of the realm, his career hardly seems a whit more respectable than that of Stephen Burroughs, the Connecticut counterfeiter, who also added his autobiography to the literature of the language. A precious scamp he was, and an odd and entertaining book he gave to the world.

Generally speaking, a man knows much more of his own life than anybody else can possibly know of it. Nobody can write its history so well as he can. Usually, the autobiographer, with a charming *naïveté*, takes the whole world into his confidence, and prattles as confidently of his disreputable as of his honorable doings. The *Confessions of Rousseau* afford an illustration of this; but the autobiography of Ben Franklin, before it was tampered with by his editors, is a more pleasing one. The *Memoirs of Alfieri* have the same winning frankness. There is no book which gives us a more satisfactory insight into the mysteries of the German courts in the days of Frederick the Great than the autobiography of the Margravine of Bayreuth. The only work of any value which Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, left behind was the story of his early life, when he was a cobbler's apprentice. Miss Martineau's autobiographic work is so clear and honest and good that we can only regret that she did not complete it. But we must not be tempted into a bibliography. A little reflection will recall to the reader's memory books of this kind numerous enough to fill the shelves of an ordinary library.

Though we may never have these promised volumes, there is a pleasure in forecasting their character and contents. We shall have the old style, which, rugged and uncouth as it may be, is still as much a style as Addison's or Macaulay's. We shall have something of the old cynicism or pessimism, or by whatever name it may be called. We may expect to learn something more of Edward Irving, of John Sterling, possibly of poor Leigh Hunt, and of how many more! We surely shall not miss that sincerity everywhere to be observed in the writings of Carlyle, and which atones for all his strange talk about Shams and Chimeras and Windbags; while here and there, scattered through the wilderness of words, will be little touches of idyllic paths which will move the hardest of us to tears. Mr. Carlyle's disciples may be few; his admirers may not be critically judicious; but there is a vast circle of readers to whom he has brought profit and pleasure, and who will never weary of hearing the most individual man of his time, as he talks or even prosed of himself.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

SHORTLY BEFORE his departure for Europe, our poet-sculptor, William W. Story, sent to the *World* the following clever adaptation of Heine's *Glueck and Unglueck*:—

"Luck's the giddiest of all creatures.
Nor likes in one place long to stay;
She smooths the hair back from your features,
Kisses you quick—and runs away!
"Dame Ill-luck's in no such hurry,
Nor quick her close embrace she quits;
She sits she's in no kind of hurry,
And says upon your bed—and knits!"

Poetry.

THE NEW CHURCH DOCTRINE.

BY WILL CARLTON.

There's come a singular doctrine, Sue,
Into our church to-day;
These cur'nus words are what the new
Young preacher had to say:
That literal everlastin' fire
Was mostly in our eye;
That sinners dead, if they desire,
Can get another try;
He doubted if a warmer clime
Than this world could be proved.
The little snip! I fear sometime
He'll get his doubts removed.
I've watched my duty, straight and true,
And tried to do it well;
Part of the time kept heaven in view,
An' part steered clear o' hell;
An' now half of this work is naught,
If I must list to him,
An' this 'ere devil I have fought
Was only just a whin.
Vain are the dangers I have braved,
The sacrifice they have cost;
For what fun is it to be saved,
If no one else is lost?
Just think! Suppose, when once I view
The heaven I've toiled to win,
A lot of unsaved sinners, too,
Comes walkin' grandly in.
An' looks at home, same as if they
Had read their titles clear,
An' looks at me as if to say,
"We're glad to see you here!"
As if to say, "While you have b'en
So fast to toe the mark,
We waited till it rained, an' then
Got tickets for the ark!"
Yet there would be some in that crowd
I'd rather like to see:
My boy Jack,—it must be allowed
There was no worse than he,—
I've always felt somewhat to blame,
In several different ways,
That he lay down on thorns o' shame
To end his boyhood's days;
An' I'd be willin' to endure,
If that the Lord thought best,
A minute's quite hot temperature,
To clasp him to my breast.
Old Captain Barnes' evil son,
With heterodoxy crammed,—
I used to think he'd be the one,
If any one was damned.
Still, when I saw a lot o' poor
That he had clothed and fed
Cry desolately round his door
As soon as he was dead,
There came a thought I couldn't control
That in some neutral land,
I'd like to meet that scorched-up soul,
An' shake it by the hand.
Poor Jennie Willis, with a cry
Of hopeless, sad distress,
Sank sudden down one night to die,
All in her ball-room dress.
She had a precious little while
To pack up an' away;
She even left her sweet, good smile,—
'Twas on the face next day;
Her soul went off unclothed by even
One stitch of saving grace.
How could she hope to go to heaven
An' start from such a place?
But once, when I lay sick an' weak,
She came and begged to stay;
She kissed my faded, wrinkled cheek,
She soothed my pain away;
She brought me sweet bouquets of flowers
As fresh as her young heart;
Through many long and tedious hours,
She played a Christian part;
An' ere I long will stand aroun'
The singing saints among,
I'll try to take some water down
To cool poor Jennie's tongue.
But tears can never quench my creed,
Nor smooth God's righteous frown,
Though all the preachers learn to read
Their Bibles upside down.
I hold mine right side up with care,
To shield my eyes from sin,
An' coax the Lord, with daily prayer,
To call poor wanderers in;
But if the sinners won't draw nigh,
An' take salvation's plan,
I'll have to stan' an' see 'em try
To dodge hell if they can. —*N. Y. Tribune*.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.
FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 23.
E. C. Darling, \$1.60; A. Blun, \$4; C. H. Preston, \$1;
H. W. Brown, \$3.20; W. H. Crowell, \$4.40; Alex. Farquharson, \$1.21; S. Brooke, \$3.20; E. W. Weir, \$26; O. Brayton, \$5; American News Co., \$19.50; R. Campbell, 10 cents;
J. D. James, 10 cents; E. W. Searing, 10 cents; Thomas Martin, \$1; W. E. Coleman, \$1.25; Dr. Jno. P. Atwater, \$3.27; J. Fisher, 25 cents; J. E. Follett, \$10; C. D. Child, \$2.

The Index.

BOSTON, NOV. 28, 1878.

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

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

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

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

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WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHENEY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

IN THE STATE of New York, the property of every clergyman, whether in active pastoral charge or not, is, according to Attorney-General Schoonmaker, exempted from taxation to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars. On what grounds?

A WASHINGTON correspondent thus expresses the opinion of a disinterested and observant spectator: "I admire the stand you have taken on the 'obscenity' question. I regret to see so much loose thinking among radicals as the discussion of this question has developed. Some of the radical papers are no doubt largely to blame for this. I think that they are either reckless, or do not appreciate the responsibility of their calling. They let their antagonisms to the churches sometimes drive them to absurd extremes, without regard to whether their utterances have a tendency to lower or elevate the tone of public morality."

WHAT A refined lady who was present at the Syracuse Congress thought of the "remarks" there made by the majority, is expressed in the following clipping from the Syracuse Journal of October 31: "We take the following opinion of the proceedings of the Congress of the National League, which met in this city recently, from the Fayetteville Recorder, and assume that it was written by a lady of that village who has a national reputation as an able and earnest advocate of the rights of women:—

"What it assembled for is more than we can imagine. The avowed object of the League is to secure the entire separation of Church and State. Just exactly what this means, we don't know. The two days' session of the League was devoted almost entirely to the discussion of the obscenity question. It was certainly a surprise to us to see so large an assemblage of apparently intelligent, educated men laboring so strenuously to carry an immoral project, and still more wonderful was it to see equally well-educated and intelligent women lending their efforts in the same direction. While the advocates of the repeal of the postal law of 1873 claimed that their only aim was to secure the inviolability of the mails and the freedom of the press, and repudiated sympathy with free-lovelism, yet it was only too evident that this doctrine was predominant in their minds. The entire movement was in the interest of the author of *Cupid's Yokes*, and the publishers of works of similar character. It is creditable to the seceders that they gave so marked a disapproval of the project. The attempt to give the endorsement of the League to the circulation of obscene literature will keep thousands aloof from any connection therewith. The American people will never be educated to regard the marriage ceremony as a farce, or consent to the introduction of immoral books into their families. Free-lovelism is a heresy that an intelligent community will brand with the ignominy it deserves. Intelligence, even, is hardly requisite to stamp it with utter disfavor. The natural instinct of a pure mind, though uneducated, will revolt at the monstrous proposition that would disrupt families, surround the home circle with libertines, and destroy the purity of loved ones. In scanning the intelligent features of the members of the League, we were amazed at the effrontery with which many of their owners advocated a heresy designed to subvert public morals. That fathers and mothers could lend their aid in advocacy of such rank immorality, and at the same time claim purity and decency as guiding stars, is an enigma we are wholly unable to solve. We attended the Congress with the desire and expectation of receiving some enlightenment regarding its object; some advanced ideas in liberality; some lessons, from educated minds, upon which we could ponder; some new facts or theories we could compare with old teachings. We left thoroughly disgusted with the entire proceedings, and the mental expression, if that is liberalism, we want none of it."

JOSEPH COOK AS "DEVIL'S ADVOCATE."

Since the days of Pope Benedict XIV. the Curia of Rome, in deciding on the claims urged in behalf of new candidates for the honors of canonization (the ceremony by which deceased persons are ranked in the catalogue of the "saints"), has been in the habit of appointing an *advocatus diaboli*, or "devil's advocate," whose duty it is to sift these claims with the utmost severity, and advance everything he can to the discredit of the candidate. His duty does not require him to ascertain beforehand the truth of all the charges he brings against the deceased, but simply to lay them before the regular tribunal, to be adjudged true or false according to the evidence.

Rev. Joseph Cook, the personage who performs on the stage of Tremont Temple in the character of "The Monday Lectureship," saw fit to play the part of "devil's advocate" before the tribunal of public opinion, with regard to the claims of the two National Liberal Leagues to public confidence. If this tribunal were so constituted as certainly to administer justice by ensuring a fair hearing of both sides, there would be no need to comment on the nature of his performance; the untruthfulness of most of his charges could then be readily exposed, and real justice meted out to the candidates for public regard. But the contrary is the case. The "devil's advocate" had the floor all to himself; no opportunity was given to the parties interested, or to any of their friends, to present a counter-statement and expose the falsehoods unblushingly told. The audience was composed for the most part of persons utterly ignorant of the real facts of the case, and presumably prejudiced against the parties arraigned. The reporters for the press laid the *ex parte* statement of the "devil's advocate" before the public, unaccompanied by any statement on the other side; these reports have gone out to the country by the hundred thousand copies, and will of course produce the effect designed. In the light of these facts, every disinterested spectator will conclude that in this case the "devil's advocate" played with distinguished ability the part of his principal, and, since the word *diabolos* signifies "slanderer" or "calumniator," has qualified himself to receive the delighted commendations of the Master he served. We wish him joy of the honors he has earned from the "Father of Lies."

From the authorized report of the address, revised by the lecturer himself, we extract in another part of this issue so much as relates to the Syracuse Congress. It is worth reading as one of the curiosities of Orthodox literature, illustrating as it does the "true inwardness" of the Orthodox body, which accepts Mr. Cook as one of its leading lights. But we propose to deal with it solely as a statement of facts, and first to point out three points in which it states what is in glaring contradiction of the facts.

1. The first point which must strike with astonishment the candid and well-informed reader is the systematic, intentional, and damaging confusion of the National Liberal League with the Free Religious Association, from beginning to end of the extract. Mr. Cook is perfectly well aware of the fact that these are two distinct organizations, having no connection with each other,—the latter having been organized at Boston in 1867, and the former at Philadelphia in 1876. He perfectly well knows that the "Free Religionists," as an organized body, have nothing to do with the National Liberal League, except as individuals in their private capacity have joined it as members; and that neither the organizations nor their respective constituencies are in the least degree, formally or morally, responsible for each other's doings.

Nevertheless, with full knowledge of the truth, Mr. Cook deliberately and willfully undertakes to lay on the shoulders of the "Free Religionists" and the "Free Religious Association" moral responsibility for the collective action of the majority of the National Liberal League, and thereby overwhelm his religious opponents, not by fair discussion, but by public odium, disgrace, and shame. To accomplish this unscrupulous object, he uses means equally unscrupulous. Instead of referring to the Syracuse Congress as held by the National Liberal League, he sends forth to the public his description of it as a convention of the "National Free Religious Association," the "National League of Free Religionists," the "Free Religionist Infidel Convention," etc., etc. Not in a single instance, though he declares that he is "not speaking at random, nor in haste," but with the "official report" before him, does he tell the truth in this matter, even by accident.

Still worse than that, speaking of the unexpended balance in the treasury of the National Liberal

League, he says: "The Free Religionists have had an organization more than ten years," *i. e.*, the Free Religious Association, and then proceeds to speak of the League's balance as if it were that of the latter organization!

Moreover, he refers to Mr. E. H. Heywood as a "Free Religious infidel lecturer," to the Faneuil Hall meeting as "held by Free Religionist infidels," etc. All this is said in the light of full knowledge of the truth. We leave judgment upon it to be passed by the public conscience.

2. Mr. Cook dares to make this assertion: "It is evident from the New York press and Syracuse journals, and from the testimony of this infidel paper which I hold in my hands [exhibiting a copy of THE INDEX], that the language of the defenders of the successful majority of Free Religionists at Syracuse was so infamous that it could not be reported, published, and sent through the mails without subjecting the newspapers thus publishing it to prosecution."

With regard to THE INDEX, for which alone we can speak, we pronounce this utterly false. We have never said or intimated that the language of the majority was in any degree of the character above stated. From the Syracuse Standard we quoted an extract which, as we understand it, we considered no more severe than the strictest truth warranted, and in which it was said of the majority: "Their remarks [not language] sometimes almost polluted the atmosphere of the Opera House," etc. If it had occurred to us that the word "remarks" would have been imagined to mean the language in which the remarks were couched, we should have said at the time what we say now, that we heard no obscene or unreportable word from either side during the whole of the session of the Congress. This unequivocal statement is due in justice to the majority. Their "remarks" seemed to us at times sufficiently vile to justify every syllable that the extract from the Standard contains; as when, for instance, a woman—we spare her the publication of her name—rose in her place, rebuked Mr. H. L. Green for disclaiming the name of "free lover," and told him he ought to consider it a title of honor. "Remarks" such as that, especially from the mouth of a woman, abundantly justify what the Standard said; for the meaning beneath the language is the open advocacy of infamous and shameless immorality. But we wish to do justice to the majority and the minority alike; and we brand Mr. Cook's allegation as a slander of our opponents.

3. Mr. Cook declares that the object of the minority at Syracuse was "to make the postal laws loose, rather than to repeal them, so far as they touch the topic of the distribution of infamous matter." This every reader of THE INDEX knows to be false. The object was to make the postal laws precise, definite, and effective, instead of loose, dangerous, and self-destructive, as they now are, permitting as they do the punishment of men for promulgating mere theories, and thereby tending to create a public opinion which must inevitably make those laws a dead letter even for their legitimate objects. Mr. Cook must know that Anthony Comstock's absurd fanaticism, which not only makes him procure the imprisonment of mere social theorists as criminals, but also moves him to declare war on the historical paintings of artists of high reputation like Hans Makart on the ground that they are indecent, is doing more for the repeal of those laws than the utmost activity of all the repealers put together. The object of the minority was to confine the operation of the laws to their original and proper objects,—to protect the country from an infamous traffic, yet without violating in the least the rights of free thought or of legitimate art. The laws are shamefully "loose" as they are and as they have been administered, and the minority desired sincerely to render them strict and effective within their proper scope. To describe the party of "repeal" as that of "lawlessness" is certainly just, provided the inevitable practical results of the measure they all advocate, and not the motives of the better portion of them, are considered; but to describe the party of "reform" as that of "looseness" simply betrays Mr. Cook's own desire to retain the "looseness" of the laws as they are, for the purpose of suppressing and punishing men for the public expression of their opinions. The sober judgment of the country will not permanently sustain such a law as Mr. Cook would consider strict, which would punish free thought as a crime. What the minority seek in this matter is exactly what the overwhelming majority of the nation will ultimately approve and establish: namely, a postal law which shall protect intellectual liberty to the uttermost, yet at the same

time prevent the malls from being made the instrumentality of a criminal traffic which debauches the young for the sake of gain.

Sooner or later the period of clear thinking and right purpose will arrive; and then neither the madness of "repeal" nor the intolerance of Orthodoxy will shape legislation on this subject. The National Liberal League of America represents the broad, comprehensive, all-sided wisdom which is fated at last to triumph over both. All the "looseness" in this case, whether logical or legislative, is to be found in the two fanatical extremes of "repeal" and Orthodoxy; and the people will not be long in finding it out.

There would be little utility in specifying further the misrepresentations of this reckless religious demagogue of Tremont Temple. "Devil's advocate" though he is, and an adept at his trade, with all the blinggate of Dennis Kearney at his tongue's end, it is nevertheless the bitter truth he tells, and not the calumny, that stings. Disregard the sophomoric absurdity of his turgid and bombastic rhetoric, and ponder the hard and unpalatable fact at the core of this statement he makes: "It is with men of the type of this assassin that the majority of the National League... have now publicly struck hands in demanding the total repeal of the laws which repress in the United States the most abominable traffic known to the leprous outlawry of the ghouls and ogres of the city slums."

Is it not true that the venders of really obscene literature desire the repeal of the postal law of 1873? Is it not true that the majority of the Syracuse Congress unmistakably announced to the public, by the election of a new Board of Directors unanimously in favor of the repeal of that law, that they desire the same thing? Is it not true that the National Liberal League has thus put itself at the head of the vilest class of criminals in the community, and made itself the public mouthpiece of their heart's desire? Is it not true that, in working for the repeal of that law, the members of the League, however opposed they may wish and think themselves to be to the circulation of obscene literature, are yet practically engaged in breaking down the law which the circulators of that literature know to be the most formidable obstacle of their trade?

To these questions we see not how any thinking man can give a negative answer. Yet, if a negative answer is the only true one, who shall dare to blame Joseph Cook or anybody else for pointing the finger of scorn at a liberalism which is capable of taking such a stand and doing such a task as that? What we said last week we repeat now: *liberalism is on trial before the world.* If the liberals of the United States, as a body, actively or passively acquiesce in the demand for "repeal" unambiguously made by the National Liberal League, when the opportunity stands easily open to them to sustain the demand for "reform" made by the National Liberal League of America,—or if, not being interested in the Liberal League at all, they yet neglect to make some other equally clear and emphatic protest against the madness of the hour,—they will lose all right to complain of the misrepresentations with which they will be overwhelmed, and the beginning of which they already see. Lack of the sturdy protesting spirit now will give Orthodoxy an unanswerable and stinging charge to bring against the moral influence of liberalism, and it will be most eagerly employed.

For the certainty of misrepresentation is one of the most obvious elements of the situation. It was to be expected. It cannot surprise any reasonable mind in the least. The general community have been taught by the churches to distrust profoundly the moral tendencies of all unorthodox thought; and thousands of ready tongues and pens will hasten to "improve the occasion." Believing as we do that genuine liberalism has a higher and purer, because a truer, morality to teach than that of the churches, we have always believed that liberals, as a class, are grossly misrepresented by being held up as either conscious or unconscious friends of immorality. But, we frankly confess, this belief will be not a little shaken, if they now either actively or passively second the demand for "repeal." They have been warned often and long enough as to the real character of that demand; they can no longer plead ignorance of the great controlling considerations of the issue. If, for any reasons whatever, they now fall into line behind those who have raised the banner of "repeal," the public will certainly judge them in accordance with the common principle of the law, that a man must be presumed to intend the consequences of his own acts. To keep up the senseless protestation of purity of motives when the question is

of practical social results, is only to invite the derision of the public. And who can measure the disaster that will inevitably befall the liberal cause, when from all hands the taunt is thrown in the face of every inquirer by the churches that the liberals have "struck hands" with the venders of vile literature in demanding total repeal of the most effective law against its circulation? The only possible way to prevent the disaster is to refuse the alliance to which they are now invited, and to take the ground of "reform."

We repeat—the only possible way. The present disgrace could never have been inflicted upon the liberal cause, had it not been for the *abstention of the better class of liberals.* The majority at Syracuse could have been easily outnumbered if this class had been a tenth part as active and determined in preventing the disgrace as the other class were in producing it. They were certainly warned in season. But they neglected the warning. Now it comes, not from a true and faithful friend, but from the bitterest and most unscrupulous of their enemies. Let it no longer be deplored, but heeded, even from the enemy's mouth. The mistake may yet be repaired. Shall the will to repair it be found wanting?

Liberals of America, we know that multitudes of you angrily resent our persistent warnings and urgent counsels; we know that other multitudes of you are impatient of them; we do not know that multitudes of you are grateful for them. Nevertheless, you have one true friend who dares to oppose his own party, when it is in the wrong, and who will speak the needed truth to the end, be the consequences to himself what they may. You can easily send him back to private life and stop the unwelcome voice. Do it if you please. But know well that to his dying day he will bear in his heart the proud remembrance that he would not follow the multitude to do wrong, but left behind him a record of which he had never need to be ashamed. He has now but one request: "Strike, but hear."

ANOTHER PROTEST.

E. W. Meddaugh, Esq., one of the most eminent members of the Michigan bar, who was a member of the commission of eighteen appointed by Governor Bagley, a few years ago, to revise the Constitution of that State, writes as follows, under date of Detroit, November 18: "I infer from your account of the proceedings at the Liberal League convention, at Syracuse, that I was reflected one of the Vice-Presidents of the old League. I respectfully decline the honor. The position taken by the majority on the issue that dismembered the League was, in my judgment, so plainly and radically wrong as to place those responsible for it among the worst enemies of true liberalism. A sufficient number of such friends would kill any cause. While I do not doubt the majority includes good, pure souls who were moved to the action by conviction, you may be assured that the real responsibility for it rests not with them, but with others who were possessed of and moved by the 'cheap commercial spirit,' and other considerations of even a lower order. Time will show this. The minority acted wisely and well in seceding and organizing a new League. We can afford to be beaten, to be crushed out of existence even, both as a League and personally, if only our cause remains just and pure; but with our cause tarnished, we cannot afford its triumphant success. Better a thousand times defeat on the platform of the new League than victory on that of the old."

MR. GREEN'S CARD.

Mr. Green sends us the following card for publication:—

EDITOR INDEX:—

Mr. C. D. B. Mills, in his recent editorial contribution to THE INDEX, says: "The committee on membership had been instructed by the convention to make out a roll of the members in attendance, and it was by neglect of their duty that it was not at hand." This is a misrepresentation, and I am confident, Mr. Abbot, you will allow me to correct it through THE INDEX. I was chairman of that committee, and Mr. D. G. Crandon was one of the members. Mr. Crandon was one of the old Board of Directors, and he informed the committee that a full list had been made out; and, as there were no contested seats, and no one was admitted to the hall except on tickets issued by the said Board, the committee decided unanimously to accept of the list as already perfected. Mr. Abbot, if convenient, please show this card to Mr. Crandon before you print it, and get his endorsement of my statement. H. L. GREEN.

We have shown the above to Mr. Crandon, as desired. He states that he did not say that "a full list had been made out"; and also that the committee held no meeting all together and did not "decide

unanimously to accept" a list which had not been made out at all.

At the time when the vote was passed instructing the committee on membership to report a complete list, Mr. Crandon was absent from the hall, attending to the issuing of tickets to members who had not previously obtained them. No list could possibly have been made out beforehand, for this self evident reason. Mr. Green heard the resolution of instruction passed, of which Mr. Crandon at the time was not aware; and it was manifestly the chairman's duty to see that the resolution was obeyed.

THE ALBANY LEAGUE.

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—At a recent meeting of our League, the report of the delegates to the Syracuse Congress, setting forth their reasons for withdrawing from the hall and their subsequent action in participating in the formation of a new League, was submitted.

At the request of the League, I hereby inform you that the action of our delegates has been sustained, and you are at liberty to consider the "Albany Liberal Association" an auxiliary of your League; and we trust that for the future we shall be hampered with nothing that is not laid down in the declaration of principles. Yours very truly,

THOS. DUGAN, Sec'y.

Communications.

ÆSTHETIC SENSE OF ANIMALS.

(CONCLUDED.)

No. III.

BY WILEY BRITTON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

It may be suspected, too, that form and carriage of the body, as well as brilliant plumage, are appreciated by the females, when choosing their nuptial partners, at these competitive displays of beauty and attractiveness by the males; for the males are generally described as performing strange actions on such occasions. It must be observed, however, that, throughout the animal kingdom, there are numerous cases in which it is, perhaps, impossible for us to tell anything about to what extent selection has been governed by an appreciation of form and colors by the males and females of any given species of the lower animals, for the effects of this appreciation have been so often obscured by so many contingencies upon which the existence of the species depends. That is, natural selection and sexual selection in many cases tend to produce opposite effects in the organization and color of the individuals of a species; and if, in the struggle for existence, more individuals are continually preserved by natural selection than by sexual selection, then the effects of sexual selection will gradually disappear. For instance, if, in a given locality, the females of a given species of birds select males of a brilliant or conspicuous color, and if, in this same locality, there is a species of animal that preys upon birds, and can secure those of the selected color easier than those of any other color, then we see a cause in operation which must continually tend to obliterate the effects of sexual selection, or selection based upon the preferences of the females for a particular color or colors. The young birds most strongly resembling the selected males being continually destroyed, and those colored most like surrounding objects, so as to better elude their enemies, being continually preserved, it will at once be seen that conditions are required which are rarely favorable for the development of the æsthetic sense in animals in the appreciation of colors. Even if food and the climate were suitable, we may doubt whether the bird-of-paradise would be able to maintain itself in this country for very many generations unless natural selection gradually changed its color and habits so as to enable it better to meet the destructive influences to which it would probably be subjected. Its gorgeous plumage would make it easily detected and destroyed by hawks or other birds of prey. I am satisfied that there are very few who more than dimly appreciate with what a *plexus* of relations the inhabitants of any given country are bound together. While the number of birds-of-paradise would depend upon the number of hawks or other birds of prey, or animals competing for them for food, the number of hawks might depend upon the number of animals of a particular species that robbed their nests or destroyed their young; and so on in ever-increasing complexity. And so, continuing the process of tracing the relations of one animal to another in a complicated environment, we might find that the color of the plumage of a bird was dependent upon the number of parasites or insects infesting the animal that preyed upon young hawks. For we know that if there was not some check or destructive influence in operation, the number of hawks would so increase that in a few years they would be more numerous than any other bird. As hawks prey upon our domestic chickens, pigeons, etc., no doubt most people think that the hawk species should be completely exterminated. But are we quite sure that their complete extermination is desirable? May not a few hawks in any locality be highly beneficial in preventing the inordinate multiplication of small birds that live upon the small grain and seeds raised by the farmer? It seems quite probable. Though this question may have very little to do with throwing light on the subject under consideration, still it serves to show how liable we are to overlook the concatenation of causes by which given effects are pro-

duced, or how a given state of things intimately connected with our well-being is often dependent upon remote and apparently insignificant causes. After an impartial consideration of multitudinous facts such as have been brought forward in this discussion, it seems that the objections generally urged against the views here maintained ought to have very little weight. From what has been said, we may believe that, even though the colors of individuals of various species would indicate that during the process of selection their parents and ancestors were incapable of appreciating contrasts of lights and shades in colors to any marked extent, yet such may not have really been the case, since the individuals produced by sexual selection would be those continually destroyed by enemies in their environment. Elegant forms and graceful carriage of the body will rarely have been disadvantageous to the individuals of most species of animals in securing food and escaping from enemies; and no doubt many species have been greatly improved in this respect by sexual selection. Except where mode of life has required peculiar form and structure, the forms of birds, in numerous instances, strongly indicate that the process of selection has not been carried on regardless of a sense of the beautiful. This remark will apply with nearly equal force to most species of animals in a feral state. There are, however, quite a number of cases in which it would be hard to explain the peculiar structure and extraordinary development of certain parts, which are neither elegant according to our sense of beauty, nor, as far as we can see, of particular advantage to the species in its struggle for existence. Yet when amongst ourselves we see what extremes in taste there are in dress and decoration, we ought not to be surprised to see now and then something analogous among the lower animals. The uncouth form of the extinct dodo and the extraordinary development of the bill of the toucan, it will, no doubt, be difficult for many to believe, are the results of either sexual or natural selection; for it does not seem that the form in the one case, and the extraordinary development of bill in the other, could have been more advantageous to the progenitors of these birds in the struggle for existence than a form more perfect and a bill less developed. But until we understand more about the mysterious laws of the correlation of growth, that is, why the development of a given part is always accompanied by the peculiar development of some other part,—as, for instance, why cats with blue eyes are almost invariably deaf, or why hairless dogs have imperfect teeth, or pigeons with short beaks, small feet,—until we understand more about these laws and the actions and reactions of sexual and natural selection, we must remain in ignorance of the causes which produced so many peculiar forms and structures and extraordinary development of parts, as the large bill of the toucan, and the tuft of hair on the breast of the turkey-cock.

To what extent animals have emotions of beauty aroused by olfactory sensations and impressions, cannot be definitely shown. I cannot call to mind a single species that bears any evidence of sexual selection having been influenced by peculiar odors produced by either the males or females. There may, however, be such cases. Still, as we shall presently see, they could have no direct influence in modifying the form, movements, and color of a species. Though odors may never be factors in sexual selection among animals, yet it is quite probable, if indeed not certain, that by association they may arouse emotions of beauty. The odor of well-cured new-mown hay I believe frequently causes in a horse, which has had no mixture of hay with his food for some time, a slight wave of pleasurable emotion, even though he has recently been well-fed, and cannot be supposed to feel the pinch of hunger. But in such cases, there is always just reason to doubt whether the emotion is one associated with the pleasure of eating, or an æsthetic emotion aroused by the thought of gambolling on the meadows with his fellows. An emotion aroused by a thought associated with the pleasures of eating, and an emotion aroused by a thought associated with the play-impulse, probably cause slightly different kinds of movements of the body and limbs, and the contractions and relaxations of different muscles of expression, and nervous discharges from different nerve-centres; yet these various expressions of the feelings graduate into each other by such insensibly fine steps that we can hardly hope to tell the kind of emotion accompanying a given expression in every case. A little consideration will make it evident enough that smells or odors never arouse emotions of beauty except by association, either in man or the lower animals. No matter how keenly we may appreciate an odor, if we carefully analyze our mental states, it will be found there is nothing in the odor of itself we regard as beautiful. The perfume of a rose or lily of the valley, though we regard it as delightful, would not arouse in us emotions of beauty, if we had never seen either of these flowers. It is possible that even disagreeable odors may arouse emotions of beauty; still it is likely that the odors in such cases weaken the strength and intensity of our appreciation of the object thus called up into consciousness.

The perfume of a tuberose is not generally considered as delightful as a tea-rose; yet everybody regards it as a beautiful flower. Considering its delicate structure, we may believe that if its odor was more agreeable, it would be more of a favorite than it is in the parlors and drawing-rooms of those who appreciate Nature's choicest productions of loveliness and beauty. But it does not seem likely that odors play a very important part with the lower animals in arousing emotions of beauty; for, from our knowledge of their representative faculties or power of reviving in imagination objects and things, we are hardly justified in believing that with them an odor often associates itself with the play-impulse, or with

the colors, forms, and structures of objects, except when these latter attributes are connected with the life-maintaining functions. An animal that preys upon creatures of another species of a particular color, and that produce a peculiar odor in self-defence when attacked, will, when the sensitive nerve-fibres of its olfactory organs are excited by this peculiar odor, have revived in imagination the creature producing it, though the creature itself is unseen.

From the above facts and considerations, and from the interpretations given to the mental phenomena of various species of animals, we conclude that many of the lower animals are endowed with most of the same kinds of sentiments, emotions, and feelings belonging to man, and that among these is the æsthetic sense. It has frequently been urged that, because animals do not appreciate a fine landscape view, a beautiful painting, or any of the elegant works of art, they cannot have an æsthetic sense. But this objection cannot be valid, for there are those among ourselves whose æsthetic sense in special directions would not be questioned, yet who are incapable of appreciating works of great merit, as painting and sculpture.

A traveller in Australia,* studying the natives of that island, states portraits of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were shown to a number of them, for the purpose of observing the effects the pictures produced upon their minds. These native Australians not only had no ideas of the merits of the pictures, but did not even know what they were, one or two of the most intelligent among them who could count as high as three or four remarking that they looked like boats or kangaroos. Shall we say that, because these savages are incapable of appreciating the merits of a fine painting or piece of sculpture according to the conceptions of the European artist, they do not possess even a rudimentary æsthetic sense? Ethnological collections from Australia relating to dress and decoration show very conclusively that the natives of that island, centuries before they were discovered by Europeans, had an appreciation of the colors and forms of objects, irrespective of utility. Where the conditions have been favorable for sexual selection, we have evidence it seems ought to be convincing, that many species of animals have an appreciation of colors, forms, sounds, etc. We have also seen that the form and colors of a creature do not invariably indicate what the exact taste of its parents and ancestors may have been in these respects; for natural selection coming into play will have continually preserved individuals slightly different from those produced by sexual selection, while these latter are continually destroyed.

IS THE POSITION OF "REPEAL" MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE?

EDITOR INDEX:—

I am not a member of any League. Perhaps because I was born free, and taught to follow the truth whithersoever it might lead, I have been content to be in league with Liberty and Light. It seems to me that, not being identified with either side of the split, or with any sect or set, I may be able to take a more dispassionate and possibly a clearer view of the situation than those directly engaged on one side or the other can do.

Let us look at principles first, and then see how they apply:—

1. No liberal will assert that belief or opinion is a matter of will. That is the doctrine of the Church. Ours, on the contrary, is that a man must believe or disbelieve according to the testimony presented to his mind and the logical requirements of his organization.

2. That no moral quality attaches to the rational conclusions at which the mind arrives, will hardly be disputed by any modern thinker.

3. The question on which the liberals divided at Syracuse was simply one of judgment: namely, is a certain law of Congress constitutional, or, if it is constitutional, is it on the whole a good and rational law, adapted to produce the good results for which it is enacted? There is absolutely no necessary logical connection between the decision of the question of constitutionality and the criminality of circulating obscene books. Murder, robbery, and arson are crimes, but it would not therefore make it constitutional to forbid the transmission through the mails of books or newspapers containing descriptions and pictures of those crimes, or of books attempting to prove that murders are inevitable concomitants of our present social system, or that our existing methods of business enable the rich to spoliolate the poor, the capitalist to rob the laborer under cover of law.

4. Circulating obscene books may be or may not be a crime at common law; that is not the question. The question is whether it is constitutional, or, if constitutional, whether it is wise, to forbid the transmission of any class of mailable matter through the mails, on account of its real or supposed moral quality. It is a question not of morals, but of law and common-sense.

5. I have read that has been written by laymen Abbot and Wright, by lawyers Hurlbut and Wake-man, and I have thought much for myself.

One thing all agree in, and no rational man will venture to dispute the conclusion; namely, that the offence consists in sending corrupting stuff to minors. No one outside of a church or a lunatic asylum will maintain that the rights of an adult are invaded by the production on the part of another adult of any amount of obscene matter, so long as he has no power to force any one to read or examine it unless he chooses; and, if any adult has such depraved taste as to want such things, I know of no rational ground on which the State can interfere to punish him. So far, then, as I know, all agree that the only rational ground for the interference of the State is

*See *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. iv., pp. 729-35.

the right of parents and guardians to determine what their minor charges shall read or receive from others.

But the existing law makes no distinction between minors and adults, and is not at all based upon this ground, and is therefore believed by many careful and competent thinkers to be clearly unconstitutional. Is there any moral quality attached to that belief?

6. But in view of the fact that the question is an open one, upon which equally good and able men and women may differ and do appear to differ, it is too soon for the minority to brand the majority as immoral or *vice versa*. This sort of thing savors too much of the morals and manners of the Church; and liberals who find the so-called religious papers praising their action may well suspect that they have made a mistake. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

7. I fail to see why the League should not have left leaguers free to advocate repeal or reform, according to their measure of wisdom and judgment. It seems to me that some things ought to be taken for granted among rational beings who are working together for a great principle, or for all true principles. And I think it should have been assumed as a matter of course that all leaguers and leaguers are equally opposed to impurity of all sorts, and to any corrupting of children, whether by books giving false ideas of sex under the name of obscene stories, or calling themselves catechisms or tracts. And if I were convinced that modification is better policy than repeal, I should resent any imputation on the part of Christians or liberals that those who took a different view were in favor of corrupting youth.

8. The fact undoubtedly is that this legislation has grown out of the domination of the State by the Church; and I think this fact explains the instinctive opposition of so many liberals to it. It is not credible that a purely secular State would not find a less objectionable and more efficient way of dealing with obscenity than this, which cannot, under the best circumstances, do more than nip off a few leaves from an evil tree, and which to do even that requires a spy, informer, and promoter of crime, the services of a false and foul-minded fanatic of filth, who fancies that the sight of a copy of Makart's great picture endangers the morals of the youth of New York, because there is in it the nobly-painted representation of some scantily-draped maidens. Is such a person a probably efficient protector of youthful morals? Could you find a decent man to do his work? No! That is one of the practical objections to any such law.

In a neighboring city, a boy was asked by his teacher, "Who made you?" She expected him to reply, "God"; but instead he said, "My parents." "Go to your seat, you awful boy!" said the enraged teacher; and such was the excitement that his parents had to take him away from the public, and put him in a private school. His mother had taught this boy the physiological facts that she knew, and she told the new teacher that she didn't want him taught any theology. After he had been four years in the school, the teacher told his mother that he didn't know anything about her theology, but that her boy was the best boy he had ever had, and the one who respected him the most. That boy didn't require Comstock laws; and it is my opinion that it would be easier to make all children as safe from corruption as that boy was than it would be to check obscenity appreciably by the best laws that can be devised.

F. S. C.

[1 and 2. We agree, certainly, with the first two "principles" laid down.

3. Here the difference begins, and it is deep. Take an illustration: People differed honestly, not many years ago, on the question whether slavery was right or wrong; opinions were just as sincere on one side as on the other. Did that fact prevent the question of slavery from being a moral question? Did it render it morally defensible to sustain slavery by law? Did it render the position and action of the United States government on this question a matter of pure indifference to liberals or to the people? Most certainly not; and it is precisely so with this other question of the mails. We never said or implied that it makes a man immoral in personal character to believe that the law of 1873 ought to be repealed; but we do say it would be a national immorality to repeal that law, and that it is indefensible morally (i.e., on moral grounds) to call for its repeal. If "moral science" is not an absurd phrase, it means that moral questions, like all questions of scientific truth, shall be submitted to the test of facts, and not settled off-hand by a mere assertion that somebody's motives are pure. Conscientious repealers are just as possible as conscientious slave-holders; and one class make nearly as bad a moral mistake as the other. The point we insist upon is that this question of repeal or reform is one that involves national morality; it cannot be, and will not be, shut down to the bare point of constitutionality. That the United States government should be reduced to a mere tool in the hands of criminals for the lucrative sale of vile literature, is a proposition which will certainly strike fire out of the American conscience, if it is pressed in good earnest as a practical measure. Let the repealers go on, if they have the courage they claim; the experiment will be an interesting one.

4. The question is: shall the whole people, in their corporate capacity as mail carriers, become the paid

agents of confessed criminals in corrupting the morals of youth? If this is not a "question of morals," there never was and never will be one.

5. We are not "attaching any moral quality" to a "belief." A Thug is not immoral because he thinks murder right, but because he commits it; the "moral quality" appears whenever he acts, and it does not depend merely upon his own opinion of the action. So the government acts, whenever it "enacts" a law or repeals one; the government is really the people; the "people" means you and us; and the "moral quality" of the government's action attaches to every citizen who assents to it.

6. "Equally good and able men" thought slavery right and wrong. Nevertheless it was no fault to charge the former class, in upholding it, with practical complicity with a crime against humanity. The morality of motives is one thing; the objective morality of actions is another, to be judged by another standard.

7. Nobody cared what "leaguers" thought at Syracuse; it was what they did, in making the League collectively change its original position, that made the trouble. The question turned wholly on collective action, which concerned every member, and not on private thought, which concerned only the individual.

8. We utterly disbelieve the theory that the common law, on this subject, is a mere creature of the Church. There is a moral sentiment native to mankind, which made the Church rather than the Church it. As for Comstock, we were the first to call for his dismissal.—Ed.]

AN INQUIRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:

Sir,—I have read in THE INDEX Judge Hurlbut's proposed draft of a law to prevent the "forwarding and distributing of obscene literature by the mails"; but it seems to me that when once a letter or communication of any sort is enveloped, sealed, directed, paid for, and dropped into any post-office box, it has got to be delivered to the person to whom it is addressed.

How, then (unless some person be empowered by the law to open and examine letters and packages while they are in the mails), is it to be known whether there be anything in them obscene or not? It seems to me that obscene or objectionable things must be suppressed before they get into the mails or after they are taken out.

Doubtless there is an answer to what puzzles me so much, and I shall be greatly obliged if you will give it. Respectfully yours,

A SUBSCRIBER.

[1. All sealed letters or packages which pay letter-postage are invariably delivered, unopened and uninspected, to the persons addressed.

2. If it can be shown subsequently, by evidence satisfactory to the courts, that matter has been thus forwarded by mail which is forbidden by law, the act of forwarding can be punished accordingly. That the present law can be so amended as not to violate the freedom of the press in any degree, and that offences against it can be detected by justifiable means, is what we firmly believe.—Ed.]

JUDGE HURLBUT'S ESSAY.

BEAVER, Beaver Co., Pa., Nov. 17, 1878.

MY DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Permit me, in a few words, to express my sentiments in regard to your manly course. Every free-thinker, every man and woman in this country, will sooner or later acknowledge that the position you and your followers have taken is the only tenable and true one. The action of the majority, after listening to the masterly address of the Hon. E. P. Hurlbut on "The Liberty of Printing," is a psychological problem; I cannot believe that they all are in favor of the abuses of a so-called "free press," which would surely multiply unless checked by some legal restriction. That religious bigots very generally associate freethought with libertinism, no one will deny; and we owe it to ourselves, I should think, to show to the world that liberalism has no sympathies with libertinism.

I cannot accept the "Fruits of Philosophy" of these "repeaters"; it is Dead Sea fruit, emitting the odor of the *Mephitis Americana*. I think we can safely submit any doubtful case to the honest judgment of an American jury: it is not such a difficult matter to ascertain what is pure and what is impure, what is wholesome and what is not. Let the law be changed; the draft proposed by Judge Hurlbut is admirable, and should satisfy everybody except the contemptible, miserable, unscrupulous rascals who make their living by bringing their obscene trash into market.

Very sincerely yours,
HUGO ANDRIESEN.

"TRUTH PREVAILS."

MOMENCE, Ill., Nov. 8, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Sir,—Enclosed find eighteen cents (six stamps). Please send value in your paper, THE INDEX, commencing with first number since Oct. 26, 1878.

I have read nothing but the *Truth Seeker* as yet,

concerning the division of the Liberal League, but have read enough there some time ago, as well as at the present time, to convince me that you are nearest right, although in the "minority." It seems to me a bad thing for Bennett's cause that in speaking of you he is obliged to quote your language, and in reporting the division of the Liberal League he is obliged to report the proceedings of his opponents, as both weaken the side he would strengthen, and strengthen the side he would weaken.

Having read only the Bennett side of the question, I now wish to read the other. S. W. DENNIS.

MR. UNDERWOOD'S PHILOSOPHY.

Mr. B. F. Underwood, the materialistic and liberal lecturer, in concluding his recent able and interesting discourse in Investigator Hall, gave the following summary of his philosophy in regard to mind and matter:—

1. No subject too sacred for discussion.
2. No beliefs on any subject should subject those who entertain them to persecution or legal disabilities of any kind.
3. There should be a complete separation of the Church and the State, such as the Liberal League aims to secure.
4. The untrammelled exercise of reason, and the free expression of belief on all subjects, is every man's right, and sometimes a positive duty.
5. Beliefs are neither moral nor immoral.
6. But beliefs react on character and influence credulity, and hence the importance of right beliefs.
7. Doubt leads to investigation, and investigation leads to knowledge. It should therefore be encouraged. There is danger of believing too much rather than too little.
8. The enlightened human reason is the highest and best standard of truth that man possesses.
9. All claims for objective standards in the form of book revelations are unproved and incapable of proof.

10. The Jewish and Christian sacred Scriptures must take their place among the other sacred books of the past.

11. These sacred books are neither superhuman productions nor fables gotten up by priests to deceive mankind; but they are natural outgrowths of the human mind through centuries of ignorance, credulity, and superstition.

12. Systems of religion are neither revelations nor inventions of priests, but the results of ages of speculation and imagination, of hopes and fears.

13. Morality is the science of human relations. It depends in no way for its sanction or its authority on the supernatural.

14. There is no efficacy in prayer. Reliance on ourselves, and our power to control the forces of Nature, have already practically taken the place of supplication, fasting, and prayer.

15. This life is worthy of our best efforts, and its interests and enjoyments should not be subordinated to the fancied interests and enjoyments of any other world, real or imagined.

16. The old theories that at birth the mind is like a piece of wax, susceptible equally to all impressions, and that it is crowded with innate ideas, are both untenable; but all are born with good and bad tendencies, the result of ancestral experiences, organized in the race in the form of aptitudes or predispositions.

17. That the transmission and strengthening of the good tendencies, and the suppression of the bad tendencies, are under the control of man in proportion to his acquaintance with biological and psychological science.

18. That the dissemination of knowledge in regard to the human body and all its functions is not only right and proper, but highly important as a means of reform.

19. That since this subject opens a field for quacks and charlatans, and for unscrupulous writers and lecturers whose success consists chiefly in their ability to attract attention on subjects that require scientific knowledge and conscientiousness in their treatment, by coarse language and pandering to the passions of the sensual and the vicious, it is important that such pretended teachers be discountenanced, and that educated, worthy, and discreet persons only be encouraged in the field of reform.

20. That monogamic marriage is the highest and noblest relation that has obtained between the sexes; and its destruction and the substitution therefor of any kind of promiscuity would be most calamitous, and involves a long step back toward barbarism.

21. The tendency of thought in regard to the formation of worlds is, that they are evolved by natural causes and without the intervention of any supernatural power.

22. In regard to life, that it has a physical basis, and has appeared on the globe in a manner as natural as the cooling of the globe, and has been developed into all the variety and complexity seen in the organic world to-day, by entirely non-miraculous causes and natural processes.

23. In regard to adaptations of Nature, that they are eternal, such as the adaptation of matter to space, or they are the result of the "survival of the fittest," as in the case of animals and plants adjusted to their environment.

24. In regard to the ultimate nature of things, they are utterly inscrutable to the mind of man.

25. That we know the outer world only as we are related to it, only as it is colored by the mind, only as it is affected by our consciousness.

26. That all efforts to know "the thing itself" must prove fruitless, since we can know things only in relation to ourselves.

27. That the order of phenomena, and not its ultimate nature of things, is the province for exploration and discovery.

28. That our influence endures with the race; that all preceding generations exist in this generation, and that we who live to-day will live in all future ages of the race; that every human being contributes by his or her thought and action to make the world of humanity better or worse.—*Boston Investigator*, Oct. 2.

ARISTOCRATIC RASCALITY.

At a recent meeting of the stockholders of the City of Glasgow Bank, the Rev. Mr. Robertson of that city, who happens to be one of these swindled stockholders, gave his opinion of the bank directors in the following words:—

"Respecting the directors I scarcely dare to speak. I must endeavor to restrain my just indignation, and speak calmly as a minister of religion. Sir, these gentlemen have been faithless to high office, disloyal to truth and the first principles of morality. What, with respect to some of them, deepens the discredit is that they trod the streets of the city arrayed in the garbs of religiousness, making long prayers while desolating widows' houses, erecting churches while wrecking homes. Their honor is tarnished, their reputation stained; but the day of reckoning has already dawned. The majesty of the law is now vindicating its claim. For my part, I wish them no sorer, heavier punishment than that they be haunted night and day with the ghastly visions of the hundreds of happy families they have wrecked and blighted, till the feeling of remorse is kindled within their hearts, and they are driven to their Maker's presence to seek his forgiveness, and that they may leave his presence determined to spend the utmost energies of their remaining years in some poor measure to undo the evil they have done."

We decidedly like the speech of this Scotch clergyman. These bank directors, prior to the discovery of their rascality, walked the streets of Glasgow as among its first citizens. They belonged to the wealthy and refined class. They lived in splendid houses, and those of them who went to church sat on cushioned seats. They were members of rich firms and did a vast business. They were selected as bank directors because it was assumed that they had the requisite skill, and further assumed that they had sufficient integrity to exercise this skill in the interest of the shareholders and that of the general public. To them an immense trust was confided, and they knew it.

And yet the facts prove them to be the most detestable rascals that language can describe,—deceiving the public and deceiving the stockholders by a deliberate and cunningly planned system of long-continued fraud and falsehood. The excuse of ignorance, misapprehension, bad judgment, and consequent mismanagement, in respect to these directors, will not avail. They were liars and hypocrites, and they knew it. They were conspirators against the property rights of hundreds of innocent victims, worse for the community than fifty times their number of professional burglars and thieves. No amount of public indignation against such scoundrels is misplaced or too intense for the occasion; and, if Scotch law is without a severe penalty for such aristocratic monsters, then Scotch law needs reforming.

There is a tendency in society to deal gently with crime in high places, and severely with it only in low places. If any difference is to be made in the two cases, this tendency should be exactly reversed. Considered as wrong-doers, those who are ignorant and degraded, and even depraved, largely by the force of circumstances, have a far stronger claim upon our sympathy than those upon whom fortune has bestowed its smiles. The culture and opportunities of the latter, as compared with those of the former, greatly add to their guilt.

We agree with the Rev. Mr. Robertson in hoping that the reflections of these Scotch bank directors will lead them to profound penitence; and we think that imprisonment at hard labor for at least twenty years would be helpful to the process, and at the same time a suitable warning to others. Such a warning would publish its moral throughout the world. If the law has no such penalty, then Scotland specially and the world generally should supplement its defects by holding the names of the Glasgow bank directors in permanent abhorrence. Society should everywhere be armed against such villains and villainies. The ban of reprobation should follow the villains to the grave, and the places of respectability should know them no more forever. This is a moral as well as a physical system, and its withering frown upon guilt is a beneficent part of its order.—*N. Y. Independent*.

THE VISITOR in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, standing on the marble floor, looks up into the dome which springs overhead like the all-covering heaven. There in a glorious atmosphere of blue are floating the forms of apostles, evangelists, and saints, angelic in their lightness and grace. To the worshipper on the pavement, rapt in wonder, the heavens seem coming down with these angelic forms. Up, through a narrow winding stairway, he climbs to the narrow balcony that surrounds the dome. What are those forms made of? Bits of charcoal, pieces of brick, fragments of broken glass, which the artist, calculating the effect from below, put in their places, where each one would be most effective. Who cares that the floating forms are composed of such base materials picked up in the street? There they are; there they have been ever since the artist placed them there. There they will stand as long as the mighty edifice is allowed to remain on the globe. It is of no consequence that lovely things have ugly beginnings. The question is, are the things in themselves beautiful?—*Ez.*

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2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
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- N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

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- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
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3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or slyly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

GOVERNOR RICE'S Thanksgiving proclamation hints at Christianity without venturing explicitly to indorse it, when it tells the people of Massachusetts that "thanksgiving is due" for "the redemption of the world." There might be some force in this suggestion if the world had really been "redeemed." This was not the case, at last accounts.

SAYS the Chicago Alliance: "We have never seen illustrated more forcibly the inconsistency into which some men are betrayed for the sake of beating an opponent. . . . But we think it tolerably clear that such a compromise, by men claiming to have convictions worth holding, as has been consummated at New Haven is indefensible on any ground, and foolish to the last degree. If the public schools of New Haven are to be no longer 'Godless,' they are certainly in a fair way to become supremely ridiculous."

THE SPRINGFIELD Republican well says: "The novel plan proposed in New Haven for teaching the Roman Catholic religion in the public schools has been defeated before coming to trial. It was an unwise, a mischievous, compromise, but it was more just than the reported decision of the committee to return to the old way of Bible readings. The only right thing to do in a country like ours is to completely sever Church and State. The commonwealth has no business teaching religion at all. This sticking to the old legacy of the Puritans gives the Roman Catholics a perfectly reasonable pretext for demanding special attention to their peculiar rights of conscience. These are like the camel of the Arabic fable, of which everybody is tired of hearing. When they fairly get settled in the American school system, that broad democratic tent will be pretty well spoiled for its intended uses."

THE NOVEMBER number of the *Contemporary Review* gives as follows the exact language respecting atheism used by Professor Max Müller recently in Westminster Abbey: "There is an atheism which is unto death; there is another atheism which is the very life-blood of all true faith. It is the power of giving up what, in our best, our most honest moments we know to be no longer true; it is the readiness to replace the less perfect, however dear, however sacred it may have been to us, by the more perfect, however much it may be detested, as yet, by others. It is the true self-surrender, the true self-sacrifice, the truest trust in truth, the truest faith. Without that atheism, religion would long ago have become a petrified hypocrisy; without that atheism, no new religion, no reform, no reformation, no resuscitation, would ever have been possible; without that atheism, no new life is possible for any one of us."

THIS is what the *Independent* says of the New Haven school question: "The effort of the Protestant and Catholic clergy to frame a directory of worship for the public schools of New Haven proves to be labor lost. The liturgy which they proposed, with other plans for compromise between the Catholics and Protestants, was submitted to a special committee of the New Haven School Board; and this committee reported against all the plans, and recommended that the Board simply re-establish the religious services formerly in use, and make them applicable to all the schools, without any discrimination or distinction on religious grounds. The report was adopted by a majority of the Board; and this settles the school question in New Haven, until it shall again be unsettled. The services to be had hereafter will be justly regarded as Protestant in their character and tendencies; and Catholics, Jews, and indeed all persons who dissent from Protestantism, or who believe that the public school should be simply a secular institution, if they live in New Haven and are taxpayers, will have the privilege of supporting the Protestant religion under the coercion of law.

And if they have children whom they wish to send to the public school, then these children must participate in such forms of religious worship as State authorities see fit to prescribe. So the case now stands. To suppose that this will be the end of the question is greatly to mistake its merits, as well as the instincts of human nature."

THE *Contemporary Review* thus refers to "Häckel and Monism": "Professor Häckel is well known as the representative of the extreme school of materialism, and as the avowed and self-constituted champion of Darwinism run mad. He recognizes but one force in Nature—the mechanical; and hence he calls his profession of faith monism, in contradistinction to dualism, which implies a belief in soul or spirit, or some force or efficient cause which is other than mechanical. By virtue of this mechanical force, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen united originally to form the earliest organisms, which appear to have been monera; and from these, by casual variation, by selection, by inheritance, and by adaptation, all the forms of animal and vegetable life, as we now know them and as they appear in paleontological records, have been formed. Man himself has no other or especial origin. He is a direct descendant of the catarrhine apes, which, in common with all other vertebrata, have been derived from a single pair of animals, unknown and unrecorded in history, 'for it is unthinkable that all the various and complicated life-conditions which lead through a long course of development to the typical vertebrate animal could accidentally occur more than once in the earth's history.' To promulgate this doctrine, especially that part of it which relates to man's origin, is Häckel's life-long mission. All his works, whatever may be their professed object, relate to this; and his address at Munich had no other end in view. In all this he sees no difficulty, and has no doubts or misgivings. There is no more difficulty in accounting for the phenomena of life than for the falling of a stone to the earth. 'When a stone which is thrown into the air falls again to the earth according to definite laws, when a crystal is formed from a saline fluid, when sulphur and mercury unite to form cinnabar, these facts are neither more nor less mechanical life-phenomena than the growth and flowering of plants, than the propagation and sensory faculties of animals, or the perceptions and intelligence of man.' Further, there is no essential distinction between living and not-living matter; it is all a 'question of degree.' All the natural bodies with which we are acquainted are 'equally living.' And still further, every atom of matter has a soul—the 'Atom-Soul'—which is the sum of the 'Atom-Forces'; and when a certain number of carbon atoms unites with another number of hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and sulphur atoms to form a molecule of protoplasm, called technically a 'Plastidule,' the sum of the atom-forces of these elements constitutes a Plastidule-Soul; and thus, 'through the accidental (*zufälliges*) aggregation of manifold combinations of the constant unchangeable Atom-Souls, originate the complex and highly variable Plastidule-Souls, the molecular factors of organic life.' There is no difficulty as regards the central soul, mind, or spirit (for the terms are used interchangeably) of man. 'For all soul-life is ultimately referable to the two elementary functions of sensation and motion, and their conversion into reflex action. The simple sensation of like and dislike (*lust und unlust*), the simple motions of attraction and repulsion,—these are the true elements from which, in endlessly manifold and complicated combinations, all mental faculties are built up. The love and hate of atoms, the attraction and repulsion of molecules, the motion and sensation of cells and organisms built up of cells; the thought and consciousness of men,—these are only various steps of the universal process of psychological evolution."

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LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES

Chartered by the National Liberal League of America.

- FLORENCE, MASS.—President, Seth Hunt; Secretary, Clarence E. Brown. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Florence Liberal League. SYRACUSE, N.Y.—President, John W. Truesdell; Secretary, Mrs. Nettie C. Truesdell. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Onondaga County Liberal League. ALBANY, N.Y.—President, Thomas J. Hennessey; Secretary, Thomas Dugan. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Albany Liberal Association.

N.B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their vote to accept the following invitation:—

"Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League."

APPROPOS OF Sabbatarian muddle-headedness and want of logical consistency, I was travelling on the underground-railway last Sunday evening, and at one of the stations there entered the carriage a bishop—apparently a colonial or a pan-Anglican—and another gentleman. "No," said the bishop in audible voice, resuming what appeared to be an interrupted conversation—"no, we must oppose the Sunday opening of museums. It has an interest for us as well as for you. Once let them get in the thin end of the wedge, and the sacredness of the Christian Sunday will be gone forever." And the bishop who said this was travelling in a railway-carriage on a Sunday evening, and never thought of the "thin end of the wedge" argument in connection with that circumstance.—Truth.

SATIRE LIES respecting literary men during their lives, and eulogy does so after their death.—Voltaire.

The Literature of German Materialism.*

Germany is a land of strange contrasts, furnishing extreme illustrations of religious faith and unbelief. Watch a string of pilgrims making their way on foot, under the guidance of their priest and sacristan, mile after mile to some holy spring, where, years ago, people say, a blind man received sight and another was cured of scrofula and boils. Listen to their refrain, chanted unweariedly up hill and down. There is all the appearance of a pious, not to say superstitious, land and copious simple faith. But if you go into the taverns and restaurants of the town or village from which the pilgrims went forth in the morning, and listen to the frank talk of the place, you may hear avowals of the most novel and pronounced forms of heterodoxy; you may perhaps catch expressions, the spirit of which is il faut sabrer la théologie. This contrast is of old standing in many parts of Germany. It grows, however, sharper and more visible. It is no longer local and exceptional; it is wellnigh everywhere. No flags of truce pass between the two camps of Belief and Unbelief. No mediators interpose to moderate the strife. No quarter is asked or offered. There are no Schleiermachers, with easy, affable, accommodating forms of rationalism; there are few theologians of the stamp of Daub and Günther, ready to strike up strange liaisons with philosophy; and there is little philosophical mysticism shading off into religious quietism. The systems of philosophy in vogue at present in Germany do not easily permit of the use of those cuttle-fish devices open to disciples of Hegel and Schelling, who, when pressed as to their orthodoxy, emitted a cloud of dark explanations, and made their escape in a friendly fog. The reign of Transcendentalism is long over, and downright speech is the fashion. The mist which hid the eternal combatants—the friends and foes of Authority and Faith—from each other has rolled away, and the hostile columns have met. In this country the theologian and the man of science, as a rule, go their own ways in peace. But in Germany they cannot keep their hands off each other. There is a permanent, elastic, and comprehensive casus belli, and the strife breaks out at election times, in political trials, at scientific congresses, over open graves and banquet tables. It is hard to say which is more acrimonious; sometimes there is little to choose between the tirades and intolerance of the priest and the savant. We should not like certain German theologians to have their own way with modern materialists. Our recollection of certain bishops' pastorals is that they are occasions not for feeding the lambs of the Church, but for whacking its foes in the laboratory. As for the scientific combatants in the Cultur-Kampf, it is possible that some of them would like to give their opponents just one gentle ping,—of course, for the good of science. The angry feeling breaks out in many ways and in odd places. Ernst Haeckel, the learned and warlike Professor of Zoology at the University of Jena, and the ablest exponent of Darwinism in Germany, cannot refrain from appending to an exposition of the development theory a string of sneers, at best a little irrelevant, against the Church of Rome, complaints that the State allows the existence of monasteries and celibacy as an institution, and expressions of satisfaction that some bishops and Jesuits were in prison for disobedience to the law. If a savant happens to let fall conciliatory words; if he makes some remarks a little humbling to science, as Du Bois Reymond did at the Leipzig Congress; if he avows his belief, as Rudolf Wagner did, in the faith of the simple peasant; if he hints, as Virchow hinted, at the inadequateness of physical explanations of life, and the propriety of caution in accepting scientific surmises as proved, he is assailed as if he were some traitor to the cause of science, who had gone over to the enemy and become an ally of the Jesuits. The bad blood bred by Vogt's pamphlet, Köhlerglaube, is not yet quite forgotten. We know not how many shrill and scrimonious last words there were about it. The Kampf um die Seele has been a very rough and carnal contest. We must add that the German Materialists and Anti-Materialists have pushed their theories to extremes. Nowhere is ridicule—the moderator and chastiser of extravagances—less potent than in Germany. Intrepid logic, not afraid to face a fact or two, is pretty sure to meet there more approbation than derision. Most philosophers can command a hearing. The various universities serve as so many free States, into which all philosophic wares enter untaxed. They are, too, cities of refuge. Persecuted in Munich, the theorist may flee into Jena.

A great change has come over the spirit of German science and philosophy, and this change is the key to many enigmas in connection with socialism, and to many problems of the future in the fatherland. It has not been the work of a day. Thirty to forty years ago, Hegel was supreme in Germany,—or Prussia, at all events. Strong in the protection of the Minister of Public Worship, Von Altenstein, he had driven away possible rivals, such as Beneke or Schleiermacher; Hegelianism had become the State philosophy, part and parcel of the regalian rights of the House of Hohenzollern, an extension, so to speak, of its foreign policy. Hegel's monopoly of speculation was as close as that of some Continental States in regard to tobacco. All philosophers who did not evolve being out of not-being were officially denounced as superficial. In those days, Hegelianism was bread and butter, places and orders, to its votaries. It was a protection for speculations the most dangerous to Church and State; like the neutral's flag, it covered the enemy's goods. It was

*Die Ideale des Materialismus. Von Armand Penster. Reissner und Gans, Köln. Zellbeelen und Seelenzellen. Von Ernst Haeckel. Deutsche Rundschau.

everywhere. Gans applied it to jurisprudence; Hegstenberg, Strauss, and Baur to theology; and in the very novels and legal books of practice of the time, you find traces—the shuffling, stern-foremost style, the Broddnagian phrases, the clouds of lean abstractions corresponding to no reality, like the paper money of a bank with a low reserve—of the omnipresent influence of Hegel. But when "the mighty cedar of Lebanon" fell, the influence of Hegel fell with him. After his death, his authority faded like a heap of loose sand roughly fingered by the wind; and, with the exception of the veteran Michelet and Rosenkranz, there has long been scarcely an important adherent of Hegelianism in its birthplace. It has taken refuge in Oxford, to which, it has been said, bad German philosophies go after death.

The next striking figure in German thought is Schopenhauer. There is a picturesque strength about him which philosophers in general do not possess; his burly figure, his massive head, and his clear, piercing eye,—a seldier's rather than a thinker's,—his brusque temper and decisive ways, marked him out at a Frankfort table d'hôte or in a box at the opera, of which he was so fond, as a notable man. Possessed of much of the wit of his frivolous, gadding mother, the once famous Johanna Schopenhauer, and not a little of his father's business ability, full of audacious contempt for his countrymen, his clear nature revolting against the cloud-capped sages whom he found in authority, and writing with then unusual lucidity and naiveness,—the attribute of genius, according to him,—he was just the person, one would have thought, to make a revolution, and to make it at once. He did not mince matters in his books. All philosophy between his own time and that of Kant had been "mere University charlatanism"; Hegel was "a very ordinary intellect, but a very extraordinary charlatan"; and the tasteless pulp which was doled out to the youth of Germany at the universities as nutriment was a colossal mystification. But the preacher of modern Buddhism and the iconoclast of philosophical reputations did not get at once a hearing. He wrote now in a passion and now in the sulks. It was no use; the public was deaf to this termagant philosopher. It took twenty years and all the efforts of his friends or disciples,—Frauenstädt, Gwinner, and Hartmann,—before the German nation knew much of the Dantisc philosopher. Why was this? Perhaps because he had no University chair; perhaps, too, because he wrote in too homely and clear a fashion to be understood or thought much of by a generation bred on Hegelian fare. People liked a little fog in their national philosophy as they liked vinegar in their national dishes. They preferred, as Varnhagen Von Ense said, a sentence which it took long time to chew.

Meantime, Materialism had grown with marvellous rapidity. Heine early observed the coming change. The poet, who was also, in a jaunty way, a bit of a prophet, and who saw so many things that were to be, from his prison-bed in the Rue d'Amsterdam, says, in his poem of "The World Turned Topsy-turvy," that "the German bears believe no more, and have become atheistic, while the French parrots have turned good Christians." "We are grown out of delism," he wrote on another occasion. "Our latest philosophers have proclaimed thorough atheism as the last word of German philosophy."

Heine had in his eye Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach, son of Paul Johann Anselm Feuerbach, the illustrious jurist. People have somewhat forgotten this impetuous revolutionist, whose name twenty years ago was in all mouths, and his changing inner life, so typical of his seething, tumultuous time. Beginning as an ardent, ascetic student of theology at Heidelberg, he went as a young man to Berlin to study exegesis and Church history at the feet of Schleiermacher and the venerable Neander. He fell under the influence of Hegel, and turned his back on theology. Proceeding per saltum, or, rather, by curious spurts and zigzag movements, he journeyed on until he reached a pronounced, if not consistent, form of Materialism; and he who had proclaimed, Extra philosophiam, nulla salus, lived to write, "My philosophy is no philosophy." His desire was to build up a religion out of earthly materials, on a purely earthly foundation; and for this purpose he wrote book after book, much read twenty years ago here and in Germany and America, and translated into every European tongue. Rhapsodical in style, not to say ranting in parts, they were full of pious expressions and irreligious sentiments. They recall in many ways the later writings of Comte, whom Feuerbach resembled in all but his crude enthusiasm and gushing, illogical apostrophes. They declare that all knowledge is derived from the senses; that theology properly understood is anthropology; that homo deus homini is ever true; and that if religion is the dream of the human mind, it should be a dream about realities, not chimeras. Feuerbach's sentimental saccares and excited untheological theology were for a time attractive and influential. Since he wrote, a crowd of writers—Moleschott, Vogt, Spiess, Burmeister, Ruge, Strauss, Marx, Hellwald, Wiener, Czolbe, etc.—have pushed along the path which Feuerbach entered. They have got weapons from physical science of which he knew little. They have grown in boldness and frankness. They have got rid of Feuerbach's desire to pour new wine into old bottles. People were a little startled and shocked at Vogt's unflinching enunciation, in his early works, of the doctrine that the soul is only a rather misleading name for the functions of the organs of the body, and that it must cease to exist with these organs. They have heard too much of this to be now surprised at it. A stream of materialistic literature has poured steadily forth from the press. And it is not literature speaking the language of science, and addressing a small circle of cultivated men and women. Materi-

alism has appealed to the people, and its ablest exponents, such as Vogt and Büchner, write in a homely, lucid style which plain men and women can understand.

We might name a dozen books as fair samples of this literature. *The Principles of Nature*, by Professor Wiener, of Carlsruhe,—a prose *De Rerum Natura*, or explanation of everything, from the nature of atoms to the freedom of the will,—is an important work; Rosenkranz, no mean authority, says that it has been for Germany what the *Système de la Nature* was for France in the eighteenth century. Other books of consequence in this connection are Dr. Büchner's *Force and Matter*,—a clever book, written by one who comes of a family distinguished in letters,—which has passed through so many editions that it has been termed the Bible of German Materialism; the *History of Human Development*, by Professor Hellwald; and a little-known work of great ability, *Schuricht's Extracts from the Journal of a Materialist*. Their common characteristic is, that they are materialistic in the full sense,—Materialism naked and unashamed. We know that some of the writers to whom we refer would deny the propriety of the description; they would even say that it was meaningless. We quite admit that some of them have, especially of late, shown a great desire to effect a compromise between the two great schools of philosophy. Witness, for instance, the curious speculations by Professor Hückel in a recent number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* about *Zellen und Seelenzellen*,—speculations which go to show that each cell of every living organism has its soul. But let us submit a few questions to some of the writers in question, and mark their answers. What—to put at once a leading question—is man? The reply of not a few seems to be, A bucket of water and a few pinches of phosphorus. What is thought? "Thought," says Moleschott, "is a movement of matter"; "without phosphorus, no thought." "*Geist und Seele*," says Hückel, "are only higher and combined or differentiated powers of the same function, which we speak of in the most general way as force; and force is a general function of matter. We know no matter not endowed with force, and, *vice versa*, we know no forces which are not connected with matter." Matter is almost deified. "Motion and matter," says Büchner, "are alike eternal." "All our life," Vogt somewhere observes, "the life of all organisms, the whole telluric and cosmic life, is built on the principle that matter remains eternally the same." "Matter," says Wiener, "is and always has been eternal." No mercy is accorded to teleology in any form. How was the world created? "Purely through physical and chemical forces, without organic substance, without a known Creator, nay, without a leading idea, the world exists." (Vogt.) What is the purpose of the world? "The laws of Nature," according to one answer, "are rude, inflexible powers, which know nothing of morality or pity." "The search after a cause for the world," says Büchner, "is like going up an endless ladder." Richard Schuricht—who, if he writes ironically, is no coarse caricaturist—will not allow men the satisfaction of believing that they are the subjects of fixed, necessary laws; that is not quite correct. Nature does, indeed, conduct her operations according to immutable, inflexible, determined laws; but the collocation of the forces of Nature, to use an expression of Dr. Chalmers, their relation to each other, is accidental. Necessity is, therefore, only a special case of chance. Man, the world, all that therein is, is but the product of an accidentally existing universe,—one of the bubbles on the surface of the ocean of Being which will by and by burst.

It is useless for any one to try to hide the irreligious or rather anti-religious character of much of this literature. The subject is a delicate one; but no one, the theologian least of all, can afford to shut his eyes to this grave characteristic of so much of modern German speculation. Atheism is written on many pages of the Materialistic and Social-Democratic literature. And, be it said, it is not timorous atheism which crouches under cover, speaks an esoteric language, seeks no converts, asks merely to be let alone, or strikes at its foes only from behind with the weapons of irony and innuendo. Not at all; it is atheism which comes out into the open, displays its menacing form with effrontery, speaks its mind roughly and freely,—atheism, active, militant, angry, intolerant, and fanatical. It addresses not merely professors and men of science; it speaks the *patois* of the common people. The tactics of secret sapping and ambushes are not to the taste of Büchner or Hellwald or Marx or journals of the stamp of the *Volkstaat*. They have no desire, common to some opponents of Orthodoxy, to translate the gospel narratives into beautiful pastorals or idyls. Religion in any form is in their eyes the Bastille of the human mind. We hesitate to quote typical passages from this literature; it is, however, perhaps not true wisdom to hide their character. So let one or two sentences serve as samples of dozens: "God did not create the world," says Büchner, "but the theist created God, and thereby all the injurious consequences which flow therefrom." The same writer observes:—

"Theism, or belief in a personal God, leads, as all history clearly shows, to monarchism and priestly rule; pantheism, or belief in an all-pervading God, leads, where it is in the ascendancy, to contempt of the senses, denial of the ego, to absorption in God, and to a state of stagnation. Atheism or philosophical monism alone leads to freedom, to intelligence, to progress, to due recognition of man,—in a word, to humanism."

"Socialism," says the *Fürther Wochenblatt*, a Social-Democratic journal, echoing the sentiments of Karl Marx, "is a child of atheism, and the beginning of a great period of atheistical culture." "He who takes from the people heaven," says the *Volkstaat*,

"must give it the earth." "When all is over with heaven, the people is justified in reclaiming the earth." We prefer not to quote samples of the dull and lumpy ribaldry of Vogt in his unscientific and weaker moments, or of some of the satirists of Social Democracy. But one or two extracts from graver authors may not be out of place: "Religions," says Arnold Ruge, the friend of Strauss and Feuerbach, "are all alike in this: they rest on stories or myths." Hellwald says:—

"The task of science is to destroy all ideals; to manifest their hollowness and nothingness; to show that belief in God and religion is deception; that morality, equality, love, freedom, rights of man, are lies; and at the same time to prove the necessity of all these errors for human development."

It would be a ridiculous mistake to confound with the writers whom we have quoted Schopenhauer and Hartmann, the most widely read of living German philosophers; they stand in a wholly different category. The former, who despised most of his countrymen, despised materialists perhaps a little more than others. But Schopenhauer and Hartmann both agree with Hellwald, Büchner, and Radenhausen, the author of *Isis*, in their antagonism to the claims of religion, natural or revealed. Schopenhauer's antipathy breaks out in such aphorisms as—"No one who really philosophizes is religious." "All positive religion is, after all, an usurper of the throne which belongs by right to philosophy. Philosophers will, therefore, regard it as a necessary evil and crutch for the sickly weakness of most minds." Hartmann, who is in many respects a disciple of Schopenhauer, begins one of his works with the assertion that religion and science must be in hostility. Protestantism is his special aversion, or rather object of contempt. It is the gravedigger of true Christianity. The freedom of opinion which it permits is antagonistic to the genuine Christian idea of obedience. Its liberalism is irreligious—an un-Christianlike Christianity; its amicable relation to this world is in opposition to the pessimistic spirit of the Gospels; and modern Protestantism is but a hybrid of mediæval Christianity and the paganism of the Renaissance. In a few sentences Hartmann runs up a new religion which will become truly universal,—the said religion to be a fusion of the religious-ideas of Asia with the elements of Christianity worthy of preservation; the whole steeped, as far as we can make out, in any fiction which comes handy, and which the multitude is likely to believe.

It is a delicate task to make any general charge on this subject: the field is wide, and exceptions to any generalization can be found; but there is one unpleasant peculiarity of too much of this literature. The opinions which we have quoted are not rare. Those who entertain them are not likely to be converted or affected by scolding or remonstrance, and hard names are out of place; but it is not easy to understand the careless and unholy glee with which some of the authors trample under foot and besmirch ideas revered and tenderly regarded by their fellows. Helvetius and Lamettrie did not compass sea and land to make proselytes. At all events, they did not regard error as a black crime, and, looking down from their serene atmosphere, they would have been, perhaps, puzzled to understand the noisy levity, the unphilosophic rage and intolerance, of philosophers with respect to beliefs which are entwined with good lives. Each to his taste; but perhaps a touch or two more of solemnity might have been added without making this literature a whit less scientific in spirit.

We should pass over one of the salient marks of this literature if we said nothing as to the important part played by the Development Theory. The extent to which speculations about atoms figure in it is remarkable; we could name a dozen books in which they play as large a part as they do in Lucretius' *Cosmology*. But the multitudinous ways in which Mr. Darwin's theory is applied are still more surprising. Sometimes the speculations are a little crude and fanciful. We do not refer to the writings of scientific men of the stamp of Ocarus or Hückel, whose solid merits Mr. Darwin has, with his usual fairness and generosity, emphatically recognized. A little too much is made in popular scientific works of the ancestral ape, who is treated with all the respect due to the founder of the family. Just to spite the theologians, dozens of controversialists give daily thanks that their first parents did not live in innocence in Paradise, but swung themselves by their tails in primeval forests. No doubt the German materialists lay stress on the connection between man and the lower animals in order to uproot common ideas as to teleology; to emphasize the view that man is not qualitatively different from the higher mammals; that his brain, if more potent than theirs, differs only in degree; and that the boasted isolation of man from his ministering dependents is but the dream of soaring pride and egotism. Copernicus taught men to cease to regard the earth as the centre of the universe; the Development Theory teaches him to regard himself as no longer the central object of creation. Robinet gives us a wider horizon when he speaks of plants as "sedentary animals"; and our relation to all that lives is emphasized by speaking of man as a speaking ape. These are the explanations offered of this prevalent tendency. Whether it springs also in any degree from a desire to level down man, or to slur over the differences between him and his inferiors, and whether it is not too much in the spirit of a favorite *dichum* from Goethe, that reason had been given only to make man more brutish than the brutes, will be a matter of opinion.

German pessimism is associated with the name of Schopenhauer, the philosopher who counselled himself in these terms: "Study to acquire an accurate and connected view of the utter despicability of mankind in general." It is also connected with the

name of Edward Von Hartmann, the most popular of modern German philosophers, whose work on the *Philosophy of the Unconscious* has had a marvellous circulation. Originally an officer in the Prussian army, he has turned his mind to literature and speculations. He is a writer of force and picturesque. He is not deficient in a Dlogenes kind of humor—not the subterranean mirth of Hoffman, or that rather painful phenomenon which sometime, passes as humor in Germany, and which it requires a good deal of the beer of the country to appreciate but humor such as Englishmen can appreciate. He is consistently and thoroughly pessimist. The world itself stands self-condemned. The life of man is, in his view, more miserable because more intelligent than that of the higher mammals: theirs is worse than that of the oyster; and the best existence is that of unconscious matter. But in truth a cloud of gloom rests over the whole of the literature of modern Materialism. It is not lighted up by the hopes of human perfectibility, so characteristic of the buoyant spirit of French Materialism; and the spirit of which we speak is not a survival of Werterism, the product of a boyish self-consciousness and sore and wounded vanity. Those who know the literature of moral pathology will think of Senancour and the sweet misanthropy and voluptuous despair which that eloquent valetudinarian liked to fondle. But they will find there is a difference; they will miss the high resolves made in gloom and lassitude, the soul wandering about over dark waters seeking a resting-place. The spirit of which we now speak is a calmly reasoned-out conviction, a mood of stagnant resignation to the fact that all is for the worst. We might name a dozen books, the authors of which virtually tell us that they are not prepared to incur any responsibility in regard to the continuance of this world; and that, if free to speak their minds, they are bound to say it ought to be wound up. Richard Schuricht, a writer in point, speaks in doleful, desponding terms. He is as much dissatisfied with the results of learning as Faust. More knowledge, he has found, is more misery. He is a materialist, and yet "Materialism," he says, "springs from a conviction based on experience that every effort is a failure, and our position is a comfortless one." What we know only diminishes our delusions, and "with the lost illusion goes the lost pleasure."

"The dying Goethe exclaimed, 'More light.' Not so we. We perish in that excess of light which modern physical science sheds on the burning question of the day. More to be desired by us would be that twilight in which thought cannot thrive, and in which Fantasy can find fit food. My blindness give me back again, my sense of darkness and of joy."

He scoffs at the efforts of Büchner and Feuerbach to clothe with dignity the materialists' creed. "All in this world is common; we materialists desire to make no exception." Man's motives must and ought to be self-interest: what pleases A is good for A; what hurts A is bad for A; B, C, and D's feelings go for nothing. "The most logical person in the world is the Devil, for he is an out and out egotist." Max Stirner, in his book, *Der Einzige und Sein Eigenthum*, takes the same line. Each man, according to his simple creed, is a law unto himself; he has no room within him but for himself,—*Quisquis sibi Deus*. Egotism, thorough-going egotism, is reason; to talk of anything else is folly, hypocrisy, or fear of the consequences to which rational Materialism leads. It would be worth while to trace in literature the influence of these speculations. The writer of *Die Ideale des Materialismus* says that philosophy has come down among the people; and it is quite true that the flavor of the doctrines which we have described may be detected in dozens of popular writers who do not openly philosophize. It is no fancy to say that there is an aroma of them in many of Paul Heyse's pretty pages, beautiful with the beauty of decay. Some of Spielhagen's characters—Oswald Stein, for instance—have breathed the vapors which exhale from this literature. And here in *Die Ideale des Materialismus* is a crude embodiment of its spirit. This is a jumble of tales, metaphysics, and poems, all in a strain of sentimental Materialism. It is written in mincing, affected German, and the style is marked by foppish alliterations. Its object is to carry the war against religion into the regions of the feelings; but the attempt is imperfect. It is, in fact, a farrago of coarse sentiments and situations and fine words, all too like a berouged and battered beauty. Much of it is as nasty as Gutzkow's novel, *Wally*, and we know nothing much worse in literature. It will be interesting to watch the outcome of the speculations to which we have referred. Whether German youth, which is in these days tempted to utter Goethe's last words, "*Nun ist alles vorbei*" before life is well begun, will do the great things wrought by a generation which heard and answered to Fichte's words of manly hope and call to action is a problem which we leave untouched.—*London Times*, Nov. 7

"NOW, MY MAN," said the lawyer to the witness, "tell us exactly what passed." "Yes, my lord. I said I would not have the pig." "And what was his answer?" "He said he had been keeping it for me, and that he—" "No, no! He could not have said that. He spoke in the first person." "No, my lord; I was the first person that spoke." "I mean, don't bring in the third person. Repeat his exact words." "There was no third person, my lord; only him and me." "My good fellow, he did not say he had been keeping the pig. He said 'I have been keeping it.'" "I assure you, my lord, there was no mention of your lordship at all. We are on different stories. There was no third person there; and if anything had been said about your lordship I must have heard it."

MISERY'S PEAR-TREE.

AN ANCIENT LEGEND OF FLANDERS.

Once upon a time, there lived in the village of Vlcq, on the banks of the Scheldt, a good woman called Misery, who went about begging from door to door. In those days, the village of Vlcq was little better than a hamlet; it lay on the edge of a marsh, and there were only a few miserable farms covered with rushes to be seen. Misery dwelt apart in a lonely hut plastered with clay, where her sole companion was her dog, Faro; and her worldly goods were a staff and a scrip, which too often she brought back almost empty. To tell the truth, however, she had besides, in a little enclosure behind her hovel, a tree,—a single one. This tree was a pear-tree, so beautiful that its like has never been seen since the famous apple-tree of the Garden of Eden. The only delight that Misery experienced in this world was to eat the fruit of her garden,—that is, of her pear-tree.

Unhappily, the little boys of the village came to rob her enclosure. Every day, Misery started forth with Faro to beg; but in the autumn, Faro remained at home to guard the pears; and it was heart-breaking to both, for the poor woman and the poor dog loved each other with a great affection.

Now, there came a winter in which for two whole months it hailed fit to break the very stones. Then there fell such a snow that the wolves left the woods and came into people's houses. It was a terrible time for the whole country, and Misery and Faro suffered more than the rest. One evening, when the wind howled and the snow piled up in great drifts, the two unfortunates were nestling close to keep each other warm before the dying embers on the hearth, when a knock was heard on the door. Always, whenever any one came near the cabin, Faro barked with rage, thinking that it was the little marauders. This evening, on the contrary, he began to whimper gently, and to wag his tail as a mark of joy.

"For the love of God," cried a pleading voice, "open your door to a poor man who is perishing of cold and hunger!"

"Pull the latch-string," answered Misery. "It shall never be said that in such a time as this I would keep one of the dear Lord's creatures outside."

The stranger entered; he seemed even older and more miserable than Misery, and had no other covering than a blue frock all in tatters.

"Sit you down, my good man," said Misery. "You have come to a very poor place, but I have still something left to warm you up with."

She put her last stick on the fire, and gave the old man three morsels of bread and a pear, which was all she had left. Very soon the flame leaped up, and the old man ate with a hearty appetite. Now, while he ate, Faro licked his feet.

When her guest had finished, Misery wrapped her old coverlet of fustian around him, and forced him to lie down upon her cot, while, for herself, she settled herself to sleep with her head resting on her stool.

In the morning, Misery was the first to awake. "I have nothing left," she said to herself, "and my guest will go hungry. Let us see if there is no way to go and beg something in the village."

She put her head out of the door; the snow had ceased to fall, and the sun shone as if it were a spring day. She turned back to get her staff, and saw the stranger risen and ready to leave.

"What!" said she; "are you going already?"

"My mission is fulfilled," replied the unknown, "and I have to go to give account to my master. I am not what I seem; I am Saint Wanon, the patron of the parish of Condé, and I have been sent by the good father to see how my faithful ones practise charity, which is the first of the Christian virtues. I have knocked at the doors of the burgomaster and the burghers of Condé; I have knocked at the doors of the lord and the farmers of Vlcq; the burgomaster and the burghers of Condé, the lord and the farmers of Vlcq, have let me freeze at their thresholds. Thou alone hast had pity upon me, and thou art as wretched as I. God will reward thee; make a wish and it shall come to pass."

Misery crossed herself and fell on her knees.

"Great Saint Wanon," said she, "I no longer marvel that Faro licked your feet; but it is not for reward that I do a charity. Besides, I have need of nothing."

"Thou art too destitute of everything to have no wants; speak, what wilt thou have?"

Misery kept silent.

"Wilt thou have a beautiful farm, with the granary full of wheat, the wood-house full of wood, the cupboard full of bread? wilt thou have riches? wilt thou have honors? wilt thou be a duchess? wilt thou be a queen?"

Misery shook her head.

"A saint who has any self-respect ought not to be under obligation to a poor woman," returned Saint Wanon, with an air of pique. "Speak, or I shall think thou refusest me from pride."

"Since you insist upon it, great Saint Wanon, I will obey. I have there in my garden a pear-tree which gives me most beautiful pears; unfortunately, the young rogues in the village come to rob me of them, and I am forced to leave poor Faro at home to mount guard. Grant that whoever climbs my pear-tree may not come down without my permission."

"Amen!" replied Saint Wanon, smiling at her simplicity; and after having given her his blessing, he set out upon his journey.

The blessing of Saint Wanon brought good-luck to Misery, and from that time forth she never returned home with an empty sack. Spring followed winter; summer, spring; and autumn, summer. The little boys, seeing Misery go off with Faro, climbed up the pear-tree and stuffed their pockets; but when they

undertook to come down, they found they were caught fast in a trap.

Misery, on her return, beheld them perched up in the tree, left them there a good while, and, when in the kindness of her heart she let them go, set Faro barking at their heels. They did not dare to come again; the villagers themselves avoided passing the enchanted tree, and Misery and Faro lived as happy as one can live here below.

Toward the end of the autumn, Misery was enjoying herself in her garden in the sun, when she heard a voice crying, "Misery! Misery! Misery!" This voice was so mournful that the good woman began to tremble in every limb, and Faro howled as though there had been a corpse in the house.

She turned round and saw a man, tall, lean, yellow, and old,—old as a patriarch. This man carried a scythe as long as a hop-pole.

Misery recognized Death.

"What do you want, man of God?" said she, in an altered voice; "and what have you come for with that scythe?"

"I come to do my work. Come, my good Misery, thine hour hath struck; thou must follow me."

"Already?"

"Already? But thou shouldst thank me; thou who art so poor, so old, and so crippled."

"Not so poor nor so old as you think for, master. I have bread in the cupboard and wood in the pile; I shall be only ninety-five come Candlemas; and as for being crippled, I am as straight as you on my legs,—without offence be it said."

"Go to! Thou wilt be much better off in Paradise."

"We know what we lose; what we gain by change, we know not," said Misery, philosophically. "Besides, it would grieve Faro so much."

"Faro shall follow thee. Come, make up thy mind."

Misery sighed. "Grant me at least a few moments, till I tidy up a bit; I should not like to make the people in the other world ashamed of me."

Death consented.

Misery put on her best gown of flowered Indian muslin, which she had had for more than thirty years, her white bonnet, and her old Silesian mantle,—all worn, but without a hole or a spot,—which she never wore except on the great saints' days.

While dressing herself, she cast a last glance upon her cabin, and called to mind her pear-tree. A strange thought came into her head, and she could hardly keep back a smile.

"While I am getting ready, will you kindly do me a service, man of God?" said she to Death. "If you will get up into my pear-tree and pluck me the three pears which are left, I can eat them on my journey."

"Be it so," said Death, and he got up into the pear-tree.

He plucked the three pears, and attempted to come down, but to his great surprise he was unable to stir from the tree.

"Ho! Misery!" cried he; "help me to get down. I believe this cursed tree is bewitched!"

Misery came to the door-way. Death was making superhuman efforts with his long arms and his long legs, but every time that he got himself free from the tree, the tree, as if it were a living creature, took hold of him again, and folded him in its long branches.

"My soul!" said she; "I am not at all in a hurry to go to Paradise. Thou art very well off. Stay where thou art, my good fellow. The human race will owe me a debt of gratitude."

And Misery shut her door, and left Death perched up in her pear-tree.

At the end of the month, as Death no longer did his work, everybody was astonished to find that there had not been a single loss of life at Vlcq, at Fresnes, and at Condé. The astonishment was redoubled at the end of the next month, especially when it was learned that it was the same at Valenciennes, at Douai, at Lille, and throughout all Flanders.

A like thing had never been heard of; and when the new year came in, it was known by the almanac that the same thing had happened in France, in Belgium, in Holland, as well as with the Austrians, the Swedes, and the Russians.

The year went by, and it was a settled fact that for fifteen months there had not been, throughout the entire world, a single case of death. All the sick had got well without the doctors knowing how or why, which had not at all prevented them from taking to themselves all the credit of the cures.

This year rolled round like the previous one, without any deaths; and when it came to St. Sylvester's day, from one end of the land to the other men embraced one another, and congratulated themselves on having become immortal. There were public rejoicings, and they had a fête in Flanders such as had not been seen since the world was.

The good Flemings, no longer having any fear of dying from indigestion, or from gout or apoplexy, ate and drank their fill. It was calculated that in three days each person ate a bushel of grain, without counting meat and vegetables, and drank a barrel of beer, to say nothing of Geneva and brandy.

I confess, for my part, that I find it hard to believe this; but all the same the world was never so happy, and nobody suspected Misery of being the cause of this universal felicity; Misery did not boast of it, from modesty.

All went well for ten, twenty, thirty years; but, at the end of thirty years, it was not a rare thing to see old men of one hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty years, which ordinarily is the age of the most extreme decrepitude. Now, these last, loaded down with infirmities, with memory gone, blind and deaf, deprived of taste, feeling, and smell, insensible of the slightest enjoyment, began to find that immortality is not at all the great blessing which it had been at first thought to be. They were seen dragging themselves along in the sun, bent double over their

staves, with hoary locks, shaking heads, sightless eyes, coughing, tottering, their flesh gone, out of shape, withered up, like so many enormous snails. The women were even more horrible than the men.

The feeblest of the old men kept their beds; and there was not a house where you did not find five or six beds where the ancestors babbled, to the great weariness of their great-grandsons and the sons of their great-grandsons.

They were even obliged to get them together in immense hospitals, where each new generation was occupied in taking care of the preceding ones, who could not be cured of life. More than this, as there were no longer any wills made, nobody inherited anything, and the new generations possessed nothing of their own, all the property belonging by law to the great-grandfathers and great-great-grandfathers, who could not enjoy it.

Under invalid kings, governments grew weak, laws relaxed, and soon the immortals, sure of not being punished after death, gave themselves up to every crime; they pillaged, robbed, burned, but, alas! they could not kill.

In every kingdom, the cry "Long live the king" became a seditious cry, and was forbidden under the severest penalties, with the exception of the penalty of death. This was not all. As the animals did not die any more than the men, soon the earth was so overrun with inhabitants that it could not nourish them; then came a terrible famine, and men, wandering half-naked through the fields for want of a roof to cover their heads, suffered cruelly from hunger, without being able to die of it.

If Misery had only known of this frightful state of things, she would not have been willing to prolong it, even at the price of life; but, accustomed of old to privations and infirmities, she and Faro suffered less from them than others; and then they had become, as it were, deaf and blind, and Misery did not take much account of what was going on about her.

Then men set themselves to work with as much ardor to seek their final end as they had hitherto done to avoid it. They had recourse to the most subtle poisons and the most deadly weapons; but weapons and poisons only injured their bodies without destroying them.

Formidable wars were decreed. With common accord, in order to render one another the service of mutual destruction, nations rushed to arms, each against the other; but they inflicted the most frightful calamities, without succeeding in killing a single man. A Congress of Death was assembled; the doctors flocked to it from the four quarters of the globe; there came white, black, yellow, and copper-colored; and they all sought together for a remedy against life, without being able to find it. A prize of ten millions was offered to whomsoever it might be that should discover it; all the doctors wrote pamphlets on life, as they used to do on cholera, and they did not cure this disease any more than the other.

It was a more dreadful calamity than the deluge; for it lasted longer, and there appeared no sign of its ever coming to an end.

Now, at this time, there was in Condé a most learned physician, who spoke almost altogether in Latin, and whom they called Dr. De Profundis. He was a most worthy man, who, in the good old times, had helped off many a poor body into the other world, and who now was disgusted at being unable to cure any one. One evening, when he was coming from dining with the mayor of Vlcq, he lost his way in the marsh. Chance brought him near Misery's garden, and he heard a plaintive voice, which said:—

"Oh, who will set me free, and who will deliver the land from immortality, a hundred times worse than the pestilence!"

The learned doctor lifted up his eyes, and his delight was only equalled by his surprise; he had recognized Death.

"What! is it you, my old friend?" said he; "Quid agis in hac pyrâ perched? What are you doing up there in the pear-tree?"

"Nothing at all, Dr. De Profundis; and that is what makes me so unhappy," replied Death; "lend me your hand to get down."

The good doctor gave him his hand, and Death made such an effort to get himself out of the tree that he lifted the doctor off the ground.

The pear-tree immediately seized hold of him, and held him in its branches.

Dr. De Profundis struggled in vain; he was obliged to keep company with Death.

There was much astonishment the next day, and the day after, when he failed to appear. As he gave no sign of life, they had him placarded and advertised in the *Gazette*; but it was labor lost. Dr. De Profundis was the first man that had disappeared from Condé for many a year. Had he, then, found out the secret of dying, and had he, heretofore so generous, kept it for himself alone?

All the inhabitants of Condé set out upon the search, and they beat up the country so well in every sense of the word that they came upon the garden of Misery. At their approach, the doctor waved his handkerchief as a signal of distress.

"This way!" he cried to them. "This way, my friends! Here he is! Here is Death! I was right in my pamphlet. I said we should find him in the marsh of Vlcq, the true nest of the cholera. I have got him at last, but non possumus descendere; we can't get down from this cursed pear-tree."

"Long live Death!" shouted the Condéans in chorus; and they approached without fear.

The first comers held out their hands to Death and the doctor; but, like the doctor, they were taken off the ground, and seized by the branches of the tree. Very soon the pear-tree was entirely covered with men. Wonderful to relate, it grew in proportion as it got hold of people. Those who came afterward took the others by the feet, others hung on to these,

and all together formed the rings of several chains of men which extended to the distance of a musket-shot. But in vain was it that the last ones pulled with all their might; they could not pull off their friends from the accursed tree. They took it into their hands to cut down the pear-tree; they started off to hunt up axes, and began to chop all at once. Alas! they could not even see the marks of their blows.

They looked at one another entirely confounded, and did not know what saint to call on, when Misery was attracted by the noise, and asked the cause of it. They explained to her what had been going on for so long a time, and she comprehended the evil she had unintentionally caused.

"I alone can set Death free; and I consent to do it, but on one condition,—that Death does not come for us, Faro and me, until I have called him three times."

"Agreed," said Death.

"Come down; I give you permission!" said Misery; and Death, the doctor, and the rest fell from the tree like so many over-ripe pears.

Death set himself at work without leaving his place, and sent off those who were in the greatest hurry; but every one wanted to be first. The great man saw that he would have too much on his hands. To assist him, he raised an army of doctors, and appointed Dr. De Profundis general-in-chief.

A few days sufficed to Death and the doctor to relieve the earth of the excess of the living, and everything got back into order again. Everybody who was more than a hundred years old had the right to die, and did so, with the exception of Misery, who held herself quiet, and who, since then, has not yet called Death three times.

That is the reason, they say, why Misery is always with us in the world.

MR. PARSONS AND HIS WORK.

[This record of most unselfish and truly philanthropic work, done by an Orthodox minister whose soul is far larger than his creed, must command the deepest sympathy of all who love mankind.—Ed.]

To THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER:—
The questions asked by your correspondent have been asked by many others. Will you allow me to answer them in the Register, and tell you the financial side of this surprising story?

In May last, the attention of the New York Evening Post was called to Mr. Parsons, and his offer to take poor little children into country homes for two weeks during the summer. The Post stated this plan simply and distinctly, and called upon its readers for contributions to defray the expense of railway fares, offering at the same time to become their financial agent, to receive and apply all money given for this purpose, and to send out with Mr. Parsons needy children collected from the lowest quarters of the city. The money began to come in at once, and kept coming, in sums ranging from thirteen cents to two hundred dollars. Thirty-two lists were published in the Post from May 25 to August 29. The total amount received was two thousand nine hundred and eighty or ninety dollars and some odd cents. Out of this sum, one thousand and seventy-six needy ones, large and small, have had two weeks and more of unexpected happiness instead of their daily misery. The distance travelled away from New York and Brooklyn varied from two hours to twelve. In three special instances, they involved a night on the Hudson River, and three or four hours afterwards by rail. You will not find this an expensive record. Can money be made to do more?

Mr. Parsons found the places in the country by personal application. His own travelling expenses were provided for by season or transient passes over the different roads, given to him, like everything else, gladly, by the one great human heart, God's heart, beating in all the world. During the week, he introduced himself and his errand to the editors of local newspapers, and to resident ministers. He came sometimes upon a conference in session, or some county association of Sunday-schools. He was received as a stranger, with marked interest, or with a little suspicion and distrust, as it "happened." On Sunday, he presented his cause in any pulpit where he could gain permission; as, for instance, asking some Presbyterian brother for ten minutes before his sermon began, and some Baptist brother the same morning for ten minutes after his sermon was finished. And in ten minutes, many things can be said, where the tongue wags at both ends, and the listeners grow, second by second, more earnest and still!

In one instance, the speaker announced that he had places enough for dear, pretty little girls with curly hair and blue eyes,—little girls that one could take some pride in doing for; quiet little girls who would make no trouble. And he wanted places now for naughty little boys; especially for such as one troublesome little Dickie, who broke down a farmer's fruit-tree the year before, and went into all sorts of mischief,—poor Dickie! nine years old, with swellings in the glands of his neck, and hemorrhage, and not a bit taller since last summer; and his lame, tired mother dreading to see the doctor, lest he should tell her she must lose him. Before Mr. Parsons was out of the pulpit, one man had engaged Dickie. "You shall have him," was the answer; "he is a dear, bright little fellow; and there are plenty of Dickies." Some one else offered to take two unruly boys; and a third promised room for half a dozen of any sort selected. Boys were in the ascendant afterwards.

A call came from one village for twelve girls. The mission-teacher who was asked to make the hasty selection in the very height of the season appeared at the train with twelve boys and one girl. She could

find no girls who needed the change so much as these boys did, she said. What could she do? Could they go, or must she take them to their homes again? No; they must go. And what would become of them in the country? They will find a welcome, was the answer. The country people will understand it. And they did. One of their entertainers wrote to a mother: "I grew very fond of your boy during his two weeks' stay. He is a perfect little gentleman; and we shall be glad to see him again next summer. I hope to hear that his cough is better."

At a junction, coming back alone, and waiting for connection, there is time for Mr. Parsons to drop in at the tailor's shop and have the buttons on his coat repaired,—terribly loosened in every trip by the children's handling,—and time to tell his story. Perhaps it is the tailor who says he should like to have two of the little strangers come to him; perhaps it is the tailor's wife, or some one standing by, who says that at her father's farm, a few miles back, it would only be a pleasure to care for three or four. The names are hurriedly written down; there is no time to shake hands over it; the train is coming. A round of good-bys with eyes and voices, and in the village shop there is something left better than gossip that summer evening; and half a dozen moaning little ones in the seething city do not know yet that they have found more than a dozen warm new friends.

The time is past when Willard Parsons can expect to be held as an impersonality. His work must be certified; its method is offered for inspection and study. It is no dream; it is a reform, which must move on in the full light. He has given more than any of us to the work of last summer. He is not a man of means; he has no money to give. He gave his services, although he had no home, no income, and his strength was not equal to the care of a parish and the children too. He chose to abide by the children. It was suggested that the call of the Evening Post for contributions to its "Fresh Air Fund" should be made to include his support; but this he declined. No suspicion of his being a broken-down minister, taking care of himself under the pretence of benevolence, must be allowed, for the children's sakes, to create a misunderstanding or prejudice towards him in his work. Friends, and their friends, recognizing this, have taken care that, after a raven sort of fashion, he should have his simple daily bread.

The office-rooms of the Evening Post have been his headquarters; and all their facilities were at his disposal. Throughout the summer, their columns have been freely offered to all who had communications, notes, or suggestions to make which could increase the interest so widely felt in this work, or could aid in its success. Many grateful thanks are given to the Evening Post for its graceful and most hospitable summer care.

Mr. Parsons is a Presbyterian minister, a bachelor, nearer forty than thirty years old. Those who desire to know more of the larger work which he hopes to do in the country for the delicate children of the poor next summer, or who would be interested in his plans and efforts to lessen the distress in their wretched city homes this coming winter, will find him at No. 40 New Bowery, near Chatham Square, New York. He has been sought as superintendent of the "Howard Mission and Home for Little Wanderers," and has just accepted the place and entered upon its duties. This mission is, as it should be for him to work in, independent,—connected with no sect or church. It marks itself "evangelical," but it takes broad ground for humanity; it promises to educate, cure, employ, and take by the hand, weak, suffering, sinning human bodies and souls.

Having thus answered many practical questions most naturally asked, may I ask you some in my turn? Will you do all that one paper can to stimulate an enthusiasm for genuine German kindergartening? Why should it be tampered with, and lowered, to "adapt it to American ways"? And why should the unreal, new thing be persistently mis-called by the old, real name? Why should not American ways and ideas adapt themselves loyally, even in names, to the best? E. I. L.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., October, 1878.

WHAT ARE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES?

Governor Bishop, of Ohio, having issued a proclamation calling upon "all Christian people" to appoint a day of prayer on behalf of the yellow fever sufferers, Mr. Daniel Wolf and Mr. B. Simon, of Cincinnati, wrote to him asking, in effect, if Jews might not also pray for the sufferers. The governor replied that the "word Christian was used by him only as a general term, intended to embrace all who recognized and relied upon divine protection in the hour of need." The inquiry of Messrs. Wolf and Simon seems to us to have been perfectly proper and reasonable; and while Governor Bishop's reply may acquit him of laying an intentional slight upon the Jews, it certainly convicts him of a very loose use of the English language, if not, indeed, of ignorance most reprehensible in a public official.

The term "Christian," notwithstanding Governor Bishop's explanation, does not "embrace all who recognize and rely upon divine protection." The Jews, the Mohammedans, the Buddhists, "recognize and rely upon divine protection," but no one except Governor Bishop would think of calling them "Christian people." Governor Bishop, like many estimable but thoughtless people, has fallen into the noxious habit of applying the term "Christian" to all deeds of virtue and charity, and to all people who do such deeds. We hear of the "Christian" sentiment of the country; we read of the "Christian" charity of people who contribute to the yellow fever fund; we are constantly having the pet fallacy dinned into our ears that all that is good and noble is "Christian," and

that all that is un-Christian is the reverse of good and noble.

We protest against this misuse of terms. Christianity has no monopoly of virtues. It was not Christian sentiment that prompted the boys in our Hebrew Orphan Asylum last week to send their mite out of their meagre pocket-money to a Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum in New Orleans. This was a truly Jewish act. We have heard of no Protestant or Catholic Orphan Asylum that has followed the example. It is not Christian charity that has prompted the Jews all over this country to contribute, more liberally in proportion to their numbers, than all other sects combined, to the yellow fever fund. This was true Jewish charity.

The arrogance of Christians in claiming for themselves all the virtues of humanity is but a survival of the old Pharisee boast: "I am holier than thou." That Christianity deserves much credit, we do not deny; that it has much of good in its system cannot be gainsaid. But this is because Christianity, the offspring of Judaism, has retained in its system much that is Jewish, and because it is impossible for a religious system to be tinged with Judaism and not have something good in it.

In the name of the Jews we claim a share of human—not Christian—virtues. In the name of humanity we deny that virtues are sectarian. It is not Christian virtue that keeps Jewish men sober, and Jewish women chaste; it is not Christian virtue that has made the Jewish home a type of domestic purity and peace; it is not to Christian virtue that we owe the fact that Jews, in proportion to their numbers, contribute less to the criminal classes than any other sect; nor to Christian intelligence that is due the additional fact that Jews, in proportion to their numbers, contribute more than any other sect to the ranks of men famous in music, literature, politics, science, and commerce.

A truce, then, to this arrogant gush about Christian virtue, Christian charity, Christian sentiment. What is most noble is most human; what is most human is least sectarian. The Jews claim their just share of virtues; they deny that they are Christian virtues, but they will not insist that they are Jewish virtues, as long as they are recognized as human.—New York Reformer.

THE LOCAL paper says that a Bible-agent has disposed of one hundred and eighteen \$18 Bibles to the conductors, engineers, brakemen, and other employes of the Fitchburg road. We trust the local paper is misinformed, and that no Bible-agent is abroad preying upon the substance of men of limited income at this rate. Over \$2100 spent for Bibles by one hundred and eighteen men, and for big Bibles which lie on the parlor tables, a gilt bauble, unopened and unread. It used to be the fashion to establish one of these fetiches in every house, as a part of the family pretensions to respectability; but we are glad to observe that this vulgar estimation of the sacred book is falling into decay, and we should hope that Bible-agents would be instructed in accord with the improving taste of the time. The last \$18 Bible which came under our notice was a Christmas present to a dusky washerwoman from her children, all of them working on scant wages, with only a thin skin of ice between them and poverty. That was away back in "good times," when it was fashionable to "sling money." When we are dropping the expensive miseries of bad habits, let us not forget that a wise frugality in other things is necessary to husband the family resources and its happiness, and that Bibles of moderate size, not too small or too big, but about the size of a common book, are the most constant investment for the purse and for plenty.—Springfield Republican.

Poetry.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

UNNAMED.

TO S. H. M.

I do not see, dear friend, as seest thou
The mystic worlds whose million glitterings bind
The swelling span of night. My senses feel
A vaguely conceived yearning softly steal
Upon their musing o'er the orbs that flow
Their dreamy courses through the seas of space.
I know of Nature what thou dost not find,
Survey in each new scene a blending grace
Whose every tint is beauty, that thy mind
Fits to ideals to mine dissimilar.
We share the passioned hope, seek longingly
To pierce the gloom: Thou seest in things that are
A witnessed God; I forge no term to key
The sweet, low whisper of grand mystery!

HORACE L. TRAUBEL.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 30.

E. Namberg, \$2.20; Chas. Post, \$30; Dr. M. J. Safford, \$2.20; Wiley Britton, \$1; L. F. Johnson, \$2; Mrs. James S. Kelley, \$3.20; Chas. Graeter, \$3.20; E. L. Crane, \$3; M. H. Howard, 60 cents; A. Gourand, 80 cents; E. A. Sawtelle, 60 cents; Cash, \$1; O. L. Spaulding, \$3.20; Hon. J. C. Bliss, \$3.20; T. B. Skinner, 25 cents; William Sterns, \$3.20; Dr. G. E. Corbin, \$2; F. V. Smith, \$3.20; L. T. Ives, \$3.20; Atherton Blight, \$3.20; Seth Hunt, \$10; Joseph Whitney, \$3.20; Francis Alger, \$3.20; E. W. Presbrey, \$5; J. S. Shaler, \$1.20; Henry M. North, \$3.50.

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

The Index.

BOSTON, DEC. 5, 1878.

THE INDEX is published every Thursday by the INDEX ASSOCIATION, at No. 281 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON. TOLEDO Office, No. 35 Monroe Street: J. T. FRET, Agent and Clerk. All letters should be addressed to the Boston Office.

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CROSBY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZUR WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

MR. UNDERWOOD lectures at Marysville, Ohio, December 3, 4, and 5, and at Big Rapids, Mich., December 7 and 8.

THERE is no lecturer among the Spiritualists who shows a better appreciation of the common principles and interests of all liberals than Mr. C. B. Lynn. He lectured at Troy, N. Y., November 24, on "Church and State," and made a very forcible statement of the necessity and utility of State Secularization.

THE SPRINGFIELD Republican shows that the ideas of the Liberal League are beginning to exert their legitimate influence: "It is a rare thing to find anybody who is exempted from a tax complaining of the fact; but the Michigan conference of Unitarian churches has resolved that, whereas the fundamental principles of this government are based upon absolute separation of Church and State, and the exemption of churches from taxation is an infringement of this principle, therefore it does earnestly protest against this species of injustice which compels the indirect taxation of many of our citizens to support forms of worship in which they do not believe, and which demoralizes the ethical standard of the churches themselves, making them dependents upon the State, rather than inferior yet independent factors of it."

A WASHINGTON dispatch of November 14 said: "The first of the Utah polygamy cases which stands on the calendar of the United States Supreme Court for the October term came up to-day on assignment, and was argued by Ben Sheeks of Utah, for the prisoner, George Reynolds, and by Attorney-General Devens for the United States. Reynolds, who is a Mormon, was indicted by the grand jury in 1875, for having contracted a polygamous marriage. Upon his plea of not guilty, he was tried in the district court for the Territory of Utah, and convicted. Upon an appeal to the Territorial supreme court, the judgment of the lower tribunal was affirmed, and the prisoner thereupon appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of error. The errors assigned are very numerous, but only one involves the question of general public interest, namely: 'whether the United States Congress has a constitutional right to prohibit polygamous marriages in the Territories.' It was contended by the counsel for the prisoner that polygamy is enjoined as a religious duty, and held as an article of faith by the sect to which the latter belongs, and that Congress is forbidden by the first amendment to the Constitution to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or to prohibit the free exercise thereof. Attorney-General Devens, of the counsel for the United States, urged in reply, that an interpretation of the Constitution which would restrain Congress from attaching a penalty to the crime of polygamy on account of its being an article of religious faith would also restrain it from attaching a penalty to any other crime which might be sanctioned by religion; that, under this rigid interpretation of the Constitution, a sect of East Indian Thugs who should settle in the Territories might commit murder with impunity, on the ground that it was sanctioned and enjoined by their system of religious belief. He closed with an eloquent and impressive reference to the well-known Mountain Meadow Massacre by the Mormon 'avenging angels,' as an illustration of the fanatical extreme to which men might be carried under a mistaken conviction of religious duty."

THE BIBLE AT THE BAR OF REASON.

There are many ways by which minds originally bred in Orthodoxy find their way to larger and freer views of religious truth. One is the way of imbibition, by which one unawares drinks in, as it were, the general disbelief of supernaturalism that pervades society in these modern days, and becomes radical before he knows it. Another way is that of conscious repulsion from still preached doctrines that become more and more abhorrent to reason and unperverted moral sentiment in proportion as they are pressed upon public attention. Still another way is that of conscientious study of the "evidences of Christianity," in the light of the literature of modern criticism, science, and philosophy. Others still might be readily enumerated, but this would be unnecessary.

One of the chief obstacles to the popular dissemination of the truth respecting Christianity has been the fact that hitherto the important discoveries of modern scholarship have been mostly buried, so far as the common people are concerned, in costly volumes filled with elaborate technical disquisitions on points beyond the comprehension of the average mind. This fulness of original investigation, discussion, and presentation is indispensable to the education of the teachers of the people; there is no sense in the complaints sometimes urged against it. But nevertheless it operates as a practical barrier to the diffusion of knowledge among the people at large, until these teachers undertake the humbler task of popularizing the results attained by throwing them into simple and condensed form, and bringing them before the general reader in treatises not too expensive for wide circulation. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this work, or the value of the services rendered to truth and human welfare by those who perform it.

Especially is what we have said applicable to the case of the Bible. This book is still regarded by millions of well-meaning people as "God's Holy Word," in a sense which is true of no other book ever printed. Whether believed to be "plenary inspired" or not, it is believed to be the only "authoritative revelation of God's will to man," and, as such, entitled to supersede without question every conclusion of the "unassisted human reason" that contradicts its teachings, whether in the province of history, physical science, philosophy, ethics, natural religion, or any other branch of human knowledge. The practical working of this belief is to quench the blaze of modern discovery, and leave the human mind at the mercy of those who, in matters intellectual, "love darkness rather than light." More than this, the effect is to perpetuate those unfavorable educational conditions of society which have grown out of the superstitious veneration for the Bible, and which block the path to a true social development. In every point of view, popular ignorance of what the Bible really is remains still, even at this late day, a source of popular indifference to the reform of innumerable social evils which are more or less visibly rooted in the Bible's influence.

It is cause for congratulation, therefore, that several valuable efforts have been made of late to illuminate the general public mind as to the real character of the Bible, treating it simply as a part of general literature, and not as an "inspired" book. The chief results of the criticism of such eminent scholars as Ewald, Baur, Strauss, Zeller, Bleek, Kuenen, and a host of others, are now brought within the reach of the common reader in forms that will not overstrain his interest or overtax his powers. In this laudable work the new Dutch school of liberal theologians have been of especial service. The *Bible for Learners*, written by Oort, Hooykaas, and Kuenen, and translated by Wicksteed, of which two volumes covering the Old Testament have already appeared, takes up the history of the people of Israel, and sifts it in the light of modern scholarship; it enables the intelligent reader to understand the Bible narratives, discriminating between the fact and the fiction woven in them, and separating the wheat from the chaff. A little book, by J. T. Sunderland, of Chicago, entitled *What is the Bible?* has just been published for the purpose of imparting trustworthy information about the Bible in a very condensed form, and of dissipating the crude popular beliefs of its infallibility, inspiration, self-harmony, etc. Containing less than two hundred pages, and giving only the most general results unencumbered with the antecedent processes, it is admirably calculated to meet the wants of people who have no time or taste for elaborate discussions on the subject. Perhaps it errs by excess of brevity, and gives scarcely enough to satisfy the curiosity of

the inquirer, while giving too much to satisfy the "faith" of the confirmed "believer."

In this latter respect, the *Bible of To-day*, by John W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, seems to attain the golden mean. It is full without being tedious, and, so far as our knowledge extends, is the very best book of the kind in existence. With regard to the Old Testament, it treats of "Ancient Fragments, 1320-800 B.C."; of "Prophetic and Contemporaneous Literature, 800-500 B.C."; of the "Age of Priestly Authors, 500-200 B.C."; and of "Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature, 200 B.C.-100 A.D." With regard to the New Testament, it gives with clearness and sufficient detail the chief points that have been established respecting the Pauline and other Epistles, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse. It contains about three hundred pages, and is an invaluable compend for general use. Mr. Chadwick's style is excellently adapted to the work he has undertaken, and relieves the dryness of mere literary discussion with flashes of humor and the constant beauty of a genial, truth-loving, and reverential spirit. He supplies a want that has long been seriously felt, and cannot fail of winning the grateful appreciation of a very large circle of readers.

We ought not to omit to mention in this connection the series of lessons on the same general subject which Mr. W. C. Gannett, of St. Paul, has been periodically issuing for many months, in the shape of instalments of what we understand is designed to form a book when completed. Although we have had no opportunity to see these lessons, we have heard them spoken of in the highest terms by excellent judges, and know enough of Mr. Gannett's accurate scholarship and faithful, painstaking, and conscientious habit of mind to feel assured that these reports have told less than the truth.

It is greatly cheering to those who believe that the world will be made better, not worse, when the Bible has taken the place to which it is really entitled in general literature, to see these frank, timely, and invaluable attempts at popular illumination respecting its genuine character. Slowly the truth makes its way, but it does make its way at last. Individual tollers drop away, "wearied with the march of life;" but the cause of human progress, subject though it is to fluctuations and temporary reverses, never is defeated in the final upshot. Greater than men is man; and he is the greatest of men who most faithfully lives for man. Were it not that truth is the organic law of the human mind, against which no insurrection of churches or of mobs is or can be successful, who could contend against the mountainous discouragements which must be surmounted by the lover of truth who loves it, not for his own sake alone, but for the sake of his race as well? It is experience, not blind and baseless faith, which bids the undaunted spirit hold its own against hoary falsehood in Church and State; the long experience of the world tells him he does well to "trust the larger hope," and look steadfastly for the ultimate response of mankind to every true word he speaks. Even in the presence of the vast superstition respecting the Bible which broods like an enormous shadow over the human mind, there is no reason to doubt the final triumph of better thought and purer feeling. The race is still in its infancy; it can afford to grow slowly; its grand maturity will, for many a long day, exist solely as the dream of the lonely thinker or the scarcely less lonely worker for better things. Even in that distant epoch, when the minds of men shall no longer be as those of children in religious matters, the Bible will still retain its hold upon the respectful attention of the world: for manhood, better than heedless youth, remembers tenderly and lovingly the things and thoughts of vanished childhood. All that the Bible contains of truth and moral inspiration is imperishable; all that it contains less lofty or pure will be charitably forgotten. But to-day the need is deep and strong of honest, fearless, plain-spoken teaching; and as is the need, so also—thanks to the constitution of this universe—is the supply.

"THE OTHER SIDE."

The Rev. Joseph Cook is evidently hard pushed at times to find subjects for the "Preludes" to his Monday Lectures. And quite as evidently, as THE INDEX of last week showed, he does not always take pains to inform himself on the topics he chooses for these preliminary talks. A grosser piece of injustice, I venture to say, was never committed on any platform than that which he was guilty of in his attempted review of the Liberal League Congress at Syracuse,—wherein he confounds throughout the National Liberal League with the Free Religious

Association, as if they were one and the same body. But this injustice was sufficiently exposed in the editorial columns last week. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Cook will now confess the wrong as publicly as he committed it.

In his "Prelude" the following week, Mr. Cook had to make the most of rather a small point,—though he began, with his usual sensational rhetoric, as if he had something of vast moment to announce. He said that "a large significant star had lately appeared above the horizon of American religious science,—though the wall-eyed Radicalism of Boston was blind to it." This "star" proved to be the recent endowment of a professorship at Andover Theological Seminary on the "Relations of Christianity and Science," with a foundation of \$50,000. This, indeed, is a very good thing for Andover to do. It is a somewhat significant thing. It is one of the signs that the educators of Christian ministers begin to recognize that Christianity has been put on the defensive by modern science. This, however, is a sign which Mr. Cook does not appear to recognize in his "star." On the contrary, he goes on to talk as if Andover were now to be open to the broadest possible discussions of the relations between science and religion, and its students to be encouraged to the fullest and most unbiased investigation of all the questions involved. Were this really to be the case, it would be a sign of momentous import. It would be tokened a theological revolution. It would be the assertion of the authority of human reason in religion above the claims of miraculous revelation. But neither Andover nor Mr. Cook is yet ready for this step. They may be moving unconsciously towards it, but they have no thought of yet taking it. And prudent thinkers will be slow to share Mr. Cook's apparent belief that all the puzzling problems between religion and science are now to be solved for the American pulpit. They will at least wait to see how the Andover professorship is filled, and in what spirit its duties are administered. They will readily admit that a broad-minded man, equipped with a thorough knowledge of both religion and science, might do much good in such a chair; but they will naturally think that it is more likely to be filled by some one of that "wall-eyed" type of Christianity which is blind to the real claims of science. Mr. Cook's Monday Lectureship, for instance, has been in existence several years, and has been specially devoted to the discussion of the relations of religion and science. But it has shown itself so "wall-eyed" with Christian bigotry on the one hand, and has been convicted so often of charlatany and ignorance in scientific matters on the other hand, that it may be doubted whether it has contributed anything but confusion to the discussion of the problems it has had in hand. It certainly has not solved any one of them. And when Mr. Cook in his florid zeal, not unmingled with a strong flavor of personal conceit, goes on to ask, "Where are the lectureships, professorships, books, etc., on the other side?" "What enterprises have they started like the Andover endowment and his lectureship?" the prudent reader can but smile at the naivete of the Monday lecturer. "The other side," as Mr. Cook expresses it, though it has had no professorship at Andover and no "Monday lectureship" in Boston, has certainly kept the theologians of the Christian Church pretty busy for the last generation or two. It has issued books by the score, like Darwin's and Lyell's and Tyler's and Haeckel's; not to speak of such Biblical critiques as Ewald's, Baur's, and Kuenen's. Even Huxley and Tyndall, though Mr. Cook rules them out of court for "narrowness consequent upon their lack of university education," have put many a university bred clergyman and lecturer to their mettle in defence of the theological dogmas of the Christian Church. I have seen it complained of in religious newspapers that "the other side" is altogether too strong in our colleges and in our scientific schools and technological institutes,—that it has professorships and lecturers, in fact, wherever science is taught,—unless the science be supervised and revised in the interest of certain religious beliefs. Indeed, if I remember rightly, Mr. Cook himself, in previous courses of lectures, has complained of Harvard College as given over to "the other side"; and I have heard it whispered that it was with a view to counteracting "Cambridge and Boston infidelity" that the so-called "Monday Lectureship" was established. At least "the other side" appears to have given him most of the topics for his lectures thus far, and to its activity he owes indirectly his career as a public lecturer. And the new Andover professorship is a piece of countermining by the Christian Church to withstand the "enter-

prise" of "the other side." In short, "the other side," to which Mr. Cook unwittingly refers, is the movement of freethought which has come with modern civilization; and neither Mr. Cook, with the broom of his Monday lectureship, nor the more fair and learned man who is to fill, we trust, the new chair at Andover, will be able to push back the tide.

W. J. P.

HUMANITY IN THE PALACES.

Two or three Sundays ago I found myself in New York, and in what may be called old New York. That part of the city, on that day, is a wonder of the world. You may scan the amazing architecture without being overrun by men and vehicles as on other days, for the people are not in the streets, except perhaps an apple-woman, or a policeman trying the doors to see if they have been left locked. You are among warehouses, vast and grand,—some of them where churches used to be. Trinity and St. Paul are there still. What they think of the various modern steeples that now surround and almost overtop them is best known to themselves. Perhaps if they could speak, they would call them temples of Mammon, and perhaps not. This is a marvel, this vast city, grown up from comparatively a village, within the memory of men now living. I stroll up and up Broadway.

There is a wonderful young man in this city. He is of a race noted in history. He may be a lineal descendant of that prophet whom the history of that race immortalizes for having slain some four hundred and fifty priests of Baal at the brook Kishon, and who then had to flee from the wrath of Jezebel, the owner of said priests. Under a juniper-tree in the wilderness he wished he might die, but the God of Israel took care to make him sleep on that foolish thought, and sent an angel to feed him. Next thing, in a cave, the same deity gave him a memorable lesson as to the proper way of making the world better. If the young man alluded to is Elijah *redivivus*, he has profited greatly by that lesson. He will slay more priests of Jezebel with no bloodshed at all. His name is Felix Adler.

I wanted to hear this Felix that Sunday; but my memory did not retain the locality of his place of teaching; and among the hundreds of notices of Sunday services in the newspapers, I could not find it, nor by inquiry at hotels. What a vast world this is, in which such a man can be hid! I cannot comprehend this single one of the thousand cities of my race, to say nothing of the whales of the sea and the grasshoppers of the desert; and yet I am expected to know the Infinite!

By the time the church bells were ringing I was up Broadway where, when a very little boy, I once saw fields and looked back at the city from high rocks. So with the soothing, blessed chimes in my ears, I stepped into Grace Church, where Dean Stanley preached the previous Sunday. It seemed likely to be crowded, and the portly sexton and his assistants were having their hands full to find seats for strangers. But that good man, without my telling him I was a little deaf, placed me in the rector's own pew, where I could not fail to hear every word. And never were words better worth hearing than those of Henry C. Potter, uttered that day. He will not quite have done his duty, however, till they are printed.

Before he took his text I was prepared for a good sermon, by his announcing the establishment of an "Industrial School" in his parish, and inviting his parishioners to aid him in the enterprise.

His text was from the incomparable cxlii. Psalm, that immortal lyric which embodies in the fewest words the upward social forces of humanity. And here I cannot but stop to remark how some of the greatest and best lyrical achievements in the world are really anonymous. This psalm, which may well enough be called miraculous, is attributed to King David. But to do this is unjust both to David and the Psalm. We cannot suppose him to have written the fifth verse without attributing to him an egotism entirely inconsistent with the sublimity and lyric fervor of the production. Some Israelite of a subsequent age, when the sins of David were forgotten in the glory of his genius, on his way up to Jerusalem with the joyous company of his tribe, may well have written, "For there are set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David." For David himself to have written it was to blot his psalm with his own self-conceit and self-righteousness. It is often a heart the least known that utters the voice of the race.

Dr. Potter began his discourse by accounting for

the great popularity of Dean Stanley, who had so crowded his church the week before; and he did so, not by attributing it to the superior wisdom or the dogmas of his church, but to his being one who opened his mind to all science, drinking in the wisdom of the age from every source. Of course the rector had to glorify the English mother church a little; and beginning far back of the eighth Henry, with the venerable Bede, he recounted her illustrious sons down to Dean Stanley, placing in his catalogue observably the names of men who were generally snubbed by the higher prelates of their day, such as glorious Ralph Cudworth, the ripe scholar and sincere Christian who temporarily demolished the terrible Hobbes; and then in his *Intellectual System of the Universe* attacked the infidels and atheists of all ages at once, doing it in a very different style from Bishop Fell's. In fact his candor was so large and his learning so thorough that he really proved atheists to be only theists on a broader scale; for he naively says, "These confounded atheists do at the same time when they verbally deny an idea of God implicitly acknowledge and confess it." Consequently his charity for atheists was not of the stingy sort so common to ecclesiastics.

Hobbes, whose heresy provoked the spear of Cudworth, began by assuming that man is naturally a beast of prey (not pray), nothing more or less. Consequently society is a composite, irresistible beast, a "Leviathan," so to speak. And is there not some danger, Cudworth notwithstanding, that, after all, our proud republic will show itself a mere brute—and of the annelid order at that? But Hobbes, no more than Cudworth, would deny that men as we find them are beings capable of exceeding happiness or misery, according to character and surroundings; so that, after the furious battle of that great century in which they lived, such men in ours as Stanley and Arnold, in the very bosom of the church, have come to the practical conclusion that, whatever may be true of extreme and bigoted atheists or extreme and bigoted theists, there may be and are good sceptics,—men who with the fullest sense of moral obligation to the principles of order and justice throw wet blankets over all super-scientific speculations about the infinite—past or future, high or low—only to persuade mankind more wisely to expend their energies in attaining the knowledge within reach, and making each other better and happier here and now, on the principle that a future eternity is only a repetition of now. These are the men of whom Franklin, Jefferson, and Lincoln have been types, not to say that Jesus, so far as we really know anything of him, was of the same sort.

Having thus given credit to his church, as well as to science, for the liberality of its most liberal members, Dr. Potter ably set forth the duty of a wealthy church, "Peace within her walls, and prosperity in her palaces," to do something for peace and prosperity outside. It was a noble sermon of human brotherhood, showing how the rich and the poor may cooperate to make both classes vastly happier than they are.

Here, then, is a clergyman who holds that the Church is to be the salt of this world as well as seasoning for another, and from this position it is but a single step to that of honestly paying its fair share of the taxes. If the Church, as Dr. Potter earnestly advised it, is going to do its best to prevent pauperism, it will of course begin by not being a pauper itself. It will join the Liberal League. It will not hesitate for a moment to set a patriotic example to those outside its pale.

It is to be understood that before listening to this grand sermon in such a place, I heard from their own lips a great deal about that fine congregation being all "miserable sinners," which I was too charitable to believe. Possibly some of them might have been sinners, but none seemed to be miserable. This struck me as a sort of parrot talk, venerated for its age, and being sandwiched between fine architecture and delightful music is likely to last some ages longer. Taken for what it is worth it is rather monotonous but not intolerable, and by way of contrast sets off a really grand and good sermon wonderfully well. I would willingly hear it many times more, to hear afterwards the great problem of the age so fairly grappled with. Such preaching reminds me of Samuel Royce's great work on *Deterioration and Race Education*, which possibly has set it a-going. It is the waking up of great minds to the new necessities growing out of a century of scientific thought, which has given the human mind such way over matter that hundreds of old handicrafts are almost dismissed from the world, and three-fourths of the young are growing up without knowing what

to do or how to get a living. The old system of education in things—that is, in handicraft arts especially—is done away with, and our education in words is no substitute for it. A new education in the nature of things, under the light which Baconian science has shed upon it, must at once be instituted, and thoroughly applied to the class of people who form the basis or foundation of society. Victories of mind over matter are of no use, if the mass of the people are to be left without knowledge of the new tools by which they can each and all achieve victories for themselves, justice being fairly established. There is want of salt here, and the churches have plenty of work to do. I believe Dr. Potter has undertaken this work, and no commendation of his noble example can be too high. All success to his industrial school.

E. W.

Communications.

THE SCIENCE OF UNIVERSOLOGY.

BY STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

No. XXXI.

The proposition seems to be made good, by the preceding partial interpretation of the Apocalypse, that the mysteries of theology are, in a large degree, an adoption, a partial misapprehension, and a sort of sanctimonious exaggeration or exaltation, of the early and really profound speculations of philosophy. This view of the case will be confirmed by a farther-on examination of the subject; and the time seems propitious now for the revindication, by philosophy, of what was originally its own. To that end, the "secret wisdom," the Kabbala, and the Kabbalistic writings of the Old and New Testaments, must be re-examined in the light of a kind of scientific criticism exactly adapted to the case. *Universology*, which re-discovers the intellectual grounds of the early system of symbolism—which was the first attempt at the elaboration of a universal science—furnishes the key for, and is that alone which is competent to, the solution demanded. Nothing will more conduce to put the rightfulness of this claim past all doubt than an investigation of the nature and meaning of the so-called sacred numbers. In what precedes, of the interpretation of the revelation, I have purposely omitted numerical passages, reserving them for a special treatment under this head.

One, the One, was (and is) the head-number of all numeration; but it stood, as has been shown, in immediate relation with Two and Three,—they, collectively, being the composite head of number. Reflect how the world's first serious thinkers must have struggled with the primary problems of number and geometrical form; questions seemingly so simple that they had long ceased to excite interest in the scientific world, until they are, at this moment, recalled for universological purposes. To have discriminated the cardinal from the ordinal numbers, fractions from whole numbers, odd from even numbers, or the three dimensions,—each and every step was a grand scientific triumph of that early dawn of science and discovery. And for us, the solution of mysticism lies in recurring to just those beginning-points, and in taking up threads of investigation which were then provisionally abandoned.

As the definite science of mathematics emerged, the *positivistic* minds of that early day diverged from further search into the logical and metaphysical meaning of those prime elements (of number and form), and followed out the special elaboration of the new science. The subtler questions affecting the *qualitative properties of number*, completely surrendered by this class of thinkers for the more obvious and practical considerations of quantity, fell into comparative disrepute, and a feeling doubtless arose among them, like that for which the positivists of this age quote Newton as saying: "O physics, beware of metaphysics!" The subtler meanings were retained only in the memory of the common people, as something which science had been engaged upon, and so became first *traditional*, and then *mythological*. In this state, they were taken up by the priesthood, sanctified, and so were ultimately converted into mysteries.

It is in this manner that there has descended through all the ages, with the common people, with the dreamy thinkers of all schools, and in all theosophies and theologies alike, Naturian and Christian, a belief in the doctrine of "sacred numbers." Certain numbers have been reputed to have a pivotal or transcendent importance in the regulation of the affairs of the universe,—to constitute, in a word, the *aristocracy* of numbers; and to each of these superior numbers certain special meanings were attached. The whole philosophy of Pythagoras rested upon this idea, and his labors were an effort to recover and give form to an earlier and even then obsolescent system of thought. The Tetraktys, or sacred four, and the Decad, or sacred ten (1+2+3+4) were made prominent by him; but 1, 3, 7, and 12 (40 and 144) have among all peoples held preëminence. The philosophy of Charles Fourier is at bottom nothing else but the effort to adjust the universal distribution of things to the governing influence of these numbers; as in music, with its unison, its three chords, its seven diatonic and its twelve chromatic notes; and in all this, he is again in full harmony with the Christian Scriptures. All theologians recognize a certain mystical significance in these numbers; and the teaching of this lore, in connection with a special and very peculiar form of literature, the object of which was in part to conceal and in part to communicate ideas,

constituted mainly, perhaps, the mysteries taught to initiates in the great religions of the past. The object of this Essenian* or allegorical form of literature was to convey definite philosophical doctrine in such a way as to be so understood by adepts, while it should seem to the uninitiated to be a simple narration of events. It was an extended parable, or a parable upon a large scale. It differed widely, however, from the simple allegory of our times, in the fact that the formation of this particular kind of allegory was rigorously governed by the secret wisdom, or cryptic science, which in turn furnished a key for its interpretation.

The most remarkable and brilliant writer of this school of whom we now know, was undoubtedly John the Revelator; and in respect to him the paradox already alluded to occurs, which is the very irony of history. The chief burden of his so-called Revelation was, as we have seen, a powerful invective against MYSTERY in the traditional and perhaps less accurately constructed works of other authors, really of his own school,—the Kabbalists, especially,—while he was himself employing a style, and consigning his thoughts to a form, which have proved the quintessence of mystery, from his day to this. It sounds like a huge joke to speak of a Revelation, which was so hermetically sealed that nobody has been, heretofore, able to reveal it.

The reason of this has been that the very technical and nicely-fitted key to this and other similar literary enigmas was lost, and was perhaps never possessed in perfection by more than a handful of persons. In respect to the matter of numbers, the following solution, derived from the universological rediscovery of the primitive basis of the doctrine of sacred numbers, will, it is believed, prove satisfactory.

Among the numerical passages omitted in the portion of the Revelation above treated of, are the expressions "time and times and half a time," often repeated (ch. xii. v. 14, et al.), and which is to be taken as meaning 3½, and the number 666 ("six hundred threescore and six," ch. xiii. v. 18). This last number, elsewhere assigned to Antichrist, has been the grand *crux* in the thousands of efforts which have been made to expound the Apocalypse. They are recalled here, to say that their solution (omitted above) will form an early portion of the following comment.

Numbers sometimes occur of course in these Hermetic writings, in their ordinary quantitative meanings, as in the case of the seven heads and ten horns, as above interpreted. But in addition to this ordinary use of numbers, numbers were employed in certain *qualitative* senses; that is to say, certain numbers were first supposed to involve the meaning of certain qualities, principles, or general ideas; and the numbers themselves were then used for those ideas, with no quantitative value whatever attached to them. This gave to the writings which employed this and other similar devices a secret meaning, the understanding of which and of the metaphysical or philosophical grounds of the devices constituted the far-famed "secret wisdom," or cryptic lore of the ancients. This obscurity given to the use of numbers was still further involved in mystery, and sometimes doubtless as a mere pedantry, by using augmentations, doublets, multiples, etc., of simple numbers to mean the same things as the simple numbers, with only perhaps some difference of emphasis. The key of this cryptic lore has not been retained among the moderns; but this style of literature has been known to have existed, something of its nature has been guessed, and theologians and others have referred to it as the origin of the doctrine of sacred numbers; but it has hardly been seriously suspected that portions of Genesis, the Revelation entire, and sundry other parts of the Bible are the purest instances of this exceptional form of literature.

The best known instance of a number having qualitative meaning is that of the number seven, which, it is agreed on all hands, is used throughout the Scriptures to denote ALL, ENTIRETY, the WHOLE, sufficiency, satisfaction, fulness, completeness, perfection, abundance, etc. One has only to look into any biblical dictionary to find all this asserted. Swedenborg assembles nearly thirty instances of this use of the word in the Bible. So in secular writings. Cicero styles the number seven "the knot and cement of all things, as being that by which the natural and spiritual world are comprehended in one idea." (*Tusc. Quest.* 1, 10.) But neither class has known the true reason why this number acquired this meaning; which will be shown farther on.

The number seven, used in this Kabbalistic or Hermetic sense, occurs quite frequently in the Apocalypse, thus:—

"The seven churches" means the whole Church, the Christian world.

"The seven golden candlesticks," all sources of enlightenment, the whole Church (ch. i., v. 19).

"The seven stars in the right hand of God," all the luminaries or great men of the Church, the favorites of God, whom he holds "in the hollow of his hand." Stars means celebrities, as we speak of theatrical stars. "The stars of heaven" are the leading men, the thinkers and philosophers of the whole world. So, to say of the dragon, "His tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth" (ch. xii., v. 4), means that the Kabbala tradition was one of the three great dominant systems of faith and philosophy; commanded the allegiance of one-third of the great thinkers or leaders of opinion; and, by so doing, was the badge of their degradation to a lower plane (did cast them to the earth). The tail of serpent or dragon merely repeats and empha-

* I employ this term not as though the Essenes were the only writers of this (Hermetic) style, but because with them, and especially with John the Revelator, we have what may be called the Augustan age of this remarkable literary development.

sizes the back-extending trail-like character (traditional) of the animal itself, the whole animal of this type being nothing but a sort of animated tail (whence its symbolism).

"The seven spirits which are before his throne," a periphrasis of perfection, the divine spirit.

"The seven angels of the seven churches," all the presiding officers and luminaries of the Church Universal (ch. i., v. 19).

"A lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits" (ch. v., v. 6), means the risen Lord or lordship over humanity, replete with all right principles or doctrines (seven horns, all points of doctrine), and all investigating powers, or powers of insight or wisdom (seven eyes, all insight), which are the entire spirit of the divine revelation made to man. The seven spirits, the whole spirit of God sent forth into all the earth.

"And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and on the back side, sealed with seven seals" (ch. v., v. 1), means: I was contemplating as closely guarded by God himself (kept in his right hand) the volume of universal nature (the book), wholly unreadable (written within and on the back side, out of sight), and absolutely sealed (by seven seals), as the Problem of Being, to be resolved or read. The writer goes on to say that he sorrowed much that none could read the book (v. 2, 3, 4), but that assurance finally came to him that the Christian story is the solution. The seven seals were now to be taken off of the book (v. 5-14).

Observe here a peculiar characteristic in this literature. While seven means all, or the whole, it still suggests so much of its quantitative meaning that this writer immediately sets about elaborating this whole into seven constituent parts. So he names seven particular churches, and works up some sort of a message to each of them; and so here he sets a different angel to the opening of each seal; and so to the manipulation of the trumpets and vials which follow. The filling in of this detail makes a considerable part of the treatise, in volume; but it is less significant, and may be regarded as the flowering-out of the author's poetic license, rather than in the light of a fundamental part of the plot. The fact that these interpolations may sometimes run into fanciful involutions which we are not wholly able to interpret does not interfere with the fact that our key unlocks the main plot of this mystical composition.

When it came the turn of the seventh angel to remove the last seal (when the problem of the universe was to be finally or completely unfolded, solved), postponement takes place; "there was silence in heaven" for a short space; expectation is on tiptoe; seven other angels are introduced who are furnished with seven trumpets. This means that the formalities of complete promulgation (seven trumpets) had still to be waited for. The heraldry of heaven is marshalled to the front, and again we are carried through the detail of what occurred at the blast of each trumpeter. This is an exquisite literary device, but, as a philosophical *dénouement*, the hoped-for ultimate solution of the problem of being, when "the mystery of God should be finished" (ch. x., v. 7), was destined never to be fully and satisfactorily accomplished by the philosophic method then in question. The process of partial promulgation now proceeded, as that of unloosing the seals had done before, until the seventh trumpeter comes forward, and with him the pregnant instant of time, when at last the whole truth was to burst on the waiting eye and ear; but, alas! another disappointment and postponement! Murmuring took the place of elucidation. Seven thunders uttered their voices (ch. x., v. 3, 4). The mighty angel waited till the thunders subsided, and then, armed with the seventh trumpet (v. 1-5), striding the land and the sea (v. 2-5), and holding the universe, as it were, in suspense, swore a most mighty oath "that there should be time no longer," and consequently tradition no longer and mystery no longer; but that from the instant that he should begin to sound, "the mystery of God should be finished."

But alas! and alas! he did not begin to sound. He never uttered the first note. An intervention took place from on high; expectation was allayed, and matters took another turn. A quiet intimation was conveyed to the intent listener (v. 8) that, instead of the trumpet-blast of an absolute and overwhelming revelation, he must content himself with receiving "a little book open," a small modicum or instalment of explanation of the great sealed book of Nature. This he was told he could "eat" (and digest) at his leisure. And the unpleasant information was added that, while in the eating, or at first, it would be pleasing and satisfactory to him (as new suggestions of truth are so), yet, as he should digest it, it would prove disappointing, baffling, and unsatisfactory. And his experience confirmed this assurance. "And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey, and as soon as I had eaten it my belly was bitter" (v. 10). "And he said unto me: Thou must prophesy again before many peoples and nations and tongues and kings" (v. 11); which meant that he must resume his weary task of trying to do some good, without so much as hoping for an absolute revelation of all truth. Sad and tragic ending of the splendid promise of the grand imaginative spectacle he had been witnessing! but strictly true to the logic of the nature of things.

Still, his patient waiting was ultimately, and in another sense, rewarded. After more delay, and three great woes, the seventh angel did finally sound, and the prospective triumph of Christianity was the burden of his trumpeting, not a philosophical but a practical solution, not AN OBJECTIVE but A SUBJECTIVE SYNTHESIS of universal things (ch. xi., v. 15-18).

The seven vials of the wrath of God mean the entire subversive or disharmonic period of the devel-

opment of history, prior to the advent of that high harmony of which Christianity was the promise, and of which it was the prospective realization. Vials mean (probably), etymologically, filled things, hence fulnesses, and "seven vials" means, emphatically, all of the given period.

Seven, meaning all, when it is applied to time (days, months, or years), means *always* or *forever*. The significance of the other sacred numbers will be resumed in the next article.

"FAS EST AB HOSTE, DOCERI."

Even from the mountebank of the Monday Lectureship, who steals the livery of Science and Light to serve the devils of Dogmatism and Darkness in, we may learn that the enemies of free thought draw no fine distinctions between the liberals who advocate total repeal and those who favor modified repeal of the Comstock postal law. The law was undoubtedly intended by its promoters for the "stamping out of free thought," for they are much more afraid of free thought than of obscene literature, the circulation of which, in fact, plays into their hands; for if there were no sins, what would be the use of a scheme of salvation?

Greeley used to say, "Find out what the enemy wants you to do, and don't do it." Nothing would please the enemy more than a division among the liberal hosts, and the diversion of their work from the secularization of the State to a quarrel over the propriety of repealing the whole or a part of an odious law dictated by the Church to the State. Until there shall be a great change of public opinion, it is probably as impossible to modify as to repeal the law in question, and it seems to me wiser to attend to our direct business, the enlightenment of the people, and to leave law-making to those who believe in that and can do nothing better.

But there is one thing that ought not to pass without comment in a liberal paper. If a foreign visitor had reported that the girls of a neighboring college were so weak and so corrupt that the faculty of the college did not dare to publish a catalogue, lest circulars should be sent to these young ladies, products of our most Orthodox civilization, on the receipt of which they would at once send for "rubber goods" and obscene books, a storm of indignant denial and denunciation would have poured on that foreigner's head. But when a home-bred viper slanders the carefully nurtured daughters of his fellow-citizens, and by imputation the college and faculty, his remarks are applauded by the thoughtless brothers and fathers who listen to him, and the respectable press of Boston have no word of protest.

Is this terrible indictment of the college and its pupils and teachers true, or is the Monday Lectureship a malignant liar? It seems to me one of the cases in which, as the offender cannot be punished either by his corrupted conscience or by common law, there would be great sympathy with any brother of the insulted collegians who should publicly horse-whip the slanderer.

At the same time it must be said that horse-whipping will not cure Cook any more than penal legislation will save our children from corrupting influences of impure literature. There are many things that law cannot reach, and the evil of bad books and false teachings about sex is one of them. The true remedy is certain and easy of application—to be sure it would throw Comstock and the Society for the Suppression of Vice out of business, but we need not cry for that—it is *good books and correct teachings*. I know this remedy is too simple for Christians, but it ought to satisfy Liberals who believe in Liberty and Light, and not in Law and Lies. F. S. C.

"Nothing would please the enemy more than a division among the liberal hosts, and the diversion of their work from the secularization of the State to a quarrel over the propriety of repealing" the law of 1873? Yes, one thing would please them more: the refusal of the liberal hosts to divide on that issue, and their undivided support of "repeal."

The paramount necessity of "good books and correct teachings" does not remove the necessity of good laws and just courts for the punishment of crime.—Ed.]

SILVER AND GOLD.

The silver question will be upon us again soon with increased virulence. The measure of just relief which was potential in the act of last March has been neutralized by a hostile administration. Instead of coining the maximum amount, and then paying it out by preference, and so reducing our dollar account to the value of the 41 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollar where it rightfully belongs, that coin has been manipulated into a subsidiary coinage, and the country suffers all the evils of mono-metalism; and God only knows where the bottom of that policy is, if persisted in by the leading commercial countries!

The prevailing objection to the 41 $\frac{2}{3}$ grain dollar is, that it is not valuable enough—is 16 per cent. short of the gold dollar. By persistently stating its gold value, and forcing our greenback to gold, innocent people are made to believe that silver has been guilty of such instability as not only to make it unfit for a standard, but to make it also a dishonest dollar for the payment of past debts.

Now if it were true that silver had really fallen in value as it is pretended, still the 41 $\frac{2}{3}$ grain would be the dollar by which all public and private debts in this country could be justly paid; and this notwithstanding the brilliant and profound remark of some of our contemporaries, that "It takes one hundred cents to make an honest dollar." But it is not the

fact that silver has fallen in value. It is worth while for those who would be right to give the matter a little careful thinking, even at the risk of experiencing a disagreeable mental strain.

True, the value relation of the two metals has changed from 15 $\frac{1}{2}$, where it stood for many years, to about 18 now. But when the relation of two things has changed, how are we to know upon which factor to cast the responsibility? To illustrate: Last year a bushel of wheat exchanged in market for four bushels of potatoes; that is, bulk for bulk, the ratio of value was 4. This year, say, a bushel of wheat is equal in value to two of potatoes. The value relation has changed from a ratio of 4 to one of 2. Now the question is, Are we to attribute that change to a fall in wheat, or a rise in potatoes? It is simply impossible to argue from those data alone to answer. No one, unless he were a violent partisan of one of those commodities beforehand, would pretend to answer the question. By arbitrarily assuming either as a fixed standard, the other can be made to appear responsible for the change. But leaving out the assumption, a careful inquirer would refer them both to some third valuable thing. In the case supposed, if it should be found that as compared with cloth and iron, potatoes were of the same value at the two periods, while wheat showed the same changed relation to cloth and iron as to potatoes, the inference of a change in the value of wheat and not in potatoes would be justified.

Precisely so the mere fact of a change in the value of the two metals from a ratio of 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ to one of 18 affords not the slightest ground for charging the fluctuation on one as against the other. To learn which has been guilty, reference must be had to other valuable things.

For the purpose of that reference it can hardly be necessary to give the detail of comparative prices of the leading commodities in 1874 and 1878. It is familiar information that prices have greatly declined since 1874 all over the world,—that the purchasing power not merely of our dollar of account, but of both metals, has greatly increased. A ton of silver in any market in Europe or America will buy more cotton, iron, wheat, stocks, land,—more of valuable products in general,—than it would when its market relation to gold was 15 $\frac{1}{2}$. Silver, instead of going down, has, in fact, gone up, only not so far as gold. It will bring more, *i. e.*, is worth more than it was in 1874, as measured by a day's labor; which, being every product *in posse*, is the criterion adopted by the economists for estimating the secular changes in all values, money included.

So the fact is, that in stability of purchasing power silver has beat gold by 16 per cent.; and the so-called "decline in silver" is really an advance in gold by 16 per cent. beyond that more stable and comparatively uniform amount of value which a dollar ought to possess.

Conceding, then, as we cannot but do, that a given quantity of silver will buy even more of the aggregate of commodities than it would when its ratio to gold was 15 $\frac{1}{2}$, what arrant nonsense is it to say the change to a ratio of 18 means a "decline in silver"! The only way this pretence is made plausible is by asserting and assuming what is contrary to law, *viz.*, that a gold dollar only is a legal standard in this country, and asserting what is contrary to the fact, that gold has not changed in value. By this perpetual reiteration, the mentally indolent are made to believe it.

In England, which has for forty years past made gold alone the standard, I do not see how they are to extricate themselves from the financial ruin that has only just begun. A pound sterling means by law a given amount of gold, and debtors there must take the ruin of the enormous appreciation of gold. Only within four years did mono-metalism hurt England, for it was not till the policy became general that gold was sent out of normal proportion to all other values. But this country was always and is still bi-metallic. Every contract made here has been made on the double standard, and has a legal and moral right to be discharged on that basis. True, financial mal-administration has brought upon us the beginning of the evil of mono-metalism; but two million a month, in spite of unfriendly discrimination, must soon break the power of that oppression. But we shall be deluged by a lachrymose flood, some of it crocodilean, but alas! much of it sincere moral feeling, at the "dishonesty of 84 cent dollars,"—and all on account of the prevalence of most transparent fallacies of both law and fact, *viz.*, that the 41 $\frac{2}{3}$ is not by statute established as the thing the word dollar means in all public and private contracts,—or that somehow those contracts imply gold (as though there was room for implication in contracts whose words had a statutory definition!); and second that silver has declined in value, as shown by the fact that it is worth less than gold, and that the honest thing to do is to put in about 20 per cent. more of metal in the silver dollar.

E. D. STARK.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 20, 1878.

THE BIBLE-IN-SCHOOLS QUESTION.

GROTON, N. Y., Nov. 24, 1878.

The enemies of religious liberty have not everywhere been so triumphant as at New Haven, where they seem to have captured an "elephant too big for their barn." More than five years ago, many of the citizens of Groton village petitioned the Board of Education to have the Bible-reading in school discontinued. The petitioners were met with defiance, and, in addition to the usual epithets that were hurled at them, their opponents (in order to intimidate men from signing the petition) declared that no man who signed the petition should ever be elected a member of the School Board—surely a very cheap honor, yet the declaration beautifully illustrates the persecuting spirit of the Bible-advocates.

At the commencement of the school year last Au-

gust, the Bible-reading was discontinued, though not a member of the school board had signed the petition, and at the annual election of school officers in October, two new members were elected who not only signed the petition but are members of the Tompkins County League and readers of THE INDEX. It is best for the cause of liberalism that cities and villages should have the question thoroughly discussed, and those who insist on having the Bible read are unconsciously doing liberalism good service. Their efforts to secure advantage for their faith shows in the clearest light their unwillingness to trust it on its own merit. The intelligent moral sense of mankind will surely hold at a discount any religion, for which equal religious rights must be sacrificed. Therefore those persons who are trying to have the schools that are supported by impartial taxation favor their religion must bear the stigma of trying to sustain their faith at the expense of justice. Such a course will only add another chapter to the infamous record of religious zealots who have opposed scientific truth, and pleaded for human slavery as divine.

D. B. M.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S CORRECTION.

I learn with both regret and surprise that my reference to Mr. Bradlaugh (quoted in his letter) has caused offence. Accordingly I hasten to say that I had no idea of charging Mr. Bradlaugh with the advocacy of free love, which would have been unpardonable. The similarity of principle spoken of in my letter was only between the legal verdicts in the two trials, inasmuch as they both of them repressed the free utterance of opinion concerning the regulation of the commerce of the sexes. Mr. Bradlaugh does well to be jealous of his reputation, but at the same time, on re-reading the passage complained of, I still cannot see that it implies any comparison between Mr. Bradlaugh and the free-lovers, as I am sure it was not meant to.

CHARLES ELLERSHAW.

NEW YORK CITY.

AUTHOR OF THE MARSEILLAISE.

M. René de la Garde, who recently wrote a biography of Rouget de l'Isle, shows that the writer of the "Marseillaise" was a royalist. The song (words and music) was written at Strasburg on the 24th of April, 1792, at the house of M. de Dietrich, the mayor of the city, and on the news of war having been declared against Austria. The song created great enthusiasm, and was at once printed under the title of "Chant de Guerre de l'Armée du Rhin." The author addressed a copy of his work to Marshal Luckner, and dedicated it to "the manes of Sylvain Bally, first mayor of Paris." It is curious to reflect that the mayor of Strasburg, in whose house the hymn was composed, perished on the scaffold; that Marshal Luckner, to whom the first copy was addressed, shared the same fate; and that Bally, to whom it was dedicated, was executed on the Champ-de-Mars in a peculiarly revolting manner.

According to M. de la Garde, the hymn reached Marseilles in the month of June, and was at once monopolized by that revolutionary band which marched upon Paris to take part in the sanguinary scenes of the reign of terror. Lamartine, in his *History of the Girondists*, says: "The new song flew from city to city; the Marseillaise spread it all over France, and hence its name. De l'Isle's old mother, a pious woman and a royalist, alarmed at the effect of her son's voice, wrote to him, 'What is this revolutionary hymn, sung by bands of brigands who are traversing France, and with which your name is mixed up?' De l'Isle himself, proscribed as a royalist, heard it and shuddered as he escaped by some of the wild passes of the Alps." In fact, Rouget de l'Isle, having refused to accept the decree, which deprived Louis XVI. of his throne, laid down his sword. A few years afterward he returned to France, was thrown into prison, and, like Hoche, would have been guillotined but for the downfall of Robespierre.

M. de la Garde says that while Rouget de l'Isle was wandering about in a state of destitution his hymn was being everywhere performed. At a military spectacle at the opera, horse, foot, artillery, and the people howled it in chorus; and when they reached the last couplet actors and audience had to go down on their knees to Mlle. Mailart, who represented Liberty, and who was placed at the summit of a little mountain. Even the horses had to bow the head and bend the knee. The actor, Lalney, who was charged with the refrain, was dressed as a *vans culotte*, and wore a red cap. After each couplet he received an embrace from Mlle. Duchamp, who impersonated Egalité, and from Mlle. Florigny, who impersonated Fraternité. On the fall of Robespierre, Rouget de l'Isle wrote another song, calling on the Thermidorians to exterminate the successors of "the incorruptible." A few years later, when a despot on England was contemplated, the lyric poet wrote:—

"Artisan des malheurs du monde,
Trop fier dominateur de l'onde," etc.,

and warned us that Napoleon, a giant with terrible arms was about to seize and strike us. Rouget de l'Isle then celebrated in verse the eighteenth Brumaire, when Napoleon turned out the two chambers, and seized upon the supreme power. When the Bourbons returned, the versatile poet once more tuned his lyre, and wrote his "Dieu conserve le Roi," which is about the most anti-republican anthem ever penned.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

I AM CONVINCED that men do more harm to themselves than ever the devil could do to them.—*Lord Byron*.

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- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

NEXT SUNDAY evening a meeting of the First Liberal League of Boston will be held at the Woman's Club Rooms, 4 Park Street, at 8 o'clock. Rev. M. J. Savage, the President, will preside. All friends are invited.

A CORRESPONDENT sent us some time since the following anecdote, as "illustrating the thoughtlessness of Orthodoxy's older victims": "My little boy spoke of some one as a fool. A neighbor's boy (whose piety was entirely superficial, by the way) said: 'You mustn't say that; that's swearing; if you swear, the devil will get you.' 'There isn't any devil.' 'Of course there is. Ask your mother if there ain't a devil.' 'I did, and she said there wasn't.' 'Oh, you just wait till you get to Heaven, and see if there ain't a devil.'"

THIS is the way in which the New York *Sun* records the observance of a recent Sunday in that city: "Grand sacred entertainments abounded again last evening. At the Grand Sacred Opera House Mlle. Di Murska warbled grand sacred airs from sundry grand sacred operas; Gilmore's grand sacred band brayed and thumped in a truly grand and sacred manner; and Levy ravished all ears with his grand sacred cornet. At Steinway Hall the grand sacred Red Hussars from Hamburg excited the devotional feelings of their hearers to the highest pitch by selections from the grand sacred German composers. At the Atlantic Garden a vast congregation listened to the grand sacred melodies of Strauss and Offenbach, and consumed a huge quantity of grand sacred beer. At the Volks Garden a programme of grand sacred Irish and negro songs was rendered; at Harry Miner's New Theatre the exercises were varied by the introduction of a grand sacred banjo; and at the National Garden there were grand sacred jigs, grand sacred feats on the grand sacred slack wire, and a grand sacred farce."

GENERAL SHERIDAN, in his annual report, says of the Indian question: "There does not seem to be now, and never has been, steadiness in the management of the Indians; and if it were not for the results which so surely involve the military, this would be none of my business, and would not be mentioned." He attributes our wars to two classes of causes: "The first being constant encroachment upon the lands of the Indians sacredly guaranteed to them by treaty, and constant removal of tribes to distant reservations, in which they are again troubled by immigration." The second cause the general describes as dissatisfaction of the Indian at being compelled to remain on reservations, with his limits circumscribed, his opportunities of hunting abridged, and his game disappearing; with sickness in his lodge from changes of life and food, and insufficiency of the latter, and this irregularly supplied, and reflection coming to him of what he was and what he now is. General Sheridan believes that with kind treatment of the Indians, administered with steadiness and justice, an outbreak of Indian hostilities may be entirely prevented.

THE FOLLOWING notice of the death of one of the most ingenious men of our times is from the Boston *Advertiser*: "GEORGE HENRY LEWES, the well-known English author and the husband of Marian Evans (George Eliot) is dead. Mr. Lewes was born in London, April 18, 1817, was engaged in early life as a clerk in a commercial house, then began the study of medicine, and finally devoted himself to literature and philosophy. Passing two years in Germany in the study of philosophy, he returned to England in 1840, and soon took a prominent position in literature. Among the works which he has published are a *Life of Robespierre*, *Bomthorps*, a *Novel*, *Comie's Philosophy of the Sciences*, *The Spanish Drama*, *The Noble Heart*, a *Tragedy*, *Biographical History of Philosophy*, and the *Life and Works of Goethe*. He has contributed to all the leading Eng-

lish reviews and magazines, was literary editor of the *Leader* from 1849 to 1854, and in 1865 he founded the *Fortnightly Review*, of which he was editor until December, 1866, when ill-health compelled him to retire from the post. During late years he has paid much attention to strictly scientific studies, and he has read and published several papers on physiological subjects. His latest work is of a religio-philosophical character, and is entitled *Problems of Life and Mind*. Mr. Lewes has had a very peculiar domestic history, and his marriage with Marian Evans was made under extraordinary circumstances, considering the position of the parties."

EVER SINCE the Syracuse Congress, we have watched with some curiosity to see how long the "free lovers" would submit to be snubbed and pushed into the background as they have been by their companions. The last *Word* brings this sign of restiveness on the part of its editor, Mr. B. R. Tucker: "We entertain a very great respect for Mr. Courtlandt Palmer, of New York, and therefore deeply regret that he has recently made statements in the *New York Times* which are both foolish and false. After rebuking that journal for branding the repealers as free lovers, he says: 'To the best of my knowledge and belief, there was not a single person present who either publicly or privately advocated free love; and I was informed that the insignificant knot of people who avowedly profess an adherence to that doctrine remained studiously away from the Convention. They knew they would receive neither welcome nor recognition.' Now, in the light of the fact that the present editor of this journal, who claims to be as out-and-out a free lover as the country holds, was in almost daily receipt, for weeks before the League Congress, of letters from Mr. Palmer's most intimate friends and coworkers urging him to organize himself and his 'insignificant knot' of friends into one or more Liberal Leagues, and attend the Congress as a delegate, and telling him that the responsibility of success or failure rested upon his shoulders, these remarks of Mr. Palmer seem just a trifle 'cheeky.' We know they are not true. We know that any avowed free lovers, regularly elected delegates to the Congress, would have been promptly recognized, and most of them heartily welcomed. Moreover, such actually was the case. If we understand the English language, the writings of one of the hardest workers at the Congress, Mr. Theron C. Leland, show that he is nothing if not a free lover. What is the use, pray, of all these denials and disclaimers? Why not admit the truth, and say at once that free lovers have rights which other human beings are bound to respect; that there is nothing in the Constitution of the League which excludes them from membership; and that there were some delegates who were free lovers, and more who were not, just as there were some who were teetotalers, and more who were not, and some who were positivists, and more who were not? Why not say these things to the carpers and cavillers, and let them make the most of them?" Mr. Tucker, who is the "terrible child" of the "repeal" party and must be a thorn in the side of the more politic members of it, might also have quoted this sentence by Mr. Verity from the *Truth Seeker* of October 12, before the Congress was held: "Another reason—and this is the last I shall name—why we ought to vote for repeal is, because free lovers, or marriage reformers, like all other reformers, political, scientific, and religious, must always be radicals; and we liberals ought to be found standing by their side, and not standing with the conservatives, fighting against them." In short, what the very intelligent editor of the *Vineland* (N. J.) *Independent* said in his issue of November 28 is strictly true: "One thing, however, might be said,—that, while all the 'repeal' party are not 'free lovers' so-called, all 'free lovers' belong to the 'repeal' party."

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LOCAL AUXILIARY LIBERAL LEAGUES Chartered by the National Liberal League of America.

- FLORENCE, MASS.—President, Seth Hunt; Secretary, Clarence E. Brown. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Florence Liberal League. SYRACUSE, N.Y.—President, John W. Truesdell; Secretary, Mrs. Nettie C. Truesdell. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Onondaga County Liberal League. ALBANY, N.Y.—President, Thomas J. Hennessey; Secretary, Thomas Dugan. Issued to the President and Secretary on behalf of the Albany Liberal Association. N.B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their vote to accept the following invitation: "Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League."

AN OLD darkey who was asked if in his experience prayer had ever been answered, replied: "Well, sah, some pra's is ansud an' some isn't—'pends on w'at you axes fo'. Just arter the wah, w'en it was mighty hard scratchin' fo' de cullud breddern, I 'bearded dat w'en ebber I pway de Lord to sen' one o' Marse Peyton's fat turkeys fo' de ole man, dere was no notice took of de partition; but w'en I pway dat he would sen' de ole man fo' de turkey, de matter was 'tended to befo' sun up nex' mornin', dead sartin'!"

SOME INTERESTING applications of Scripture are noted from time to time in connection with revival work. A girl ten years of age, who had become interested in the meetings in a neighboring city, was approached by a friend who thought her zeal was decreasing: "You ought not to put your hand to the plough and then look back," said he. "Guess I want to know how much I have ploughed, don't I?" was the quick reply.

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Future Church.

BY CHARLES E. PERKINS, OF OSWEGO, NEW YORK.

The influence of dogmatic theology is becoming more and more a thing of the past. Since the Protestant Reformation, it has declined steadily until the last generation, from which date its downward course has been wonderfully accelerated. In Catholic countries, as France and Italy, this fact is exemplified by the scarcity of priests and seminarians, as well as by the lessened interest noticed among communicants in the exercises of the Church. Not only is absence from the mass usual among the educated classes, but it is becoming common with the peasantry, upon whose unlettered minds the hold of religion has ever been peculiarly strong.

In Protestant Europe and the United States, there is no lack of clergymen; divinity schools are well attended; and zeal for church construction and extension has reached an unprecedented height. But while to the uninitiated this might indicate a prosperous state of theology, a very little study shows that the condition of affairs serves only to bear out the conclusion expressed at the opening of this article.

It will be of interest to consider the cause of this decline, which is admitted and deplored by the Catholic Church as well as by Protestant synods and conventions. From a rational stand-point, there appears no mystery connected with it, but the subject has received the attention of assemblies of divines year after year, until "how to meet the growing spirit of infidelity" has become a stock subject for animated discussion among them. They are no less at fault in selecting a remedy than in explaining the cause.

In the present widely diffused state of popular intelligence, systems of religion as well as schemes of every description are judged by the practical fulfillment of their promises; and the measure of success attending any theory is gauged by its ability to stand in the light of approved moral precepts.

Theology has been on trial for nearly nineteen centuries. It has held in Christian countries during this time absolute control of spiritual affairs, and for hundreds of years sat in judgment upon temporal matters, with the same unyielding and arrogant spirit which it manifested in its own special domain. For ages its dogmas met with no opposition, and until the seventeenth century the doctrine of a literal brimstone hell was universally taught and believed. What has been the effect of this unlimited control over the consciences of men? Has it rounded to the good of humanity? Has theology taught men to be liberal, mild, charitable, or forgiving? It is not denied that it has inculcated lessons of most awful cruelty; that it has inspired the committal of deeds the mere recital of which makes one's flesh creep with horror; that it has presided at the rack and in the dungeon, at the stake and in the chamber of the Inquisition; that it has stifled freedom of speech and thought, and that it has hung like a millstone about the neck of science, and led her devotees to martyrdom.

But let the result of theological teaching upon its own supporters be examined. The theologians have laid down two good principles as the foundation upon which their entire superstructure has been built,—punishment for sin and atonement for sin. A place of retribution more terrible in its character than anything the mind of man can conceive is represented as yawning beneath the feet of every living soul. How, then, can we reconcile the fact that people believing in the existence of these fiery torments in all their dread reality have not ceased to do evil through fear of meeting the penalty? How is it that even in our own day noted criminals, men whose lives have been steeped in guilt, meet their doom with complacency? Hell is a reality whose existence they have never doubted; but yet they die without fear. The mystery is solved, and by the criminals themselves. "I am not afraid to die," "I am going to meet Jesus," "Christ has pardoned all my sins," etc., etc.—these are among the last words of desperadoes who perish upon the scaffold, with which the newspaper-reading public is familiar.

Faith in atonement in these cases nullifies the fear of punishment. Understanding this, it ceases to be matter of surprise that men having been educated to no fine sense of morality, but having unflinching faith in the Church and its method of salvation, should persist in the commission of crime. Their spiritual guides teach that absolution from any degree of guilt can at any moment be obtained, a simple exercise of faith being alone necessary upon the culprit's part. "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as wool," not because of any real or attempted redress, but "because ye have believed, ye are made whole." Where a man is inclined to depravity, he finds infinite encouragement from this doctrine of salvation without money and without price. It removes from his mind all fear of retribution, and, lulled by false security, he pursues his sinful way; he has learned not only that salvation exists for sin, but that hell exists principally for those persons who persistently reject the beautiful consistencies of Christianity. For heretics and infidels, there is no salvation.

It is not claimed that the influence exerted by the doctrine of the atonement is alike with all men: while it has a deplorable tendency to encourage some in wrong-doing, there are those so constituted that the effect upon them of this belief is to make them nobler and better. These persons are conscientious by nature, upon whom any claim of gratitude rests with great weight; and they are overcome by the

sense of supreme obligation which is instilled into their minds by the belief that the Son of God died that they might live. To them a lifetime devoted to the service of God seems all too short to be expressive of their appreciation of his suffering and condescension in their behalf. To each of these classes, the atoning blood of Christ may be a living fact; but whereas one may be inspired by this consciousness to the practice of every virtue, the other will follow the path his baser nature marks out for him, confiding in the sufferings of his Lord to rescue him from the consequences of his acts.

Thus this doctrine becomes at once the shame and the glory of the Christian Church. It seems but natural to conclude that the greater number of those who are assisted in their aspirations after a higher life thereby would be good and useful members of society even without any religion; their moral faculties naturally preponderate, keeping the purely animal functions in submission, so that temptation to indulge in criminal acts comes with very subdued force upon them, in comparison with the overwhelming power it exerts over their weaker brethren.

That this is not the case in all instances is no refutation of the statement, as exceptions serve to prove the rule. It is, however, peculiarly the fault of emotional religion that it lends its aid chiefly to those least in need of it, while the class whose frailties are very marked are often effected disastrously by it. Belief in a state of future torture might have exerted a salutary influence upon the depraved and vicious portions of mankind, had its accompanying teachings been different. There are vast numbers who are only kept from commission of crime by the terror which the majesty of the civil law holds over them. They know that each infringement of law has its attendant penalty, which will in all probability be enforced; and this knowledge serves as a restraint upon their evil inclinations. Thus A may have a strong desire to kill B, but fear of encountering the hangman's noose prevents the accomplishment of the act, when moral considerations would avail nothing. The law knows nothing of punishment by proxy, and the murderer cannot plead immunity from the consequences of his crime, because a third party has suffered innocently for an offence of like nature. But if A, being a believer in future punishment and also in vicarious atonement, is bold enough to defy the law and take the life of B, he will have much less fear of the second death than of the first. According to the very fundamental principles of his faith, his chances for enjoying the fruits of Paradise are infinitely greater than those of his unbelieving neighbor, though the latter may be in all respects a highly moral citizen. Practically, then, the most dangerous criminals consider only the legal prohibition of crime, the divine code having lost its influence upon their minds by reason of the negative clauses with which the atonement covers it. Such characters are too often insensible to reason, care nothing for their moral obligation to their fellows, and can only be reached by teachings which appeal directly to their sensibility to fear.

A religion teaching that every sin has its penalty commensurate with the violence of the deed and the circumstances under which it was committed, and that from the divine judgment there is no appeal, would be of great practical benefit, especially in cases like the one just considered. Thousands would thereby be deterred from leading wicked lives who now act their inclinations with impunity.

That theology has made men bigoted, intolerant, cruel, and vindictive, no one at all familiar with its history can successfully deny. And as the object of religion is, or should be, to inculcate lessons exactly the reverse of these, we have forced upon us the conclusion that in this respect its long trial has resulted in failure.

We have seen that its effect as a bulwark of morality has been to a surprising extent neutralized by its own doctrines; here, too, has been at least partial failure. When the masses were uneducated, it was comparatively easy to keep the defects of the system hidden from popular view, but with popular education came a spirit of investigation and analysis which has been the most potent factor in the undermining of theology. Within a recent period, however, another and most important agency has been working in the same direction. The wide-spread discontent caused by the prevalence of hard times, which leads to the dismemberment, if not disruption, of political parties, and to assaults upon all existing principles of government, also tends to foster a spirit of animosity towards theology.

The workingman, tolling early and late at low wages, striving to maintain his place in the great battle for existence, looks with envious eyes upon the costly and magnificent temples erected ostensibly for God's worship, which, with all other forms of church property, escape scot-free from taxation. There is no subject upon which he is so sensitive as this of taxation, which is shown by the rage which has been kindled from one end of the land to the other against holders of bonds. Nor is this strange. The average workingman, even with good health, constant employment, and no stroke of ill-luck, can scarce hope to do more than make both ends meet. Every dollar, therefore, that is extorted from him in the shape of taxes is a very serious matter.

Then there are the poor and unemployed, forced to live in idleness and see their children growing up in poverty, exposed to every temptation, while millions are annually expended in the printing of Bibles and tracts (of which the world is already full), and for missionary work in foreign lands. A man with an empty stomach is not apt to look too closely at technicalities. Feeling keenly his own needy condition, and witnessing the lavish manner in which theological societies dispense their funds, arouses in his breast the most rancorous animosity against them.

He is told that the Church is peculiarly the refuge of the poor; but when, ragged and forlorn, he enters its portals, and sees its luxurious appointments, elegant upholstery, handsome ceilings, gorgeous windows, and the whole evincing æsthetic taste coupled with boundless wealth, he is inclined to doubt whether he is in perfect keeping with his surroundings. As the richly-attired congregation rustles in, and the salaried *artiste* who presides at the organ leads off in a softly modulated anthem, our poor friend feels decidedly uncomfortable, and is confirmed in the opinion that he has strayed aside into strange pastures. However inconsistent it may be, he leaves the church with his heart filled with bitterness towards it; the contrast with his own bare, hard lot is too great. Theologians advocate the building of mission chapels for this class of people,—a great mistake, for their over-sensitive natures resent condescension and patronage above all things.

But while the causes above enumerated have been sapping the foundations of the old theology, there can still be found in every community genuine representatives of the old religious thought. These deeply deplore the liberal utterances of the modern pulpit, while they view with unforgotten alarm the ever-widening chasm which marks the departure of the Church of to-day from that of the last century. In the minds of this conservative class, morality is indissolubly bound up with religion; and religion means to them an unhesitating belief in the Bible as it was interpreted by the founders of their respective creeds.

It matters not that science has removed every vestige of solid ground from beneath their feet,—that the biblical history of creation, taken literally, is so incompatible with facts as to be absurd,—or that the quickening instincts of humanity revolt in disgust from the cruel teachings of Calvinism. They are utterly unable to conform to the changed state of affairs. They attend church, and sigh in vain for the comforting doctrine of exclusive salvation, with its accompaniment of undying torture to those without the pale of Christianity. They see about them many who make no profession of piety, whose ranks are constantly recruiting, and they look back regretfully to the days when attendance upon "meeting" was compulsory, and when the minister and the tithing-man held undisputed sway, dividing the tithes between them.

The circle which bounds their mental vision is a narrow one, and they resist stoutly every effort made to enlarge it. Criticism of their creed is heresy; scepticism regarding any part of the Bible is infidelity. The general integrity, uprightness, and morality of most of those who reject Christianity is to them proof only of the insidious workings of the arch-enemy of mankind, who seeks to lure the faithful from their allegiance, through the medium of lives outwardly in conformity with good principles. The revelations which have been presented to us in the literature of China and the East, affording such grand aids to the study of universal religion, carry no lessons to them. They persist in believing that the precepts of Confucius and Mencius were in some unaccountable way connected with Christianity, although their authors died several centuries before Christ was born; and they class as "heathen" a people whose ethics are of the very highest order, spending millions in the hopeless endeavor to persuade them to exchange the *Sau-king* and *Shi-king* for the Hebrew Scriptures.

Trial for heresy are instigated by these zealots, and they are sufficiently numerous to make their voices heard in nearly every religious assembly. That they are entirely honest in their convictions, and earnest in their desire to reinstate the old theology, we readily admit; and we agree with them in the gloomy views which they take of their own efforts in this direction.

The characteristics of the old régime were an intense faith in the Scriptures and an unreserved reliance upon the teachings of the past. It scarcely requires an argument to prove that the ends chiefly subserved thereby were superstition and ignorance. A ban was placed upon all independent research, and the minds of men were hampered at every turn. Intolerance proceeded naturally therefrom, and persecution was born of intolerance. Unfortunately for mankind, the book upon which Christianity was founded was of such a character that progress in any direction was next to impossible, without coming in conflict with its real or fancied injunctions; and, as long as the theological thralldom existed over the majority of men, it was comparatively easy to curb the researches of philosophers and scientists. The history of progress, therefore, can truly be said to comprehend also the history of the decline of theological influence; for from the moment that real science gained a foothold in Europe, the vast and complicated system which the Church had erected began to fall away. It required less effort in each succeeding generation for men to free their minds from churchly domination; and, while rationalism gathered impetus from the increasing accessions to its numbers, theology lost in influence proportionately.

The characteristics of the present Church are of a very negative sort. It retains the name and outward form of worship which were bequeathed it by its ancestors. Its written creeds remain unchanged, but have come to form no more than a nominal foundation for an edifice that once rested solely upon them. What its communicants disbelieve would perhaps be easier of statement than what they really subscribe; but there is marked difficulty in attaining any positive knowledge as to the state of their faith.

It is no longer possible for intelligent churchmen to disregard the recent and great encroachments of science upon what had long been considered the unquestioned domain of theology. While there was the

least plausibility in holding to the infallibility of the Scriptures, their dilemma, though pressing, was not wholly hopeless. As soon, however, as they relinquished one point in dispute in the effort to accommodate their system to scientific requirements, the entering wedge was admitted, which is now so nearly driven home that there is scarcely cohesion left sufficient to hold together the sheet-anchor of their religion.

In the matter of living faith, the Church of to-day stands a confessed nonentity before the tribune of its founders. With the sole exception of the lessening minority of conservatives already mentioned, its membership is made up of men and women who yield a nominal assent to its doctrines, while in reality living in utter disregard of them. They keep up its running expenses, contribute liberally to the missionary funds, and support Bible societies; in return for which they expect from their minister entertaining lectures which shall omit all allusion to unpleasant themes. They are making a social club of the once sacred Church, and, while confessedly democratic in their creeds, are rapidly assuming an exclusiveness which is an effectual barrier against the intrusion of the lower classes. It is this constant practicing of self-deceit that is the most powerful factor in the work of undermining the moral principles of church-members. They make a pretence of believing what they secretly acknowledge as being more than doubtful; and the schooling in dissimulation which they thus daily gain bears abundant fruit in the flagrant dishonesty that is so rampant among them.

Is, then, remedy for this undesirable condition of the Church to be found in a return to those principles which the conservatives desire? It is not, and for more than one reason; the first and most important of which is, that such a return is impossible. Unless all the modern stores of knowledge can be buried and their memory forever blotted out, the mental features of the Middle Ages can never regain an ascendancy. Nor is it desirable in a humanitarian point of view, as the chances of being defrauded by a dishonest church-member are preferable to being burned or tortured for admitting a fugitive doubt regarding a Church tenet. The real hope of true religion and morality is to be found, first, in that body of brave men whose courage equals their convictions, who have entirely withdrawn from Church alliances, choosing rather to face the opprobrium which still attaches to independence than to live longer under professions which are meaningless. It is theirs to exemplify to the world by their lives that the ever-living principles of morality, which governed the Chinese sages in their blameless conversation, are powers whose existence in the world is in no degree conditional upon the perpetuation of any religious system. It is theirs to prove that self-respect and not self-abasement is the key to true manhood. It is theirs to teach that man is the custodian of himself; that the power to resist evil coexists with his responsibility for its perpetration; that crime carries with it a punishment from which there is no escape; and that trust in a vicarious atonement is illusory.

A second and powerful source of aid, in the work of educating the people to a higher ethical standpoint, is found in those religious bodies which have had their origin within the present century, whose birth was unfettered by any of those malignant conditions which presided at the inception of Protestantism, and who seek to teach and practice, as Christians, those principles only which elevate and ennoble mankind. With equal propriety, these congregations might call themselves by any other name; they are Christians indeed in the best sense, but not in the popular sense. Among their numbers are some of the wisest and best of our scholars, authors, and statesmen. Many men of scientific attainments are also included in their ranks. They represent the power of conservation in the new Church. Between their belief and that of the rationalist there is a difference of degree rather than kind; and, as their ultimate tendencies are identical, we can predict with confidence their final union. Thus will be formed the Church of the future; and among its characteristics we may expect that bigotry, intolerance, false doctrine, and superstition will have no place. In its teachings, we shall look for sound principles of morality and right living, earnest denunciations of wrong, and the exaction from its members of a rigid conformity with acknowledged laws of truth and justice. Every fresh achievement of science, every discovery which aids in unravelling the history of the universe, will meet with instant recognition from the future Church; and thus will be ended at last the conflict, which has so long been maintained, of religion against science. As a public teacher, the future Church will exert itself in disseminating sound views upon all questions of moment, recognizing the fact that the nation is but the family enlarged and multiplied, and that public honor is quite as essential as private honesty. While striving to revive and maintain an earnest patriotism, it will endeavor by all means to promote a friendly interest between nations, and to inculcate a cosmopolitan spirit.

There will be no attempt to throttle individuality by insisting upon a prescribed formula of belief. Fellowship will depend solely upon good conduct. Each separate organization will adopt such rules for its government as the majority may decide upon. Especial care will be taken to make the Church and all its services attractive to the young, thereby offering a marked contrast to the old Church, which has ever been a source of dread to children.

It is not intended to change the order of Nature by attempting to place all mankind upon an intellectual or moral level. The folly of this course has been shown only too plainly by its result in the old relig-

ious system. All men are not created equal, although, until the privilege is forfeited, they have equal right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is not conducive to self-respect to treat with brotherly familiarity, within the sanctuary, those persons whose company would be shunned outside its walls; neither is it the effect of such usage to establish moral or religious principles within the heart of the party thus treated.

Kindness can exist without undue familiarity, and all experience has proven that the friendship of the *gushing* is not the most lasting; it too often expends itself in ostentatious pretence.

It will be said that the future Church will appeal only to the cultivated, and that the poor and lowly will be unable to appreciate or take part in it. In answer to this, we believe that truth ought to be propagated at least as easily as error, and that rational religion can be instilled into the minds of men, no matter how ignorant they may be, with greater facility than the unreasoning faith which the old dogmatic theology fosters.

THEOLOGICALS AND HISTORIANS.

England has several very eminent and learned theological writers; but too many of the clergymen who publish "apologies" for Christianity and revealed religion in our day have a peculiarity which did not belong to their predecessors of the last century. They do not appear to understand what, as lawyers say, is the issue. They do not address their defence to any known mode of contemporary attack. The theological teaching which is still mixed up with the secular education given in our universities has the same weakness. One of them, without exalting Bishop Butler to the pinnacle on which he was placed by the last generation of Oxford men, still attaches supreme importance to the arguments of a writer who has strong affinities for some of the theories of our time, on man and morals, which clergymen most dislike. The other university still defends Theism through one book of Paley and Christianity through another; while neither of these works has more than an occasional relevance to the arguments of the "Agnostic" or the criticisms of the Tübingen doctor. These oddities are pardonable in ancient seats of learning, which retain veneration for great names a little longer than is reasonable; but a less intelligible example of something like perversity in apologetics was given by a clergyman who read a learned and interesting paper to the Church Congress before it rose. Canon Tristram dealt with the newest of new knowledge, with readings of stone tablets and cylinders from Middle Asia, and with the most recent explorations of Palestine. He points out, upon this evidence, with an air of triumphant exultation, that most or all the towns mentioned in the Old Testament had their sites in real places, and that many of the most marvellous parts of the Hebrew tradition were known in some form or other to populations far beyond the borders of Palestine. *Quis negavit?* Who is the sceptic whom Canon Tristram conceives himself to have confuted?

No doubt, in the last century many facts were disputed which the key recently obtained to the ancient civilizations of the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris has enabled learned men to establish. Voltaire would probably have denied that the stories of the deluge or of the tower of Babel had entered any brain except that of a fraudulent Jewish priest or Levite; and he possibly doubted whether Dan and Beersheba had any real existence. But does Canon Tristram think it worth while to reply nowadays to the historical theories of Voltaire? The fact is, that the far-extending shadow of this great name forces those who hate the man who bore it to attribute to him an influence which he never possessed. He assuredly never produced any effect to speak of in any Protestant country, least of all in England. The reason is not far to seek. The portions of the Old Testament which moved his scorn, and at which he taught multitudes in Roman Catholic countries to laugh, are listened to by Protestants from their childhood upwards, under circumstances which invest them with every association of reverence. We listen to the narrative of the Old-World tribal warfare which gave Palestine to the children of Israel, to the miraculous fall of Al, to the account of David's robber-life and of Solomon's wives, and to hundreds of passages of similar purport, without the very faintest inclination to laugh at them. The morality which they reflect has frequently been a theme of speculation with Protestants, in its relation to civilized morality; but the most sceptical of them would always have resented the gibes of the man who scoffed at them as unmannerly and indecent. But Voltaire was educated in a Catholic community, to whom the Bible—though as much the theoretical foundation of Christianity as it is to Protestants—was a sealed book. Even to our day, a Roman Catholic, though taught to venerate the Old and New Testaments abstractedly, has hardly any religious associations with them. When, then, Voltaire, with his belief already sapped by intercourse with the English Deists, came to examine the Old Testament, it seemed to him simply a collection of old wives' fables. He thought it not so much untrue as absurd. And this view he successfully conveyed to the great bulk of the educated classes of his day in those Catholic countries which prescribe the Lives of the saints for pious reading, rather than the scriptural text. The "withering sarcasms" of Voltaire are a commonplace with some English writers; but when they are directed against the Biblical narrative, there are few Englishmen whom they do not strike as the scoffs of an irreverent jester.

The theory of a simultaneous sacerdotal forgery of the Jewish records which Voltaire entertained, or at

any rate suggested, would no doubt be finally exploded, wherever it was seriously adhered to, by the discovery of the keys to that ancient literature which the scholars of our generation have recovered from Assyrian stones. The kings of Judah and Israel were undoubtedly real persons, whose relations with their powerful conquering neighbors are now and then unmistakably referred to in the newly deciphered records. The earlier Hagiological narratives of the creation, the fall, the flood, and the dispersion of nations, were not in any way a peculiar possession of the Jewish priesthood, but in some form or other constituted the sacred story of crowded Asiatic populations. The topographical investigations recently undertaken have again shown that the places said to have been taken from the Canaanites during the progress of Joshua's conquest were as much real places as the points which marked the advance of the Dorians in the conquest of the Peloponnesus. Canon Tristram may claim a victory over Voltaire, if it be worth claiming; but does he think that the spirit which, in this day, is most adverse to the theological spirit and to supernatural explanations of human events, would at once allow itself to be defeated because the books of the Old Testament are shown not to have been the product of fraudulent invention? The enemy whom Canon Tristram evidently believes himself to be victoriously combating would find his principal weapon not in the unlikeness of the Scriptural history to any other history, but in its extreme likeness. This is the view of it taken by that school of German theology at which Canon Tristram more than once carps. The critics who belong to it regard this history as made up, like a great deal of other very ancient history, of official chronicles, of poetry, of old legislation, and of primitive tradition; as exhibiting exactly the same mixture of the possible and the supernatural, as pervaded by exactly the same spirit of intense local or national pride. The discoveries at which Canon Tristram exults are not at all likely to convert this class of minds to a more theological view of the Hebrew records. If they accept the readings of the cylinders and tablets made by Mr. G. Smith and others as implicitly as does Canon Tristram, they may possibly say that the Jewish history now conforms more than ever to that secular history which is acknowledged to be governed by uniform laws. The earlier Hagiological literature of the Hebrews is now shown to be a local version of a literature extensively diffused over the whole of Middle Asia. That part of it written in Phœnician characters was never lost, and was widely diffused in spite of the varying fortunes of the race which preserved it; that part of it which was written in cuneiform letters on stone perished for a while when the great cities of Mesopotamia were overthrown; but, now that it has been recovered by modern learning, it proves to set forth substantially the same legends which have been so long and so familiarly known to us. In order to have the advantage over a foe far subtler and far more formidable than Voltaire,—the modern historical spirit,—Canon Tristram should show that the Jewish history has characteristic marks separating it from all other history, and not merely that it has a great deal in common with the history which the nations bordering on Palestine have left engraven on stone. The issue which the apologetic writer has to meet is plain enough. If there had been no Old Testament, several of the marvellous, supernatural stories which Mr. George Smith interpreted from the fragments of stone which he pieced together would have been at once set aside as having no claim to be received as historical truth, whatever else might be their interest. They would have been classed with the Hagiological literature spread in many diverse forms over the vast country of India, or with the legends which fill the infancy of Greece and Rome. But, since what appears to be a version of them forms part of the biblical history, the apologetic should show that this version is widely separated from all others,—not that it is strikingly analogous to them. The undertaking would require many qualifications, among which moral sensibility would be almost as important as erudition; and we cannot say that it is superseded by Canon Tristram's suggestion that the flood should be put back a thousand years, and that the whole Hagiological literature of Middle Asia is probably derived from a communication which Noah made after the deluge to his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

CHRIST TO CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT.

For years, an organization has had an existence, looking to the introduction of the controlling influence of religious bigotry into all the affairs of our nation. At first, a straggling few openly advocated the recognition of God in the Constitution, but, from the notorious fanaticism of its leading advocates, the idea that in this free, secular republic such an event could ever be accomplished in the nineteenth century, with the light of the past history of nations who have established a theocratic or religious government shining upon it, caused the idea to be repudiated. But the psychology of fanaticism and bigotry is catching. When those who would attain to civil power through ecclesiastical assumptions find they can infuse into the masses an idea capable of extension, they will strain every nerve to operate upon the superstitious elements of those masses to accomplish their purpose.

In this matter of the union of Church and State, the idea of a union of the distinct organizations of the so-called Christian churches was by many looked upon as an utter impossibility; hence, whenever that idea was broached, it was scouted at as the result of the wild vagaries of some theoretical alarmist or of a disordered imagination; but it can be so looked upon no longer.

When, some three years since, Pope Pío Nono of-

fered an allocution to all the erring children of the Holy Mother Church who had strayed into forbidden paths of whatever denomination, and tendered his gracious pardon to all who would return to the true fold, he made the advance towards a consummation the union. Through the ritualists of the English of Church, a near approach was made to enter the open door from the other side. The Holy Evangelical Alliance brought into fellowship the different offshoots from the Roman Catholic faith, and powerful condensing engines are at work to consolidate the whole into a political element. Just now, when the first step had been taken by the New Haven School Board to disconnect from our schools the various forms and ceremonials of religion, and leaving religion where the Constitution of the fathers placed it, to be taught in the family or in the church, each according to the dictates of conscience, the secret compact, which the parties spoken of have inaugurated, is revealed by the union in that city of Protestants and Roman Catholics, to not only restore religious exercises in the schools, but to establish a manual of religious exercises acceptable to the different parties in the compact. And this, Dr. Bacon explains, was for the purpose of "settling" this matter "for the whole country as well as for New Haven."

Only a few days since, a Roman Catholic priest in Aurora, Ill., conversing with a liberal friend of ours in regard to the state of religious affairs in Germany, remarked, in substance: "We have no longer any fight with the Protestants; they are glad we are Christians, and we are glad they are; it is only a question of time when they will all return to the fold of the Mother Church. It is with the infidels the contest must now be waged; it is the materialists and sceptics the Church has to fight."

Add to this the leading editorial in the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, published previous to the election, showing its accord therewith, and the animus of the whole thing becomes apparent. From that article, we select the following choice tid-bits:—

"Since good government fosters religion, the conversion that comes of Christ must cover the ballot-box. It demands for the Master recognition in the primary act of government. In this is the royal, righteous union of Church and State,—Christ at the polls by proxy. . . . Vote, Christian! Vote for Christ. Vote to give Him a present kingdom in this country. Vote as you pray. . . . Would not the Christian millions, voting together, make a mighty party of themselves? With God, would they not be the majority? . . . Politicians, as rated in to-day's markets, may laugh at thought of a distinctively Christian party in politics. But the day will come when the vintage of their scorn will be the tears of their kind. The time is not extremely remote when the political office-seeker shall be catechized upon more than his back votes,—upon his recognition or rejection of the voice of God in government."

With no greater certainty can we foretell the approach of tempest and tornado by the signs of the heavens, when we see the sky become suddenly overcast with black and greenish clouds, when the lightnings leap and flash, and with their lurid glare light up the scene, when the thunders which at first seem but distant mutterings soon grow into a distinct roar, then swell, and crash, and boom, while the rising gale, like a winged fury, is sweeping forward with untiring force and increasing speed the storm-angel of destruction, than we can discern,—in these various combinations and operations, the gathering of a power always dangerous to civil liberty, and which, if it attains the supremacy in our government, is destined to overthrow and sweep away all freedom of conscience, and deprive citizens, by bloody edicts or cruel torture, if need be, of the right to think for themselves.

Let those who attempt to reason otherwise, and who argue the impossibility of such a result, review the history of the Church since it first attained to civil power. The bloody and monstrous acts of cruelty which bigotry has wrought in the name of Christ are without a parallel in the annals of outrageous deeds. The millions of spirits of those whose earthly all was sacrificed to this unfeeling Moloch of priestly bigotry and hate should rise up and inspire us to vigilance, and energize our determination to be and remain free.

To a great degree, we owe our present liberties to the influence of minds whose broad patriotism rose superior to the narrow confines of creeds, as expressed by them in the Constitution of the United States, and in our unsectarian schools. He who would manipulate the one, and change this secular government to a hierarchy,—the liberty of conscience to Church rule,—and thus change the other into the channel of sectarian dogmatism, is the enemy of civil liberty and of the "inalienable rights" of American citizens, and would be a fit tool to act as executioner to the Inquisition.

To "vote for Christ, vote to give Him a present kingdom in this country," means simply to disfranchise all non-sectarians of whatever name,—to have disabling laws which will prevent them from giving testimony, sitting on juries, or holding office. There is no use in trying to blind ourselves to the portent of the coming storm. The only way is to prepare for it, and begin at once our preparations. Delay may overthrow the citadel of religious liberty. If we temporize, and, like the Waldenses, accept the false assurances of our bigoted foes, like them we must expect to be outraged and slaughtered. Liberty and conscience—the bill of constitutional civil rights—is too precious a boon to be frittered away. To the Spiritualists, liberalists, and non-sectarians generally is committed its sacred keeping. While the bitterest foes among the religious denominations are combining to crush out the principles so dear to us, shall we continue divided and disorganized until the opportune moment to build up and establish those principles

shall have passed, and we become the slaves of the bigot's power?

We must emphatically and unitedly insist that our schools shall be free from all religious teachings, and that all encroachment upon the domain of thought and conscience shall be inhibited in the future in fact, as it has been in the past by letter, from having any place in the organic structure of our government, or being engrafted anywhere upon it. Upon this depend our individual rights, our civil liberty, and the future prosperity of our country, and not only of our own country, but of all countries.—*Chicago Religious Philosophical Journal*, Nov. 23.

MISS HELEN TAYLOR ON THE OBLIGATION OF VERACITY.

Last Sunday evening, Miss Helen Taylor lectured at South Place Institute, on "The Obligation of Veracity." The audience was the largest that has yet attended the Secular Services held there on Sunday evenings, and was most enthusiastic in its appreciation of the lecture. The music, which was exceedingly well received, consisted of selections from the "Creation" and the "Stabat Mater." Previous to the lecture, Mr. Witton read a chapter from Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*, entitled "The Effervescence of Evil."

Miss Taylor, on rising, received a perfect ovation. She commenced by remarking that it might be thought that she went too far when she selected the very fundamental principle of secularism as a guide in life, as against the fundamental principle of revelation, as the subject of her lecture; but the obligation of veracity had been the subject of her thoughts for many years, and she trusted that it would be always to her of the highest importance. It seemed to her that those who believed in a wise, good Judge—hearing all their wishes, and deciding justly—could never tell a lie. Yet we did not find that that thought governed men's minds as we should have believed. Truthfulness had not been the foundation of life in the past. It was upon our duties to our fellow-men that we could find a basis for truthfulness,—the accordance of fact with speech, neither more nor less. Truth does not consist only in speaking the truth; you must take care that your words convey a just idea to the person to whom you speak. You often convey the impression you wish to convey, like the Jesuits. We have got the words commonly used,—popularized, she thought, by Miss Edgeworth,—"The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." She thought that here too much was asked. The whole truth seemed to her too puzzling. It was asking too much to expect us to be able to know the whole truth; and, when too much was expected, we often fell short. We were not doing justice to our fellow-creatures, however, if we denied to them any truth we knew, and which they had asked of us. It was a part of the great law of equality and justice to let them know facts which might be of use to them in their daily lives. She felt quite convinced that, in savage and half-civilized countries, the habit of untruthfulness came from indefiniteness in their own minds. There was a saying she had often heard Catholic peasants in France give utterance to, *Quelque chose de miraculeux*,—something "rather miraculous,"—with reference to an image moving its eyes. Now, either the image did move its eyes, or it did not. If you asked them to define what the image did with its eyes, they could not tell you; the whole thing seemed to be beyond their ken.

Children, too, Miss Taylor continued, hear and read things which they cannot understand, and which they are told they cannot understand. They acquire thus a habit of confusedness of mind, which grows with them; and the greatest liars are those of the greatest confusedness of mind. We find this confusion among the ignorant Catholics of foreign countries,—the utterly indefinite state of mind in which people express themselves to their fellow-creatures. There was a country which was supposed to be haunted with devils. A poor Hindu was once sent into this country on an errand. As he was very quickly back, he was asked how it had happened that he could be back so soon; his answer was that he had been to the top of the pass, and the devils were standing there as thick as trees, and he could go no further. On examination, it was found that they were simply trees planted thickly. This Hindu had truthfully believed the image he had imagined in his mind.

One of the first things, said the lecturer, which had brought men's minds into anything like definiteness was justice in a country. Lawyers taught the value of precision, like men of science. There was a time when it had been thought that truth might be brought out by single combat,—when the weakest man in a fight was brought out as the liar. Lawyers had created a feeling of duty in men's minds. With their system of severe cross-examination, truth was elicited and definiteness enforced. So with the great events of Nature. Men of science have done for us in that direction what lawyers, with all their faults, have done for us in the other. The very cataloguing of natural objects had a tendency to a definite and precise habit of mind. Take, for instance, the man who went into the fields, and noted down the different varieties of flowers, their color, size, shape, height, etc. It would be more difficult for that man to tell a falsehood than for the one who, passing by, only saw that these were flowers. He would have to form some theory to excuse it.

Coming to another branch of her subject, Miss Taylor asserted that much mischief had been done by those who had ascribed the attribute of mercy to the Creator of this universe. Many a man, relying upon this attribute of mercy, was guilty of actions which he detested,—perhaps which he would punish in another man. Yet he laid the flattering unction

to his soul that God would be more merciful than just. The secular belief was the true belief, that every action brought with it its own sure and definite results,—results on which the doctrines of generations yet unborn might hang. The secular belief, which inculcated a higher, sterner, a deeper, sense of duty, was better than that which included a capricious God.

Referring to the chapter read from Herbert Spencer's work, Miss Taylor said that, if growth and civilization were the adaptability of the organization to the outward circumstances, knowledge must be the foundation, she thought, of morality. One thing she was quite sure of,—it must be the foundation of truth; the importance of our words agreeing with facts. She had agreed with him when he had pointed out, in one of his articles, the enormous influence of man in altering circumstances around him. As men's minds, by science and by law, got more truthful and definite, people would know better and better how to adapt themselves to circumstances around them.

Having condemned the trickeries and deception of tradespeople, Miss Taylor remarked that she thought silence was the right of all persons when asked questions they did not think it right to answer. The truth ought to be held to, whatever the consequence might be. Truth was absolutely essential to good progress; falsehood was never even a good policy. Miss Taylor then quoted the case so ably put by the casuists, as to what one ought to say in the event of the unjust pursuers of a man asking which way he went. Miss Taylor thought, however hard it might be, it would be for the benefit of the human race if the truth were told. How many men had had to die at the stake in order that their principles might be received! Martyrs of science there had been, as well as martyrs of religion. There were cases when the good of the world must be bought by the martyrdom of individuals. Once allowed untruthfulness on any occasion, and human ingenuity would constantly induce people to take advantage of it in cases in which their feelings were strongly interested. As we get nearer to the higher state, it is not for us to judge in individual cases. General rules have been laid down, which must be kept to in all cases, however difficult. People should think that the result of their actions must be considered as the result of the actions of the whole human race. It is the confidence in one another's truthfulness that enables society to hold together. The truthfulness of man to man is one of the highest conquests.

Miss Taylor resumed her seat amid loud and prolonged applause. Some little discussion followed, taken part in by a lady, a minister of religion, the chairman, and another gentleman, to the whole of whose remarks Miss Taylor ably and satisfactorily replied.—*Secular Review (London), Nov. 23.*

A FREE PRESS.

The American people glory in the freedom of the press; and there is just cause. In no other country of the world, perhaps, is the press so free to discuss all subjects,—to canvass the merits of every political candidate, to investigate every dogma, to censure all who are in authority, to propose and advocate new measures. In many countries, editors and authors must conform to the opinions of those who rule in Church and State, on peril of having their publications at any moment suppressed. It is one of the best indications of the progressed civilization of the American people, that no such censorship would here be permitted. The rights of free utterance are zealously guarded by all the conflicting parties and sects, no one of whom would dare propose to restrict the "inalienable rights" of the people in this respect. Only in a time of national peril has any attempt been made to exercise such restraint; and even then it by no means met with general favor.

But great as the attainments are which have been made in this direction by the people of the United States, still greater are in store. The press here is far from being free in the absolute sense. It is handicapped in many ways, and the utterance of truth constantly thwarted, in spite of all our boasting of free thought, free speech, and a free press.

My radical friend, Alexander, is very earnest on this subject; and though he sometimes expresses himself too strongly, he often hits the nail on the head. Witness the following sentences, which he threw at me the other day, appearing almost angry in his warmth:—

"Freedom of the press! I tell you the press is not free,—even in this free country. Nearly every paper is the organ of some sect, party, or interest, and is bound to represent, in all cases, its employers. The newspapers free! They are free to abuse one another, but show me one of any considerable influence that is free to speak the truth without reference to any man or body of men. Editors independent! They are, nearly to a man, dependent on their subscribers, and cater to their wishes as a French cook caters to the appetites of his employers. Money is the curse of literature, as it is of nearly everything else. Editors and authors inquire, What will please? What will sell? What will make my paper or book popular, and give it a large circulation? They do not inquire, What can I say for the cause of truth,—of progress,—of God? A free press! There never will be a free press until it is made independent of money,—till editors and authors cease to write with their eye on filthy lucre or vulgar fame. Why, sir, your large religious papers, which should speak as in the fear of God, are often prostituted to mammon,—often dependent on advertisements for their very existence! How can a man write the truths of heaven or earth when such is the fact? or when he has to keep ever on the guard against saying anything that may possibly offend some of his readers?"

"But," I suggested, "you would not prevent writers from seeking to please their readers?"

"I only affirm," he replied, "that the desire to speak the truth should ever be paramount; the desire to please will be all the more beautiful, and successful, too, in the long run, for acting in subordination to it. At present, the true order of this duality is reversed; that which should be secondary and accessory has become first and indispensable."

"True; but so long as men live by writing, will not authors be under so strong an inducement to please, that a truly free press will be nearly impossible?"

"Yes; but the time will come when a class of writers will arise who will write independently of the question whether their literary labors will replenish their purses."

"But will there remain sufficient inducement to such a class, should it ever appear, to stimulate their best endeavors?"

"Inducement! Is human nature so poor that mercenary reward is essential to the development of its powers? Far be the thought! On the contrary, let us rather say, its highest, noblest elements are inaccessible to such considerations; and that the purest, best results of talent and genius will be produced only under the impulse of the highest and purest motives."—*American Socialist.*

FAIR AGNES.

A ROMANTIC LEGEND OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY R. H. HOWARD.

Sir Charles Henry Frankland, son of a former governor of Bengal, and descended from a family of England tracing its lineage backward to the Norman conquest, had visited America long previous to the war of the Revolution, and was holding the office of collector of his majesty's customs in Boston under the royal government of Massachusetts. Unhappily, the gay manners and licentious principles of the young knight were better accommodated to the profligate circles of the Old-World courts in which he had moved than to the severe morality of Puritan New England society.

On some occasion, in pursuit either of business or pleasure, it would appear that this nobleman chanced to visit the village of Marblehead (some traditions say Gloucester), where, at the village inn, he found a damsel of "sweet sixteen," without shoes or stockings, and engaged in the very unromantic employment of scrubbing the staircase. Attracted, however, by her appearance,—for, notwithstanding her dishabille, she was evidently possessed of an unusually comely face and form,—the gallant youth went up and then he came down again, until at length he had quite fallen in love with the young bare-footed beauty. Meanwhile, the grace of her attendance upon the tea-table materially aided a conquest which, when our hero ascertained that to the charms of personal loveliness were united with a lively wit and a strong though uncultivated mind, became complete. The "noble" adventurer improved his earliest opportunity to make known to the fair maid his feelings toward her. He did not feel at liberty at present, in view of the immense social disparity between them, to offer her his hand in marriage. But, if she was disposed, she should become his companion for life. On their return to Boston, she should at once be put in the way of acquiring all the accomplishments in the way of education which the best instructors of the time could bestow. This achieved, she should be installed the permanent and sole mistress of his mansion, as she was already the undisputed mistress of his heart. Bewildered by this sudden and most unexpected stroke of seeming good fortune, the rustic and penniless beauty yielded to the ardent and persuasive protestations of her "noble" lover, and consented forthwith to return with him to Boston.

The vigorous tone of moral sentiment existing from the earliest day here in New England, it needs hardly be said, was grossly outraged and scandalized by such a connection as this, all unblest as it was by any pretence of matrimonial rites, and especially by one so conspicuously paraded before the eyes of all as was this of Sir Charles Henry Frankland. New England was as yet hardly prepared for the advent of the free-lover, and was particularly averse to tolerating such conduct in one of Frankland's high social position and commanding influence. Such behavior might possibly be allowed in the lax and profligate circles in the Old World. But New England society would admit of nothing of the kind, even though the offender was possessed of untold wealth, was a royal official and an English nobleman.

So it happened that, while the companion of Sir Henry was surrounded by all graces and luxuries and accomplishments, she was yet insulated amid a virtuous community. The knight himself was made to feel keenly the disgrace he was bringing upon himself and his house. At length, driven by the stern reprobation of an uncorrupted public opinion to seek a retreat beyond its censure for himself and his frail and comparatively unoffending associate, he purchased a wide domain in Hopkinton, and erected within its bounds one of the most splendid mansions of the country. The approach to it was through noble avenues, hewn out of the deep primeval forest, and overshadowed by the most ancient of trees. And there, in that quiet yet palatial retreat, Sir Henry was wont, it was said, to beguile his otherwise tedious days by maintaining, on a mimic scale, the customs of his baronial ancestors, and practising many of the usages of feudal times; while his magnificent stud of horses and pack of hounds, with feast and festival, combined to invite many a gay and unscrupulous guest from the haunts of the metropolis to the solitude of this then interior town.

But not always was Sir Henry Frankland to pursue

this aimless, profligate career, or to withhold from his fair associate in sin the dower of wifehood, which was her due. An event is at hand which is effectually to sober him, and, by impressing permanently upon his mind a sense of the instability of human affairs, to direct his thoughts to higher things; and, having been appointed Consul-General to Portugal, it so happened that he was residing at Lisbon at the time of the great earthquake, November 1, 1755. Saved, as it were, by miracle from that most appalling and almost unprecedented ruin, this hitherto gay Lothario suddenly "came to himself," was so profoundly affected by his narrow escape from instant death that, immediately upon his deliverance, he made haste to do justice to his long-suffering companion by espousing her in due form, and so making her at last his lawful wife.

The two subsequently returned to America; and every year thereafter, as long as he lived, on the anniversary of his memorable deliverance, Sir Henry was accustomed to retire to a certain room in his house in Hopkinton, and there, having secluded himself from every visitor, keep solemn fast. In the apartment about him, it is said, were hung up, torn, soiled, and covered with lime and dust that had gathered on them at the time of the disaster, the identical garments worn by him amid the ruins and debris of that doomed city.

Having, many years after the events just recorded, revisited England on business, Sir Henry died suddenly at Bath, January 11, 1768. Lady Frankland continued to reside at Hopkinton until the breaking out of hostilities in connection with the American Revolution. Though a Marblehead girl herself, yet, as the wife of an English nobleman, she not unnaturally so incurred the suspicions of the sturdy patriots that her situation early became an extremely embarrassing, not to say a dangerous, one. Removal to Boston being obstructed, she sought the protection of the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and received permission of one of the committees to proceed with her effects to the town. Notwithstanding this sanction of high authority, excitement yet among the inhabitants of the neighborhood ran so high—armed parties even assuming to arrest her journey, and to detain her person and effects—that it was not until the power of the provincial Congress actually interposed to liberate the same from captivity, that she succeeded in effecting her escape. After many delays, and after having been subjected to a multitude of needless annoyances, Lady Frankland finally sailed for England, bidding a lasting adieu to her native land and her forest home at Hopkinton. Tradition says that she was afterwards married to a Major Drew of the royal army, and that she finally died suddenly in the very act of dressing for a ball. While adjusting her hair before a mirror, she was seized with mortal sickness, and fell; and in a few moments, and with the gay attire of the ball-room, as it were, for her winding-sheet, expired.

Thus ended the romantic career of fair Agnes, the chamber-maid of Marblehead.

Some brief letters, it is said, of Lady Frankland are still preserved in the archives of the provincial Congress, remarkable for the beauty and grace of their chirography, though betraying in occasional errors of spelling the defects of her early education.

For many a generation the old Frankland mansion at Hopkinton was still standing. Reduced from its primitive aristocratic proportions to those of republican simplicity, it yet long retained, in its fine old hall, as also in its rich tapestry hangings, significant mementoes of its original and superlative magnificence.

SOUTH WALPOLE, Mass., October, 1878.
—*Springfield Republican.*

Poetry.

LUCRETIA MOTT.

PHILADELPHIA, OCT. 30, 1873.

Thrice noble woman, who hast lived so long
And served so well the people's sorest need!
Who, still, how'er thy heart might inly bleed,
Hast ever sung thy cheery household song;
Turning from strenuous battle against wrong,
With wholesome care thy growing flock to feed,—
In pastures green thy frolic feet to lead,—
To thee the laurel crown doth well belong,
For thou hast shown an unbelieving world,
Most womanly of women, that no less,
In the hot field where deadly shafts are hurled,
Women may keep their spirits' gentleness,
Than when at home, in soft seclusion curled,
They live unmindful of the world's distress.

J. W. C.

—*Christian Register.*

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 7.

F. A. Angell, \$3.20; George Allen, \$3.77; E. A. Stanton, 50 cents; Chas. E. Perkins, \$1; Hon. A. D. White, \$3.20; Dr. L. Crittenden, 25 cents; Miss H. E. Stevenson, \$3.20; R. J. Young, \$4.87; Mrs. E. C. Hegeler, \$2; A. Y. Hagar, \$3.20; C. A. Greenleaf, \$1; Mrs. S. A. Underwood, 25 cents; Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, \$10; A. B. Brown, 50 cents; S. P. Libbey, 80 cents; G. A. Ellis, \$1.10; H. Lantz, \$1; George Harpel, \$5.20; William Jones, \$3.20; Hon. George Hoadley, \$24; Homer McVean, \$4.40; S. B. Dexter, 10 cents; D. B. Allen, \$3; Howard M. Fisher, \$5.20; Rev. M. J. Savage, \$3.20; E. D. Stark, \$4; Hopson & Sherman, \$3.20; Adolph Werner, \$10; W. P. Draper, \$3.20; Cash, \$8.35; B. A. Bal-lou, \$4.40.

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

The Index.

BOSTON, DEC. 12, 1878.

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS ELLIENWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. O'BRYEN, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (ENGLAND), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIJAH WRIGHT, C. D. B. MILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BENJ. F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The mastery, statesmanlike, and eloquent address of Judge Harbut on "The Liberty of Printing," proving unanswerably the constitutional right of Congress to prohibit the circulation of obscene literature through the mails, and demonstrating to the entire satisfaction of all who will listen to reason that the postal law of 1873 should be amended, but not repealed, has been printed for cheap distribution in the form of an eight-page tract, and can now be had at this office. No better service to the liberal cause at present can be rendered than by circulating everywhere this wise, weighty, and noble plea for private liberty and public morality combined. Price, single copies, 5 cents; five copies, 10 cents; fifteen copies, 25 cents; forty copies, 50 cents; one hundred copies, \$1.00.

Erratum.—On page 5, second column, twenty-fourth line, the words "authority is desired" should be corrected to read "authority is derived." This is the only typographical error noticed by the author, and it is of sufficient importance to the main argument to be thus publicly pointed out.

MR. UNDERWOOD lectures at Carlinville, Ill., Dec. 11 to 14, and at Minter, Ill., Dec. 16 to 21.

THE *Tribune* publishes the following as "semi-religious intelligence": "A man went hunting in the Nevada Mountains, armed with a rifle, a hatchet, and a long bowie-knife. As he reached a clearing, he espied a huge grizzly bear, and at the same moment the huge grizzly bear espied him. Nothing daunted, the man discharged his rifle, but missed the bear. Somewhat excited, he threw the hatchet, and again missed the bear. At this point he made up his mind that with nothing but his knife left he needed some outside assistance, and he determined to ask for it. Now he was not a praying man, and was not familiar with the usual forms of petition, but the emergency was great, and with no thought of profanity he drew the bowie-knife, and ejaculated: 'O Lord! If you are on my side in this business, I expect you to see me well out of it. If you are on the side of the bear, you must draw it as mild as you can, and if possible dull his claws a little. But, if you have no preferences either way, just stand out one side, and you'll see the cussedest bear-fight that ever came off in the Nevada Mountains.'"

... Mrs. Alexander is one of the most religious murderers in the State of Connecticut. After she had appeared before the Grand Jury, Jaller Wells conducted her to a private room, and remained outside, while her counsel, Mr. Thompson, conferred with her. After the door was closed, she knelt down and said, 'Let us pray.' She first prayed for herself that God would instruct her in great affliction, and support her in all her trials, after which she begged to be forgiven all her sins. She asked that her counsel might be directed by the Holy Spirit so as to receive wisdom from above in the discharge of his duty in her case, as she was innocent of the crime. She then prayed for the Court, and last of all for the State Attorney, that he would be directed from on high in the discharge of his duty. She was so fervent and loud in her prayer that she was heard in the court-room."

F. R. A. CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Free Religious Association will be held in Providence, R.I., on Thursday afternoon and evening, the 19th inst. The recent more complete organization of the local Free Religious Society in Providence gives a special interest to this meeting. Prof. Adler, the new president of the Association, will preside, and will speak at length at the evening session. Other speakers prominent in the free religious movement will be present. Further particulars as to hall and speakers will be given in the Providence papers.

WM. J. POTTER,
Sec'y F. R. A.

MR. SAVAGE'S LAST BOOK.

Prevented inevitably from making an earlier notice of *Bluffton*, the last book published by Rev. Minot J. Savage, we are unwilling to leave it altogether unnoticed in these columns, although we are usually debarred by pressing duties from doing much in the direction of literary criticism. Mr. Savage was originally an Orthodox clergyman, and now occupies the Unitarian pulpit in this city once filled by Rev. George H. Hepworth. By his manliness and courage in uttering the convictions to which study and thought have brought him, and by his thoroughly modern treatment of topics which are usually neglected by the clergy, he wields perhaps a wider influence than any other Boston minister in favor of religious radicalism. He still belongs to a Christian denomination (the Unitarian), and still stands in a Christian pulpit. But his Christianity is as radical as Christianity, from the nature of the case, can ever be; and he must good-naturedly pardon us for thinking that his position, apart from names, is substantially that of the Free Religion which ignores Christianity altogether. Certainly he treats his subjects in the spirit of one who accepts unreservedly the scientific method in religion, and pleads for what he believes to be truth on purely natural and humanitarian principles. No tincture of supernaturalism, or belief in miracle, mars the modern gospel he preaches of simple "truth, righteousness, and love." He stands for the normal development of the individual man in the entirety of his being, and for the regeneration of society by the more faithful observance of the fundamental laws of human nature. Such a preacher as this is a permanent influence for good in any community.

In reading *Bluffton*, therefore, the central purpose of which is to describe the process of mental evolution by which a young Orthodox minister becomes radical, it is easy to perceive that the author's individual experience must have constituted the general fund upon which he has drawn in describing the psychological evolution of his hero. So far as it is a novel, the book has the simplest possible plot; and there is no reason to suppose that its mere incidents had any autobiographical origin. In fact, as a novel alone, it is not very successful; it jacks much that is essential to a good book of fiction. But the story is a mere string on which to arrange the changing thoughts of a reflective, honest mind, thrown by destiny into the position of a preacher of the outworn gospel of the past. It depicts the painful struggles of such a mind, both with itself and with untoward external circumstances, in attaining clear intellectual vision and a position before man that shall not fatally belie it. Sacrifices must be made, no matter how painful; martyrdom must be endured, none the less excruciating because it is of so obscure, secret, and invisible a kind as to make no appeal to the coarse sympathies of ordinary men. No soul ever yet loved truth above the success which the world at large prizes, without paying its full value for that "pearl of great price" in one form or another; and he who sneers at the possibility of "martyrdom" in modern times because he sees nobody roasting at the stake, or shrieking on the rack, knows little of the human soul and nothing of its deeper life. Concession, compromise, submission to ignoble expediences, are so common that only the few who never have bent the knee know what it costs to stand upright in the presence of a vast, imperious, unforgiving public superstition. It is the hidden pathos of a life lived in fealty to a higher law than society in general either sympathizes with or comprehends, that lends its chief interest to Mr. Savage's simple tale. Not many will enter into it very deeply; those who do must read between the lines. But wherever the book falls into the hands of any one whose experience fits him to understand it, it will be full of suggestion, and excite an interest by no means of a cheap order; for nothing is more genuinely interesting than to watch the strug-

gles by which the truth-lover painfully climbs towards the temple of his austere mistress.

Perhaps the very simplicity and guilelessness of Mr. Savage's own nature, the robust sincerity which makes him disdain the ordinary politic disguises by which a preacher's radicalism is too often veiled from public view, unfits him for being a successful novelist as such. All art demands a certain artfulness—at least the *ars celare artem*. Especially in fiction, a plot, with all the secrecy and surprise inseparable from skilful plotting, is indispensably necessary. But *Bluffton* has no plot that is not transparent at the start. Its interest is not at all artistic, but psychological; and its psychological interest is of a kind that appeals only to those who can understand the deep passion for abstract truth. Would that this class were a larger one! Our poor old world is not yet old enough to hold many such, we fear. A book which hinges on the passion for truth—the only one which deserves to be called "the grand passion"—must be "caviare to the multitude," and content itself with the approbation of the few.

Some passages which have arrested our own attention may show the inner quality of this honest book:—

"Toward the latter part of his seminary-life, he began to use his own brain and think for himself. Not, by any means, that he questioned the system of orthodoxy,—very far from it; but he began to feel that, while such and such things might be true, he could not preach as a mere echo of others' thoughts. It must be true to him before he could dare to speak it. Thus, without knowing it, he admitted a principle fatal to his soundness, and that was to lead him a long and weary and painful way." [p. 26.]

"It is a strange fact that those men—even educated men—are few who can weigh evidence carefully, and so tell when a certain proposition is proved to be true, and when it is not. Most men's minds are like ill-constructed scales: they turn without much regard to the weights." [p. 67.]

The truth of this last passage has been curiously illustrated of late by the way in which some educated minds have weighed the arguments of Judge Harbut and Mr. Wakeman, and found the latter the stronger of the two!

"He could find, as others have done, a temporary peace by taking refuge in the practical, though he afterwards learned that no deep thinker can permanently rest, so long as the theoretical and practical are out of harmony." [p. 84.]

"The great battles of the world are fought alone. Before men appear in the great crises of the world, to head forlorn hopes, guide nations, or lead others to victory, they have first met, fought, and conquered themselves on the unseen battle-fields of the soul. There is no shouting, no noise of cannon, no waving of flags above the smoke; but only a cry of prayer, or a sigh of agony breathed out, that, like the puff of steam from a volcano, tells of the infernal strife below. It is the Armageddon battle-field, where the hosts of good and evil clutch in deadly encounter. He who has won here is safe. No other is fit to trust as leader when grand human destinies are hanging in the balance." [p. 123.]

"Strategy and deception are counted fair in war; but it seems questionable to me to fight the battles of truth and God in underhanded and deceptive ways."

"I do not quite admit your point," said Dr. Thomes; "has a man no rights in the Church in which he was born?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Forrest,—"the right either to remain loyal to it or to leave it."

"But may he not remain in it and reform it?"

"I think not," said he, "if I understand what you mean by reform,—that is, change it to something else. If a man is in a Shakespeare Club, and concludes that he would prefer a Philosophical Society, the simple and honest way would be to leave the first, and organize the second, not undertake to break up the Club while still claiming to be loyal to it." [p. 211.]

"It seems to me that Pius IX. was clear-headed and logical, when in his last encyclical he anathematized those who said the Church ought to progress, and conform to modern civilization. And the same is true of orthodoxy in any form. It claims to be based on a clear, explicit, and finished scheme of divine revelation; but to say that it can change, either to retrograde or advance, is simply confusion of thought, or misuse of language. If, then, orthodoxy ever was orthodoxy,—the true doctrine,—then it must remain so forever. There can't be any progress in the facts of the multiplication table. But if you admit that orthodoxy has changed, or can change in any degree, then it isn't orthodoxy any longer. It admits no past mistake; if there was a past mistake, then there is no certainty but there may be one now. You're all afloat. Instead of orthodoxy, it is rationalism, or the application of reason to all the problems involved." [p. 214.]

"Orthodoxy is a linked chain; it is a complete logical arch. But Liberal Orthodoxy knocks the key stone out, and thinks the rest will stand. It snaps one link, and thinks the chain will still hold the clear-headed thinkers of the world. It knocks the foundations out from under its house, and then proceeds calmly up stairs and sits down as if nothing had happened. Such feats are only possible in castles in the air. But men will knock their brains out

against logical impossibilities, and still go on unconcerned of any accident." [p. 215.]

Such a book as *Bluffton*, clothing the pointed truths of radicalism in the light garb of a story, will find entrance where the iron-armored arguments of logic find no admission. It is a book which we should like to see circulated for this reason; and we can cordially recommend it as a useful holiday gift.

"REPEAL" AND "REFORM."

It would be unfair to charge all those who take the position of "repeal" with being in favor of obscenity. It has the sympathy, no doubt, of that small class of degraded creatures engaged in the business of selling vile books and pictures, and to it is attracted, I believe, a larger class that delights in a kind of literature which, although not really obscene, appeals only to coarse or distorted minds. But from these facts it no more follows that the great mass of the adherents of "repeal" are in favor of obscenity than the fact that drunkards generally are in favor of license *versus* prohibition proves that the party in favor of licensing and not prohibiting the sale of alcoholic drinks is in favor of drunkenness. In discussing this subject, let us do full justice to the advocates and adherents of "repeal" by according to them the same sincerity and honesty of purpose that we claim for ourselves. The results of their logic, the consequences of their action, the influence of their position, can be shown, without questioning their motive or reflecting on their character. Although there is a class brought into prominence for the moment by the discussion of this subject, of which they are taking advantage to propagate certain social theories in connection with the demand for "repeal" and in the name of Free Thought, yet the "repeal" party should not be held responsible for their views, or their mode of presenting them.

The real question is whether Congress has rightful authority to make a law excluding from the mails obscene literature. The great majority of liberals throughout the country will, I am satisfied, sustain the view that has been very ably maintained in the editorial columns of THE INDEX, and that was defended in a masterly manner by Judge Hurlbut in his Syracuse address on "The Liberty of Printing." But able and worthy men, like Ellzur Wright, T. B. Wakeman, and James Parton, take the opposite view, and present ingenious arguments in favor of their position; and it must be confessed that quite a large number of liberals agree with them, and are ready to sustain them in an effort—however futile it may seem—to secure the total repeal of the law, by Congress, against the circulation of obscene literature through the mails.

That this difference was introduced into the Congress of the National Liberal League last month is to me a matter of deep regret. It should not have been done. It is a question on which the League should not have been called to pledge itself to either side. The Liberal League was not organized to decide whether obscene literature should be suppressed by the authority of Congress or by State legislation. But the subject of State Secularization was wholly, or almost wholly, lost sight of, and nearly the entire time was consumed in discussing "the obscenity question," and trying to compromise on a basis that would prevent a division of the organization.

As for myself, I am, with Judge Hurlbut and Mr. Abbot, in favor of a law by Congress against the transmission of nasty literature through the mails; but, knowing that there is a difference of opinion on this subject among liberals who are equally interested in the *real objects* of the Liberal League, I do not wish to see the organization committed to this view. Neither do I wish to see it committed to the opposite view. The resolutions on this subject adopted at Syracuse had the concurrence of the entire body, I think, and embrace all that comes within the scope of the League.

There are now two National Liberal Leagues. Let both agree to drop this "obscenity question," and, taught by past experience, and imbued with an earnest desire for the success of State Secularization, reunite at their next annual meeting, and resolve henceforth to confine their efforts to the real objects for which the organization was formed. The question as to the authority of Congress to legislate against the circulation of obscenity can be discussed outside of the League; and, if necessary, the friends of "repeal" and the friends of "reform" can form separate associations for the promulgation of their respective views on this subject.

Before I went to Syracuse, I was opposed to the introduction of this subject into the Congress, protested against it when it came up, and now, looking back

and reviewing what was done, and observing the results, I cannot but feel satisfied that a very great and grave mistake was made in forcing this subject upon the Congress, especially at the time and under the circumstances. I say this with profound respect for Mr. Abbot, whose sincerity, earnestness, and disinterested devotion to truth none admire more than myself, and without questioning the good intentions of those who, on the other side, went to Syracuse resolved to commit the League to "repeal." B. F. U.

MR. UNDERWOOD'S ARTICLE.

So thoroughly candid and truth-loving a writer as Mr. Underwood, who deservedly stands in the front rank of representative liberals in the United States, will indulge us in a few additional remarks on the same subject, made in the spirit of sincerest esteem and good-will. At different periods there have been parties in this country who have taken the position of demanding repudiation, with reference to the public debt of the United States or of some of the separate States. Would it, or would it not, be unfair to charge them with being "in favor of dishonesty"?

It is plain that the phrase, "to be in favor of," has two meanings, one referring to *intentions* and the other to *results*. The majority of the repudiationists have undoubtedly been guiltless of dishonest intentions; they have believed that the public debt was wrongfully incurred, perhaps, or in some other way persuaded themselves that repudiation of it was honest and right. Others cared nothing about the right or wrong of the matter, and were only anxious to avoid the disagreeable necessity of paying what they owed. No sweeping condemnation of the intentions or motives of the repudiationists, therefore, would be fair or just. But it would be none the less fair and just to say that the entire repudiation party practically did their best to cheat the public creditors. So far as motives or intentions are concerned, the repudiationists should be judged solely as individuals, acquitting or condemning them according to their individual character; so far as practical results are concerned, it would be a mockery of all justice to deny that the repudiation party, as a whole, were the party of flagrant fraud. In the sense of *intention*, part of them were "in favor of dishonesty," and part were not; in the sense of *practical result*, they were all "in favor of dishonesty."

Precisely the same reasoning holds with regard to the advocates of "repeal." Taking them as a whole, and considering only their intentions, some are "in favor of" obscene literature, and others are not. But considering merely the inevitable practical result of repealing the most effective law against it, they are all "in favor of" it. We have never charged the repealers as a class with *intending* to favor it; but we have said repeatedly, and we now reaffirm, that they *do practically* favor it by striving to break down the strongest legislative barrier against it. However others may wilfully pervert our statements, Mr. Underwood is altogether too clear headed and fair not to do them justice. He himself admits that not all who demand "repeal" do so from elevated motives. Very well; we have never said more than that, so far as motives and intentions are concerned. But, if it cost us every friend we had in the world, we should just as emphatically declare that the practical effect of "repeal" must be to foster and protect the spread of vile literature, and that all who demand "repeal" are practically helping to spread it. That is the truth, and we stand by it to the last.

The constitutionality of the law of 1873 is not the real question before the nation to-day. This law is constitutional by the only possible definition of constitutionality; that is, it has been duly enacted by the Congress of the United States, and declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, the authoritative interpreter of the Constitution. If that is not enough to make a law constitutional, what is? But if more is required, the people of this country will make the law of 1873 constitutional by amending their Constitution, rather than see themselves humiliated by being made the involuntary accomplices of the worst and vilest criminals in the land. This question is not a constitutional question; it is a moral question, and nothing else. It is wofully to miscalculate the moral forces involved in this issue to imagine that the people will ever again see the mails legally put at the mercy of the scoundrels who formerly abused them. There is a "higher law" than the Constitution itself, to which the Constitution, if defective, will have to conform at last. That "higher law" is the moral self-preservation of society; and it demands statesmen, not attorneys, for its expositors. But there is no necessity for appealing to

the "higher law" in this case, since the Supreme Court has already heard and obeyed its mandates. The repealers have a bigger job on hand than they are aware of; to repeal the law of 1873, they must first repeal the moral constitution of human nature. But it will not be in our day.

This issue was brought into the Syracuse Congress by no act of ours. It was brought into the Centennial Congress of Liberals at Philadelphia by no act of ours; but, having been there introduced and thrown out, it was (Mr. Underwood will forgive us for reminding him of the circumstance) brought in again by Mr. Underwood himself, and settled wisely and well by the adoption of his own resolutions on this subject. The debate at the time, which turned wholly on this very law of Congress, shows that the National Liberal League then took unequivocally the ground of "reform" as opposed to that of "repeal"; and Mr. Underwood said to us at Syracuse that he had this very law in his mind, when he wrote his resolutions.

Now many months ago the repealers resolved to change this attitude of the League, if they could, and pledge it to "repeal." Mr. John W. Truesdell, of Syracuse, in a letter to the *Truth Seeker* of November 30, says: "At the Watkins Convention [held in August last] it was painfully evident to any keen observer that an effort was already on foot to change the administration or capture, as it is termed, the National Liberal League at the next convention. . . . The friends of the repeal movement, if I am correctly informed, organized a large number of new clubs with the avowed intention of committing the National Liberal League to the repeal movement and to get rid of Abbot." We had abundance of evidence to the same effect prior to the Watkins Convention; and, when we publicly exposed the existence of this combination in September, we did but warn the liberals of a trap which would otherwise have been sprung upon them unawares. The issue was not raised or introduced into the Syracuse Congress by us; it would have come up there all the same, if we had withheld our warning. Let the responsibility rest where it belongs; it is not ours. The effect of our warning should have been to rouse the liberals to a timely defence of the honor of their cause; the effect of it was to ensure that grand moral protest of the minority which is all that saves their cause from utter disgrace. Everything that we did we would do over again, unchanged; the question was forced into the Syracuse Congress by the repealers, and we at least gave the liberals of the country an opportunity to meet it like men. We wash our hands from all responsibility for the introduction of that issue; but we take all responsibility for giving fair warning that it was to be introduced. Why was not this warning better heeded? That is a question we cannot answer.

It is not our opinion that the issue was foreign to the legitimate objects of the Liberal League; though it is our opinion that this issue should have been more honorably settled. It is an issue *both of freedom of the press and of the circulation of vile literature*. When men are punished for promulgating their mere opinions as a crime, and when this oppression is a direct interference of the Church with the State, who shall say that it is an issue foreign to the objects of the Liberal League? Again our valued friend will pardon us for reminding him that, at Philadelphia, he thought this very issue "relevant" to the League's avowed object of separating Church and State, as shown by the printed Report of the Centennial Congress of Liberals. It was exactly as "relevant," and just as little foreign, at Syracuse. There was but one thing to do: to meet the issue without evasion or any attempt at compromise, and stand or fall with our principles. That was what we tried to do; and the liberal cause would to-day stand far better before the world, if the friends of "reform" had forborne to seek a common ground where common ground there was none.

Lastly, as to "reunion," we have but one word to speak. As to the course others may pursue, we have nothing to say; but the only "reunion" which we shall sanction will be unequivocally, avowedly, and emphatically on the platform of "reform." It is not necessary that we should have companions; we can stand alone; and we stand by no man's side on the platform of "repeal." If next year the members of the old League shall have learned wisdom enough to be ashamed of their work at Syracuse, and to stand henceforth for a liberty which is something better than a flat defiance of public morality, we shall rejoice to join them once more. But if not, the new League may go over to them in a body if they please,

but we stay behind. The world needs to learn that principles are worth more than organizations, useful as these may be in their service. We have steered our little shallop too long by the clear starlight of ideas to take much heed of dancing will-o'-the-wisps on shore; and we care nothing for Leagues of any sort that take not the same celestial guides.

Communications.

A FEW QUESTIONS

FOR THE LIBERAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

1. May not two parties desire the same thing for different reasons, and different things for the same reason?

For example, may not the vender of books that are unlawful, by a State law which has sunk to be a dead letter, wish for the repeal of the Comstock law to facilitate his trade, while I wish for it for the very purpose of having the State law put in force, so that he can produce nothing unfit to send through the mail?

2. Do I put myself at the head of murderers, when I oppose the enactment by Congress of a law giving the United States courts jurisdiction of murder in the States? Would I abet murder, if such a law had been unconstitutionally placed on the statute book, and I should demand its repeal?

3. May not the old Liberal League and the new League of America, one ask for "repeal" and the other for "reform" of the Comstock law, because both seek the same thing,—the most effective suppression of corrupt literature?

4. Is it quite the right thing to assume that men and women unconvicted of crime are abettors of crime because they are not willing to have crime punished by unconstitutional laws?

5. After all, is not the demand for that sort of literature, the supply of which to children and youth all decent people wish to suppress, due chiefly to the parents themselves, who meet the natural curiosity of their children either with evasions, frowns, or absolute lies?

6. Grant that there are bad people in the old League,—and I indignantly deny that one particle of proof of that has yet been presented,—how is the new League to keep them out of its pale, a thing which no church has ever yet succeeded in doing?

7. Why shall we not all come back to the faith that free speech will cure its own evils, so far as they can be cured?

8. If the mail-carrier is responsible for the immorality of what he carries, how does he escape that responsibility by either shutting his eyes or allowing the packages to be sealed? If the logic of the Comstock law is at all superior to that of a donkey, why should we not have everything which goes through the mails open to the eyes of a censor morum? Why not make clean and thorough work, if we undertake it at all? Why allow the detestable criminal to defeat us by a little mullage and a higher-priced stamp? Are the friends of virtue determined to make practical fools of themselves?

A FRIEND OF BOTH LEAGUES.

[1. Yes, unquestionably.

2. No, because the States possess jurisdiction over the crime of murder. But the case is not in the least analogous to the crime of circulating obscene literature through the mails, inasmuch as the States possess no jurisdiction over the mails, and because Congress alone can constitutionally possess or exercise it.

3. Yes, so far as intention goes. But the question has nothing to do with intentions, but concerns solely the necessary effects of legislation in facilitating or thwarting the ends aimed at.

4. It would not be the "right thing" to assume that they intend to "abet crime." But it would be the "right thing" to say that they do "abet" it, if the measures they adopt practically facilitate it. If a man strives to put out a fire by a deluge of kerosene, mistaking it for water, it would be the "right thing" to say that he "practically abets" the conflagration. Why is this all-important word "practically," which we have always used, systematically overlooked? Do repealers wish to make us attack their motives in spite of ourself? Is it quite the "right thing" to pay no heed to this distinction, when disregard of it has the effect of turning a serious discussion of principles and measures into a frivolous and acrimonious war of personalities? We emphatically disclaim all responsibility for these personalities, but insist on our right and duty, as an editor, to discuss those principles and measures without being held to account for the personalities we have persistently avoided.

5. A difference of opinion on this point is quite possible. But it does not affect the unquestionable right of the United States to punish abuse of the mails for criminal purposes.

6. We do not know of any one who has publicly alleged, or tried to "prove," that there are "bad people in the old League." Certainly the new League will institute no inquisition to keep them out of itself. The whole question is one of principles and measures, and their necessary effects on society.

7. We have always believed that free speech will

cure all evils of opinion, when truth and error are left free to combat each other. But this belief does not require us to ask the repeal of laws for the punishment of libel or circulation of vile literature.

8. No, we do not think the friends of virtue are determined to make practical fools of themselves; nor do we resent the implication that they do. We simply say that to punish a criminal act after it has been proved to have been committed releases the government from all moral responsibility in the premises; and that a censor morum is superfluous for this purpose.

For the writer of the above letter, whose incognito we are bound to respect, we entertain the deepest personal veneration; and we honor his intellect so highly that we do not fear he will be offended by our frank replies to his questions.—ED.]

THE "SEPARATION."

DEAR MR. ANNOT:—

To those who have followed the controversy on the Comstock laws in our liberal papers, the fact became more and more apparent that a division between two different liberal elements was unavoidable.

The separation came; but, unfortunately for the cause of high-toned, pure liberalism, the separation took place on grounds which divided friends as well as opponents. We were asked to decide upon a question which involves more than partisanship, which strikes at the root of American liberty, and upon which the most enlightened and intelligent people cannot agree without studying the matter up carefully and thoroughly. Our feeling for decency and purity would incline us to oppose "repeal" of the Comstock law. Our reason tells us that it is unjust, inefficient, arbitrary, unrepresentative, to invoke the United States Government to pass a law for the suppression of one social vice, while all others are free, or come under the jurisdiction of the respective States where the vice or crime has been perpetrated.

Justice seems to me of much greater importance than decency; justice is the very foundation of a republican government, and we should avoid the framing of laws, the execution of which would strike a heavy blow upon a fundamental republican virtue.

The reformers ask the suppression of a certain kind of literature written with the intention "to corrupt the morals of the young,"—an almost impossible thing to decide, for no one will own that he has written or published anything with such an intention. Our large cities are swamped with foul reading-matter which circulates freely, and cannot be reached by the desired law. Dime novels, *Police Gazettes*, and many of our dailies, contain dangerous items for the young; they are written for the sole purpose of exciting the imagination of the reader. Have we a right to punish one, and let ten go out freely?

This law which the reformers are so eager to put in force is wholly ineffective; and I do believe that we liberals could introduce more rational and more effective measures to show the Orthodox people that we stand for decency and a higher morality.

If a division between liberals is desired, let it be on such grounds as we can all understand and appreciate. There is no doubt that an internal conflict has ever existed between two classes of liberals since the time of Thomas Paine and, later on, Theodore Parker. We ever had the cultured and the less cultured, the conservative and the radical, liberal. The first would like to reform according to the law of development, slowly but surely; the latter is more impulsive, and would rather throw down every barrier at once, to obtain his long wished for freedom. There is no doubt that both mean well, and that society justifies their position. The National Liberal League, with its broad platform, was the first organization which aimed at a union between heterogeneous elements. The secularization of our government—a grand universal aim—brought all liberals under one leadership.

The newly-accomplished Union was frustrated by the introduction of a new issue which belongs by right in the domain of political and social science.

The old animosities awoke from their light slumber, and the cultured have again separated from the less cultured. As the contention took place not on account of culture or non-culture, decency or indecency, but on account of "reform" or "repeal" of an unjust law, the separation is not quite equal; and there are a good many friends of culture and a high-toned morality on the side of those who are accustomed to emphasize freedom much more than morality. They were compelled to this step, not on account of choice, but on account of right and justice. If the reformers desired a separation because they found it impossible to work together with the repealers, considering their method of propagandism dangerous, they ought to have said so before the Syracuse Convention. To infer, now, that "repeal" is synonymous with free-lovism, or that it must lead to it, is a great injustice to all those who differ from the reformers. Prejudice and mistrust towards certain personalities dare not influence our judgment when a principle is at stake. Much of the bitterness against the "repealers" has been caused by their actions; by circulating a kind of literature which is considered unchaste, misleading, and corrupting. Says the *Reformer*, though indignant at the publication of *Cupid's Yokes* and other such ill-timed publications: "We do not favor a law which persecutes those who utter their opinions, though these opinions may be dangerous to morality. No; we desire a law which shall punish those who intend to corrupt the morals of the young." Their position seems to me wholly inconsistent, and their repeated

attacks upon free-lovism show that they would like to restrict the expression of its adherents.

While I fully agree with the reformers that liberals have to emphasize a higher and purer morality, and that great wrong and much harm is done by publishing books which indicate a false moral standard; while I fully believe that many liberals hurt the cause of purity and moral enlightenment by their indelicate and superficial manner of treatment,—I also believe that we have other means to fight against these evils than through the introduction of a law which can and will never do justice to all. Let the cultured liberals throughout the land be as vigorous and as public-spirited as the less cultured are, and the people will not be in doubt as to our motives and our principles. As long as the question of repeal or reform is kept in the foreground, a good portion of the best element is kept out of the reform party.

Truly yours,
CLARA NEYMANN.

NEW YORK, Nov. 27, 1878.

[Without at all discussing what appears to us otherwise erroneous in the above views, we most earnestly deprecate the suggestion that there is or has been any necessity of a separation between the "cultured" and "non-cultured" liberals. It would be impossible to draw any such line as that, and we repudiate the attempt as worse than impossible. The only separation has been on the practical question of supporting or opposing a mischievous movement for "repeal." As citizens of a common country, we have sought to unite all who seek State Secularization as the bulwark both of liberty and morality; we have never sought to exclude anybody for his private opinions, private character, or lack of "culture." At the polls these things are forgotten: the division there turns only on the question of measures and candidates. We always have been, and are, cordially with all those who support good measures and good candidates; we oppose those who support the contrary; we ask no question about "culture," and regard the recent attempts to excite hatred between so-called "cultured" and "non-cultured" liberals as a vile piece of demagoguism. Our platform is as broad as that of citizenship; and so is that of the Liberal League.—ED.]

HARDPAN.

EDITOR INDEX:—

1. I have carefully read your criticism of my article, and I see that the difficulty is not with logic, but with the premises. Let us see if we can get down to hardpan, and find a real starting-point. All agree that the crime in question consists solely in sending through the mails articles, books, or prints intended to corrupt the morals of youth. Now the doing of this is vicious, offensive, disgusting, immoral; but it is an open question whether it is such an offence as ought to be made a crime by a secular State, to be punished by law.

Even if the exaggerated stories and the lies out of whole cloth told by Comstock were true, no liberal will claim that there is a thousandth part of the vice, suffering, misery, and crime, caused by the circulation of obscene literature through the mails, that result directly and indirectly from the excessive use of tobacco and rum. Notwithstanding the enormous extent of the evils caused by rum and tobacco, their manufacture and sale on a large scale are not generally regarded as crimes among Christian and civilized nations, although there have been many abortive attempts to make selling small quantities of intoxicating liquors a criminal offence, and to suppress such sales by prohibitory laws.

The truth is, that there are many offences against social purity which are immoral, but which lie on that border-land between vice and crime where they cannot be reached by law without infringing on that personal liberty so dear to every freeman. Every prohibitory law has this fatal defect, which inheres in this postal law as well; namely, that it undertakes to punish only one of two parties, both equally necessary to the commission of the offence, and both of whom may be equally guilty. The sense of justice in every man's mind tells him that it is not fair to punish the seller of liquor and not the buyer, the sender of bad books and not the receiver. In the case of minors, it is their parents or guardians who deserve punishment the most.

This one-sidedness is a principal reason why all such laws fail to do good; for a law is of no use which is not based on justice.

If sending obscene books through the mails to minors who order them were a crime in the same sense in which slavery, the "sum of all villainies," is so, there could be no difference of opinion about it among liberals or thinking people; but the two only need to be contrasted, to show that to consider them equivalent in a moral point of view is a monstrous assumption.

Making merchandise of a human being is, in and of itself, a crime involving all other crimes. It does not need to be made so by law or by the Church, but was in fact sustained by the law and defended by the Church.

Although the motive of the publisher and sender of obscene literature may be the worst possible, the act does not necessarily do any harm in itself. It does not do any harm to those who don't read it, and it would not harm you or me, if we were unfortunately forced to read it, except to disgust us.

The great majority of decently brought up children would be too disgusted by them to read obscene books, if any came in their way. And there need be

no call for such books, if parents, guardians, and teachers would even half do their duty.

The practical common-sense of mankind will see a very great distinction between this Church-begotten crime, and those crimes which we try, alas! mainly in vain, to prevent and punish by law. Let liberals leave law-making to those who are in that dispensation and believe in it, while we insist that the only real means for the suppression of vice is the expression of virtue. F. S. C.

[1. Whether the circulation of obscene literature is justly or unjustly made a crime by the common law, as it is already, is not a question that can be consistently raised by the repealers in the National Liberal League; for they concede the criminality of the act and the justice of punishing it by State law. The radical wing of the repealers, represented by Messrs. Heywood, Tucker, and others, refuse this concession, and consistently demand the repeal of all laws, State or National, against obscenity. Apparently "F. S. C." belongs to this radical and logical wing; and, if he is equally logical with them, he will go on to demand the repeal of all laws for the punishment of all crimes whatever. Does he not intend to take this position, when he advises liberals to "leave law-making" to others? If so, the question turns simply on the proposal to do away with all government—to abolish the State altogether. Whether this is reasonable or not, we leave it to our readers to decide.

2. Not a word is said by "F. S. C." with regard to the main point of our comments; namely, that the real question now under discussion is—"Shall the whole people, in their collective capacity as mail carriers, become the paid agents of confessed criminals, in corrupting the morals of youth?" We wait still for a direct and frank answer to that question.—Ed.]

A PROTEST.

NEWPORT, R.I., Nov. 28, 1878.

EDITOR INDEX:

Dear Sir,—Will you permit a warm friend of yours, and one of the earliest of the annual members of the Liberal League, to enter a protest against the course pursued both by yourself and the friends of "repeal," in dividing an organization originally designed to secure secularization of the State, upon an issue so foreign to its objects as this obscenity discussion? Yours truly, SAMUEL R. HONEY.

[We join in this protest, so far it lies against the forcing of division on this issue. But the division was forced by the repealers, not by the reformers. The League pledged itself to "reform" at Philadelphia; and the repealers joined the League while so pledged. It was they who forced the new departure for purposes of their own; and the minority could not submit to be forced to join it without forfeiture of their self-respect, unfaithfulness to the original principles of the League, and ruinous betrayal of the liberal cause. We do not doubt that Mr. Honey means to be just. If so, let him show that the minority could have honorably submitted, or else confine his censure to the faction which forced the division.

But the issue was not "foreign" to the objects of the League. In this point we agree with the repealers themselves. By punishing the expression of mere opinion as a crime, the Nation violated freedom of the press in consequence of adopting the *Christian premise* that opinions as such may be criminal or wicked. That oppression was a grievance to all who seek State Secularization; and a Liberal League which should dodge that issue ought to perish under general contempt.—Ed.]

WHOSE TURN NEXT?

EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

The Chicago Times of the 20th of this month, in an editorial article, says: "The Post-office Department has prohibited the circulation in the United States mails of a periodical issued in Chicago by a society calling itself *The United States Government Church*, on the grounds of the blasphemous character of much of the matter which the periodical contains. At least, so says the department."

The Times further says: "This *United States Government Church* has some odd theories; believing, for instance, in four spiritual powers, in place of three: God the Father, Lord the Mother, Christ the Son, and Soul the Daughter. But this is no ground for suppression. There are people to whom the scheme of a Godhead composed of a Trinity is just as odd and mysterious as a quadripartite construction."

You may not have seen this article in the Times; but it is there, for the paper lies before me. I have given you only excerpts from it.

I have many times said, and more than once published in the papers, that it is "blasphemy," as the Church understands or defines it, which is to be suppressed, much more than obscenity. And Joseph Cook would burn the editor of THE INDEX at the stake with just as good relish as a better man than he, and far less dangerous, instigated and accomplished the imprisonment of Ezra H. Heywood in Dedham Jail, under pretence of obscenity. That

was but dieting the public palate and stomach for more dreadful doses yet! PARKER PILLSBURY. CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 28, 1878.

RESIGNATION.

BOSTON HIGHLANDS, Nov. 30, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT, *President of the National League of America:*

Dear Sir,—Will you please take my name out of the list of Vice-Presidents of your League? I am radically opposed not only against the Comstock law, but also against every amendment to it, as infringements of the liberty of the press. In my opinion, there are better and more efficient means to suppress obscene prints than a censorship which opens the door to every other abuse of power. Yours respectfully, KARL HEINZEN.

THE MALDEN LEAGUE.

MAPLEWOOD, MASS., Nov. 29, 1878.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA:

Dear Sir,—I am instructed to report to you the following action of the Malden Liberal League at its last meeting, Tuesday evening, Nov. 26, 1878.

It was *Voted*, To withdraw from all connection with the National Liberal League; and

Resolved, That, believing the National Liberal League at its recent Congress held at Syracuse acted unwisely in allowing itself to be disturbed to the extent of causing a separation in its ranks, by an issue foreign to the purpose of its organization, and thereby greatly retarding the cause of Liberalism, we do cherish the hope that its divided ranks may soon be reunited, and declare our readiness to join in the work of prosecuting the specified objects of the League as set forth at its Centennial Congress at Philadelphia. FRANCIS HINCKEY, *Sec'y.*

FRIENDLY LETTERS.

SEAFORTH, Ontario, Nov. 24, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

I feel that the liberal cause has suffered a reverse through the split in the Liberal League. Our Orthodox friends (or enemies) will eagerly seize on this unfortunate occurrence to write and read homilies to their credulous flock, on the "tendencies of infidelity"; and they will be ready enough to point a moral and hang a tale on the unfortunate fact that about three-fifths of the freethinkers at the Syracuse Congress committed themselves to demand a total repeal of all national laws against obscenity. You, dear Mr. Abbot, and those who nobly stood for the cause of decency, have taken the only possible course consistent with honor, by coming out from among those who advocate such a step. I entirely approve of the course you have taken. I am in sorrow for two things: (1) that there is a breach in the ranks of the Liberal League, when the occasion demands of all union and agreement; (2) I feel sorry that we have such an undesirable element attaching itself to us as those who deal in obscenity, and circulate vile literature to spread the pestilence of moral corruption. Shame on men, and especially women, who deal in such abominations! I feel shame that my Orthodox friends can in triumph boast that the Church has steadily maintained that free thinking leads to free living, and that the late Congress vindicates the correctness of their claims.

The course you have taken shows there are still men in the liberal cause, with high aims and noble purposes, who wish to advance the cause of humanity and progress without throwing open the flood-gates of filth and impurities by removing the restraints the law wisely puts on men of base motives. Continue your noble resistance to the efforts of the repealers of the laws, national or State, against indecency. Purify as far as possible the liberal army from the stain of such moral blemishes. The cause of purity is the cause of humanity. The advocates of license are really disorganizers of society.

Allow me again to thank you for the firm attitude you have maintained on this question all along, and in conclusion hope you may be spared many years to edit THE INDEX for the liberal cause.

Yours very respectfully, W. CAMPBELL.

TIPPECANOE CITY, Ohio, Nov. 24, 1878.

MR. ABBOT:—

Find enclosed ten dollars, three of which are pay for the coming year's INDEX. The balance use in your own way to advance the cause you are engaged in, especially that part which teaches sound morality. The action of the last Liberal League Convention I think quite objectionable, because of its action in displacing the old officers for certain opinions which they as individuals held, thus committing the League as a whole to opinions held only by a part of the members of the League. I don't deny but Heywood and his party had as good a right to carry out their views on repeal or modification as Abbot and his party to carry out theirs, in the Convention. The discussion simply had no business there; and the majority, after agreeing to let the matter rest as it stood before the Convention met, and then indirectly voting for repeal by electing men who, they knew, took their own view of the subject, thereby committing indirectly the Convention to such views, violated their pledged faith, and left the minority no alternative but to secede or stand committed to the views of the majority.

That Congress can constitutionally say that dirty, filthy, obscene literature, written for the purpose of corrupting the morals and inflaming the passions of the young and inconsiderate in order that the writer or maller may the more easily fill his purse or gratify

his licentious passions, shall not be sent through the mails, is a right which Congress, as I think, never should, and never will, abandon. And as for my little part in this matter, I enter my protest against ever being taxed for such a purpose as carrying the filthy stuff anywhere but to the fire. Yet no man should have his honest opinions, couched in such decent language as the English affords, excluded from the mails.

Respectfully yours, E. L. CRANE.

OSWEGO, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1878.

F. E. ABBOT, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—The specimen copies of THE INDEX reached me this morning. I have only had time to glance casually at them, but I read with interest the article on "Rev. Joseph Cook as Devil's Advocate." I honor you, sir, for the stand you have taken in this matter, and I trust that liberals are not so blind to the great interests of their cause as to resent the sound advice you have given them. I believe that the proceedings of the majority in the Syracuse Convention have had the effect of strengthening the bonds of the Orthodox church upon many who, disgusted at its intolerance and narrow-mindedness, were upon the verge of casting in their lots with the disciples of rationalism. It is a source of deepest mortification to me that the record of liberalism is disgraced by such a blot. Its enemies are quick to discover any points of weakness, while acknowledgment of anything good in its work or teachings is only wrung from them with great effort. Here they have a legitimate *casus belli*; a vulnerable part has been discerned, and, as has been evinced by the Monday Lecturer's course, they are not slow to avail themselves of it. . . .

Yours very respectfully, CHARLES E. PERKINS.

WEBSTER, Mass., Dec. 2, 1878.

DEAR MR. ABBOT:—

Allow me to thank you for the manly position you have taken on the Comstock question. I am at a loss to know how any pure-minded, intelligent liberal can take any other stand. You and the seceding party have my warmest sympathy.

Free religion must have for its basis the purest morality, the highest virtue, without which it must fall to the ground. I admire your review of Mr. Cook's lecture, if such a mass of false, ridiculous statements can be called a lecture, and that, too, from one professing to be a *Christian*. Yours truly, MRS. A. C. WHITFORD.

ANECDOTES of Pío Nono are all the rage in the European papers. Hector Malot tells (*Le Siècle*) of his audience with the old Pontiff, who knew him as remarkably liberal in thought. "What do you desire in me?" said the Pope to his visitor. "I desire to present my respects," replied the visitor. "But you must ask something of me," said the Pope. Malot found himself in an uncomfortable dilemma; he didn't want to be rude, he couldn't conscientiously ask to be blessed; and while he was puzzling over the situation the Pope, with a smile of gentle malice, said, "Well, if you won't ask for my benediction I must give it to you without asking"—blessed him and passed on.

"WASN'T IT SCANDALOUS that a ball should be had in aid of the Old South Preservation Fund?" Yes, dear subscriber, it was. It reminds us of a case where a man of tainted moral character incontinently took hold of the wheelbarrow on which a poor woman was trying to get a barrel of flour, which somebody had given her, home. After he had dumped it at her door, and helped her roll it in, and unheeded it, she said: "I do really thank you, sir, for your kindness; but you must excuse my adding that I can't help wishing none of the neighbors had seen you doing it; for you know—"

THE *Christian Life* says: "Every one at Cambridge knows the Rabbi Schiller-Szinessy, whose Oriental learning is the pride of the University. But the Rabbi is not only a profound Talmudist, he is also a devout Jew, ever ready to break a controversial lance with the followers of the Nazarene. One of our friends asked him lately which was the best German translation of the Bible. 'They are all bad; Christianity falsifies all it touches.' 'But, Rabbi, Christianity has civilized Europe.' 'Blessed,' replied the Rabbi, 'be Jehovah; for he ever bringeth good out of evil!'"

DEPLORABLE accounts of the irreligion of Scotch farm-servants were given at a conference of clergymen held at Nairn. It was stated that in the eastern districts of Scotland the greater number of farm-servants had lapsed into heathenism. One speaker said that in his district 75 per cent. of the ploughmen never entered the church door, and that their State demanded the attention of the legislature, as it might develop into socialism and communism.—*Secular Review*.

"WHAT'S DE TIME o'day, ole 'oman?" said a colored countryman to Aunt Milly, trying to poke fun at the brass chain that held her front-door key around her neck. "Look at de town clock, chile. Dat's built for po' folks."

FIRST URCHIN: "When a doctor gets sick, what makes 'em get another doctor to give 'em medicine?" SECOND URCHIN: "Cos they can't take their own medicine—it's too nasty. They give it to folks." —*Kingston Freeman*.

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VOLUME 9.

BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DEC. 19, 1878.

WHOLE NO. 469.

LIBERAL LEAGUE PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.
2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.
3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.
- N. E.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMENDMENT

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

ARTICLE I.

- SECTION 1.—Neither Congress nor any State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or favoring any particular form of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or permitting in any degree a union of Church and State, or granting any special privilege, immunity, or advantage to any sect or religious body, or to any number of sects or religious bodies; or taxing the people of any State, either directly or indirectly, for the support of any sect or religious body, or of any number of sects or religious bodies; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.
- SECTION 2.—No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of suffrage, or as a qualification for any office or public trust, in any State. No person shall ever be deprived of any of his or her rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any public or private duty, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of any opinions he or she may hold on the subject of religion. No person shall ever be required by law to contribute directly or indirectly to the support of any religious society or body of which he or she is not a voluntary member.
- SECTION 3.—Neither the United States, nor any State, Territory, municipality, or any civil division of any State or Territory, shall levy any tax, or make any gift, grant, or appropriation, for the support, or in aid, of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or any school, seminary, or institution of learning, in which the faith or doctrines of any religious order or sect shall be taught or inculcated, or in which religious rites shall be observed; or for the support, or in aid, of any religious charity or purpose of any sect, order, or denomination whatsoever.
- SECTION 4.—Congress shall have power to enforce the various provisions of this Article by appropriate legislation.

THE DEMANDS OF LIBERALISM.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.
4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.
5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.
6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.
7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.
8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.
9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made.

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSSES.

THE FIRST LIBERAL LEAGUE of Boston held a meeting last Sunday evening at the rooms of the Woman's Club, No. 4 Park Street. The President, Rev. M. J. Savage, read the appeal of the National Liberal League of America to the Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues. The following votes were passed unanimously:—

Voted, That the First Liberal League of Boston approve the stand taken by the minority at the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, with reference to the postal law of 1873, as the only position which can ultimately commend itself to the reason and conscience of the American people.

Voted, That we hereby dissolve our connection with the National Liberal League, and apply for a charter from the National Liberal League of America.

"GUSH WILL NOT remove a grievance," said Mr. Blaine in the United States Senate on December 11, "and no disguise of State rights will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great national wrong." This was said with reference to the terrorism exercised over the negroes by which one white voter at the South has been made to offset two white voters at the North. But it applies equally well to the question of the postal law of 1873. All the clamor over the alleged unconstitutionality of that law is mere ineffectual "gush"; if that law were not constitutional now (as it is), the people would certainly make it so by constitutional amendment. The repealers are practically doing their utmost to keep Heywood in jail by blinding the public to the justice of reforming the law so as to protect the liberty of discussion.

THE NEW YORK *Herald* of November 8 told this touching story: "Six months," said the fifty-seventh street court magistrate yesterday to a wretched drunkard who begged to be let off "just this once." Then, from the centre of the court-room, came a pale-faced, neatly dressed little girl, with tears in her large blue eyes, but firm resolve in her childish face. She made her way quickly to the prisoner's side, and, standing there with her small white hand in his, and addressing the magistrate, she said: "Forgive him, Judge; he is my father. He may seem low and a drunkard to you, but he has been good to me—very good. He has a home, a wife, and three little children beside me. Do let him off, sir, and God bless you!" She could say no more, for tears interrupted further utterance. Suddenly the drunken prisoner had become a man again. His eyes were cleared, he stood erect, and pressed his little one to his heart. Then he bent over her, pushed the hair from her forehead, kissed her gently on the cheek, and whispered kindly words in her ear. "McCarthy," said the magistrate, "you are free. Your child has saved you."

THE *National Reformer* says: "The Grand Orient of France are stated to be about to issue a general invitation to their brethren in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the United States to take part in 'convent' (or secret convention) to be held in Paris, in order to revise the decision of the English-speaking Lodges, which have literally read the French Masons out of all fraternity, because of their erasure of the clause requiring belief in a Deity. If the Anglo-Saxon Masons adhere to their resolution, or even if they decline to accept the invitation to join a secret convention, the Grand Orient of France have resolved to declare themselves independent, with power and determination to issue warrants under their separate seal constituting branch Lodges in England, the United States, and other countries. A few members, constituting the old section, will probably maintain Masonry as a religious element in France; but the newer and more numerous revolters will continue to exclude all reference to the Deity in their ceremonies, and thus practically Masonic Lodges will become freethought institutions."

THE *Christian Register* says: "The savage spirit of the old Covenanters, and of some of the Hebrew psalms, seems not to have wholly burned itself out in Scotland. A prayer recently offered in a Glasgow kirk by Rev. Robert Thompson, is thus reported: 'O God, confound the papacy. May the present Pope perish amid the intrigues of the Jesuits with whom he is surrounded and the devil whose servant he is.' Imagine this prayer followed by a pulpit-reading from the New Testament,—say the rebuke of Jesus to his disciples who wanted to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritans!" It is natural and quite professional to speak severely of the rival shop,—of the man who in your line of teaching or curing is practising upon a method which you do not believe in, and winning converts and followers. The Pope is running the rival shop now, and his method of Christianity is the miserable imposture. Why should not the sturdy Scotch Presbyterian say so in plain speech? In the first century the Scribes and Pharisees, sitting rightfully in Moses' seat, were the accredited teachers of religion; they maintained the rival religious establishment. Dr. Thompson would not be shut up to the choice of the obscure text above suggested for a weighty precedent from the New Testament for his "savage spirit." Let him read these vigorous words, that shame the tameness of his own, addressed to the antichrist of an earlier age (according to a gospel accepted as genuine by the *Register*) by the same Jesus who is quoted as rebuking him: "All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers." "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell!"

THE WASHINGTON correspondent of the *New York Times* thus discourses of "The Southern Clergyman in Politics": "During frequent and extended trips through the Southern States, it has often been my good fortune to meet old rebel soldiers who had gone through all the hardships of the rebellion, but who were, nevertheless, warm in their regard and respect for their old enemies, and strong in their support of the Union which they had tried so hard to overthrow. General Hooker of Mississippi, who left an arm upon the battle-field; General Nicholls, of Louisiana, who bears the cruel marks of a dozen Northern bullets; Colonel Waddell, of North Carolina, a brave soldier who bled for the lost cause,—these men, and men like them, are, in spite of their democracy, always ready to extend the right hand of fellowship to their 'ancient enemies,' to acknowledge that some good thing may come out of the North, and to express loyalty to the nation's flag. Not so the Southern clergymen; they, as a class, never have a good word for the Union, and are always ready to join the women in abusing 'the Yankees.' In their partisanship they are more bitter and uncompromising than any other class of the community. They are all democrats dyed in the wool, last-ditch, unreconstructed democrats, ready at all times to denounce 'radicalism' as a crime against gods and men. So blinded are they by prejudice that they either cannot or will not see any of the outrageous acts which are continually being committed by their party friends for political effect. The orthodox Southern pastors can never be made to admit that the political rights of the freedmen are interfered with in any way; on the contrary, they are ever ready, even in the face of direct evidence of their truth, to denounce as 'radical lies' the reports of political outrages upon the negroes which are from time to time made to the people of the North. Even when forced against their will to admit the knowledge of some crime committed by the shot-gun bands who serve the democracy, they still refuse to denounce the criminals, or to use the influence of the Church in the interest of peace, order, and the laws. The Southern pastor brave enough to preach against the inhuman and ungodly practices of the KuKlux and the White League has yet to be heard from."

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N.B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their vote to accept the following invitation: "Voted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with the old League, and to join this League."

SIR WALTER SCOTT used to tell of a baronet who made himself the host of a number of Presbyterian ministers, seven of whom were put into a capacious many-bedded room, where the butler had carefully provided for each a Bible and a bottle of beer. "My friend," said one of the divines, addressing this functionary, after a brief general consultation, "you must know that the youngest minister reads aloud a portion of Scripture to the rest; only one Bible therefore, is necessary. So take away the other six, and in their place bring six more bottles of ale." The youngest minister must have had a droughty time of it.

THERE IS NO trifling with Nature; it is always in the right, and the faults and errors fall to our share. It defies incompetency, but reveals its secrets to the competent, the truthful, and the pure.—Goethe.

The Faith of the Doubters.

BY JOHN W. CHADWICK, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Doubt, scepticism, infidelity, are words that convey much the same meaning to the average Christian mind, and a very disagreeable and even hateful meaning it is. The doubter is habitually spoken of as if he were a dreadful person. If not a sneer, a sigh is thought to be the fit accompaniment of any mention of him. Once he was roundly cursed; now he is let off with pity; and those who pity him felicitate themselves upon the beautiful spirit which they show in merely pitying, not cursing, him. One of Paul's grandest sayings, "He that doubteth is damned if he eat," is truncated by the omission of the last three words, so that it reads, "He that doubteth is damned"; and in this form the text is one of the most popular in the Bible. But what if it should prove that doubt is the obverse of a medal whose reverse is faith; that the doubter, instead of being damned (that is, condemned) either at the bar of his own conscience or at the bar of the generations that succeed him, is there approved and honored? What if, when Tennyson sings—

"There lives more faith in honest doubt, Believe me, than in half the creeds."

he takes no poetic license, but reports the simple truth? What if the doubters as such are or may be believers? That a man may be a doubter and a believer at the same time, no one will be so silly as to deny. He may doubt some things while believing others, as Luther doubted the infallibility of the Church while believing in the infallibility of the Bible. But that the doubter as such is often a believer, that any of the faith there is in him—it may be the best and purest—lives in the doubt, as Tennyson affirms,—this is another matter. It is indeed, and a much more important one. Strange and shocking as this idea may appear to many, it is confirmed by the history of civilization and religion, from the earliest down to the present time.

Tennyson did well to say, "in honest doubt." If he had said in earnest doubt, he would have done still better. There is doubt which is neither honest nor earnest; doubt which is mere cavilling, mere affectation. There may be more faith in this, even, than in half the creeds as commonly accepted, and still be precious little. "I have my doubts about the authorship of Shakspeare," sagely remarks the unearnest would-be literary sceptic. So had Delia Bacon; so has Judge Holmes. But in their doubt there lives an immense amount of faith,—faith in the plays, faith that their writer was a great philosopher and no mere manager of plays or actor on the boards. But the unearnest would-be literary sceptic takes up their notion, without weighing any of their arguments; and the only faith there is in his doubt is faith in his own personal consequence. "I have my doubts about a democratic form of government," says the unearnest would-be political sceptic, unable to distinguish between a momentary eddy and the great onward movement of events; and all the faith there is in such a doubt as his is less than any red republican's of Paris, and hardly more than a Sixth Ward repeater's. "I have my doubts whether there ever was any such person as Jesus," says the unearnest would-be religious sceptic. So had General Hitchcock, who wrote a book quite famous in its day, called Christ, the Spirit; but his doubt of the actual existence of Jesus was the obverse of his faith in the sect of the Essenes, of whose devout imagination he regarded the gospels and the sublime figure of Jesus as the manifest outcome. But in the mere whim of the ordinary doubter on this head, there lives no faith in anything but whimsicality and contrariety. It can safely be affirmed that "he that doubteth" in any of these unearnest, unthoughtful, frivolous ways is at least damned to the contracted hell of his own poor egotism and vanity and unearnestness; let us hope also to the accusing hell of his own better hours, and to the purifying hell of social disesteem.

Let it be understood then, once for all, that, when I speak of the faith of the doubters, I do not mean the faith of charlatans and coxcombs, but the faith of earnest, thoughtful men, whose doubts are no mere froth upon the surface of their minds, but their deep ocean currents, not lightly entertained, but feeding on their vital energies, having their heart and life in them. There are doubters whose doubts are of this sort. The world has never been without them. Let us trust it never will be, to the remotest future generations. Such a calamity will be the signal for an immobility and stagnation like that of China, which, at whatever stage of civilization it supervenes, is an intolerable calamity. So far, the world has never been without its honest, earnest doubters. And they have not all been monopolized by the religious sphere. We have a way of talking as if doubt were a disease peculiar to the religious constitution. But it is not. Disease or not, no sphere of human thought or action is proof against it. Every profession has and has had its doubters; every trade, every occupation, every department of human activity. And, so that they have been honest, earnest doubters, as such they have been men of faith; the faith living in the doubt, not merely outside of it, or in spite of it; the doubt being the sign and the expression of the faith.

I do not mean to say that all the men who have been good for anything since time began have been doubters, or that there is no faith in the world except that which wears the form of doubt. For its best health, the world needs two sorts of men: the sort that hold on and the sort that go ahead; the conservatives and the progressives; the men who say, "Let well enough alone," and the men who say,

"The best is good enough for me." It needs both kinds to make a world. And it needs more conservatives than progressives; because the established order is the result of infinite thought and patience operating through countless generations, and ought not to be at the mercy of any one generation of reformers. For the stability of society, we need a strong majority of conservatives. Honor thy father and mother,—the great, the immemorial, past,—that thy days may be long in the land. And as there are always fanatical doubters, men who think the past of no account, it is absolutely necessary that, to maintain the balance of the world, there should be fanatical conservatives, men who think the past superior to any possible present or future. Absolutely these men are not agreeable to those who differ from them widely, though to their own families and friends they are sometimes much more agreeable than the men whose tendency is strikingly centrifugal. But relatively they are most admirable. The economy of Nature makes good use of them. These and the moderate conservatives "maintain the state of the world"; keep all that has been won; hold fast to the embodied patience and fidelity of the innumerable generations of the past. These also have their faith, and it is not mere faith in the past, but faith in the men of the past, and that God has been their God. But if there were no others in the world but these, we should take no step forward. If there had only been these in the past, the past would not be a synonym for evolution from the lowest social forms, as it is now. The history of the past would not be the history of an illimitable progress. In truth, there would be no history at all. We should still be living in the prehistoric times; for history presupposes legions of doubters and dissatisfied men, without whom society could not emerge from its primeval brutishness. For it is always the faith of the doubters that "there is more truth yet to break out of God's word"; that the past has not exhausted the capacities of either man or God; that the best is yet to be; that there will come a time when our own realized ideals shall look just as barbaric and uncouth to future generations as the realized ideals of by-gone centuries and æons look to us.

There is one very simple way of proving that speak of the faith of the doubters is to be guilty of no solecism, no contradictory form of speech. For who are the men whom we, of this latest time, regard as preëminently men of faith? Why, to be sure, almost without exception, the men of science, thought, and skill, the leaders and founders who, in their day, were considered doubters and damned as such to social infamy, if not by church decree to everlasting punishment. Doubters they were, but in their doubt there lived a higher faith than that of the prevailing creeds and customs of their times,—a faith in human possibility, a faith, too, in themselves, as meant for great achievements, or in their work, so great as to make them almost forgetful of their own existence. But in his own lifetime the majority of men have always frowned upon the doubter, whether the object of his doubt has been some ancient creed or form, or some old way of making files or picking cotton. The present age is praised continually as being preëminently the age of invention; but every new invention in its day has been received with execration. Here, say the majority, is a machine that can be managed by one man or two, and do the work of ten or twenty or thirty or forty. The laboring man has always hated labor-saving machinery, has always imagined that it takes away his opportunity. The cotton-gin, the steam-engine, the sewing-machine, the loom, the type-setter, the mowing-machines, the horse-rake, the thresher,—all these inventions have been met with curses loud or deep; all their inventors have been involved in their unsparring condemnation. Do you think this statement doesn't tally with the fascination which Machinery Hall at the Centennial had for almost everybody, and especially for the tough-handed farmers and mechanics going there? But enter any town where, as in my own native town at the present time, a transition from hand labor to machine labor is taking place, and you will be much more fortunate than I have ever been if you can convince the men who are suffering from this transition, caught between the upper and the nether mill-stones of the opposing systems, that any labor-saving machine ever invented has not been prejudicial to the interests of the laboring class. Few indeed are those who see that such machines, by cheapening production, increase demand so rapidly that not only is there still work enough for all to do, but it is better paid. The English stocking-weavers thought it was all over with their trade when some one dared to doubt whether the old ways of making stockings were the best that could be had, and they cursed the doubter in proportion to their fear. But the event proved that stockings could be made so much more cheaply by the new machinery, that, whereas the multitude had been going stockingly from sheer necessity, they now began to purchase; the demand exceeded the supply, and wages rose, and happiness increased. So it has always been, and so no doubt it will be for a long time to come.* A dozen years ago the capacity of labor-saving machinery in England was equal to six hundred million men, one man doing as much work as two hundred and fifty did a century and a half ago, and yet there is more labor and it has been better paid than when there was no machinery at all. But every man who has contributed to this result by his inventive genius has been a doubter in his day and generation. He has doubted whether the old ways of doing work are the best ways; whether a man should be worn out in doing what an iron horse can

*If the desire of artisans for a more comfortable, and decent, and æsthetic life can only keep pace with the improved facilities for production. At present it is apparently lagging behind.

do as well or better. But in his doubt there has been a living principle of faith,—faith that, so that a thing be well done, the easiest way of doing it is the best way; faith that there will always be work enough for all, and that if there is more leisure it will be so much the better for us all. Do you say that in every such instance the doubt is entirely subordinate to the faith; the faith is the principal thing? Nay, but it is the first step which costs, and the first step in nearly all inventions and discoveries is a doubt. I say in nearly all, because the approach to some discoveries and inventions is from the scientific side. Necessity is not the only mother of invention. Columbus's doubt whether the shortest way to India was round the Cape of Good Hope was antecedent to his faith that it was not. Morse's doubt whether the mail-bag was the best means of communication between distant places was antecedent to his faith that it was not. It is the printer's impatience with the compositor and his stick, his doubt whether this can be the best method of type-setting, that sets him thinking and planning to make a compositor of iron and steel and brass, who will never get intoxicated and will never strike. Sometimes the faith is simultaneous with the doubt; sometimes it is brought forth after long travail. But even where there is no chronological sequence, the logical sequence is first the doubt and then the faith. The doubt is parent of the faith. Whatever exceptions there may be to this, in view of the fact that some of the greatest discoveries and inventions are made by men working solely under the inspiration of science, not at all under that of use, nor spurred on by necessity, the fact remains, that doubt born of mankind's impatience with the hardness of its lot has been the mightiest lever which it has brought to bear on the obstructions in the way of its advancement. Doubting whether some better state might not be possible for it, the faith in it has followed speedily. This is the rule of human progress. And great as are the discoveries and inventions into which scientific men have blundered while engaged in their great search for scientific truth, these are as nothing in comparison with those, small and great, of infinite variety, which have originated in men's discomfort and impatience, and their doubt whether the causes of their discomfort might not somehow be done away. Let us give honor, then, to every earnest doubter in the realms of discovery and invention, whether he be a Watt, a Stephenson, or the first man who doubted whether a piece of jagged, unwrought stone was the best implement which he could use to further his designs of sustenance or safety.

It sometimes happens that the man who doubts in these external things wakes a responsive echo very soon in human hearts. The seed he plants grows very rapidly, and, even while men say that it will never come to anything, its blossoms wave in air, its fruits drop down upon their senseless heads. In other things the growth is much more slow. In science and in art, in politics and in religion, he that doubteth in any serious and downright fashion is apt to be condemned much longer than the doubter in the sphere of use and skill. Copernicus only saved himself from damning by keeping to himself his great discovery of the earth's subordinate position in the solar system, but in his doubt of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy inherited a faith that the celestial mechanism was infinitely grander and more beautiful than it had been represented. A year or two ago the political economists celebrated in New York the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*,—a book which revolutionized the theory of political economy, and has well-nigh revolutionized the practice. Smith was a doubter. He doubted the validity of the mercantile system of political economy, the gist of which was, that no country or individual could become richer without some other country or individual becoming poorer, and in which inherited the idea that the excess of a nation's exports over its imports is the sure sign of national prosperity; and for doubting this system he was roundly cursed by his contemporaries. But in his doubt there lived a faith of marvellous beauty and significance,—a faith that the gain of each may be the gain of all; a faith that exchange between individuals or nations may be a mutual benefit, *must* be where there is no dishonesty. In his own time, the poet who is bold enough to doubt whether he ought to go on singing the dear old strain gets little praise, and not a little scorn. Wordsworth was a doubter. He doubted the infallibility, not of Pope Alexander, but of Alexander Pope and the Augustan age of English poetry. And what a din there was about his ears for his temerity! But now who doesn't see that there was more faith in Wordsworth's little finger than in the whole of Pope's crooked little body? His doubt of Pope meant faith in nature and reality; faith in calling things by their right names; faith in the language of the people as the armory from which the poet ought to draw the weapons of his song.

Every student of philosophy knows that Aristotle ruled the Middle Ages with a rod of iron. The authority of the Bible is not set up so confidently in religious matters now as the authority of Aristotle in matters of philosophy, five or six centuries ago. He that doubted Aristotle was condemned by all the schools, and the Church lent her thunders to enforce the verdict. But how we reverence to-day the men who broke away from that authority! How plain it is to us that their doubt of Aristotle, and still more of the miserable scholasticism which mutilated while pretending to interpret him, was faith in larger readings of the problems, physical and metaphysical, which clamored then as now for a solution!

But no class of doubters has in their own day been set aside so fiercely and condemned so loudly as that made up of those whose doubts have touched upon prevailing creeds in morals and religion. Between

doubt and religion it has been assumed that there is nothing but antagonism. To doubt is to be an enemy of Christianity, an enemy of religion. No wonder, then, that the religious doubters have had a hard time of it; that they have been imprisoned, scourged, and crucified; that they have been obliged to drink poison, and to have molten lead poured down their throats, and have been burned alive in quick fires and slow, by those who thought they had more faith than their poor victims. But now, as from the vantage-ground of the present we look back over the past, who are the men that tower above the heads of their contemporaries as men of faith? None other than the very men who in their own times were held accused for their doubts. In England, Latimer and Ridley; in Switzerland, Servetus; in Italy, Giordano Bruno and Savonarola; in Austria, Jerome of Prague and John Huss; in Arabia, Mohammed; in Athens, Socrates; in India, Sakya Mouni; in China, Confucius and Lao Tee; and in Judea, one whose birthday festival at Christmas gathers like the tide, and breaks upon a hundred thousand hearths in waves of gift and song. Were their own times so much mistaken in them, then, as to think them doubters when they were not? No, for they were doubters of the most determined sort. They doubted much that other men believed. Mohammed whether all those idols in the temple at Mecca were more than so much wasted stone and timber; Confucius, whether all the ghost and goblin worship of his time had any necessary connection with religion; Buddha, whether the stupendous pantheon of the Brahmans, or their colossal system of caste, had any real validity; and Jesus, whether titling of mint, anise and cummin, and broadening phylacteries, and praying at the street-corners, standing on one leg or both, were the sum total or the purest aspect of religion. You find it easy enough to doubt all these things. But in the times of Mohammed and Confucius, Gautama and Jesus, it was a tremendous thing to do. Men-cius did well to take his coffin with him when he went to see a prince, and leave it just outside the door, ready for an emergency. The establishments of Arabia and China and India and Judea didn't exaggerate a particle the magnitude or the importance of the doubts which these men entertained. The mistake they made was in not seeing that in all these doubts there lived a faith of infinitely higher import than their own; in the doubt of Confucius, faith in this present life and the importance of conducting it with justice and sincerity; in the doubt of Buddha, much the same; in the doubt of Mohammed, a faith in one holy omnipresent God, whose highest service is a life of temperance and honesty and truth; in the doubt of Jesus, a faith in God and man of unexampled height and tenderness; a faith in simple goodness and mutual helpfulness as the only truly great and eternally indispensable things in the religious sphere.

And what is true of these exalted beings, who stand out from all others in the world's history as the great men of faith, the great believers, is, in a measure, true of all those who, in more modern times, have been branded as infidels and doubters, even the great French infidels, as they are commonly called, D'Alembert, Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire—not perfect men by any means, and hardly worthy to be spoken of on the same page with the great religious founders of antiquity—men often foolish, sometimes mendacious, sometimes criminal,—yes, very faulty men, tremendous doubters, and yet having far more faith in the eternal things than their most orthodox contemporaries, and better men into the bargain. Voltaire doubted the infamous, as he called the Roman Catholic Church; but he believed in Quakerism. He had a boundless faith in justice and humanity. If Rousseau's sentimental faith in God didn't amount to much, nor his conception of social origins, his faith in man and nature is at the root of plenty of our modern nature-worship and humanity. And what a doubter was our own Thomas Paine,—our own we have a right and ought to call him,—doubting the inspiration of the Bible, doubting the miraculous history of Jesus, doubting the right to be of monarchies and aristocracies. A fearful doubter! Even to-day the Philadelphia city government refuses to allow the noble bust which my friend Morse has made of him to be placed in Independence Hall, though but for his "Common Sense" it may be Independence Hall would have no such grand associations as it has to-day. I grant you that the victim is not without blemish; but few in his own day were men of such abounding faith in God and man as he. Some think we have proved already that he had too much faith in man, much more than man deserves. I do not think so. For too much faith in man write too little appreciation of the value and necessity of general and political culture, and you will hit the mark. Another set of doubters were the English Deists of the eighteenth century. Their doubts were not exaggerated by their contemporaries. They cut right and left. They impugned the supernatural Bible, the supernatural Christ, the supernatural Church. But in their doubts were implicated faiths vastly more sweet and precious than the faiths which they abjured. We call them Deists. It is a name which, in the eighteenth century, summed up a world of scorn, pity, and contempt. To call a man a Deist was worse than calling him a drunkard or a debauchee. What a commentary on the spirit of the age! For what is a Deist but a man who believes in God? This was the crime of Tindal and Collins and Shaftesbury and Herbert, of Cherbury and Blount and Bolingbroke. To this they added the crime of believing very much in human nature, in human reason, and conscience. They doubted that they might the more believe. The so-called faiths of their time appeared to them as poor transparent masks, through which they saw a grinning death's-head doubt of God and man and

human life, of God as verily a living God, of man as anything better than a moral idiot, of human life as good for anything but a mere stepping-stone from nothingness into a life beyond the grave.

But, not to speak of others who, since their day, have doubted much in order to believe the more, consider for a moment some of the most conspicuous of the doubts which trouble and excite the established churches of the present time, and elicit now their prayers, anon their maledictions. Is there one earnest doubt in the religious world, among those who still account themselves religious, and believe that, in the future as in the past, religion is to be the dearest of all human interests,—is there a doubt among these which is not merely the negative side of some great positive belief? Are not all the leading affirmations of our popular Christianity essentially negative, all the denials of our modern rationalism essentially affirmative and positive? Is there not more faith in the denial of the Unitarian doubt of the Trinity than in the Trinitarian affirmation? For, in denying the Trinity of the Godhead, the Unitarian affirms its unity. Now, unity is an essentially affirmative and positive idea of which any sort of complexity is a negation. But the rational religionist doubts the supernatural theory of Christianity. Yes, because, like Confucius, he seeks "an all-pervading unity,"—a unity of the divine operation, as well as a unity of the divine Being. And in its very essence, how much more positive and affirmative is the idea of such a unity than the idea of a succession of catastrophes and interventions? The faith in these, of which men are so proud, is doubt of the great sweep of universal providence. The doubt of these, which is regarded as so criminal, is faith in omnipresent Deity. The language of faith concerning Christ is not infrequently the expression of a fearful lack of faith in God. Men tell us that their thought and feeling about Jesus exhaust their thought and feeling about God. I can only say, if they speak truly, they are greatly to be pitied. For what must be their ideal standards of the Infinite who find them met and satisfied by the person of the historical Jesus? His highest glory pales before my faintest thought of God. But not only is the language of men's faith in Jesus an expression of their lack of faith in God; it is also an expression of their lack of faith in man. So long as he is set apart as different in kind, not merely in degree, from all mankind, his sonship orphans all the rest of us. Either he was bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, manhood of our humanity, or his greatness was a publication of our littleness. Again, our popular Christianity sets off its faith in the peculiar and miraculous inspiration of the Bible against the doubt of this by rational religionists. Well, superficially the two things are related in this way: as faith and doubt. But how is it essentially? Essentially, the popular faith is doubt, is faithlessness. Faith in the special thing is lack of faith in the greater and more universal. Belief that God has spoken in the Bible means doubt that he has spoken anywhere beside. Only because the denial of rationalism is later in time than the supernatural claim does it seem negative. Essentially it is positive. It affirms the larger fact, the fact of universal inspiration. Which is the higher faith, that in the Bible we have "the complete remains" of Deity, or that

"The word by seers or sibyls told
In groves of oak or fane of gold,
Still floats upon the morning wind,
Still whispers to the willing mind?"

And so it is with every leading article of the supernatural creed. The formal affirmation masks an essential doubt. The formal doubt contains a larger affirmation. It is so with the doctrine of the atonement. It is so with the doctrine of the incarnation. Atonement and incarnation are not special facts, but universal laws. The old faiths, without exception, are faithless in their implications. The new doubts, almost without exception, are implicitly upon the side of faith. And even the exceptions, if indeed they be such, are not so faithless as the ancient creeds which still find nominal adherents. Büchner's doubt if there be any God is more consoling than faith in such a God as Calvin's. Büchner's doubt of immortality is better than Calvin's certainty of hell; and Calvin's own elect would say so if they had a chance.

A night or two ago, I sat down and read an hour or more in Frederick Faber's hymns. He is accounted the greatest hymn-writer after Keble that modern England has produced. He was one of the Tractarians who followed Dr. Newman into the Roman Church. The language of faith abounds in his hymns to an astonishing degree. And, here and there, there is faith in the ideas,—a faith sweet and sublime and strong and beautiful. Take, for example, such a stanza as I read at the beginning of this morning's service.* But for the most part there is doubt of

man and God and all the gracious orderings of nature and of human life. A single stanza gives the keynote of well-nigh the whole performance:—

"And yet we long and long to die,
We covet to be free,
Not for thy great rewards, O God!
Not for thy peace, but thee.

Some may call that the ecstasy of faith. To me it seems the ecstasy of denial and despair. God, then, it

"God is never so far off
As even to be near:
He is within; our spirit is
The home he holds most dear.
To think of him as by our side,
Is almost as untrue
As to remove his throne beyond
Those skies of starry blue.
So all the while I thought myself
Homeless, forlorn, and weary,
Missing my joy, I walked the earth,
Myself God's sanctuary."

seems, is not here, but away off there beyond the hills of death. If this is faith, the more we doubt the better. If I cannot believe in God right here, in this life, the only life with which I have yet had any acquaintance, I will not believe in him at all. But thus far in the world's history it has always been regarded as a proof of faith to think meanly of this present life and very grandly of some other. That is like saying we have great faith in the genius of Beethoven, but despise the seventh symphony and, in fact, all the music of his writing we have ever heard.

But in all fairness it must be confessed that there are doubters in these latter days whose faith is not so patent as the faith of those who simply doubt or sturdily deny the various articles of the prevailing creed. There are men who doubt not only whether there is any God, but also whether there is any Man, or will be when this present concourse of atoms ceases from its organic functions. That faith can coexist even with such doubts as these is not to be denied. Doubtful of God and immortality, a man may still have faith in the order and beauty of a self-existing universe,—faith in his work, faith in his friendships and his loves, faith in this life's completeness in itself, so that it needs no other life beyond to piece it out into perfection. But can it be affirmed that any faith *lives in the doubts* of doubters such as these? Perhaps not always, and yet, oftentimes, I am persuaded that in the honest atheistic doubt there lives more faith than in the garrulous creeds of the majority; for what is really doubted is not so much that there is any God as that there is any such as is reported in the creeds, as that any human speech can tell the ineffable secret. Oh, my dear friends, we are all of us too talkative about the mystery of mysteries:—

"Him who dare name and yet proclaim,
Yes, I believe!"

So long as we are content to rest in feeling, all is well; but the moment we begin to speak, our words are trivial and false. There is more faith in the silence of some men than in the garrulity of others. But is it so in regard to immortality as well as in regard to God? It surely may be, so long as the faith in God remains; for then the doubt of immortality may only be the negative expression of the faith that if it is best for us to be immortal we shall be so; but, if we are not, then will it be because it is not best for us to be. This is the highest, deepest faith of all. I would that all our faith in immortality might be sustained in this invigorating, stainless air,—that it might lose itself in it as, when the lark becomes "a sightless song," he loses himself in the infinite space of heaven. But better far this faith without the faith in immortality than the faith in immortality without the faith in this. But suppose one hasn't faith in this, then can his doubt of immortality by any possibility contain an element of faith? I think it can, and faith of no mean order,—faith in the capabilities of matter, that out of it and it alone should come this thinking soul, that recognizes it as its progenitor. I cannot think this faith is warranted. Matter *plus* God may well do anything, but matter *minus* God not much. And yet this faith, methinks, is infinitely truer than the no-faith in matter, the scorn and curse of it, that has been characteristic of the bulk of human thought from the beginning.

Last, but not least, this word remains to say: There may inhere, there necessarily *does* inhere, in doubts that cut right to the heart of the most precious faiths humanity has ever cherished, so that they be honest, earnest doubts, a faith in honesty and earnestness; that it is better to be nobly true and simple and sincere with one's own self than to believe anything, however sacred or consoling; that no good can come from putting the telescope to a blind eye, and pretending that we do not see, or to a clear, far-sighted eye, and pretending that we see when we do not. This is the highest faith,—faith that no real good can come to us except along the path of our own personal integrity; that one atom of this should never go in barter for the gladdest, freest faith in God or the immortal life.

"Upon the white sea sand
There sat a pilgrim band,
Telling the losses that their lives had known,
While evening waned away
From breezy cliff and bay,
And the strong tides went out with weary moan.

"Some talked of vanished gold,
Some of proud honors told,
Some spake of friends that were their trust no more;
And one of a green grave
Beside a foreign wave,
That made him sit so lonely on the shore.

"But when their tales were done
There spake among them one—
A stranger, seeming from all sorrow free—
'Sad losses have ye met,
But mine is heavier yet,
For a believing heart hath gone from me.'

"'Alas!' these pilgrims said,
'For the living and the dead,
For fortune's cruelty and love's sure cross,
For the wrecks of land and sea!
But, however it came to thee,
Thine, stranger, is life's last and heaviest loss!'"

What is this loss of the *believing heart* which of all losses is the heaviest? Not, I am sure, the loss of faith in any doctrine of a supernatural religion; no, nor even the loss of faith in those great supports and consolations common well-nigh to all sects and to all religions, though these are infinitely precious: but it is the loss of faith in simple truth, of thought and speech and life, as the one island which no sea can overwhelm,—the one final and imperishable good, in comparison with which all other faiths, however precious, are a very little thing.

IF YOU WANT enemies, excel others; if you want friends, let others excel you.—*Colton*.

MODERN ENGLISH THEOLOGY.

A summary of an introductory lecture by the new Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford has found its way into the newspapers, and it shows in a very interesting way the view of theological studies which is taken in our day by a learned and reasonable man who is a theologian both by general and by special profession. The view is not only extremely unlike any which can be conceived as taken by a Professor of Divinity one, two, or three hundred years ago, but it would be hard to name any clergyman of even thirty years since who would have expressed himself in Dr. Ince's language, natural as it seems to us at this moment. The Professor does not appear to rate highly the phases through which theology has passed as it has been officially taught at Oxford. From the Reformation to the middle of the seventeenth century the university was given up to the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, or between the Calvinists and the Arminians. From 1650 to 1750 politics stifled theology; there was a perpetual struggle for bishoprics and deaneries, first by preaching the doctrine of non-resistance to kings, afterwards by preaching against this doctrine in its original or its derivative shape. After a while the universities were indirectly affected by the attacks of the English Deistical and of the French Voltairian school; and then came the "Age of Evidences." Emotional English theology was not of official, but of private, or at most collegiate, origin. Wesley and Whitefield had little honor in their own *alma mater*; and the Oxford movement of later days, which Dr. Ince not unjustly reproaches with being little more than a reproduction of the thought of the past, owed its birth not to any professorial teaching, but to "the tutor's lecture-room, the country parsonage, and the parochial pulpit." For the theological controversies of the moment the Professor cannot disguise his disdain. Once upon a time the Oxford Divinity Schools were at issue on five points,—predestination, universal redemption, reprobation, irresistible grace, and final perseverance." Now the points which are articles "*stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*" are six,—incense, lights, vestments, eastward position, wafer bread, mixed chalice." Such trivialities the Professor asks his hearers to abandon for argument on the basis of supernatural religion. But they are not to imitate the "young curates who assail modern science by unverified assertions and ignorant abuse." They are rather to take as a model the "Relation of Christianity to the Positive Philosophy," by the Cambridge Professor of Divinity. The Church at large is to cultivate the "temper of a wise and bold comprehensiveness." Theology is to be rescued from a despairing pessimism, and is to disprove the position that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." This is chiefly to be effected by studying theology according to the Historical Method; and the labors of Professor Lightfoot and Mr. Sanday are pointed out as especially worthy of emulation. The Professor may be pardoned for hinting that such a mode of study and inquiry, besides fortifying the bases of revealed religion, will incidentally dispose of many Roman Catholic doctrines and practices,—such as penance, purgatory, and the supremacy of the Holy See, all of which can be easily shown to be of mediæval origin.

No language could be more sensible, liberal, or moderate; and it may be at once conceded that clergymen who followed such studies in such a spirit would equally preserve their own self respect and the respect of the community. But it is an interesting question how a Divinity Professor comes to be so highly privileged above his predecessors that he can speak of his study in such terms, not only without objection or scandal, but apparently amid general applause. There must be men still alive who as undergraduates were forbidden by university order to attend Dr. Hampden's lectures; yet this Professor, who, it may be observed, had as little of the confessor or martyr about him as any man ever born of woman, had simply published an opinion in language of extreme mildness, that the Athanasian Creed was expressed in highly abstract phraseology belonging to a philosophy long since obsolete. A circle of fire was drawn round him as an accursed thing, about forty years since, for uttering what most of us, including, we suspect, Dr. Ince, would now regard as an obvious commonplace. We believe that the change which has plainly come over English official theology can best be illustrated, if not explained, by a contrast which the new Oxford Professor has himself drawn. He places the six miserable points contended for by the Ritualists in juxtaposition with the five venerable controversies which raged in every English home during half the seventeenth century. Of course, as to the vulgarity of the Ritualist agitation there cannot be a question. If evidence were wanting that it is carried on by the most ignorant of the clergy and the most pushing of the laity, it would be supplied by the piece of news lately printed by us, that the clergy of a church in the suburbs of London, wishing to celebrate a mass for the dead on All Souls' Day, had to be drilled in the "Sarum use" on the subject by (to employ a new term) the sacristan, who (to employ an old one) is a bagman. How is it, then, that a large number of us have these ignoble experiments on popular bad taste forced upon our attention, when the nobler questions for which men fought and overturned thrones and died, in the seventeenth century, are hardly so much as spoken of among us?

Predestination, universal redemption, reprobation, irresistible grace, and final perseverance are topics of supreme importance; but on what foundation do they stand? If they were declared in the scriptural writings in terms which leave us as little doubt of the intention of the writer as the story of the resurrection and the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," we should all know what was at issue when they were affirmed or denied. But in point of fact these

broad and trenchant doctrines are all derived as inferences from a text here and a text there, from a line in this book and a line in that. In order that they may be supported, the verbal inspiration of Scripture must be literally and unreservedly accepted, and conclusions built upon its words by ordinary logical process must be received as declarations of sacred truth. Nothing, in fact, was in dispute in the first half of the seventeenth century except the sense of the scriptural words and the legitimacy of the reasoning by which the inference was reached. All were agreed that the words themselves, in some sense or other, were literally and of divine right true. Now the whole of this way of regarding the language of the Old and New Testaments has passed away; the very statement of the Oxford Regius Professor of Divinity, that "many popular notions of the books of the Bible are erroneous," is fatal to the old view. The change of opinion has taken place in the last twenty years, or even in a shorter time; but it has altered the whole aspect of theology to English eyes. The most learned of our theologians, starting from the abandonment of the verbal inspiration of Scripture, have entered upon an inquiry what the scriptural record really is,—a vast investigation, which can only be conducted according to the Historical Method. These are the labors for which Dr. Ince praises Professor Westcott, Professor Lightfoot, and Mr. Sanday; but whatever these theologians are contending for, it is not the verbal inspiration of Holy Writ. They seem to be occupied with driving certain English and German besiegers from the outworks of a fortification which they had entered with a rush; and the whole issue seems to be whether the books of the New Testament were known to the Christians of the end of the first century; or, if only to those of the second, to what part of the century the appearance of these writings belongs. It is a characteristic of the controversy that it is carried on with a good-humor and gentleness extraordinarily unlike the ferocity of the old theologians. To speak plainly, a man cannot regard his antagonist as worthy of eternal perdition for a mistake as to the date, meaning, or bearing of a passage in an "early Father." It was a very different thing when the dispute was as to the effect of a declaration which was, in some sense or other, recognized as divine.

It would probably be necessary to track out some obscure dissenting sect in Wales in order to find a mind exercised as was Oliver Cromwell's on the subject of final perseverance; but the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of Scripture still survives, of course, in many classes of the English population, particularly among the large mass of uneducated Dissenters, and it still colors the pulpit language of the clergy of all denominations. But the sense of its untenability is in the air everywhere, and it still has much indirect effect in recruiting the Ritualist clergy. The Ritualist clergy and laity are, in fact, the portions of the classes to whom they belong who have consciously or unconsciously abandoned the view of the Bible which was till lately universal among the believers of all sects, but who have neither the taste nor the knowledge for the laborious studies recommended by Dr. Ince to English learners of divinity. The old Oxford school of High Churchmen—the so-called Tractarians—were as much wedded to sweeping doctrines as were their evangelical opponents, but they demanded a greater support of ecclesiastical tradition for those which they adopted. The Ritualist clergy obviously care nothing for doctrine, as is shown by the very facility with which they pass from one practice to another without observing that the proceeding implies a doctrinal change. This is their way of applying the Historical Method, substituting for the labor and learning which it demands a supposed obedience to Catholic tradition, which resolves itself into simoniacal imitation of the most modern observances of the Roman Church.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

PYROTECHNIC RHETORIC.

Rev. Joseph Cook, a week ago, in the prelude to his Monday lecture, went off in one of his worst spasms of lurid oburgation, the occasion being the late Liberal League session at Syracuse, N. Y., when that body divided on the question of demanding the repeal of the congressional law pertaining to the use of the mail for the dissemination of improper literature. Every intelligent reader knows that the mission of the Liberal League is to bring about an entire separation of Church and State,—in other words, to allow religion or theology to stand on its own merits, while government concerns itself solely with the political or secular affairs of the people. It is almost as well known that gross abuses to individuals and property have come through Mr. Anthony Comstock's interpretation of what is improper literature,—in the suppression of such as he has deemed obnoxious, he being aided by the provisions of the law in question. It is not surprising, therefore, that many persons have thought the better way of getting rid of Comstock—who, we must confess, sometimes seems hardly to know the difference between a work of art and an obscene figure—is to repeal the law under which he gets his authority to supervise the methods and morals of his fellow-citizens who have no purpose nor desire to minister to prurient gratification. The Liberal League, naturally, in the pursuit of its mission, would have its attention directed to this effort of Comstock to give his operations under the civil law the bias of his denominational prejudices. The question of the circulation of obscenity is a wholly different one, as we understand it, from that of the privilege of a single individual to pronounce upon the turpitude of a publisher or author. While Comstock is not powerful enough to convict and punish, he is, unfortunately, powerful enough to cause to be arrested and annoyed, as in the case of a lady physiologist in New York, some very worthy people.

Joseph Cook, knowing these things as well as anybody of equal intelligence, in his "prelude" last week, arraigns the free religionists as the sympathizers with obscenity and lewdness! He knows that the Free Religious Association has no more connection with the Liberal League than the American Missionary Association has with the Republican party, though, as is most probable, members of the one belong to the other. In their corporate capacity and particular work they are as dissimilar as any two independent organizations. He knows, too, as well as anybody, that the free-religious movement has for its primal object the discovery and acceptance of moral truths, in whatever system of religion and from whatever people. It is the welcoming of all lofty thought and high endeavor, in whatever age and from whatever faith, as the correlative and adjunct of Christianity. And he knows that men like Rev. Messrs. Bartol, Dudley, Savage, Bisbee, and Hinckley, in our community, Rev. Messrs. Frothingham, Chadwick, Longfellow, and Johnson, in other localities, are sympathetic with the free-religious movement,—men who have been as pronounced against all vileness and social degradation as any men in the land,—who have preached and spoken against free love and all its abominations more often and more effectively than any other similar number of clergymen of any name. And yet, for the purpose of casting reproach upon these excellent teachers, this pretentious high moral lecturer does not hesitate to bear false witness against them by throwing out the impression, repeated over and over again, that they are in sympathy with the opponents of Comstock, in favor of the repeal of the obscenity law, and part and parcel with all that is lewd and loose in our social state! We give his intelligent hearers the credit of knowing that Mr. Cook was slandering his betters, and that they will soon come to the conclusion that such attacks as this will not advance the cause for which the "Monday lectureship" was instituted.—*Boston Commonwealth*, Nov. 30.

SINAI OR SODOM?

EDITOR COMMONWEALTH:—

Mr. Parker Pillsbury, in common with many others who justify the publication and free circulation of a book known by the silly title, *Cupid's Yokes*, seems to think, in proving that passages containing obscene words may be found in the Hebrew Bible, he has also proven that the obscene ideas, couched in unobjectionable language, which the above-named book teaches, are therefore meritorious and worthy of endorsement. A singular position this for a class of people noted for their contempt of the Bible, for their efforts to prevent its being read in the schools, and for their desire to cast upon it all manner of obloquy, and lay at its door all the unrighteousness of this and past ages! "Obscenity in the book we despise justifies obscenity in the book we approve!" is their cry. "The Bible is obscene, therefore *Cupid's Yokes* is right in its obscenity," argues Mr. Pillsbury, a most renowned and sturdy anti-biblicist. Wherein does this differ from the simple-hearted deacon of a generation past who stubbornly believed the whale swallowed Jonah, for no better reason than "because the Bible says so"? In nothing that we can see, save that the deacon was sincere in his Bible faith, while these defenders of demoralizing doctrines use it only as a spiteful hit at those who, however bigoted and unenlightened they may have been, were, and are ever found to be, as a majority, the champions of home and chastity.

The enlightened respecters of bibles expect that the Bible of this age, however crude it may appear to the world two thousand years hence, will yet be something vastly in advance, both in diction and sentiment, of those of the ancient Hindus or Hebrews; but alas for such expectations, if *Cupid's Yokes* chance to be among the chronicles that find their way down to the coming centuries! Should this impossibility occur, the student of that distant future, comparing its loose and feeble rhetoric, its still looser and feebler tone, with the confident vigor of the healthy "Thus saith the Lord" of the dim-vested Hebrew, will surely conclude that the march of the ages was not progressive from Hebrew to Heywood. "Thou shalt not commit adultery," said the Hebrew; and, to make the command impressive to the world's childhood, he thundered it from Sinai, and graved it on tablets of stone, and made it the command of Jehovah. There was no doubt about it in the Hebrew mind forever after. "Beecher had an undoubted natural right to commit adultery," says Heywood. "No obscenity in that!" cries Mr. Pillsbury. If not, then where in the world is obscenity? Clean words may convey the foulest ideas, just as ideas high and noble may be expressed in language coarse and rude and vulgar; but it is the idea that is of consequence. Mr. Pillsbury's extracts from the Bible, made for the express purpose of proving its obscenity, do indeed prove that the letter of a people two thousand years ago was sometimes obscene; but the spirit is of stern, uncompromising personal purity and fidelity to home. Its teachings are monogamic, though some of its best men did not obey them. In this they did not differ greatly from many men of the present who yet believe with all their hearts in those same stern old principles, but find themselves too weak or wicked to obey them. The scarlet woman of the old prophet, whose history furnishes some obscene words for Mr. Pillsbury, yet suffered a terrible punishment for practising lawless abominations which Mr. Heywood advocates; and all who observe know that the prophet's picture is as true for to-day as for his time, though our century would tell it in different language, if, indeed, it has not become too weak and indifferent to tell it at all. The punishment of _____ and _____ curses the world to-day in the form of their children, who are practising all manner of lawlessness and li-

cence, and clamoring that it may be made lawful and considered respectable.

"Man is measured by his power of self-control," said a little lady; and 'tis just as much his duty and just as much to his benefit to control his physical appetites as to hold his temper in check; for one who pleads that he cannot, the "Thou shalt" of the law is as necessary and as wholesome as it was in days of old. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife," thundered cloudy Sinai, and, as a command of Jehovah that must be obeyed, it was effective. Let our modern law-givers be as uncompromising, and covetousness of that nature will speedily resolve itself into a governable temptation, and the vacillating Benedict will begin to discover the attractions of his own wife. Cupid's yokes will become easier and his burdens so light that the numbers who wish to assume them will not greatly diminish. There is a world of power for good in the old "Thou shalt," as in the positive *must* or *must not* of parents in earlier days. "John, you must not go fishing to-day!" said the dignified mother—not mamma—of a half-century ago,—tone, voice, expression, all indicating that she expected, and, if necessary, should enforce, obedience. With that "must" behind him, John found that his will was strong enough to resist the temptation to go; he was made to feel that going would be worse for him than not going, and thus early learned the useful lesson of obedience, and also his own ability to resist inclination; and he came into manhood with tried and developed powers for usefulness. Too often the modern mamma's word is a weak, "I would not go, Johnny;" the result of which is the wilful boy goes, and gets cold or something worse; but, worst of all, he gets no discipline, comes to manhood with no knowledge of self-denial or the beauty and power acquired in resisting temptation, enters life, and is defeated by himself. It were better for most children if parents retained more of the old Jehovah.

Mr. Heywood claims that his book imparts "physiological information." Granting that it does, we still cannot see any advantage to be derived from it beyond what is furnished by standard medical works. High scientific authority endorses the teachings of these books, and surely a trivial work like this in question can add nothing to them. Every country hamlet has its physician; let him or her, by lectures more or less public, as may be desired, instruct the people as far as it is possible to do so. And as for the license doctrines, their advocates, placed at hard physical labor, will find their brains less fertile in the evolution of ideas suited only to their own desires.—*Earnest, in the Commonwealth*, Dec. 7.

A CHRISTIAN PERVERT TO BUDDHA.

A correspondent, writing under date of the 15th July, says: "The great event of the year, so far, in Siam, has been the conversion to Buddhism of a European Christian, and his formal installation into the priesthood, which took place on the 8th inst. I forbear to give his name, for the simple reason that the man's vanity is so great that he would be delighted to hear that his name was trumpeted abroad, even affixed to so questionable a transaction as this. Not only that, but having renounced the sacrament of his baptism, I doubt whether he is entitled to any of the relics of his once Christianity, even of so trifling a nature as a name. Suffice it to say, that in country he is an Austrian, and in sect was a Roman Catholic. He was usually designated among the Siamese, Phr'a Kowtow, a name and title given him in mockery for his servile predilections. One could have understood the motives for this conversion better, had this man been a low-class, ignorant person, only anxious to find favor in the eyes of the Siamese for monetary purposes; but on the contrary, he is a superb scholar, a man of rare attainments in the various walks of science, literature, and art; a perfect draughtsman, an accomplished linguist, and a thorough scientist; with powers of memory and acquisition so strong that he picked up the Siamese language in a very few months, although it is notoriously the most difficult of all the Eastern tongues, not even excepting the Chinese. His avowed object, to his friends, is to obtain a more thorough knowledge of the Ball language, which can only be obtained in the higher grades of the priesthood. That some motive of this kind, rather than a devout conviction of the deity of Buddha, influenced his course, was so strongly suspected by the principal members of the hierarchy that for a long time he was unable to obtain admittance to a temple, until the king took compassion on him, and allowed him to pass his novitiate in his own magnificent place of worship, situated in the palace grounds. On the 8th inst. the installation took place, with even more than the usual ceremonies and barbaric grandeur. The procession was a most magnificent one, and the bands of music belonging to both kings filled the streets with music during the entire day and night. All Siam flocked to witness the ceremony,—that is, native Siam; the foreigners kept rigidly away, disgusted and enraged that a Christian could be found who was willing to abjure his God and his Savior to take up the tenets of heathenism. During the four years for which he remains secluded from the world, it is to be hoped that reflection may induce repentance.—*China Mail*.

WHY THE JEWS REJECT CHRIST.

A correspondent writes: "Will you please state clearly and concisely why the Jews do not believe that Christ was the Messiah?" We will. The Jews reject the belief in Christ as the Messiah because his coming did not fulfil the prophecies of the Bible in regard to the real Messiah; because those prophecies have not since been fulfilled; because of the important events that were to accompany the coming of Messiah, not one has come to pass.

1. The promised Messiah was to be a descendant

of the royal house of David: Jesus was only related to David through Joseph, who did not know Mary until after the birth of the child (Matthew 1). The New Testament does not claim that Mary was descended from David.

2. The promised Messiah was to bring universal peace (Isalah xi., 3; Ezekiel xxxiv., 25). Jesus said (Matthew x., 34): "Think not I am come to bring peace; I came not to bring peace, but the sword."

3. The promised Messiah was to receive the homage of all nations and all rulers (Daniel vii., 27; Zechariah ix., 10). Jesus said (Matthew xx., 28) that he "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Jesus never received the homage of all nations.

4. The coming of the Messiah was to be followed by the abolition of all empires, and the foundation of one great kingdom (Daniel ii., 44). All empires have not been abolished.

5. The advent of Messiah was to be followed by the conversion of the whole world to the religion of Israel (Zachariah vii., 23). The whole world has not yet been converted to the religion of Israel.

There are many other prophecies which were to be fulfilled prior to, or immediately after, the advent of the Messiah, and which are still unfulfilled. Among them are the following:—

I. The ingathering of the Ten Tribes and their union with Juda and Benjamin under the dominion of one king of the house of Judah (Ezekiel xxxvii., 16).

II. The rise of Gog and Magog and their incursions into the territory of Israel (Ezekiel xxxvii. and xxxix., and Zechariah xiv., 12).

III. The mount of Olives shall be rent asunder (Zechariah xiv., 4).

IV. The river of Egypt shall be divided and dried up prior to the gathering of the exiles of Judah (Isalah xi., 15, 16).

V. Sin shall no longer prevail (Deuteronomy xxx., 6).

VI. Ancient troubles and sorrows shall cease forever (Isalah lvi., 16).

VII. The divine presence (Shechinah) shall be restored (Ezekiel xxxvii., 26, 27, 28).

VIII. The prophet Elijah will appear before the coming of that "great and awful day" (Malachi).

IX. The future temple will be rebuilt according to the design predetermined by the Almighty (Ezekiel xl.).

X. The ancient division of the Holy Land will be resumed (Ezekiel xlii., 13).

XI. The resurrection of the dead will take place.

When these prophecies are fulfilled, the Jews will believe that Messiah has come. They will not believe that Messiah has come until God's promises have been fulfilled, "for God is not a man that he should lie, or the son of man that he should repent; but what he says he will do, and what he speaks he will confirm" (Numbers xxiii., 19).—*Reformer and Jewish Times*, Dec. 6.

Poetry.

QUESTION AND ANSWER.

A.—What is the good and what is the bad?

Where is the perfectly true?
What is the end you live for, my lad?
And what, may I ask you, are you?
Unproven, I fear, is your heaven above;
Life is but labor and sorrow;
Then why should we hope, and why should we love,
And why should we care for the morrow?

B.—There may be a fight worth fighting, my friend,

Though victory there be none;
And though no haven be ours at the end,
Still we may steer straight on.
And though nothing be good and nothing be bad
And nothing be true to the letter,
Yet a good many things are worse, my lad,
And one or two things are better.

—*London Spectator*.

PRENEZ GARDE.

BY ELIZUR WRIGHT.

On a Mutual web there sits a great spider,
A-weaving it higher and deeper and wider.
In this planet of lotteries nothing is more fine;
No matter how soon you embark in your corpin,
There's money in there for your widder and orphan.
If you enter that web, mind what you're about;
Write "no recourse" on your "draft," sir, in any event,
Or you'll miss of his present of thirty per cent.
No recourse for yourself, should you wish to get out,—
I tell you, it's not very easy describing
The arts of that spider in "freezing" and bribing.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 14.

Subscription News Co., \$2.18; Hon. J. M. Forbes, \$3.20; Mrs. W. A. Stebbins, \$3.20; A. McVean, \$1; Dr. G. W. Topping, \$3.20; Wm. Hill, \$4; Mrs. C. B. Sherman, \$1.50; T. H. Everts, \$1; Mrs. A. M. Wright, \$3.20; Arch McArthur, \$6.40; F. A. Hinckley, \$2.18; J. E. Jester, 15 cents; G. Zimmerman, \$3.20; C. M. Langren, \$3.20; Jno. G. Jenkins, \$1; E. G. Thomas, \$1; C. F. Gard, \$3.20; A. W. Bemis, \$1; Jere Brookway, \$3.20; Henry Powers, \$3.20; Noyes, Snow & Co., \$2.70; L. C. Child, \$4.40.

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The Index.

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

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

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

The masterly, statesmanlike, and eloquent address of Judge Hurlbut on "The Liberty of Printing," proving unanswerably the constitutional right of Congress to prohibit the circulation of obscene literature through the mails, and demonstrating to the entire satisfaction of all who will listen to reason that the postal law of 1873 should be amended, but not repealed, has been printed for cheap distribution in the form of an eight-page tract, and can now be had at this office. No better service to the liberal cause at present can be rendered than by circulating everywhere this wise, weighty, and noble plea for private liberty and public morality combined. Price, single copies, 5 cents; five copies, 10 cents; fifteen copies, 25 cents; forty copies, 50 cents; one hundred copies, \$1.00.

Erratum.—On page 5, second column, twenty-fourth line, the words "authority is desired" should be corrected to read "authority is derived." This is the only typographical error noticed by the author, and it is of sufficient importance to the main argument to be thus publicly pointed out.

THE NEW YORK Times of October 29 says: "In a work which Rev. Mgr. De Haerne, of the English College of Bruges, has just had published, showing the progress of Catholicism among people of Anglo-Saxon origin, some highly interesting statistics are given of the extension of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. According to this authority, when the first Catholic Bishopric was established in this country, that is, at Baltimore, in the year 1790, there were only thirty thousand Catholics in a total population of more than three millions. In other words, the ratio of Catholics was as one to one hundred. During the next fifty years a great change took place, and the Catholic population, from thirty thousand advanced to about one million five hundred thousand, who represented one-eleventh of all the inhabitants. Within the period ending with the year 1876, the gain was also very great, though, of course, not so rapid proportionately as during the first half century of our national life. The number of American Roman Catholics in this last year is set down at six million five hundred thousand, or little less than one-sixth of the entire population of the country. The wealth, influence, and dignity of the Church, as represented by its buildings and lands, and by its priests, have been augmented with even greater rapidity than its worshippers; for in 1790 there were but thirty-four priests and hardly a score of church edifices, while in 1876 there were five thousand three hundred and eighty-eight clergymen, who ministered in eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven churches and mission stations. It is very easy for those who wish to draw the conclusion from these figures that the time is approaching when a numerical majority of the inhabitants of this country will be Roman Catholics, and when, as a natural result, the observance of that religion will be enforced by the State; but those whose fears or whose hopes lead them to reason in this way, overlook many important factors. The growth of Catholicism in the country is largely due to Irish immigration. Since the beginning of this century nearly four million Irish immigrants have landed on our shores, who have been, with few exceptions, Roman Catholics, and to this number should be added not less than one million German Catholics. The religious accessions that have been made outside of these and of their immediate descendants have not been very large."

F. R. A. CONVENTION.

A Convention of the Free Religious Association will be held in Providence, R.I., on Thursday afternoon and evening, the 10th inst. The recent more complete organization of the local Free Religious Society in Providence gives a special interest to this meeting. Prof. Adler, the new president of the Association, will preside, and will speak at length at the evening session. Other speakers prominent in the free religious movement will be present. Further particulars as to hall and speakers will be given in the Providence papers.

WM. J. POTTER,
Sec'y F. R. A.

THE GROWTH OF A GREAT NATION.

The speech of Mr. Blaine in the United States Senate on the eleventh of December, in support of his resolution of inquiry into "the crimes against a free ballot" in the recent elections at the South, brings out into full view of the American people certain fundamental necessities of their national development. As to its bearings on the Republican or Democratic party, we have nothing to say of the speech; nor do we intend to say much of it in any relation. But since it shows how the violent suppression of the rights of colored voters in the Southern States has practically operated to curtail the rights of white voters in the Northern States, and how it will within ninety days throw the whole legislative power of the government into the hands of a real minority of the people, it raises the vital question: shall the United States afford "national protection to national citizens," and thereby justify its claim to their supreme allegiance, or shall it continue to evade this duty and suffer republican government to fall gradually into contempt and extinction?

The perpetuity of our nationality itself is at stake in this issue. No government in a free nation can exist except through the love and respect of its citizens; and, to win these, it must be worthy of them. It cannot be worthy of them, unless it acknowledges its own obligations as completely as it asserts its own authority. Since the primary duty of every government is to afford protection to the equal rights of all its individual citizens, the correlative duty on the part of the latter is to uphold the government in its lawful authority and accord to it their supreme allegiance, as against all other human powers. These two duties are dependent on each other; they are the obverse and reverse of the same moral fact. Viewed from the side of the government, protection is a duty towards the citizen and allegiance from him a right; viewed from the side of the citizen, allegiance is a duty towards the government and protection from it a right. Every nation is strong in which these reciprocal rights and duties are fully observed, because in such a nation the just moral equilibrium between the individual and society is well maintained, and all the conservative forces of nature conspire to give it permanence. Conversely, every nation is weak in which this balance of rights and duties is not well maintained; the seeds of national disintegration are planted and must produce at last their noxious harvest. This is not mere theorizing; it is the result of human experience. Nothing but external violence can overthrow a nation in which this internal moral harmony obtains, and nothing can perpetuate a nation in which it fails to obtain.

It is evident, then, that national growth and strength depend ultimately on other causes than mere material prosperity. In the long run, the laws of the individual human intellect are the laws of collective human history. That is the truth obscurely enunciated in the well-known phrase, the "logic of events." He is no deep thinker who despises theories, ideas, principles, and relies on mere increase of population, territory, and wealth, as the basis and guarantee of national prosperity,—who considers government a mere device by which the affairs of the nation can be done on "business principles," without reference to any higher morality than the code which ignores all save expediency and the demands of human selfishness. Far more than the Church, which builds upon something it rates higher than what it deprecates as "mere morality," the State is a moral institution; in fact, it is the greatest moral institution ever founded by man, for it rests on nothing else than man's moral nature. Scientific ethics find that all moral relations are essentially social relations, and that morality is the fundamental law, established by nature itself, of all human society. The horoscope of a nation, therefore, may be surely cast from the kind of moral character expressed by its political constitution. Woe to that nation which thinks lightly of the duties it owes to

its citizens, and imagines that governments are not bound by moral laws! The irrepealable law of justice will sooner or later grind it to powder, if it fails to establish that equilibrium of allegiance and protection which is the essential end of all government. That the United States have not as yet established this equilibrium is painfully evident to every large-minded and patriotic citizen. The nation is still in an embryonic stage. History explains the inchoate character of its nationality by the fact that it was originally a mere confederacy of States, each jealous of its individual sovereignty. The extreme theory of "State rights" has operated, and still operates, to retard that complete political unification without which no true national existence is possible. Nevertheless, the steady and resistless tendency is towards it. The civil war, destroying the extreme "State rights" theory as an active political force, produced a great advance towards a true national union; but the lurking influence of that theory still betrays itself in many ways.

The course of American history, and the evident trend of American destiny, can only be understood in the light of the fact that, as a nation, the United States are still in the process of evolution. Beginning as a mere military alliance of thirteen petty nationalities, it is evidently growing into one complete nationality, of which the political constitution may be expressed by the following formula: *Individual self-government for individual purposes—Town government for town purposes—State government for State purposes—National government for national purposes.*

In this perfectly natural and harmonious system of successive aggregations, dominated by the organic unity of the whole body politic, and by the fundamental law of the correlative duties of protection and allegiance as above explained, the United States will at last attain a matured national character, and exhibit a political structure analogous to the structure of all organized bodies, as revealed by science. In such a system, the individual will be wholly free in all that concerns himself alone, and only restrained of his freedom when he attempts to encroach on the equal individualities of others. But, as a citizen, he will hold various relations, standing, as it were, at the centre of several concentric circles. As a citizen of the town, he will owe subordinate allegiance to it in return for its municipal protection; as a citizen of the State, he will owe subordinate allegiance to it in return for its State protection; as a citizen of the United States, he will owe its supreme allegiance in return for its national protection. Such a system of political relationships is exceedingly simple, yet in accordance with the profoundest scientific truth; and in it will be found the only stable equilibrium which can be established betwixt society and its multitudinous constituent individuals. Gradual approximation to this political constitution is, unless defeated by untoward influences, the natural and evident pathway of the United States to the position of a matured, powerful, just, and happy nation.

Indications of this national progress are often bewailed by superficial thinkers because they are thoroughly misunderstood. Such minds stickle for obsolete, narrow, and jealous constructions of the national Constitution, fearing "Federal tyranny" and the destruction of "State rights." The objections to the essential principle of the postal law of 1878, so far as based on its pretended "unconstitutionality," are of this petty character. Undoubtedly we shall hear equally timorous and contracted notions urged against the proposed national quarantine for the protection of the whole country against yellow fever and other contagious diseases, as mentioned in the New York *Independent* of December 12:—

"A bill will be submitted to Congress for the establishment of a national quarantine against yellow fever. There would be no necessity for such a federal law if State legislatures would do their duty; but their failure adequately to act, especially at the South, makes the question one of national importance. There can be no doubt of the power of Congress to pass such a bill, under its general power to regulate commerce."

Who can doubt that pathetic shrieks will be soon heard against such a tyrannical stretch of Congressional authority? The idea of deducing a power to establish a national quarantine from a mere power to "regulate commerce"! Here we have "implied powers" with a vengeance, and of course a new "Federal tyranny" panic will sweep over the land. If the quarantine shall be established, and it interferes with somebody's opportunities of making money out of the general distress of a pestilence, we shall

see a new "repeal" movement started, all out of professed veneration for the Constitution. Such occasional hysterics are to be expected; but it is not to be expected that sensible people will therefore go into convulsions. All that need be said is that, if a practical necessity for a national quarantine shall be proved to exist, such a quarantine will be established by Congress; and the people's liberties will suffer no detriment, even if the Supreme Court should sanction the law by another common-sense construction of the Constitution.

It is easy to forget that no written Constitution can ever be final. Exigencies bring their own laws, and the forefathers' half-vision is supplemented by the children's experience. The dread of "concentration," "consolidated government," etc., may act as a useful brake on progress unduly accelerated; but that the United States will grow into a matured and completed nation, with all the recognized rights, powers, and obligations of sovereign nationality, we are glad indeed to believe. It will be a growth to be rejoiced over by every broad-minded and philosophic liberal; for it will mean only the better understanding and more efficient protection of individual liberties.

The three principles of the Rochester platform, in all their depth and breadth and height, are little appreciated to-day, it may be; but THE INDEX would have paid for itself fifty times over, if it had done nothing but launch that terse platform on the sea of political thought. It will not be forgotten; events will give it more and more prominence. In its two short years of useful life, the National Liberal League did enough to make its recent suicide a cause of everlasting regret to all liberals who comprehended and valued the interests of their own cause, and divined the future tremendous potency of such an organization to advance them. But, no matter by what party, the principles of the Rochester platform will yet be carried out in the fated evolution of the republic from a mere group of petty States into the greatest and strongest and justest nation of the earth.

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

John Stuart Mill prefaces his *Principles of Political Economy* with certain "Preliminary Remarks," intended to disabuse the minds of over-sanguine and somewhat superficial reformers, as to the peculiar province of that particular branch of science to which he proposed to invite their attention, and devoted the best energies of his life to elucidate.

"In every department of human affairs," wrote Mill, "practica long precedes science; systematic inquiry into the modes of action of the powers of Nature is the tardy product of a long course of efforts to use those powers for practical ends."

In the Sierra Nevada, after the discovery of gold in California had created settlements along the banks of the various water-courses, it was soon ascertained that it was of little or no use to send out surveyors for the purpose of discovering the easiest grades across the mountains, and the most practicable passes for travellers; all that was needed was to find the most plainly-trodden Indian trail, and to make the road conform to its devious windings; the experience of the American aborigines was seldom to be bettered by all the arts of civilized mankind, so far as the location of the shortest and easiest route between any two given points was concerned.

Thus it is, almost always, with most of the habits of humanity. Men fancy they have found "short cuts" to wealth or wisdom, to health or happiness; but there is no "royal road" to either. Conformity to the great natural laws, which are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, is the only certain way to realize the aspirations entertained by the struggling, toiling millions, who are vainly striving to eat their cakes and have them too.

The *ignis fatuus*, which leads the weary wanderer farther and farther away from the village he seeks, is a fitting illustration of the communistic craze that has taken possession of the minds of certain classes in Europe and America; for the Nihilism of Russia and the—so-called—Socialism of Germany are synonymous with Communism, as expounded in America, and carried into its inevitable results in France. Communism is the enemy and end of modern civilization. The essential equality it proposes to establish between man and man is only possible in the barbaric eras. The very first step out of barbarism and toward civilization results in establishing inequality between men, based on their relative capacities of physical and mental power. The same law dominates mankind which governs the animal creation,— "the survival of the fittest,"—and whoever best adapts

himself to his "environment" will inevitably distance all competitors, without regard to their unavailing protests. Whenever an individual, a family, or a race indicates the necessity of outside support, in order to perpetuate their existence, that individual, family, or race is doomed to final extinction. Nothing can save them except their own exertions. The price of continued existence, to most of us, is the power to work and to *fight*; to create the means of existence, and to protect them when created. Governmental assistance cannot save the laboring classes from the results of their own ignorance, folly, vice, and crime. At present, society is so formed that there is still a certain premium paid to the abstemious, industrious, and law-abiding among the proletarians; but the establishment of Communism, by forcing an equal division of the results of labor, would deprive these of the only stimulus to exertion, and, selfishness being the general rule, each would attempt to do as little as possible, while at the same time making inordinate demands upon the public or common fund.

The columns of THE INDEX have recently been enriched by the earnest, thoughtful, unselfish, and evidently sincere articles contributed by John Orris, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and Charles Ellershaw, each of whom in a different way perceives the necessity for improving the minds of men before seriously attempting to better their political condition; thus evidencing their having thought out the present problems of social science by a logical method to an assured conclusion, in marked contrast to the dogmatic assertions and crude assumptions of such would-be leaders of public opinion as Theron C. Leland, and some other contributors.

But, while confessing the value of speculative inquiry, and the formulation of new methods of thought, as the best if not the sole means to constant improvement in the condition of mankind, practical minds must still insist that means must always be proportioned to ends, and demand the proof that the existing millions of mankind possess the essential characteristics which should entitle them to the position claimed for them. The question resolves itself at once into a matter of fact. We must build with the material Nature has provided for us. System after system has been put upon its trial, Communism included, only to revert again to the "isolated family," as Mr. Orris terms it, as the primal unit of social evolution. He sees clearly that "the primordial cell determines the nature of every organic structure," and that "all of our anti-slavery, temperance, peace, moral reform, woman's rights, and labor-reform agitations, though prompted by right instinct, are but repetitions of the struggles of the giant with the hydra; for every head lopped off, a score or more hideous ones rise up." But he does not see that the "primordial cell" is just as much an unchangeable fact as its results are inevitable. The same law governed the creation of the "first or basic form of social selfishness" as obtained in all the subsequent steps. "Social selfishness" is only another name for "self-preservation,—the first law of Nature"! Herbert Spencer has elaborately demonstrated the absolute necessity of this same social selfishness to the perpetuation of the human race. The theory of utilitarianism takes its stand upon the same impregnable foundation. Hard as it appears to the altruistic reformer, Nature insists upon perpetuating types among mankind corresponding to the tiger and wolf, the hawk and vulture, the crocodile or deadly rattle-snake. So long as these forms persist, no amount of education can change their respective natures, and the struggle for existence among human beings will not be so unlike that of the animal creation. Homer divided mankind into the sheep and their shepherds, the dogs who guarded and the wolves who sought to exterminate the flock; and the parallel appears to hold as good to-day as in the earlier centuries; only the sheep are now insisting they are quite equal to protecting themselves against the wolves without the assistance of the dogs, and can also dispense with the overruling care and wise guidance of the shepherds. History, however, records how such experiments have always before terminated; nor is there adequate reason to doubt the same results will again ensue. If the accumulating wisdom of the centuries is to be derided and constantly set at naught, experience, at least, will demonstrate beyond the possibility of cavil the imperfection of weak humanity. The Spanish have as a familiar proverb,— "It is easier to wear shoes than to try to cover the world with leather." And so it is easier to adapt ourselves to the environment than to create an environment that shall be more satisfactory. If every workingman would cease to worry

himself about the wrongs inflicted upon society by the conspiracy of "Rings" of capitalists, and set about making himself independent of the aid of others' capital by the cultivation of the powers of his own mind and body, all would go well. A. W. K.

FRESH TESTIMONIES.

The testimony coming in to me, entirely unsolicited and indeed unexpected, from one portion of the country and another, confirms my impression, already strong, that the weight of the moral sentiment among liberals is preponderantly with us in the stand taken for protest at the late Congress in this city (Syracuse). It is to the lasting shame and reproach of liberalism generally in the land that it was absent, was caught napping, in that critical hour when such vital interests were exposed and at stake. That grave failure has already cost dear, and it will entail still heavier expense in time to come. But, if we will, all is not lost. The disaster may be partially retrieved, and liberalism may be saved from the reproach fast settling upon it. There are elements from which to gather the concentrated voice and utter the protest that shall be felt.

A gentleman in Lake City, Minn., a veteran friend of freedom, who in old age is still actively engaged in reform work, writes: "I am truly glad for the separation that took place at Syracuse. . . . The religious bigots would be in high glee if they could identify liberalism with obscenity. . . . I agree with Mr. Abbot that a man must have a right to advocate a wrong cause, provided he does it in chaste language. But it does not follow that we are to take him to our bosom on that account."

A lady of high culture and eminent worth in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and a very active philanthropist, assures me of the deep interest that herself and friends have felt in the occurrences at the late Congress, and the issue that has been raised. She adds: "I scarcely need tell you that our sympathies are all with you and Mr. Abbot."

Another, a lady in Battle Creek, Mich., of not less exalted worth and royal character, a model woman, wife, mother, writes, speaking of herself and immediate friends: "We are unitedly in sympathy with yourself and Mr. Abbot on the vile-literature question. It is unaccountable to us how any right-minded person can possibly wish the repeal of the present laws in regard to it. . . . Almost any calamity would be preferable to having the young exposed to such an evil. They are always and everywhere in danger, guard them as carefully as we may; and it is passing strange that any one can be found to advocate for a moment any measure which will make the path to vice more easy."

A gentleman in Maple Rapids, Mich., who feels himself, evidently, with the National Liberal League of America, writes: "I am just commencing on a new campaign for the new year. . . . In addition to these two enterprises (soliciting subscribers for THE INDEX, and circulating petitions for the taxation of church property), I propose to do what little I can towards opening up work in Detroit, Pontiac, Fenton, Owosso, Ionia, and Grand Rapids."

What is wanted now is to concentrate, to give voice and united expression to this quiet but genuine and wholesome sentiment that, as I believe, exists widely through our country. A mission at this hour is devolved upon liberals second in importance, probably, to none that has ever been laid upon man. The fate or the fortune of liberalism and the cause of spiritual freedom, for the time being, at least, is largely in their hands.

It is my purpose soon to visit various States of the West, beginning with Ohio and Indiana, and taking Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, etc. Wherever there shall be liberals in any of those States who may wish to organize local Leagues, I will visit them and render such service as lies in my power, provided they shall communicate with me promptly, so that I may arrange accordingly; upon the sole condition that they meet the extra expense involved to me in the journey. C. D. B. M.

ALEXANDRE DUMAS, the younger, was one day dining, in Marseilles, with Dr. Gistel, one of the most celebrated physicians in the country. "My dear friend," said Dumas' host after dinner, "they say that you improvise poetry most admirably. Pray, do me the honor to compose some trifle for my album." "Willingly," replied Dumas. Whereupon the album was brought, and the famous novelist began to write:—

"Since good Gistel sought this town,
O'er his healing hands to spread,
They've pulled the hospital quite down—
"Flatterer!" murmured the doctor, delighted at this point. But Dumas continued:—
"And built two cemeteries instead."

Communications.

ÆSTHETIC SENTIMENTS OF PRIMITIVE MAN.

BY WILEY BRITTON.

No. IV.

Having arrived at the conclusion that animals have an æsthetic sense, we may now speak of the æsthetic sense of the primitive human races as a fact unquestionable. How far we are justified in doing this will appear in the discussion upon which we are now about to enter. Though we know absolutely nothing of the languages of primitive human races, yet they have left us materials in the localities where they lived and passed their lives by which we are enabled to correctly interpret many of their habits, customs, sentiments, thoughts, and emotions. The light which psychology has thrown on the correlations between the mental phenomena of organisms and phenomena in their environments will enable us to use with confidence the materials left by primitive men in interpreting their thoughts, sentiments, and emotions.

Wherever man, at any stage of his intellectual development, has consciously and purposely made a mark that has survived the vicissitudes of time, we know that such mark represents a thought or a given action, or a combination of thoughts and actions; and, in many instances, we can interpret the nature of the thought or action it represents or stands for. If we pick up and examine a flint weapon, such as an arrow-point, a spear, or lance-head, we can feel no doubt but that the savage, while giving it its peculiar shape, had thoughts in his mind of the use to which it would be applied, such as in securing game, attacking enemies, or defending himself against enemies. And, in contemplating the use of either of these weapons, we may believe that the owner must have occasionally had such slight emotions as accompany thoughts of struggling with an enemy, or bringing down prey by a successful shot of an arrow or throw of the spear. The fluctuating thoughts of success and disappointment in the use of his weapons must also have lighted up and clouded his expression, in the same way that these thoughts produce in us sunny or cloudy expressions. And the thoughts and emotions excited by a new weapon intended to be used in attacking or defending himself against a powerful animal at close quarters must have been different from thoughts and emotions aroused by a new weapon, as a light arrow-point, intended to be used in killing birds and small animals. Hence it seems clear that no historical account of the thoughts and expressions of the savage while making or contemplating the use of one of these flint weapons would appear more reliable to our minds than the account which the weapon itself implies. Besides showing the purpose for which it was intended to be used, it also shows something of the quantitative effectiveness with which it might be used; as for instance, a sharp-pointed arrow or spear of a particular shape shows it would be more effective in the chase than a blunt-pointed one of a more clumsy or less perfect shape. And most of these flint weapons which were used in war and in the chase indicate that the savage must have had ideas of form and finish distinct from ideas of utility in making them. Constantly carrying several arrow-points in his quiver, it seems quite likely that slight differences in their shape and workmanship would be observed by him independent of utility; and, if those most attractive to his eye were as good in the chase as the less attractive ones, they would be most sought of the weapon maker. Probably the earliest differentiation of a specialized social function out of the homogeneous condition of every primitive society was that of weapon manufacturer. The uniformity in shape and workmanship displayed by the arrow-points, spear, and lance-heads, celts, skinning-knives, etc., of any given locality, show very conclusively that each of these weapons and implements was not made by different individuals. At some period of the stone age, not only among the aborigines of this country, but in most every country where much attention has been given to the study of the ethnology of its primitive races, unmistakable evidence is found that there existed in perhaps every social aggregate the specialized function of weapon manufacturer. The stone anvils found in so many localities by antiquaries, surrounded by flakes or chips of flint or stone, and partly finished, and broken pieces of weapons and implements, show as conclusively the existence of the weapon manufacturer during the stone age as the forge, tongs, hammers, scraps of iron, rusty pieces of tools and domestic implements, on the site of some ancient blacksmith shop, speak of the existence of the blacksmith during the iron age. Between the most primitive type and the most developed type of arrow-points there is a wide difference in both form and workmanship, as may be seen by examining the specimens in the cabinets of any tolerably full ethnological collection of relics of primitive races. And, contrasting these two types, we know that the most developed type could have never been reached without the weapon makers and their customers, generation after generation, had appreciated all the intermediate shades of difference. If the arrow-points which the weapon manufacturer made to barter or exchange for food, or skins for clothing, were slightly different in form and workmanship, as they must have been, we have presented a constant and practical method of determining the æsthetic development, as relates to weapons, of both manufacturer and customer. For if no one would give more for a good-formed and well-finished point than for one of inferior form and finish, then it is clear that arrow-points of inferior form and work-

manship would continue to be produced, for less labor would be required to make them. But if those of superior form and workmanship were constantly selected, and exchanged for more food and clothing than the inferior ones, then it is plain there would be a sufficient stimulus for the weapon manufacturer to improve upon his old patterns, in both form and workmanship. From another point of view it may be shown that the tendency must have constantly been to select the best and most perfect weapon points; for a man whose judgment did not lead him to distinguish a superior from an inferior point would, other things equal, be less successful in the chase and in war than a man who always selected the best and most perfect arrow-points. A man apt in the use of a somewhat inferior weapon might successfully compete in the chase and in war with a man having a superior weapon, but unskilled in its use. Such instances, however, must have been of rare occurrence among primitive men, and in the slow progress which was made in the improvement and use of flint weapons and implements during the stone age could have had scarcely a perceptible influence, one way or other. An æsthetic sense that appreciated perfection in form and finish was not probably often dissociated from that general intelligence which appreciated the utility of an object and guided the hands in manipulatory skill.

It may also be observed that there are indications that use and beauty are so often correlated in primitive weapons and implements, as well as in many of our own industrial appliances, that we cannot always decide with certainty whether ideas of beauty or ideas of utility predominated in the mind of the maker while giving a particular shape and finish to a particular weapon or implement. There are many reasons for believing, too, that conceptions of beauty and conceptions of utility, in primitive times as now, frequently acted and reacted on each other in such a manner as to cause the *part passu* development of each. If the manufacturer of a given weapon saw that its more successful use required it to be of a slightly different form from, and worked down to finer outlines than the weapons he had usually made or observed; and if this slightly different form and these finer outlines of the weapon produced in him a more marked pleasurable state of consciousness than the weapons he had previously seen, used, or made, we can understand how more developed conceptions of utility may have tended to develop higher ideals of form and finish. That a good-shaped, well-finished weapon, domestic tool, or implement, manufactured with a view to its being used for a special purpose, is more convenient and effective than a ruder and less perfect weapon, tool, or implement, made with a view to its being used for the same purpose, there can be no reasonable doubt. In every weapon, domestic tool, or implement, there must be a maximum and minimum degree of perfection in form, size, and finish, which affects its utility in a greater or less degree. And the true æsthetic sense in these matters consists in appreciating the size, form, and finish best adapted to perform the particular work for which the thing is required. An arrow-point as large as a spear or lance-head, though well-formed, and exhibiting skilled workmanship, would hardly appear more attractive to the savage than to ourselves, if attached to an ordinary arrow-shaft, and used by a medium-sized man. But, with primitive men in the manufacture of their weapons and domestic implements, size of a weapon or implement was an attribute concerning which their judgment was rarely at fault to any marked extent, probably not to a perceptibly greater extent than among civilized men. The flint weapon points and the stone implements and tools used for domestic purposes, from all parts of the world, bear unmistakable evidence that the æsthetic development as well as the intellectual development of the primitive mind during the stone age, taking into account its possible limits of development during this age, was very great. Archaeologists describe the earliest of these flint weapons and domestic implements of primitive man, that is, those found buried deepest in the earth, as exceedingly rude and imperfect as contrasted with those of more recent date,—that is, those found upon and near the surface of the earth.

CHARLES SUMNER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDEX:—

In your paper of Oct. 17, I notice a renewal by Senator Thurman of the oft repeated charge, that Charles Sumner was deficient in political sagacity. It is there stated that "his colleague, Henry Wilson, excelled him in that sort of wisdom a hundred times over." Undoubtedly Henry Wilson was a far more available worker for the success of a party than Mr. Sumner was. Whatever question was proposed to Mr. Sumner, he straightway saw the bearings which that question had on universal principles of justice and freedom, and he followed wheresoever those principles led, without looking to the right hand or the left. If it was proposed temporarily to set aside a principle for what seemed essential to the present success of a party, he uniformly refused to deviate from the straight path. Under no circumstances whatever would he compromise a principle.

It was not so with Henry Wilson. In pledging himself to the native American party, I think he compromised an important republican principle. When it was proposed to admit Colorado into the Union, Mr. Sumner refused to vote for it, because the word "white" in her Constitution would cause an inequality of civil rights between white and colored citizens. Mr. Wilson voted for it, because the admission of Colorado was artfully linked together with the Bill for the Registration of Votes in New York; and he deemed the passage of the Registration Bill essential to the success of the Republican Party in an im-

pending election. On that plea, he strongly urged his colleague to vote for the admission of Colorado. But then, as always, Mr. Sumner refused to "give up to party what was meant for mankind." His party, of course, denounced him as "impracticable," and praised Mr. Wilson for "political sagacity."

But if by statesmanship we mean ability to promote and secure the welfare of nations, is not a clear perception of universal moral principles, and unswerving loyalty thereto, a larger and wiser kind of statesmanship than skillful moves in a political game? No organization ever equalled the statesmanship manifested by the Catholic Church in its efforts to establish that church as a power on earth; but, in pursuit of that object, the sacred principle of individual freedom in matters of reason and conscience was violated; and we all know what has been the effect on the progress of mankind. The formation of our government furnishes us with a similar lesson. The Declaration of Independence was a fearless annunciation of great principles. But when the Constitution was formed, political sagacity took the place of moral inspiration. Men did not say, It is safe to follow these principles, because they are eternally true; they said, If we attempt to carry out these principles, some of the States will be offended, and without their help we shall not be able to establish our government. In this way slavery was introduced into the Constitution under a veil; and that diseased body spread a contagion which nearly destroyed the life of the nation.

I believe that a compromise of principle, viewed merely as a matter of expediency, is always short-sighted policy. Strict adherence to eternal principles of justice and freedom is the surest basis for the true prosperity of individuals and States. Compromise of a principle may seem to bring success for a time, as was the case with the formation of our government; but sooner or later the penalty comes. Political sagacity usually fails to foresee this. "Honesty is the best policy, but policy without honesty never finds that out."

Mr. Wilson was a sincere, earnest, and able advocate of the principles of justice and freedom; but the structure of his mind was well adapted to the formation of a party leader, and the ambition to become so sometimes proved a snare.

With Charles Sumner, the Republican Party was merely a means, never an end. As an instrument to advance great principles he rejoiced in it, and aided it with Herculean vigor and persistence; but the moment its policy threatened to interfere with the progress of great principles, he didn't care what became of the party. Hence, he was never popular with his party. Yet most of the measures from which the Republican Party derived its life and power originated with Charles Sumner. They were wont to pronounce him "impracticable" and "visionary." They generally hesitated to follow his lead, till the pressure of events compelled them to do so. He was the first to advocate emancipation as a war measure, in which he was not generally sustained by the Republican press. He was the first to urge the arming of the blacks; the first to claim suffrage for the colored race; and the first to take advantage of the absence of rebels to obtain a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. He was the first to demand, as "irreversible guarantees," that the unity of the Republic should be inviolate; that whites and blacks should be equal before the law; that the rebel debt should be abjured; and that education should be universal.

If undeviating adherence to great principles renders a man so clear-sighted as to the measures best adapted to advance those principles, is he not, in the largest sense of the word, a statesman?

L. MARIA CHILD.

[For one, we unqualifiedly answer yes.—Ed.]

SCIENTIFIC SPIRITUALISM.

EDITOR INDEX:—

You have at different times printed able and interesting articles bearing on the subject of a future life. Evidently the kindly writers thereof desired to comfort us and themselves. But, while admiring their graceful and pleasing language, we cannot avoid a sense of disappointment that none of them offer anything more substantial than a "solemn hope." Hope is excellent; but even that buoyant quality may fade away unless based on something known. Our anxious hearts cannot be wholly quieted by the assumption of priests or the solemn hope of culture; we are impelled to ask if Nature may not furnish us some facts on which a reasonable hypothesis for immortal life may be founded. If Professor Fiske is correct in the conclusion of his article entitled, "A Crumb for the Modern Symposium," such an interrogation is worse than useless. He is amiable, and allows that science has not disproved immortality; but even our "solemn hope" is disturbed by his positive assertion that she never can furnish any proof in its favor! The reason given for this assertion is that science cannot reach mind that is "apart from matter," nor soul "dissociated from body"; which is, a good, sound reason. But why assume that mind in a future state is separated from matter and soul dissociated from body? As no man has ever found a suspicion of evidence that mind can exist apart from matter, why consider such a fancy? It is mere dogma, extracted from the remains of an old, burst, metaphysical balloon. It should be admitted at once that, if mind must be apart from matter in order to be immortal, there can be no future existence. In that case, solemn hope itself is an idle delusion. I have my opinion of that sort of scientists who discourse oracularly on the knowable and the unknowable, and who with omniscient serenity inform us what kind of evidence science cannot furnish; however, I will not express it now, except to say that a terrible

fate awaits those who do not "mind their own business!"

The belief that mind and matter are one—inescapable and immortal—is ancient. Able men in all times have advocated it, and many have believed. So-called modern Spiritualism is built upon it. Whether science can or cannot justify that belief, and afford proof of immortality, it is significant that eminent scientific men like Professors Wallace, Crooks, Varley, Buchanan, Hare, and others, have testified that it can. Science is very young on this old earth—too young to put up bars, and assume that this question is not to be debated. More light is needed; the same analytic method that has worked such wonderful and beneficent results with the grosser forms of matter may yet be applied with equal success to the finer forms—to a vast realm of invisible substance. Believing that science can and will furnish evidence of a future life, I desire to enter my protest against all attempts to shut off investigation by erecting artificial barriers across her pathway. Give humanity a chance to exchange its wavering hope for the steady light of joy streaming through the benignant ministrations of science.

Since writing the above I have read an article in the *North American Review* (May-June 1877) under the title of "Soul and Substance," by Thomas Hitchcock. Those interested in scientific spiritualism will find themselves well paid by a perusal of it.

CASANA, IOWA.

EX-REFORMER.

FIRST LIBERAL LEAGUE OF BOSTON.

A meeting of the First Liberal League of Boston was held last Sunday evening, Dec. 15, in the Woman's Club Rooms, 4 Park Street, to decide whether it should continue to be an auxiliary of the National Liberal League, or whether it should apply for a charter from the National Liberal League of America. The evening was rainy, but, notwithstanding that disadvantage, the parlors were nearly filled, about seventy men and women being present.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Rev. M. J. Savage, who brought before the meeting the special business to be considered. He read the "Appeal" of the National Liberal League of America to the local Leagues. The circular gave an account of the postponement of the postal law question by the majority of the Syracuse Congress until the next Annual Congress, and the subsequent practical retraction of that vote by the election of a new Board of Directors known to be unanimously for the repeal of that law. The circular also gave an account of the withdrawal of the protesting minority from the Congress, the resolutions passed by them on the subject, and a sketch of the organization of the new League then formed. Having thus brought the matter before the meeting, the President took the chair and called for remarks from the members.

Mr. E. A. Sawtelle submitted the following motions for consideration, and, being seconded, they were taken up for action:—

"Voted, That the First Liberal League of Boston approve the stand taken by the minority at the second annual Congress of the National Liberal League with reference to the postal laws of 1873, as the only position which can ultimately commend itself to the reason and conscience of the American people.

"Voted, That we hereby dissolve our connection with the National Liberal League, and apply for a charter from the National Liberal League of America."

Mr. Abbot spoke of the arrest of Messrs. Bennett, Heywood, and others, on the charge of circulating obscene literature through the mails, as the cause of the present agitation of the subject. He had read, as a duty, the pamphlet for which Mr. Heywood was sentenced, and, while differing with him utterly on the matters there discussed, had found no words employed in it that could properly be called obscene. Had the same language been used to defend the other side of the question, no one would have attempted to raise such a charge. If the ruling of the court which sat upon Mr. Heywood's case was correct, then nearly all that is called classical literature in all languages must come under the same condemnation. The speaker would have the present law so amended as to allow the freest expression of opinion upon all subjects; this is the right of all citizens.

"The question for action to-night is simply whether this League shall stand for *liberty alone*, forgetting or ignoring all other interests of society, or whether it shall stand for *liberty and morality combined*; and this question will be answered by the vote on the resolutions." Mr. Abbot specially requested those who differed from him to express their views in opposition to his, that the League might act intelligently; and he hoped to be set right if he was wrong.

At the close of Mr. Abbot's remarks, the President called for a free discussion of the question. But nobody appearing to be in favor of "repeal," he put the question to vote, and the resolutions were carried without a dissenting voice.

Rev. Mr. Savage was the next speaker. He said that, when he first heard of the division at Syracuse, he thought that it was wholly unnecessary that a question foreign to the original purpose of the League should have led to that result; but now he saw that, under the then existing circumstances, no other course was defensible. He, too, had read Mr. Heywood's book as a duty, and, while wholly disagreeing with the social theory there advocated, had not seen any particular words in it that could fairly be called obscene. The League, however, was not called upon to discuss that phase of the question. To his own mind, the need of very definite national legislation on this subject was evident. While in the South and West a few years ago, he had brought to his notice overwhelming proof that the traffic in really obscene literature and articles was immense. In some places

he saw these things openly exposed for sale. He would not consent that the government should in any way shield the dealers in this infamous business. That citizens should be allowed to state their honest opinion on every subject was quite another matter, and that object can be gained without repealing a law which, for the present at least, is an absolute necessity.

Dr. Mary Safford Blake said that one need not go to other cities to find places where vile publications could be procured, and she thought that the present law against the spread of such corruption should not be repealed.

Mr. R. P. Hallowell agreed with the position taken by the minority at Syracuse, but regretted that the subject of obscenity was allowed to enter into the business of the League. The association was formed to promote the total separation of Church and State, and should hold firmly to the single advocacy of that object. No outside question should be allowed to enter for discussion. He was a woman suffragist, but should consider it highly improper for any one to bring that subject before the League. By the power of precedents, the National Liberal League has become a sort of omnibus, giving all hobbies a chance to enter; and there is always room for one more. Mr. Hallowell spoke of the valuable work that small committees might do on behalf of State Secularization by working both separately and jointly, and hoped that the National Liberal League of America would look only to that end.

Miss J. P. Titcomb offered a few remarks, in which she sought to impress upon the members the need of increased effort on behalf of this special League, the oldest in the whole country. She thought that there were many men and women almost ready to enter the liberal ranks, who were kept back chiefly by the fear of social ostracism or the pecuniary losses which might ensue, were they openly to espouse the objects of the League. These persons are not cowardly, their regard for others being their controlling influence. For such, all charity and kindness should be shown. She presented a plan of work by which the League should meet once a month, and listen to an essay upon some social or political topic, after which the paper thus presented should be discussed by the members. This proposed plan seemed to meet with favor, and another meeting was announced, at which this matter will be more fully considered.

Further remarks were made by Mr. Charles Ellis, Prof. Wetherell, and Mrs. S. B. Otis, at the close of which this very successful meeting was adjourned until the third Sunday in January, at 3 o'clock P. M.

W. H. H.

NOT A "QUESTION OF MORALS."

EDITOR INDEX:—

"The question is, Shall the whole people, in their corporate capacity as mail-carriers, become the paid agents of confessed criminals in corrupting the morals of youth? If this is not a 'question of morals,' there never was and never will be one."

So say you in your reply to "F. S. C.," in your issue of November 28. I would not be dogmatic, not even hasty in this matter, but inquire a little. "A question of morals" may be applied to a multitude of things; but here, practically,—and quite as well legally,—it is narrowed down to the simple question as to the amount of moral responsibility which "the whole people in their corporate capacity" assume in transporting the mails. And I answer plainly and bluntly, None whatever.

As to the first part of your question; the Convention which framed the Constitution, in granting to Congress the "power to establish post-offices and post-roads," neither for itself nor for the people as summed any responsibility whatever, as to the moral, religious, political, or other matter which should be carried through these offices, or over these roads. Had they done so, what a Pandora's box of mischief they would have opened!

The Rev. Joseph Cook denounces the doctrines of the free religionists as immoral. And the crowd of well-dressed dunces who listen to his baldersdash every Monday applaud his sentiments. I hold his falsehoods and misrepresentations to be grossly immoral. What then? Shall we hold the whole people morally accountable for allowing the *Daily Advertiser*, which publishes his false and vile stuff, to be carried through the mails?

The Catholic Church claims, according to the late Pope's *Encyclical*, that the entire religious systems of Protestantism, with a large share of our modern scientific discoveries and teachings, are so certainly immoral as to involve the eternal damnation of untold millions of souls through their corrupting influence. May not the Catholic Church, with equal force, hold the whole people accountable for this, and insist that "if" the transportation of these damnable heresies through the mails "is not a question of morals, there never was and never will be one"?

Here are our newspapers filled with advertisements of rum, whiskey, gin, brandy, wine, and the whole list of abominable stuffs which fill our prisons, jails, lunatic and idiot asylums, almshouses with innumerable victims, which turn thousands of homes into domestic hells, freighting the mails every day, by tons on tons. May not the temperance advocates with ten-fold force insist that, if the transportation of these advertisements through the mails "is not a moral question, there never was and never will be one"? As I have had fair opportunities for judging, I am convinced that more than ten youths are corrupted and ruined by intoxicating drinks, where one is ruined by obscene literature.

Again, here are the lotteries. The *Boston Herald* of December 2, has the following:—

"Lucky numbers in the Kentucky lotteries. New York, Dec. 1 (Holy Sabbath remember). The prize

of \$14,000 in the recent Kentucky lottery was won by ticket No. 29,194, which was sold in Boston. No. 33,294 was sold in New York, and won \$8,000. No. 13,593 is the winner of \$4,000."

Here is the gambler's lure. And multitudes of people have been ruined by such ensnaring notices as these. Therefore, if transporting lottery notices, "schemes," tickets, through the mails "is not a question of morals, there never was and never will be one."

Now, don't let us hurry our conclusions; but, riding ourselves of all controversial feeling in this matter, let us thoughtfully inquire, if, in all the relations above cited, there are not as deep questions of morality involved as in the case which has divided our National League? And then we might pass on to others, almost without end; and yet in not one of them is the government, or "the whole people," in any way, or to any extent, responsible. The guilt of the sinner shall be upon his own head, and not upon other people's.

In granting the power to Congress "to establish post-offices and post-roads" for the purpose of facilitating intercourse among themselves, the people never intended to endow that body with any power of moral or religious censorship whatever over the mails. They were too fresh from their conflict with despotism, and too zealous of their rights for that. And so I cannot agree with you, that this is a point which involves any "national morality" whatever, nor that "it cannot be and will not be shut down to the bare question of constitutionality"; for it will "be shut down" to that question, and that only. No matter how moral an act of Congress may be, if it is unconstitutional, it must go. And, moreover, the Congress and the Supreme Court shall never, with their enlightened consent, become the legal guardians of the people's morals, as to what they shall publish or read. We only ask that the government itself shall not trespass upon, but protect us in, the enjoyment of our rights, and leave us to work out our redemption from all forms of vice and sin through the elevating influences of a higher education in all the departments of knowledge.

Fraternally yours,

L. MOODY.

AN "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT."

OZARK, MO., Nov. 28, 1878.

MR. F. E. ABBOT:

Dear Friend.—For one, let me express my warm approval of the course you and your brave coadjutors have taken in protesting against the action of the Syracuse Congress. The issue between the two parties of liberals now known as the "repeal" and the "reform" advocates is one of vital moment to civilization itself. Comstock and the law he is enforcing are not the foundation of this conflict. A radical difference of opinion on some of the most serious questions of social welfare is the basis of this disagreement. There would have been an "irrepressible conflict," though Comstock and his law had never been known.

I do not wish to boast in this hour of our peril of any foresight in discerning the approaching crisis; but I have for some time seen that an event such as the Syracuse rupture was inevitable. The character and aim of the two classes of liberals arrayed against each other in this controversy were too hostile to render their harmonious cooperation possible. Let me say again that the issue is not a technical one, as to whether the Comstock law is constitutional, but it is one that reaches deep down into the very foundation of modern civilization and social purity. The animus of the repeal party is not hostility to the Comstock postal law merely, but it is hostility to that morality which underlies our social fabric. I wish to be understood as speaking now of the *predominating* spirit and character of that class of liberals who are advocating the repeal doctrine. That there are many pure, noble men and women on that side, I do not doubt; but free love, with its loathsome theory of social life, and its damning practice of licentiousness, will yet control the repeal party, and make its history so infamous that those who have followed it from a pure and chivalric love of liberty will leave it in disgust.

I wish to say to every friend of the seceding League that I believe a nobler cause never united men and women together than that which you have espoused. The cause of enlightened humanity as interpreted by the highest faculties of mind and soul is yours. The deep, vital instincts of civilization and morality commend your brave conduct in taking a stand in favor of social purity against the vicious tendency of an unreasoning fanaticism. What you have lost in numbers, by refusing to assist in committing liberalism to a dangerous and untenable position, you have gained a thousand-fold by the vast moral advantage which your new relation to the world gives you. I should be proud to march under the banner of the new Liberal League, though not a dozen souls in America would follow its leading.

Liberalism has now a mission grander than the dethronement of a waning religious superstition. It has the practical duties of life, the sacred interests of home and virtue to defend against the wild and rapacious demands of license and moral anarchy. The liberalism represented by the protesting party has the best element in society, for its ally; and, however much the world may dissent from the speculative opinions of the men and women who champion the new cause, it cannot withhold respect from such moral courage as the Syracuse seceders have shown. It is to be regretted that so many liberals are so wanting in good sense and moral integrity as they have shown themselves to be; but, as such is the character of a large element of liberalism, it is best that the truth be made apparent by some means, and the Syracuse Congress has only drawn lines where distinctions already existed.

H. CLAY NEVILLE.

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To increase general intelligence with respect to religion;

To foster a nobler spirit and quicken a higher purpose, both in society and in the individual;

To substitute knowledge for ignorance, right for wrong, truth for superstition, freedom for slavery, character for creed, catholicity for bigotry, love for hate, humanitarianism for sectarianism, devotion to universal ends for absorption in selfish schemes.

In brief, to hasten the day when Free Religion shall take the place of dogmatism and ecclesiasticism throughout the world, and when the welfare of humanity here and now shall be the aim of all private and public activities.

In addition to its general objects, the practical object to which THE INDEX is specially devoted is the ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBERALS OF THE COUNTRY, for the purpose of securing the more complete and consistent secularization of the political and educational institutions of the United States. The Church must give place to the Republic in the affections of the people. The last vestiges of ecclesiastical control must be wiped out of the Constitutions and Statutes of the several States in order to bring them into harmony with the National Constitution. To accomplish this object, the Liberals must make a united demand, and present an unbroken front, and the chief practical aim of THE INDEX will be henceforth to organize a great NATIONAL PARTY OF FREEDOM. Let every one who believes in this movement give it direct aid by helping to increase the circulation of THE INDEX.

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BOSTON, MASS., THURSDAY, DEC. 26, 1878.

WHOLE No. 470.

LIBERAL LEAGUE PLATFORM

For the Presidential Election of 1880,

ADOPTED AT ROCHESTER, N. Y., OCT. 26, 1877.

1. TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution: including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all other measures necessary to the same general end.

2. NATIONAL PROTECTION FOR NATIONAL CITIZENS, in their equal civil, political, and religious rights: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States courts.

3. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN THIS SECULAR REPUBLIC: to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

N. B.—The nomination of candidates upon the above platform was postponed to a future Congress of the National Liberal League.

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PROPOSED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE

FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE U. S. CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCIS E. ABBOT.

GLIMPSES.

DICKENS said, in *Little Dorrit*: "There is no playing fast and loose with the truth in any game, without growing the worse for it."

A BROTHER CLERGYMAN, eulogizing the late Dr. Putnam, shows that godliness is sometimes profitable: "It was said that the price of real estate in Roxbury was advanced by the strong attraction of his preaching."

JUSTICE CHARLES H. TRUE, of Pittsford, N. Y., not long since performed a marriage service, which he concluded with this pithy emanation of the usual formula: "What love hath joined together, let not discord put asunder."

THE NEW YORK *Reformer* and *Jewish Times* may be pardoned for hitting back in the very effective style: "One of the most touching sights in the world is to see a Christian congregation, whose membership list includes two defaulting bank-cashiers and a bankrupt bank-president, and whose churches in the heart of a city where murder, robbery, and drunkenness are rampant, taking up Sunday collections for the conversion of the Jews to Christianity and for the purchase of Bibles and blankets for the savages of Africa."

THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION had a very pleasant convention last Thursday at Providence. Dr. Felix Adler, of New York, presided, and made an eloquent and noble address in the evening "The Aim of Free Religion." Mr. W. J. Potter, of New Bedford, opened the afternoon session with an extremely able essay on "Liberal Religion as a Philanthropic Power." Interesting extempore speeches were made by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Col. T. W. Higginson, Rev. Frederic Hinckley, Rev. Dr. J. L. Dudley, and Mr. Frederic A. Hinckley (whose opening discourse in this issue of THE INDEX will receive the commendation of all who can appreciate its rare merit.) Next week we shall republish a good report of the convention.

SAYS THE BOSTON *Advertiser* of December 21: "E. H. Heywood, who was serving a sentence in the Dedham jail for circulating obscene literature through the mail, has been pardoned by President Hayes, and released. A public reception will soon be given him in this city." Having signed the petition for Mr. Heywood's pardon, we are very glad to learn its success in procuring his release. But we see no reason for canonizing him or elevating him to the pedestal of martyrdom. While we believe that his legal conviction was unjust and his imprisonment oppressive, we also believe that he has an unsettled account with the enlightened moral convictions of mankind. Sincere as he undoubtedly is, we have no special honors to pay to any man who preaches the "natural right to commit adultery."

MR. M. D. CONWAY writes: "Mrs. Besant has failed to convince her eminent enemy, Sir George Jessel, that her husband has no right to the advantages of the private deed of separation between them, now that he has taken back the daughter conceded her by that separation. She had claimed her rights as a wife to enter his house and see her children when she pleased. The husband sued for an injunction to restrain her from this. She resisted, and pleaded that a husband could not sue his wife. She brought high authority for this, but Sir George said he must overrule them. If this decision shall be sustained, womenkind will have gained a much more important point than Mrs. Besant has lost. It carries them at a bound to a degree of independence which was never before conceded in any English court."

EVEN THE NEW YORK *Tribune* cannot refrain from pointing the finger of scorn at church-members who cloak fraud with hypocrisy: "There was one very exemplary man among the directors and officers of the City of Glasgow Bank, who squandered seven millions of money confided to their charge. This was

Lewis Potter. Five years ago he built the Burnbank Free Church and became responsible for the greater portion of the cost of the fabric, and in consequence of this liberality enjoyed great fame for pious zeal and benevolence. During all the years when, according to the inspectors' report, he actively assisted in falsifying the accounts, in making away with the cash reserve, and in deceiving the shareholders and the public, he steadily refused to take in or read Monday's newspapers because they were printed on the first day of the week. Of William Taylor, also, another director, it is remarked that he occupied a prominent position as President of the Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association, and as a representative on several occasions of St. Enoch's Church in the General Assembly."

IS ENGLAND prepared to take up the task set before her by the Church? Cardinal Manning "holds that the Imperial policy of England entails religious obligations of the most comprehensive scope. At a meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity in Liverpool, some weeks ago, he reminded them that when God raised up a mighty empire, He did it for a purpose. The old Roman Empire did its work, and it was crushed, crumbled, and utterly destroyed. The great Catholic Empire of Spain had passed away like a shadow; and the greatest empire the world had ever seen for extent was the British Empire, which they had helped to build up. They had what Spain never had. They possessed at this time an eighteenth portion, at least, of the habitable globe, and had over 240,000,000 of fellow-subjects; and these 240,000,000 of men, with their 150 princes and chieftains—these realms and kingdoms and principalities—were all gathered under the sovereignty of the British Empire. Was this without a divine purpose? Was it to pass away as a shadow, like Spain? Upon them it depended to give answer under God if they were to be faithful to their duty. If they partook of the greatness of that empire, they partook of its responsibilities. If they partook of its wealth, they partook of its duties. If they partook of its powers, they would partake of its doom. Englishmen must cope with paganism within their mighty empire."

HERE is a practical commentary on "free love," given by the *Tribune* as "an Italian romance": "The only son of a noble house fell in love with the only daughter of another noble house. The lovers were handsome, rich, and young, and they were very fond of each other. When the young Count asked the hand of the girl he loved, her father refused point blank, without giving any reason. He was so firm, however, that the young lover saw that it was useless to insist. Every one condemned the tyranny of the girl's father, and the lovers resolved to marry without his consent, trusting that he would speedily forgive and forget their disobedience. A day was fixed upon, and both repaired to the Mayor to have their union made legal. It was there the crash came, for the bridegroom learned that his papers were not correct. His name was not registered. His father had omitted that form. Mad with doubt and apprehension, he flew to his father, and demanded the reason of this omission. What passed between the father and son none may ever know, but as soon as the young man left his father's presence he blew out his brains. He was not the legitimate son of the Count. The Count, in atonement of his youthful fault, had brought up his illegitimate son as his heir, and had never had the courage to confess the truth to him. This was the reason of the girl's father's objections to the marriage. He knew the secret. The boy's mother was a woman of the lower orders. He would not survive the knowledge of his shame. The girl is mad with grief, and it is feared that she also will put an end to her days. 'I cannot live without him,' she cries in her agony: 'let me go to him, let me go to him.'"

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N.B.—The above is an acknowledgment of the fact that a charter is due and will be sent as soon as possible. Local Auxiliary Liberal Leagues originally chartered by the "National Liberal League" will receive charters from the "National Liberal League of America" without extra charge, if they send a certified copy of their charter to accept the following invitation:—"Feted, That all Local Leagues that approve the formation of the National Liberal League of America are invited to dissolve their connection with their old League, and to join this League."

STUTTERERS are compelled to talk life easily whether they will or no. Two men were afflicted with it at work at a forge. The iron was red-hot and placed on the anvil, when the first said, "John, s-s-strike it hard." The other answered, "Jim, wh-where shall I hit it?" "No matter now; it's got c-c-cold," was the reply; and the bar was put into the forge again.

TWO FRENCHMEN were noisily discussing together a political question: "I have never yet altered my opinion," exclaimed one. "And I cried the other, 'have never yet shouted 'live' at anybody?" "Naturally," was the reply; "Monsieur is a physician."

[FOR THE INDEX.]

The Use and Abuse of Legislation.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE FREE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

BY FREDERIC A. HINCKLEY.

I suppose that Robinson Crusoe did not trouble himself much about affairs of State. He had no occasion, so far as we can see, for calling a caucus, acting as its chairman and secretary, and electing himself delegate to the congressional, county, and councilor conventions. Probably no legislature sat in the lone island at the mouth of the Orinoco, and Crusoe was singularly free from all anxieties about tinkering the tariff or changes in the currency. It is quite in the range of the probabilities, however, taking human nature as we find it, that when relations were formed between him and the man Friday, difficulties not recorded in the history may have occurred. And if Friday had no conception of the State, I doubt not, subject as he was to the personal caprice and passion of another, that he at times felt the evil of its absence. Be that as it may, when the Crusoes and the Fridays are multiplied by thousands and millions, the condition of things is essentially changed, the friction increases, and a new system of regulation becomes indispensable. So out of the very necessities of the case, government springs up. It stands to reason, spite of the abolition of the State advocated by some,—it stands to reason that the rule, or rather the absence of rule, which may exist in a community of two men, will never do, nay, is impossible, in a community of a thousand men. We can all see this if we will. Every one knows who has given the subject a moment's attention, that there must be a radical difference between the government of a country village and the government of a large city, a difference made necessary by the congregating of people within small space. A man may swing his arms freely in the woods, but if he swings them in a crowd he is in danger of hitting somebody; and if in a crowd of a thousand men each one should practice the freedom of the woods, it is easy to see what would result. So I say with the multiplication of people on a given tract of territory, government comes in naturally, the State is inevitable.

Out of its necessity seems to come conflict. That is, absolute personal freedom on the one side seems to be at war with the State, which is said to be an essential curtailment of personal freedom on the other. This conflict, however, is not between just such forces as is claimed. For the only personal freedom which it legitimately interferes with is one which, if not interfered with, would infringe upon the personal freedom of others. Hence when the State is restricted to its proper work, when it does not usurp power which belong, and in all ages should be left, to the individual, the contest is one between the bad and the good, the lawless and the self-governing, elements in the community. A good statute properly enforced rarely troubles the innocent. As a rule it is:

"Rogue who feels the halter draw."

I say this is the case with a good statute properly enforced. I know very well, we all know, there are bad statutes, and that there is such a thing as very bad enforcement of a good statute. This has arisen partly from the passions of men and partly from a failure to thoroughly comprehend the sphere of government and the limits of legislation. Legislation was once for the benefit of the king, then the nobility, and so on. We are agreed, it is our American idea, that it is now for the benefit of the people. But that leaves the whole matter in doubt. What are legitimate subjects of legislation? What is its primal object? Well, under Crusoe's order of things, in that crowd of a thousand men swinging their arms ad libitum, somebody, indeed everybody, would get hit; it would be a mob. Under a well-governed State, every hand would come down, and move only in such fashion as not to hit other people's personal property; that would be society. Legislation, then, is the effort to regulate the relations of men, and legitimate legislation is the process of securing to every individual the largest possible freedom which he can enjoy without having conflict with a like freedom for everybody else. Manifestly, a condition of society in which all its members have not equal opportunities before the law for the highest possible development of the faculties which God has given them is an unjust condition; and the one end of all enactments should be to secure these opportunities thus freely and equally. Any legislation which really secures this end is a legitimate use of human law, and any legislation which subverts it is an abuse of human law.

That we have too much legislation is unquestionably true. On some points the life is well-nigh legislated out of us. The real difficulty is in drawing the line at the right place, and keeping constantly in view the purpose of legislation, and resolutely refusing to pervert it to base uses. We never can do this successfully until we recognize the true significance of liberty. The standard of interpretation has been variable. There has always been respectable support to the idea that "liberty means the license to do wrong." We see this in the glided barbarism men call chivalry; we see it in the fiat of the king,—"The State, it is I"; we see it in every form of slavery, where the minority think themselves commissioned to care for and live upon the majority; we see it in our own day and midst, in the assumption of the disreputable trades,—the dram-shop, the house of prostitution, and the publication of obscene literature,—that freedom guarantees to them the right to debauch men and degrade women and poison the moral at-

mosphere of little children. Such liberty as that is a disgrace to the name; it is simply the personal interest, appetite, passion, of the strongest, the smartest, or possibly the majority, set up as the law of action for society, instead of the well-recognized principles of equity which should reign supreme. All legislation which strengthens such liberty as that, if liberty we must call it, is an abuse. It undermines the integrity of the individual, it saps the virtue out of a community, it retards the progress of mankind. But there is a true liberty. One of its apostles has defined it thus: Liberty, he says, means every man enjoying all his natural rights, and endowed with all needed political rights to protect his natural ones. But what are natural rights? Can they be anything less than a chance to develop to the highest and noblest results the faculties with which one has been blessed, and in a community an equal chance for all to this development? No wrong, no impurity the world ever saw, can come under such a definition as that, because wrong and impurity never help towards, on the contrary they always prevent, the attainment of the highest results. So, with this broad and ennobling idea always in view, we say the individual has a natural right to the largest possible liberty in the development of all his faculties, and the sphere of legislation is to secure each and all individuals in the exercise of this right.

It is singular to observe how often illegitimate legislation is defended in the name of liberty, and how often legitimate legislation is denounced in the name of liberty. It shows only the more unmistakably how great the lack of clearness and agreement in our ideas concerning the function of legislation. Let me cite a few examples:—

Take the question of the Bible in the public schools. The cause of the Protestant as against the Catholic has always been, and is to-day, fatally weak, because we have insisted on demanding of the Catholic in the public school certain things to which no conscientious Catholic can submit. In most cases throughout this country, the Catholic child is required either to take active part in, or to respectfully listen to, the reading of King James' version of the Bible. To this he objects, whether with or without good reason it is not necessary to discuss. He has an inalienable right to object, and since he objects, it is an act of tyranny on our part to compel him to submit. Let us examine this point a little. There are, or may be, several reasons urged against the reading of the Bible in the public schools.

1st. There are those who accept the Bible without qualification, who may and some of whom do hold that to make the reading of it a piece of disagreeable routine work is only to win for it permanent disrespect.

2d. There are those who believe the original manuscripts to have been infallible, and who yet think it possible that they may have been essentially changed in the translations, and that it will not do to claim too much for one translation as against another.

3d. There are those who believe the Bible to be, like other books, in part defective; that it teaches, or may be honestly interpreted to teach, some things that ought not to be taught. That at all events and on the best showing, it enters or is interpreted to enter the realm of sincere religious differences, and therefore should not be mingled with that system of public education whose aim is to teach universally accepted principles of science and universally accepted facts of history.

And these three classes are agreed, for the several reasons mentioned, in demanding that the use of the Bible in the public schools cease. Now what is the legitimate function of legislation here? How should our government treat this question? In the light of the principles we have laid down, the answer is plain. If it can be shown that the reading of the Bible in the public schools helps the individual to the highest possible development of his faculties, and does not interfere with a like liberty of development in all, then it may and should be maintained. If on the contrary this cannot be shown, it should be at once abolished. It is true there are some who claim that this custom is a positive help in the development of the religious faculties of their children. I do not agree with them, but will not now argue the point. Granting it for the sake of the argument, where does it bring us? Why, there are others whose religious development is, or is claimed to be, positively retarded and perverted by it, as, for instance, the Catholic. If then the religious development of one class is had at the expense of the religious development of another class, the State, representing both and all classes, and bound to treat all to the same equality of rights, must decline to legislate for the one as against the other, and must so legislate as to place both on the same footing before the law. How can it do that? In only one way: by completely secularizing the public school system. The Catholic, whatever may be the falsity of his general attitude, has a grievance; any one, whatever his religious belief, has a grievance, until we so order our legislation that it shall cease doing in this matter just what it ought not to do, and do what sound principles and the exigencies of the case require. Some say let it do nothing; but that would leave the regulation to personal caprice and local determination. If the system of public schools is to be maintained,—and spite of all just criticisms, of which there may be many, few of us would want to see it abolished,—if this system is to be maintained, it will be under public regulation; and in view of the demand of the Catholic, and I hope of all radicals also, its highest success will depend in no small degree upon positive enactment excluding the Bible from the public school. If then the Catholic is not satisfied, it will be his fault and not ours. Now it is our fault, and ours alone.

That is one example of a misuse of the legislative function. Here is another: There are some States in

this Union, there is at least one in New England, where persons of different color cannot legally marry. It is sometimes said the negro question is settled. It will never be settled so long as such an infamous statute as that remains. Imagine two hearts drawn together by the irresistible attraction of mutual love, an attraction implanted in human nature everywhere,—an attraction which, under favoring circumstances, may grow into the holiest relation the world knows,—and a sovereign State stepping in and saying, Stand back, I cannot recognize these bands; the attraction is nothing; the sympathy is nothing; the love is nothing, because—one of you is black and the other white. From such an iniquitous piece of legislation as that, I would, were the case mine, appeal as confidently to the higher law of personal liberty as I would have done from the Fugitive Slave Bill. It is another relic of the "barbarism of slavery." But calmly, philosophically considered, can it be shown that the development of the highest faculties of either party will be helped by prohibiting such an union? To ask such a question seems like opening an issue supposed long since to have been practically settled. We discovered it rather late,—but let us not forget the discovery,—that the color of the skin is a superficial difference as compared with the lungs, heart, and all the more vital physical, mental, and moral organs which all have in common. Let us insist, and keep on insisting, that legislation in this matter shall lift itself to the level of the nineteenth century; that it shall cease to be degraded to the service of an oppressive act of tyranny; and shall be consecrated to the higher and legitimate use of protecting personal liberty.

I might keep on raising points in this way; but there is one issue of such vital interest to liberals, and one too which is so much befogged by prejudice and passion, that I feel compelled to give it special attention. I refer to the question of repeal or reform of the obscene literature laws. The arrest and imprisonment of certain parties for sending obscene publications, or what are supposed to be such, through the mails, has aroused strong feeling and naturally enough wide differences of opinion. The selection too of an agent to do this work, narrow and bigoted in his views and unprincipled in his methods, has only served to increase the difficulty. Thoroughly incapable of discriminating between honestly held theories which, however obnoxious they may be, have some rights in a country where free thought, free speech, and a free press are supposed to be sacredly maintained, and a base traffic designed and carried on for the sole purpose of coining money by appealing to and debauching human passions,—a traffic which under no condition of things should have any right save that of a fair trial and a speedy conviction,—he has succeeded admirably in increasing the mental and moral fog in which the whole question has been enveloped. He has forced a discussion concerning what should be considered obscenity in the eye of the law, if indeed anything should be, which is becoming more and more general, and which, in the shape it has been taking recently, is fraught with serious consequences to the liberal movement in religion. To this discussion there are really three parties.

1st. Those who uphold the law as it is, and consider the operations of its agent in the main justifiable. 2d. Those who, outraged by the interpretation of the law and the manner of its enforcement, demand its immediate and total repeal. And 3d. Those who agree with the second party in denouncing some of the operations under the law, but dissent in toto from their theory of what they call the "rights" of an abominable traffic, and who therefore ask for its amendment. These three parties are popularly known as the Comstock party, the party of repeal, and the party of reform.

Let me say just here that amid all the discussion of these three points, I know of no one who has shown such a clear conception of the whole problem involved as has Francis Ellingwood Abbot; and I say this with the greater satisfaction because, in the value I set upon the agitation of social and industrial questions, I have often found myself differing widely from the brave editor of THE INDEX. But in the controversy over what he calls the question of repeal or reform, he has with rare ability and a keen moral perception planted himself upon the solid foundations where, it seems to me, all liberals should stand; and I earnestly and unequivocally place myself by his side.

Leave the law as it is, repeal it, or reform it, which? In the light of the principles laid down concerning the legitimate function of legislation, I cannot see how we can help saying emphatically no! to the first two questions, and as emphatically yes! to the third. To leave the law as it is under the interpretations already given it is to make it possible to arrest and imprison a man for honestly held and expressed opinions. Is it right to do this? That is a very serious question. Let us not decide it hastily. Let us suppose the worst case of this kind conceivable, the advocacy of theories concerning the relations of the sexes which you and I would agree in pronouncing unclean; let us go farther and suppose them advocated in language such as to us would seem vulgar and without excuse, but which, nevertheless, is the best expression of an honestly held theory which a crude and unbalanced mind can attain. Suppose all this,—shall the law interfere? Again let me say, Let us not be hasty. Before answering, let us remember how often the spirit of intolerance, in the form of "I am holier than thou," "I am right and you are wrong," has ridden coach and six over the dearest of human rights and the most tender of human feelings. Let us remember how in all ages persecution has been carried on in the name of morality. Let us remember, what it is now very hard to remember, how men have been mobbed, persecuted, martyred, out of this very attempt to force the views of certain

people, possibly the majority, upon certain other people, possibly the minority. Let us remember, also, the frailties of human nature, that the best of us are liable to go wrong, and that, according to what seem to us fundamental principles, the only safety for the human mind is to allow it to develop in freedom in its own God-given way. Let us remember all this when we answer the question, Is it a legitimate use of human law to interfere with the advocacy of honestly held theories? To my mind there can be but one answer to that. You will remember, some of you, that at the breaking out of the rebellion the question was much discussed, What constitutes treason? And all clear-minded people reached the conclusion which was that of the law, that there must be something amounting to an overt act. If a man believed a State had a right to secede, he was free to express his belief publicly or privately; but if he joined the Confederate army at the South or sought to incite resistance at the North, that was quite another thing. Is it not just so in this case? So long as a man simply advocates honest opinions in an honest manner, is he not exercising an inalienable right with which statute law should not interfere? And if he offends against decency in such advocacy, or what to us seems decency, is it not sounder in principle and safer in practice to leave him to the judgment of the moral sense of mankind than to make an apparent martyr of him by subjecting him to fines and imprisonment. I think nearly every case which has agitated the public, and certainly the one most prominent of late in New England, illustrates the correctness of this position. The average moral sense of the people of New England, a pretty safe thing to trust, was taking good care in a quiet way of the author and agitator, when the law stepped in and raised him and his advocacy to an eminence they could never have reached otherwise. It did not wait for anything which could be called an overt act, and so aggravated unnecessarily and most unwisely the difficulty. I have no special sympathy with the sufferers by this action. It is not saying too much to say they had done all two people could do to make freedom of speech and pen harder for those of us who wish sometimes to exercise them in channels not altogether popular. But if we are to have a censorship of thought set up, who knows who may be the next victim? It may be you or I, friends, tomorrow. I sincerely hold views believed by some honest and to-be-respected people immoral,—why, this platform represents some ideas, in which we are all agreed, which to good and true people in some of the sterner faiths seem utterly bad. And while we are unwilling to allow these people the privilege of shutting us in their prison walls for our opinions, shall we claim the privilege of shutting other people up for their opinions? No; legislation passes beyond its province when it interferes with the right to form and freely express honest convictions.

The law in question is, then, in its present form and interpretation an abuse of legislation. Shall it be repealed?

Before answering this question, let us ask, What does repeal mean? Now there is such a thing as corrupt and what we call obscene literature. There is such a thing as a vile and wide-spread traffic in pictures and printed matter, carried on for the express purpose of coining money by appealing to and perverting human passions. It enters our schools, it meets our children on street corners, it stares at them out of shop-windows,—so-called respectable shop-windows too. That such a traffic is always an evil and never anything but evil, no one will deny. But it is claimed that freedom of thought, speech, and press require that we should make no legal effort to restrain it; that it is simple and unmitigated tyranny to inflict imprisonment for such an offence. Let us suppose a man caught poisoning the water which a family or a great city of families were to drink. We should hardly advocate the abolition of all laws against murder, because forsooth it would interfere with his individual liberty to do what he chose. And I confess I can but doubt a man's ethics when he regards the poisoning of the mind as a less iniquitous thing than the poisoning of the body. It does seem to me that before we make the trade in obscenity free, we should grant permission to the vendors of deadly poisons to infect *ad libitum* the Pawtucket, and by abolishing all quarantine regulations should invite the small-pox to dwell in our midst; for obscene literature is deadly poison, it is small-pox to the mind and conscience. By our definition of liberty, all such permission to do that which corrupts and degrades humanity, instead of helping its development, is a direct violation of the law of personal freedom, and, however much it may take its name, is under all circumstances the same ugly "license to do wrong" which has always claimed to be the virtue to which in every fibre of its make-up it is diametrically opposed. If, therefore, legislation has any use whatsoever, it can never be better employed than in protecting the free, natural growth of the young mind from the sinful and criminal influences which an immoral traffic, whatever its nature, would throw around it. And it can never be so false to its duty as when it devotes its time and energies, as in truth it generally does, to the protection of property to the exclusion of a reasonable care for the protection of persons; thus demonstrating anew the truth of Emerson's assertion that—

"Things are in the saddle,
And ride mankind."

There would be far less danger than there really is from this view, if only those who act from motives of self-interest entertained it. But there is a large number of people who advocate total repeal, because they fear if they do otherwise they shall infringe upon personal liberty. These parties are for the most part liberals in religion, and they have brought us face to face with the issue which sooner or later

meets every body of thinkers.—Are religion and morality inseparable, or can they be divorced at pleasure? The liberals who are willing to let morality go—for they it is who give to the repeal movement what strength it has—are, it seems to me, making a most fatal mistake. When I say let morality go, I do not mean to impeach them personally. I know many of them to be among the purest of men and women in their individual lives. So has it been with many in our churches; but that does not alter the fact that the general attitude of the Church has been to divorce religion from morality, and make the profession of a belief of infinitely greater consequence than the living of a true and noble life. Just so is it with the liberals of whom I speak. Their public attitude is that of divorcing liberty (which rightly understood is the soul of our religion) from morality. In the name of freedom, they propose to open the floodgates of immorality.

Well, friends, if this contest is to come, perhaps the sooner the better. I have heretofore expressed my conviction, which I beg leave to repeat whenever occasion offers, that there can be no true liberty without morality, and that nothing could be worse for the liberal cause than to have a wholesome restraint upon a plainly immoral traffic condemned by its advocates. It seems to me that on this point Mr. Abbot has not been one whit too strenuous. I can but agree fully with him in the view that free religion, by virtue of the indissoluble union in it of freedom and religion, each inclusive of the other, and both inclusive of morality, is naturally and inevitably opposed to the law as it stands; is as naturally and inevitably opposed to its total repeal; and therefore must insist upon such amendment of it as, while maintaining with unabated rigor its restrictions upon the circulation of literature designed to corrupt the moral sense, shall not punish the honest advocacy, by speech or press, of views supposed by their holders to represent a higher and purer condition of living than any yet attained. If there is any other way than this in which to avoid intolerance on the one hand and licentiousness on the other, I have yet to see it; and if this is not a fair and righteous distinction between the use and abuse of legislation, I know not what is.

Very hastily and imperfectly I have now cited one example of the failure to distinguish between true and false legislation, from each of the three great divisions of our system of government, the municipal, the State, the national. I might multiply instances; but perhaps that is unnecessary. I might also show how often we put our emphasis on legislation of secondary importance and pass lightly over that of primary importance; how near to criminality it comes when we so neglect well-proven principles of hygiene in our systems of sewerage, or our total lack of anything which can be called a system, as to invite yellow fever and small-pox and diphtheria and kindred diseases to prey upon our citizens and pick off the members of our own families. I might call your attention to the laws for the benefit of great corporations,—a vast accumulation of good and bad legislation,—and show how comparatively little has been done to protect the subjects of those corporations—the operative in the mill and the passenger in the railroad train—from the accidents sure sooner or later to come as the result of insufficient precaution and care. I might show you how much more attention the interests of manufactures and commerce and agriculture receive in every legislature in this country than those of education, the prevention of crime, and the reform of the criminal. I might go still further, and show you how much greater in national affairs seems the desire to promote harmony and peace than the desire to preserve the rights of man, as if there could be peace and harmony upon any other basis than that of impartial justice. All that would show, not what is sometimes claimed, that legislation is always an evil, but that the failure to use it for its legitimate purposes is an evil. Let it make our cities fit to live in, let it teach the State and nation to treat the citizen as the first object of their thoughtful care; then it is a blessing and only a blessing, without which civilization would be barbarism and society a mob. If the world is better to-day than in the olden time, if this country is better than some, possibly all, others, it is because we have come near to that estate where

"Sovereign law, the State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."

How important it is, then, to draw the line wisely; to see that the law is made to serve man, never to enslave him; to make it an insurmountable obstacle in the way of evil, and a strong defence to whatsoever principles are honest and free and pure!

There is a beautiful engraving familiar to many of you, representing the Roman Cornelia and a lady of the Campagna. While the lady is ostentatiously showing her diamonds, Cornelia, with her right arm around one son and her left hand reaching forth to the other, exclaims, with all a fond mother's pride, "These are my jewels." History has not informed us what became of the diamonds, but it has told us that these two sons of Cornelia became leaders of the Roman Republic.

May it be the good fortune of our Republic to count as its priceless jewels, not its sails whitening every sea and its manufactures making their way into every realm, but the high honor and moral integrity of its sons and daughters.

May our Commonwealth remember that inside its walls of brick and stone, and tending the machinery which makes so much of its prosperity, are veritable men and women, with brains to think and hearts to love,—its real and most enduring wealth.

May our city never forget that more important, far more important, than any other question it can deal with, is the physical and moral health of its people,

without which fine streets and buildings are but a mockery and sham.

And so every branch of our government becoming inspired with the spirit of Cornelia, regarding its men, women, and children, of whatever clime or condition, its most precious jewels,—may we not hope for truer and purer legislation?

At all events, let those of us who believe in freedom in religion and religion in freedom assert our faith in the conscience as the centre of all true action, whether inside or outside legislative halls. Let us stand with unflinching purpose for the indissoluble union between religion and morality.

Thus, and thus only, shall we usher in that liberty which means the inalienable right of the human soul, of all human souls, to the highest possible development; and thus only, secure such legislation as, accomplishing this end, shall be liberty's strong defence and shield.

Then we can say with the poet, as never before,—

"O Law! fair form of liberty,
God's light is on thy brow;
O Liberty! thou soul of law,
God's very self art thou.

"O daughter of the bleeding past!
O hope the prophets saw!
God give us law and liberty,
And liberty in law."

OURTALMENT

OF THE POWER OF THE CATHOLIC EPISCOPACY OF THIS COUNTRY.

Some weeks ago there was a report from Rome that a change had been decided on in the administration of the Catholic system in the United States. We paid no attention to the rumor, because similar reports had previously proved to be without foundation. In the last days of Pius IX. it was stated that he was about to remove the Church in America from under the control of the Propaganda. But he never did, and not even the appointment of an American Cardinal has brought the looked-for change about. It is generally known that the Church is under the missionary system, unlike the Latin and Continental churches, which are under canonical law. The bishops in the United States have the fullest control over the clergy, removing them from one place to another at will, with or without their consent or that of the congregations. The priests have no choice, but submit; though infrequently they have appealed to the Pope, and on a few occasions to the civil courts of the country. The most noted case of appeal to the courts was that of Father Stack against Bishop O'Hara, of Scranton, which was, it will be remembered, decided in favor of the priest, who had refused to relinquish his pastorate in Williamsport, at the order of his bishop.

It now appears that the reports of a coming change were well founded. The Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith at Rome has addressed a letter of "Instructions" to Archbishop Gibbons, of Baltimore, to be by him, as the incumbent of the oldest See in the United States, communicated to the other prelates of the country. According to the title of the document, the "Instructions" are upon the subject of the hearing and deciding of criminal and disciplinary causes of the clergy. It bears date July 20, 1878, and is signed by Cardinal Simeoni, as Prefect of the Propaganda, formerly Papal Secretary of State. It opens by stating that the forms of procedure in criminal causes of the clergy, ordered by the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, have not given satisfaction. Missionary rectors who have been tried and convicted under them, especially those rectors who have been removed from their posts, have made complaints against these forms, which complaints in some instances have been forwarded to the Apostolic See. These cases have been increasing in frequency, and, owing to defects in the rescripts received at the Vatican, it has been hardly possible to judge of the complaints correctly. To the end, therefore, that innocent clergymen shall not be punished nor the guilty escape justice, the Sacred Congregation, with the approbation of Pope Leo XIII., has drawn up a code of procedure.

It is prescribed that each of the bishops in the United States shall call a diocesan synod as soon as possible, and select therein five, or, if by reason of peculiar circumstances so many cannot be had, three, at least, of the most worthy priests in the diocese, who are learned in canon law, to constitute a judicial council or commission of investigation. One of them shall be authorized to preside. Their duty shall be "to hear and pass upon the causes, criminal and disciplinary, of priests and other clerics, according to the form hereinafter to be proposed, as also to aid the bishop in passing sentence." The councillors "will sedulously endeavor to pursue their investigations accurately, and to adduce all the testimony and obtain from the accused all that is deemed necessary to the establishment of truth, and shall furnish good and substantial reasons for pronouncing a safe and prudent sentence."

Then follows a provision which strips the bishops of the unquestioned power they have hitherto exercised in the removal of priests at will. It is prescribed that, "whenever there is question of the removal of the rector of a mission, the same cannot be ejected from the office committed to him unless by the vote and council of at least three members of the above-mentioned commission called to try the case." The commissioners are to hold office in the interim of the synodical meetings.

The form of procedure provides that the commission shall not be summoned to meet unless a statement of the case in writing shall be made by the bishop, and the missionary rector shall have chosen to be tried rather than surrender his office voluntarily. The bishop shall appoint the time and place

of meeting, notifying each councillor by letter. He shall present a transcript of the case to the council, and shall cite the missionary rector in question by letter to appear before the council, and present in writing an answer, with proofs to sustain it. When the council is met, the bishop shall enjoin secrecy upon the councillors respecting the proceedings, and warn them to be careful what they say or do, that no grounds for suits of libel in the courts may be given. Witnesses may be summoned on both sides, and shall be examined by or through the president of the council. Those for the prosecution shall be questioned in the absence of the missionary rector, and the finding of the council shall be certified to the bishop, each councillor furnishing a written opinion where there is not unanimity of judgment. There is an appeal from the council to the metropolitan.

The change thus provided for will be a grateful one, doubtless, to the Catholic priests of this country. It breaks the tyranny of the bishops over them, and submits their grievances to the judgment of their own brethren. It is also a step toward the bringing of the Catholic people in this country into closer relations with the Holy See. We shall be curious to see what the Ultramontanes think of it. The old system is in perfect harmony with their cherished doctrine of centralization. The new one is not, as it seems to us.—*Independent, Dec. 5.*

ORIGIN OF THE "JINGOS."

The *World* of November 20 contained the following curious paragraph upon this subject:—

"It is a common belief that the term Jingo was first applied to a certain political party, about two years ago, by Mr. G. Holyoake. The name is, however, very much older. In a recent interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review*, on 'Epping Forest,' Mr. A. R. Wallace enumerates the following trees as suitable for planting: 'The elegant cryptomeria and retinosporas, and the remarkable Salisburia, or ginkgo tree,—a pine with foliage like that of a gigantic maiden-hair fern.' On applying to a distinguished scientific friend, I learn that the ginkgo or jingo tree received its name of Salisburia from Smith so long ago as 1796. Was Smith also among the prophets?"

The editor of the *World* (November 27) says: "Mr. George Jacob Holyoake sends me the following," which appears in the department of that paper, entitled "What the World Says," signed "Atlas":—

"The new peripatetic party born of this government were not named Jingos until my letter appeared in the *Daily News*, to which you have referred. Mr. Auberon Herbert being assailed in Hyde Park by unclassified followers of Lieutenant Armit, my object was to mark them by a name by which they might be conveniently known, as similar creatures were likely to arise elsewhere. A title, as you will be aware, to obtain currency, must be brief, characteristic, and musical. I selected one from the Jingo song they sang, and I entitled my letter, 'The Jingos in the Park'; and, defining them as the new class of music-hall patriots who had begun to infest legitimate political meetings, I knew nothing then of the ginkgo tree, or I would have advised the Ranger of the Park to plant one for the Jingos, just as we have a Reformers' Tree, where working-class politicians often meet. The term Jingo is older than the name of the ginkgo tree mentioned by Mr. Wallace, just as the Cave of Adullam was a name known long anterior to Mr. Bright's selection of it to designate the eccentric confederates of party discontent who met in the Tea Room of the House of Commons."—*Secular Review, Dec. 7.*

HISTORIC HOAXES.

THE SUCCESS OF THE FOOL-HUNTER IN ALL AGES—THE GREAT CAT HOAX, THE BOTTLE SWINDLE, AND VARIOUS FRENCH IMPOSITIONS.

The fool-hunter has, from time immemorial, been one of the most successful of sportsmen. No matter what game he flies at, he never fails to bring it down. Here are specimens:—

In August, 1815, just before Napoleon I. started on his exile to St. Helena, a quantity of handbills were distributed through the city of Chester, England, at the direction of a very respectable-looking, Quakerly-looking sort of a personage, informing the public that a great number of genteel families had embarked at Plymouth, to proceed to St. Helena with the troops appointed to guard the ex-Emperor. Now, St. Helena, the bills stated, was cursed with a plague of rats, and the British ministry had pledged itself to clear the island of these noxious animals, for the benefit of the resident citizens. Accordingly all good Britons were called upon to furnish their quantum of grown cats or thriving kittens, for the carrying out of this purpose. The government was willing to pay the piper, and, in addition to free transportation in a vessel to be specially chartered for the purpose, offered for each "athletic, full-grown tom-cat" sixteen shillings; for each "adult female puss" ten shillings; and half that sum for every vigorous kitten that could "awill milk." The result can be imagined. Within three days over three thousand cats were collected in Chester, the city was a pandemonium, and one street, in which the cat merchants had been directed by the bills to assemble, was the scene of positive and bloody riots. Meantime, some mischievous boys had let the cats out of their bags, and a colossal hunt had to be organized among the hoaxed spectators. In one day five hundred of the obnoxious felines had been thrown into the river Dee, and Chester for months was afflicted with swarms of stray cats as a result of the freak.

The most glaring yet successful of old-time hoaxes was perpetrated in 1749. The Duke of Montague wagered that, let a man advertise the most impossible thing in the world, he would find fools enough in London to fill a play-house to see it, and pay hand-

somely for the privilege. "Surely," said Lord Chesterfield, "if a man should say he would jump into a quart bottle, nobody would believe that." A wager was made on this basis, and the following advertisement inserted in the papers:—

"At the New Theatre, in the Haymarket, on Monday next, the 12th inst., is to be seen a person who performs the several most surprising things following, viz.: 1. He takes a common walking-cane from any of the spectators, and thereupon plays the music of every instrument now in use, and likewise sings to surprising perfection. 2. He presents you with a common wine-bottle, which any of the spectators may first examine; this bottle is placed on a table in the middle of the stage, and he (without any equivocation) goes into it in sight of all the spectators, and sings in it; during his stay in the bottle any person may handle it and see plainly that it does not exceed a common tavern-bottle. Those on the stage, or in the boxes, may come in masked habits, if agreeable to them, and the performer, if desired, will inform them who they are. Stage, 7s. 6d."

Another section of the advertisement cannot fail to interest the believer in Spiritualism. It says:—

"NOTE.—If any gentlemen or ladies (after the above performance), either singly or in company, in or out of mask, are desirous of seeing a representation of any deceased person, such as husband or wife, sister or brother, or any intimate friend of either sex, upon making a gratuity to the performer, they shall be gratified by seeing and conversing with them for some minutes, as if alive; likewise, if desired, he would tell you your most secret thoughts in your past life, and give you a full view of persons who have injured you, whether dead or alive. For those gentlemen and ladies who are desirous of seeing this last part, there is a private room provided."

At the designated time the theatre was crammed from pit to dome. When the appointed time passed and the conjurer did not appear, a horrible uproar rose. One person in the audience proposed, if the lookers-on would pay double price, to crawl into a pint bottle. Finally some one threw a lighted candle on the stage. Within ten minutes more the theatre was gutted, the benches converted into a large bonfire in front of the building, and the drop-curtain hoisted on a pole, presumably as a banner to the triumph of public gullibility. A number of people were blamed for this hoax, notably Foote, the actor, who was one of the lessees of the theatre; but the real author was the Duke of Montague.

Busy as the French were with their national troubles, they found time during the darkest days of the revolution to go booby-hunting. In March, 1792, an "entertainment" was advertised in the Place de Greve. A certain Professor Bussy declared his intention to walk from one side of the square to the other in mid-air, naked, and without artificial aid. All Paris turned out and spent an unsheltered afternoon in a terrific rain-storm, to be disappointed. Next year another swindler hired a court-yard in the Rue du Temple, and got five francs a head from seventeen hundred people, who wanted to see him burned alive in a charcoal furnace, and afterward reappear, phoenix-like, in the smoke from the chimney. This personage found a rival a month later in a man who promised to publicly convert himself into a stew, acting as his own butcher and cook, and then serving himself, done to a turn, around to his audience, in the guise of a waiter. When the rage for mesmerism was at its height, a so-styled Professor Mismer (note the imitation) called for ten thousand people to assemble in the Champs de Mars and be mesmerized by him in three simple motions, after which they would be able to go about exercising the new force by themselves. Three times the number called for paid half a franc apiece for the pleasure of learning that they had been swindled out of the gate-money. This hoax led to a horrible catastrophe, for the people who were victimized began, as usual, to fight among themselves, and in the disturbance twenty-one women and nearly fifty children were maimed or suffocated.—*Advertiser, Dec. 11.*

GEORGE HENRY LEWES.

George Henry Lewes died in London, Sunday, December 1, at the age of sixty-one, very suddenly, as it would appear. Although he has of late years been somewhat overshadowed by the greatness of his second wife, known to the world as George Eliot, he was a man of varied attainments and extraordinary powers, and did valuable work in many departments of thought. He began his career as clerk in a large foreign house, but he soon abandoned money-making for medicine, which he studied both in England and Germany, taking especial interest in physiology. Proficient in many languages, he fixed at length upon literature as a profession; and literature with him included everything worth thinking or writing. From the age of twenty-one until his death, his pen was constantly in his hand, and everywhere he was a critic. A mere list of his contributions to the leading reviews would far exceed our space. In 1849 he founded the *Leader*, and in 1864 the *Fortnightly Review*. He wrote three or four novels, now hardly known, although one or two of them still figure in the collections of Harpers and Tauchnitz. Both as critic and dramatist, he devoted special attention to the stage. In 1850, "The Noble Heart," a five-act tragedy of his, was produced at the London Olympic; and it was soon followed by nearly a dozen other plays, more or less taken from the French, and more or less successful, under the *nom de plume* of "Singsby Lawrence." Among them was an English version of Balzac's fine play "Mercadet," called by Mr. Lewes "A Game of Speculation," which Charles Mathews used to act very successfully. Before this, Mr. Lewes had published an admirable little history of the Spanish classical drama; and in

1875 his *Actors, and the Art of Acting* was printed, and soon after reprinted here, a collection of criticisms mostly upon actors whom he had seen and studied, and perhaps the best work in English on the actor's art. He wrote several biographies, among them one of Robespierre, and one which is probably Mr. Lewes's best known work, that of Goethe, of which a third and final edition was published in London in one volume in 1875. It is an admirable example of what the biography of a great author should be. Ample, but not too extended, exact and appreciative, written in an easy style, full of apt illustrations and references to other literatures, this *Life of Goethe* is interesting even to those who know nothing of him save his name, and leaves them with the desire to end their ignorance at once. In Germany it is cited as authority, and in France it has achieved the honor of plagiarism. Mr. Lewes's work on the *Physiology of Common Life* was for many years the best popular work on the subject, and is not yet quite antiquated, notwithstanding the great strides physiology has taken in the last few years.

It was in philosophy, however, that he attempted most. He brought to its study a mind colored by his scientific training, and he made it his great object to carry into metaphysics the methods of modern physical research, seeking to solve some of the abstrusest problems of thought by the positive analysis and negative synthesis of his materialism,—for materialist he certainly was. His first important philosophical work, his *Biographical History*, was published in 1845. Eight years later appeared his work on Comte's *Philosophy of the Sciences*,—no mere translation, but a re-examination of the subject in the light Comte had thrown upon it. He never followed the Frenchman in his dogmatic vagaries; and later in life he passed more completely out of his power, though, like Mr. Mill, he was always considerably influenced by Comte's methods of analysis. His most elaborate philosophical work, on the *Problems of Life and Mind* (both volumes of which were fully reviewed in the *Nation*), was an attempt to extend to a portion of metaphysics methods which both the positive and idealist schools had held inapplicable to it, and he considered that he had redeemed to accurate thought much that had been too hastily given over to speculation; and in a measure he did do so. But his work was injured by the extent to which he carried his German notion of unifying all relative terms; and his death left his work unfinished, with hardly the preliminary excavations completed for the foundation of the new creed he proposed to erect. His ability was so well recognized that he was an acknowledged leader of his school in England. His religious views were very radical, and very negative in their character. Their principal interest comes from the profound influence he exerted over the great novelist. The bald faith that satisfied the vigorous brain of her husband, while it compelled her acquiescence, never satisfied her woman's soul. Perhaps, too, the fading of her romantic sentiment, and her growing habit of didactic philosophizing, are to be attributed in part to her husband's influence; but it would be very unfair to place upon him the burden of her faults without also crediting him with something of the development of her virtues. Without saying anything as to the other aspects of their relation, we must admit that he surrounded her sensitive genius with an atmosphere in which it thrived steadily, and grew to be England's chiefest artistic glory; and perhaps he may be better known for this in the years to come than for his own original work. Yet he has not only given to the world works upon dramatic art and organic science, upon history and metaphysics, which, by common consent, rank among the best of their kind, but he poured out for nearly two score years a flood of essays that were never thrown aside unread. His style was clear and often eloquent, though he gained the clearness sometimes at the expense of completeness, and his eloquence was not the compulsion of passion. His insight was keen, if it did not fathom the profoundest depths. His critical taste was keen and delicate, but it was the intellectual more than the æsthetic side that appealed to him. Extraordinarily prolific as he was as a writer, he was never dull or weak or commonplace, never obscure or cowardly or false. He was a characteristic man of our time, and literature loses much by his death.—*Nation*, Dec. 12.

MISS HELEN TAYLOR AND "VERACITY."

Sir,—As Miss Helen Taylor lectured under the auspices of the British Secular Union there is a propriety in this criticism appearing in the *Secular Review*. I heard the lecture in question. Miss Taylor said if a man, escaping from unjust pursuers, came to a place where two roads diverged, and took one, it would be the duty of an observer, when questioned, not to deceive the pursuers by a falsehood. A lady said the questioned person should keep silence. Miss Taylor, in her reply, explained that of course silence, if practicable, would be right, but that the hypothesis did not admit that refuge, the only alternative being truth or falsehood. This was the case of conscience, as I understood it. Otherwise the moral difficulty is very much lessened, if not quite removed. I give Miss Taylor all due credit for candor. I like people to have the courage of their opinions. Nevertheless, it appeared to me that the lady did not carry the audience with her here. The chairman hoped that none of us might be placed in such a painful position.

Miss Taylor's proposition is, that no conceivable circumstances can override the obligation to veracity. I differ from her. If I should be unhappily placed in the supposed situation, I must either tell a falsehood, or be accessory to murder. The sin of murder

is so much greater than that of falsehood that I should conceive it, not merely excusable, but a positive duty, to deceive the pursuers under such circumstances. This case of conscience is somewhat vague, and one which rarely occurs. Let us suppose another more real, and which might happen to anybody. I will suppose Miss Taylor one evening passing through the Seven Dials. Suddenly a panting, hunted woman rushes up to her, and cries: "My husband is after me with a knife. For God's sake say I went down there, and save my life." Pointing to a street, the woman vanishes in the opposite direction. Presently the man comes up, mad with rage, and questions Miss Taylor: "Which way did my wife go?" I suppose silence impossible; no alternative but truth or falsehood. According to her theory, Miss Taylor ought to tell the truth. "Truth ought to be told, whatever the consequences might be. Falsehood was never even a good policy. The good of the world must be bought by the martyrdom of individuals," etc.

Will it benefit the world that this woman should be murdered? In order to give the defender of veracity at all hazards every reasonable advantage, I will not even suppose the woman innocent. I will suppose that she has given her husband the greatest provocation a wife can give. The life of this woman is in Miss Taylor's hands. By a word, or even a silent gesture, she may save the woman for future repentance, or doom her to immediate death. Ought Miss Taylor to tell the truth, when in a minute or two she may hear the death-cry of the wretched woman, or even be an eye-witness of her murder? Ought Miss Taylor to be accessory to a murder by telling the truth, or prevent it by telling an untruth? Would Miss Taylor really think it her duty to put this intending murderer on the track of his wife?

I cannot, of course, tell how Miss Taylor would act in such a terrible emergency. I think she ought to choose the latter alternative. My impression is, that, independently of her sympathy for "woman's rights," a true womanly, and indeed healthy, human instinct would prompt her to cast her theory to the winds, and save the woman's life, by deceiving the husband for his own good. It would, I think, be easy to prove, in such a case, falsehood or deception a positive duty. There is no rule without exception: and, in such a case, it would be, I think, morally wrong to tell the truth. I will go further, and say it would be morally right to deceive an intending murderer, even if it were possible to take refuge in silence. To a man or woman telling an untruth from such a noble motive the grand sentiment of Sterne would apply: "The accusing spirit which flew up to Heaven's Chancery with the untruth blushed as he gave it in; and the recording angel, as he wrote it down, dropped a tear on the word, and blotted it out forever." Miss Taylor, telling a falsehood under such exceptional circumstances, would be, in the words of Horace:—

"*Splendide mendax, et in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum.*"

Yours truly, J. McGRIGOR ALLAN.
—*Secular Review*, Dec. 7, 1878.

ENDLESS HELL TORMENT.

THE OLD DOCTRINE OF A HELL OF ENDLESS SUFFERING IN LITERAL FLAMES STILL TAUGHT TO CHILDREN.

The *Sunday School Teacher's Quarterly* is an evangelical work published in Chicago by David C. Cook, editor and proprietor, Rev. C. N. Pond associate editor. Each number contains the lessons for a quarter, and is designed for the whole country. In many respects, it is well managed, and contains much that is valuable; but the doctrine it inculcates for the hundreds of thousands of children is of the most horrid description. It regards the parable of the rich man and Lazarus as a piece of real history, and makes it to teach the endless damnation of the soul in hell. Some fourteen pages at the close of the work are devoted to spiritual songs, which the publisher recommends all schools to adopt and sing in preference to all others. Among others is the following, prepared expressly to be sung at the time the above lesson was to be heard:—

The Rich Man and Lazarus.

See Dives in the flames below,
With burning thirst consumed,
Writhing in torment, pain, and woe,
To endless sorrow doomed.

CHORUS.—Sinners, beware; the warning take;
Avoid the flames of hell;
Escape the fiery, burning lake,
That you in Heaven may dwell.

With supplicating voice he cries
For comfort and relief;
But Abr'ham his request denies,
Nor will assuage his grief.

CHORUS.—Sinners, beware, etc.

The wretched beggar at his door
Ascends to joys above,
To live in bliss forevermore,
And praise redeeming love.

CHORUS.—Sinners, beware, etc.

O God, assist me by thy grace,
To shun the pains of hell;
Conduct me to thy heavenly place
Eternally to dwell.

CHORUS.—Sinners, beware, etc.

It is said that the shocking doctrines of the creeds are not taught at the present time, as of old. Nor are they in the pulpit; but in the Sabbath-school they are still enforced, and, if once instilled into the minds of children, eradication is next to impossible. The Romish Church says: "Give us the first ten years of the child's life, and the remainder may be yours."

In this country, there are thousands of children, from Universalist families, in what are regarded as evangelical schools, to receive instruction more or less

impregnated with the above shocking doctrine. Is it safe, is it wise, is it kind, on the part of the parent, to subject his child to the possibility of a belief that will fill his soul and all his being with sadness, and possibly embitter his whole life?

It may be said that the above hymn was not designed for this Sabbath-school *Quarterly*, but got into the work through mistake. Instead, the publisher informs his readers that all the hymns of the work are "written expressly for the *Quarterly*," are "submitted to the Board of Sunday-school Music, and approved by them," before they can be "admitted." The above saintly effusion, so full of gospel sweetness and cheerfulness and beautiful Christian thought for the children, was written expressly for this work, by Rev. Joseph H. Martin, D.D., and was approved by the Sunday-school Board. This very man would not dare to read that hymn in his pulpit, but he thinks he can instill its sentiment into the minds of little children in the Sabbath-school with impunity. But the public will judge both him and the terrible doctrine of his creed, and pronounce upon them!—*Gospel Banner*.

Poetry.

JOSEPH, THE NEX PERCE.

From the northern desolation
Comes a cry of exultation:
"It is ended. He has yielded. And the stubborn fight is
won!"

Let the nation in its glory
Bow with shame before the story
Of the hero it has ruined, and the evil it has done.

How he prayed while hope remained,
Through the white man's hands were stained
With the blood that cried for vengeance of his murdered
kin and clan,
For the home the good God gave him,
And the treaty sworn to save him,
For the shelter of his children, for the right to be a man.

Then the troops began to hound him,
And he wrapped his blanket round him,
And he called his braves to follow, and he smote them hip
and thigh.
But the hosts grew vast and vaster,
And the whirlwind of disaster
Drove him out into the mountains and beneath an alien
sky.

Through the continental ridges,
Over tottering torrent bridges,
By the verge of black abyasses, in the shade of mountain
hoar;
Herds and wives and children bearing,
Months he journeyed, toiling, darning,
With an army trailed behind him and another crouched
before.

Thrice the sudden blow descended,
Roar and flash and clashing blended;
Twice his rear-guard faced and checked them till the
hunted tribe were free.
Once he reeled, but swiftly rallied,
Forth upon the spoilers sallied,
Drove them headlong into shelter, captured all their can-
nonry.

But the mountains could not shield him,
And the snowy heights revealed him,
And the false friends would not aid him, and his goal was
far away;
Burdens by his weak and wounded,
Stripped and harried and surrounded,
Still the chieftain of the Northland, like a lion, stood at
bay.

From the freedom that he sought for,
From the dear land that he fought for,
He is riven by a nation that has spurned its pledged word;
By the Christians who have given
To the heathen—gracious heaven!—
With the one hand theft and falsehood, with the other ball
and sword.

—W. H. Babcock, in *Harper's Magazine* for December.

CASH RECEIPTS.

N.B.—Postage stamps are not included here, though credited on subscriptions, etc.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 21.

F. O. Hearn, \$3.20; T. W. Newcomb, \$3.25; John A. Todd, \$2; J. J. Doolay, \$3.20; L. S. Judd, \$3; Mattie Johnson, \$1.50; Frank J. Mead, \$2; J. W. Kellogg, \$3.20; Jacob Stern, \$3.20; H. H. Bigelow, \$3.20; John S. Verity, \$3.20; Henry Schoepp, \$1; Karl Schmemmann, \$1.00; Chas. G. Schaedel, \$3.50; C. F. Woods, \$3.20; Morris Einstein, \$13.20; J. E. Jester, 20 cents; Gen. A. J. Warner, \$3; C. E. Perkins, 25 cents; E. B. Babcock, \$1; E. C. Galbreath, \$1.50; Jennie Yose, \$1; Mrs. Benj. Ireson, \$3.20; N. Little, Jr., \$3.20; J. L. Whiting, \$1.50; E. H. Warren, \$3.20; Mrs. M. E. Brown, \$3.20; M. S. Devereux, \$6.50.

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

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

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

N.B.—Please examine the ADDRESS and DATE on your INDEX mail-tag, and report at once any error in either.

The Index.

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

FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Editor.
WILLIAM J. POTTER, WILLIAM H. SPENCER, MRS. E. D. CHERNY, GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE (England), DAVID H. CLARK, MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, J. L. STODDARD, ELIZABETH WRIGHT, C. D. B. WILLS, W. D. LE SUEUR, BRUCE F. UNDERWOOD, ALBERT WARREN KELSEY, JAMES E. OLIVER, Editorial Contributors.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The masterly, statesmanlike, and eloquent address of Judge Hurlbut on "The Liberty of Printing," proving unanswerably the constitutional right of Congress to prohibit the circulation of obscene literature through the mails, and demonstrating to the entire satisfaction of all who will listen to reason that the postal law of 1873 should be amended, but not repealed, has been printed for cheap distribution in the form of an eight-page tract, and can now be had at this office. No better service to the liberal cause at present can be rendered than by circulating everywhere this wise, weighty, and noble plea for private liberty and public morality combined. Price, single copies, 5 cents; five copies, 10 cents; fifteen copies, 25 cents; forty copies, 50 cents; one hundred copies, \$1.00.

Erratum.—On page 5, second column, twenty-fourth line, the words "authority is desired" should be corrected to read "authority is derived." This is the only typographical error noticed by the author, and it is of sufficient importance to the main argument to be thus publicly pointed out.

PLEASE EXAMINE your mail-tag, and see if it is not time to renew your subscription. We would also suggest that the address and money of a new subscriber would be a very acceptable New Year's gift to THE INDEX.

THIS INQUIRY is made by a correspondent: "Diogenes, in reply to the question—'How best to order one's conduct?'—said: 'By repressing those things in ourselves that we blame in others.' This is paganism, is it not?" Yes, and a very good edition of the *Golden Rule*.

It is not often that the philosophy of "free love" is so frankly stated as in the following communication of a "Cigar-Maker, formerly a Typo," to the *Cincinnati Times*: "Being a communist, I read your editorial of to-day, Monday, containing the resolutions passed by the French Commune of New York City. It is in the main correct, but on the point of atheism I would say that it is not an essential one. We would permit any belief or superstition that did not interfere with others. We are for the total extermination of priests and priestcraft, because it does interfere with others. As to the family relation, it has been a point of hot argument among us whether our unanimous views on that subject should be boldly and frankly advanced, or not urged till the establishment of the commune. I have always urged that none of our views are wrong, and, therefore, all should be equally asserted. The family relation is an artificial one, and tends directly to inequality. The family once allowed, communism is an absurd chimera. A little reflection will convince one of this. The family, the priesthood, and property abolished together, communism and universal equality become a possibility and a fact. The numbers, even, of the sexes are unequal. The children in different families are unequal in number. How, then, can all have equal lives without community in all things? Plain talk is best. We gain nothing by dissimulation. All children should belong to the State—that is, to society. All women should belong to all men; and should any man say 'except my mother, my daughter, or my wife,' that man has not yet freed himself from the effects of his warped and one-sided education, began in helpless childhood. No; no one's relations are any better or any worse than any one else, nor shall one fare better or worse than another. The day when all shall be equal will come; and will it not be better than the present unequal struggle, in which the weak or the poor are trampled on?"

MR. WASSON ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS.

Mr. David A. Wasson recently read at the Chestnut Street Club a paper on "Rights, Theoretical and Practical," which we find thus reported in the *Boston Advertiser*:—

Mr. Wasson mentioned, in opening, the profusion of modern utterance upon the subject of rights, and the propensity of many to conceive of ethical obligation under this form exclusively. Rights of various orders are jumbled together, as if there could be no distinction between them. A natural right seems to signify popularly but little more than everybody's privilege. A right is simply what the general law of right, or rational spirit of righteousness, requires in a certain relation. Every real right, to be grounded in thought, must be reasoned from ethical principles, taken in connection with the determinate conditions to which these apply; and the mother of rights is the moral spirit. The two poles of ethical obligation, distinct and inseparable, are that every right implies a duty, and every duty a right. It is a commonly accepted dogma that all men have equal rights; but it can be true only as it is also true that all men have equal duties; but outside the ranks of communism, the unqualified assertion that the duties of all are equal would scarcely be hazarded by the hottest zealot for equality. The whole truth as to equality of rights is probably very nearly comprised in the following particulars: 1. Every right has an equal sanctity, and is to be guarded equally in all men whose right it is. 2. Some rights (those of personality) are necessarily those of all human beings. 3. Those rights which are from their very nature conditioned upon special qualification, and which particular men may either have or want, should be accessible to all upon the same terms. 4. All citizens are of right equal before the law, which does not signify that they are of necessity equal behind the law, or in the framing of it.

The right to life, for example, implies one's duty to make his life of worth. The conception that a society has no obligations to its members is antiquated. Men, as constituting a community, are not bound to give rights a sufficing force because they have so agreed; rather, they have agreed, because they were bound to do so. Further, every right or duty belongs to every other, and constitutes with every other an ethical system consistent in all parts with itself as a whole. So there are rights to life, liberty, and property, but subject to higher rights. After discussing the nature of the social body, Mr. Wasson reached the conclusion that the general right, which includes every other, is the right of all men to be governed, or the right of every one to a governed state of all others with himself. Every natural right claims as its due a governed state of society.

A full review of rights under the classification of rights of personality, of relation, and of function followed, the thought made prominent being that there is not absoluteness of rights, but they have their place in the scheme of society. While considering the rights of function Mr. Wasson said that here is a work to be done which belongs to the required activities of civilization; for the doing of this work fitnesses are requisite which cannot be assumed as those of all human beings. The right of suffrage is certainly not to be reckoned among the inborn rights of personality, for that right does not always and everywhere exist for any one. The personal right to suffrage comes only with the personal qualification. It seems manifest that the title of any individual to the elective franchise can come only from his present ability to make it veritably a means toward those great ends for which alone political powers of any sort exist,—namely, a faithful, constant, and intelligent performance of the nation's duty. The matter has its immediate practical importance, for the ancient policy of this Commonwealth is now assailed. An agitation is arising for the abolition of the one or two easy conditions to suffrage, which the good sense of Massachusetts has retained. The regular democratic convention, assembled in Faneuil hall in September last, resolved with a loud voice that every citizen has a right to vote without condition or qualification of whatever sort. It is obvious enough that this resolve was but a bid against Butler for the votes of a class willing to escape the payment of a poll tax without prejudice to their privilege of imposing taxes upon others; but the paltry strategem would not have been resorted to had not the way been prepared for it by a class of dogmatists who may probably mean well, but who mean it in a very ungainly way.

Mr. Wasson's conceded ability as a speculative and ethical writer ensures the most respectful attention to all his opinions on such subjects; and the above is especially provocative of thought. Very likely the report is an imperfect one, and what we have to say should be read with that fact in mind. Taking, however, the report as it stands, and assuming for the time being that it is essentially correct, we shall venture to make it the text for some remarks on the same topic, inviting Mr. Wasson to set us right in these columns if we fail to conceive his meaning accurately.

First, what is a right? Mr. Wasson says: "A right is simply what the general law of right, or rational spirit of righteousness, requires in a certain relation."

As a definition, this statement seems to lack the definiteness necessary for scientific precision. In fact, it begs the question by referring to a "general law of right" which is itself to be determined. Modern thinkers, moreover, do not reason down from abstract general laws to particulars, but gather them

from a careful study of these particulars by generalization. It savors too much of the "high priori school," of the deductive dogmatism which is losing caste as a practical method, to deduce the concrete realities of existence from purely abstract being. That method of thinking is out of date. No "general law of right" can be laid down anterior to, and independent of, the specific moral facts of which it is simply the intellectual generalization in their highest unity.

Further, a right is not something which is "required in a certain relation"; it is, on the contrary, the relation itself. Relations are of innumerable kinds. There are relations of place, time, number, quantity, quality, etc., etc. Now moral relations, like mathematical relations, constitute a separate class by themselves, irreducible to any other class. A right is necessarily a relation between at least two moral beings; it could have no existence except as something which one such being can justly claim from another. We heartily agree with Mr. Wasson, if we understand him, that "the two poles of ethical obligation, distinct and inseparable, are that every right implies a duty, and every duty a right." Of the two moral beings (or "terms") necessary to the existence of a moral relation, the right of one is the duty of the other, and *vice versa*. For instance, if A has a right to be paid ten dollars by B, it is B's duty to pay the ten dollars to A. "Right" and "duty" are different names for one and the same moral fact, looked at from opposite sides; they cannot exist separately.

There was a curious misconception of this truth by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who, as reported, made some remarks on Mr. Wasson's essay. He "doubted the proposition that rights and duties are correlative. He may have a right to go to town by either of two roads, but it may not be his duty to go by either. If there is a duty where there is a right, it destroys all indifference in choice. Some things which a man has a right to do, he has a right not to do,—as to insist upon payment of a debt, or to forgive it. Some rights we do not exercise, because the principle of love supervenes." It is evident that Dr. Clarke imagined the right and the duty to inhere in the same person, instead of being different names for the same relation between two persons. He thought that, if A has a right to go to town by either of two roads, the correlative duty would necessarily also be A's; whereas the truth is, that, if A has a right to go by either road, then it is the duty of B (and every other person) not to interfere with A, no matter which road he chooses. Nothing could be more certain than that, wherever there is a right, there is also a duty; but they do not both belong to the same person. If Dr. Clarke had understood this point, he surely could not have questioned it.

"Every real right," says Mr. Wasson, "to be grounded in thought, must be reasoned from ethical principles, taken in connection with the determinate conditions to which these apply, and the mother of rights is the moral spirit." Rather should it be said that every real right *must exist in nature before it can exist in cognition*. Ethical relations are just as much objective facts as mathematical relations are; they are not the product of "reasoning" of any sort. If A and B exist, the existence of the moral relation between them is given in their own existence as the "terms" of that relation. Hence it would be a far more accurate statement to say that "the mother of rights is" NATURE. That is, all rights which are real at all are *natural rights*. On this point, Judge Hurlbut, in his *Essays on Human Rights and their Political Guarantees* (1845), admirably said: "The duty of the legislator is simply to conform to natural truth. He is the mere minister and expositor of Nature. . . . Man, then, must know himself, and his true relation to his fellow-men and external nature. All truth becomes natural truth—all rights natural rights—all wrongs natural wrongs." That moral philosophy is fatally defective which fails to ground itself on this great truth of the *objectivity and essential naturalness of all moral relations*.

"It is a commonly accepted dogma," says Mr. Wasson, "that all men have equal rights; but it can be true only as it is true that all men have equal duties. But, outside the ranks of communism, the unqualified assertion that the duties of all are equal would scarcely be hazarded by the hottest zealot for equality." We are no zealot, hot or cold; but, purely in the spirit of exact science, we "hazard the assertion" that all men have equal duties precisely in the same sense in which they have equal rights. What we mean is this: if it be true (for example) that all men have an *equal right* to their own lives, it is just as true that all men have an *equal duty* to respect each

other's lives. Keep clearly in view the fundamental fact that every right and its correlative duty are merely different names for the same moral relation as viewed from opposite sides, and that each of the two belongs to one, and only one, of the two or more persons between whom the relation subsists, and all is as clear as crystal. The right of A to his life is the duty of B, C, D, etc., to respect it; that is all. There need be no confusion. To say that all men have equal rights before the law (which Mr. Wasson admits) is simply to say that they have equal duties before the law with respect to those rights; it is not at all to say that all men have precisely equal duties with respect to other matters. Of course, nobody ever said or thought that there is not an infinite multiplicity of special rights and duties growing out of the special circumstances and relations in which different individuals are differently placed. But it takes no "hottest zealot of equality" to perceive that all men have equal duties precisely in the same sense in which they have equal rights, and in no other sense.

Mr. Wasson, however, seems not altogether to have escaped confusion on this point. He says: "The right to life, for instance, implies one's duty to make his life of worth." On the contrary, the only duty which one's right to life strictly and scientifically "implies" is the duty of every other man to respect that life. Dr. Bartol, in his remarks on the essay, well said that animals have rights—that "alligators have a right not to be shot for sport." Nobody would say that the alligator's right to his life "implies" the "duty to make his life of worth." But everybody would say that the alligator's right to his life does "imply" the duty of every moral being to refrain from shooting him in mere wantonness of sport. We unhesitatingly admit man's "duty to make his life of worth," but this duty has far deeper and better foundations than a mere "right to life": namely, the possession of a moral nature which gives the ideal of "worth," and the existence of a socio-moral environment which renders its realization a possibility.

"Mr. Wasson reached the conclusion that the general right which includes every other is the right of all men to be governed, or the right of every one to a governed state of all others with himself." Verily, this is a startling conclusion to be reached in a free country! We should reverse it, and say that the general right which includes every other is the right of every one to be let alone, and not to be governed at all, until he interferes violently or fraudulently with his neighbor. Why is not that the correct proposition? The necessity of an orderly or "governed state of society" results from the mere co-existence of multitudinous moral individualities in juxtaposition; it is not an abstract first principle from which to reason down to concrete facts. No less than Mr. Wasson would we lay emphasis on the universal obligation of society to preserve itself intact and pure; but we arrive at it apparently by a different route—by beginning with the patent fact of co-existing individuals with equal rights and duties, and proceeding thence to the consideration of the necessary conditions of securing for each the largest play of his individuality that is consistent with these equal rights. The basis of social philosophy, like the basis of society itself, is on this earth—not in the clouds. It will not do to inveigh against democratic dogmatists in the name of a dogma more dogmatic than their own—the dogma that all we need is to be well "governed." That is an obsolete idea, as little in harmony with valid ethical science as with all the instincts, traditions, and principles of American civilization.

The fact is—and here comes the great contention—that, if we have no right more precious than that of being "governed," we shall not wisely suppress the question: *who is to do the governing?* No inquiry is more fundamental to the establishment of a sound republican theory than that which concerns the source of political power. The right of the people as a whole to govern must stand unimpeached until some superior claim is made good. Dream as one may about the "rule of the wisest and best," it is a momentous assumption for any class of the people to set themselves up as such, and therefore as the natural governors. We respectfully call for their credentials, a default of which we prefer to trust ourselves to universal suffrage. The right to vote is either a "natural right," or it is no right at all; that is, it results from the very nature of a society composed of equal individuals, among whom none can be found with an authentic commission from the Almighty to officiate as governor. We demand adequate reasons

for the disfranchisement of any class, such as may be rendered for withholding the ballot from children, from lunatics, from criminals, from non-naturalized foreigners. Mr. Wasson, we understand, neither believes in universal suffrage nor in any "natural right" of suffrage at all. If so, we desire particularly to know what he conceives to be the legitimate source of political power, and whence its title to "govern" is derived. In our own view, society is nothing but a strictly "natural" fact, and all its rights and duties are equally "natural"; from which it follows that the right to vote comes scientifically under the same head. Having a great and sincere respect for Mr. Wasson's mind, we should give our closest attention to his views on these vital points; and THE INDEX is cordially at his service, if he should find no better medium for giving them to the public.

NOTES AND NEWS.

BY L. K. WASHBURN.

N. B.—Information in regard to matters pertaining to Liberalism, such as the organization of new societies, reports of liberal lectures and meetings, or criticisms of free-thought and Free Religion—would be gladly received for this department. Address L. K. Washburn, 231 Washington Street, Boston.

Matthew Arnold will soon give the world a new volume of essays. Orthodox critics will please sharpen their lead pencils.

The command of the Nazarene to "love God and man" is twisted by the popular faith into "love the Trinity and members of the Church."

As a man believeth, so is he: this is the creed of the Church. A man is known by the theology he accepts: this is the motto of Christian society.

The late G. H. Lewes' funeral was of the simplest character, only old and intimate friends being present. Among them were Robert Browning, Anthony Trollope, and Herbert Spencer.

The man who cannot sit down and read a good book an hour or two every day has no chance of peace here or anywhere else. The elements of wholesome rest and enjoyment are not in his nature.

The new liberal society of Orange, Mass., has adopted a good motto: "Think for yourselves, and accept the truth as revealed by the strongest light of reason and logic; for the truth shall make you free."

Rev. John Fraser, an English Unitarian, has published an address on "Why I Remain in Unitarianism." We have not seen the address, but presume it is because he is not very radical; else he would have been turned out.

The year of phenomenal politics in Massachusetts has closed, and the casting lots for the State and municipal garments is over. The result is a division of the political vesture. New party jackets will be seen at the City Hall after January 1. Democratic tailors are busy.

Father Hyacinthe has returned to Paris. His mission in Geneva, where he undertook to preach new Catholicism, was a failure. He now thinks that "France is open to the preaching of another Catholicism than that of the Vatican," and has gone there to make the experiment.

A man has met with a bad change of heart when he gives up his reason and common-sense for the thirty-nine articles of nonsense which one has to say one believes, in order to get into the Church. If a man sticks to good deeds through life, he will have heaven here, no matter what he gets hereafter. A heaven in the hand is worth two in the bush.

A good Christian neighbor said to us not long ago: "You do not know the joy there is in Jesus." We had to confess that we did not. Judging from the appearance of most people after they get Jesus, we should say that there was not much fun in him, or, if there was, that no one seemed to find it. An ordinary Orthodox saint is not our idea of a happy person.

One sign of the increase of the influence of free thought is seen in the decrease of attendance at Christian places of worship. Civilization is death to Christianity. The school-house is killing the Church. It is only necessary to support teachers of natural sciences to take away the priest's office by "natural selection." When this is done, we shall have another illustration of the "survival of the fittest."

Dr. Charles Culla, the prayer doctor of this city, has added another scalp to his belt of miraculous cures. A lady from Holliston, who has been suffering from chronic diseases for thirty years, is reported to have been cured by a few passages of Scripture, the regular dose of prayer which the doctor administers, and a drop of oil on the forehead. We say, in the language of the acetic: "We do not believe; help us to continue to disbelieve all such foolish and improbable stories as the above."

Henry Ward Beecher prayed on Sunday morning, November 24, that the United States may become

"Emmanuel's land." This is a treasonable prayer. There is no way provided to punish such an offence as this, so the eloquent preacher of Plymouth Church will escape this time. But we hope that his petition will be unnoticed above and below, and, as man has more to do with making this land what it is than God, we ask him to see that the United States does not become "Emmanuel's land," or anything like it.

The "First Free Religious Society of Lynn" is in a flourishing condition. The services are held every Sunday P. M., at half past ten o'clock, in the Oxford Street Chapel. Meetings have been sustained by this society through voluntary contributions for nearly one year and a half. From three to five hundred people gather every week in the chapel to show the faith that is in them. If liberals everywhere had the courage of their convictions, there would be Free Religious societies in every city and town of Massachusetts.

Two States, New Hampshire and Vermont, have passed laws making tramps criminals. Why not go further and declare that it is a crime to be poor and unable to get work? It strikes us that the action of the legislatures of these two States in thus dealing with this class is unjust. If we can cure the evils that make tramps, by punishing every man who asks for a crust, then perhaps we can remove the causes of intemperance by punishing every one who buys a glass of beer. This kind of legislation may rid one or two States of tramps, but it does not solve the tramp problem.

On Wednesday, December 25, was celebrated throughout Christendom the birth of the Christian Savior. The usual number of silly hymns and poems have been written upon the occasion. As a children's day we welcome the advent of Christmas; but the elaborate ceremonies of the Church at this time have no significance, since it is not known whether Jesus was born in the winter or summer, or if he was born at all. The amount of foolish sentimentality annually expended upon the birth of Jesus makes sensible people blush for human nature. But piety must nurse some humbug, and perhaps this is as harmless as any.

Bishop Simpson is lecturing before the Yale theological students. Think of a Methodist preacher as a lecturer in Yale College. Orthodoxy is setting a trap for Liberalism,—that is plain; and it begins by inviting a Methodist bishop to fill the chair of the Lyman Beecher lectureship. We rejoice at these signs of the times, and hope that the day will come when not only a Methodist but a Unitarian and a Free Religionist will be invited to tell "what they know about preaching" to Yale theological students. Minot J. Savage and O. B. Frothingham might break some of the old Orthodox cobwebs that have been spun by Edwards and Adams and Hopkins to hold the mind in bondage to Christian superstitions; but we venture the assertion that those who would gain new liberty by their words would rejoice in their emancipation. Let Yale give her students an opportunity to hear a few liberal preachers, and we shall have swarms of radical ministers. When will Harvard College have a Theodore Parker lectureship?

There have been attempts made recently to bring discredit upon Free Religion by misrepresenting its principles and purposes. Notably among these attempts was the effort of the Boston Monday Cookship, in his attack upon the Liberal League a few weeks ago. He saddled upon Free Religion what is called free love, and told his audience that this social heresy was the fruit of Boston infidelity. We have always admired Mr. Cook's power of statement. He is one of the few speakers of the day who know how to say things. He has the gift of utterance. We say this because we believe "in giving the devil his due." But we must also say that he has a genius for misunderstanding whatever is opposed to Christianity. Free Religion is clean, decent, respectable. There is no smirch on its garments, and the Rev. Joseph Cook cannot make it foul by throwing mud at it in Tremont Temple. He showed by his remarks rare ignorance of Free Religion. He doubtless presumed upon the credulity or the stupidity of his audience, when he declared that the Congress of the Liberal League was a Free Religious convention. We presume he knew to whom he was speaking. We would like to have Mr. Cook point out the injustice in "The Demands of Liberalism," as they are published on the first page of this paper. The National Liberal League of America is a League that stands for liberty and morality both, the opinion of all the Joseph Cooks in the land to the contrary notwithstanding.

THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER made a good point on the Darwinians in a sermon at Oxford the other day. "Ye men of science," said he, "ye men of science, leave me my ancestors in Paradise, and I do not grudge you yours in the Zoological Gardens."

HIS MOTHER was mending his primer, which showed sad evidence of wear and tear. He looked on for a while in a brown study, and then said, "Ma, why are you like one of them prize opera singers?" "I am sure I do not know, my child. Why?" "Because you're a primer-darner."

DURING the debate on the civil rights bill, Mr. Ben Butler, who was leading the Republican side, asked Mr. Randall, the Democratic leader, to agree to a Sunday session, in order to finish up the business. Randall objected, saying that he had some hopes of a hereafter. Butler replied, "If you have, you will be the same there as here, a member of the lower house."

Communications.

THE PASSAIC CITY LIBERAL LEAGUE.

PASSAIC CITY, N. J., 17, 7, 102.

W. H. HAMLEN, Esq., Sec'y N. L. L. of America:
Dear Sir.—At a regular business meeting of Passaic City Liberal League, held Dec. 15, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"Whereas, We, the members of Passaic City Liberal League, having deliberated on the report of our delegate, J. H. Adamson, to the Second Annual Congress of the National Liberal League, do sincerely approve of the minority's withdrawal; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we withdraw from and surrender our charter as an auxiliary of the old, and that we unite with and procure a charter from the new organization, the National Liberal League of America."

Respectfully yours,
F. W. ORVIS,
Sec'y P. C. L. L.

IMMORTALITY.

If infinite intelligence can be demonstrated, personal immortality can. It is popularly conceived that there was a time when there was nothing in existence but God,—when cause was, but effect was not, and a consequent commencement to the production of effect. Now it can be proved that there never could have been a commencement to the production of effect; hence that there is an infinite power; therefore relative, but not absolute, originality; and, consequently, infinite intelligence. A commencement to the production of effect implies that God, cause, the producing power, was self evolved from nothing, all things being necessarily produced by the self-evolved cause, directly or indirectly, from nothing; because, if the producing power commenced to produce, itself had a commencement, for non-productive cause is as certainly a nonentity as non-caused effect; and as the producing power came from nothing, all things of course were primarily produced therefrom. Now, as a commencement to the production of effect has been shown to be an utter absurdity, exit a commencement and eternally productive power, which, being eternal, is also infinite, for to be one is to be the other. Infinite power involves infinite variety; for infinite power can no more produce finite variety than finite power can produce infinite variety; in other words, the effect must be commensurate with the cause, and, being infinite, it must, like infinite power, be eternal.

Now, do infinite and eternal power and variety admit of further power, further variety? If not, can there be, or has there ever been, anything absolutely original? When a babe in arms transfixes the earth with a pin, throws it over his shoulder and walks off with it; something absolutely original will have transpired; or when a toothpick is endowed with motion, sense, and reason; or fire is frozen; or something is evolved from nothing; or when any other utterly absurd and impossible manifestation of power is produced. Now, as there can be nothing absolutely original, it will at once be seen that the progress of finite intelligence proves infinite intelligence.

As it has been demonstrated that there never could have been a commencement to the production of effect, it follows that there never could have been a time when there was nothing in existence but God, in any other sense than there is not now, never has been, and never can be, anything in existence but God. Hence, if we construe the term God to mean a perfect, non-progressive, superintending personality, there is no God; but, if we construe it to mean an infinite power, infinitely intelligent, never commencing and never ceasing to produce, which is in and of and is all things, there is a God.

As there can be nothing distinct from or external to that which is infinite in space,—to God,—it is apparent that there can be no intelligence distinct from or external to infinite intelligence. It therefore follows that finite intelligence comes from and is a part of infinite intelligence. Hence, infinite intelligence is latent in finite intelligences, or finite intelligence is infinite intelligence in embryo; therefore finite intelligence is, prospectively, all that infinite intelligence is actually; consequently, finite intelligence never ceases to progress, and, never ceasing to progress, it of course survives death and is immortal.

BOSTON. E. B. B.

THE "REPEAL" PISTOL UNLOADED.

MR. EDITOR:—

I have been for the most of the time a silent spectator while the froth of the "obscenity" storm has been leaving its high-tide mark of moral depression all over the land,—nevertheless, an interested one. A delegate to the Syracuse Convention, I found, in five minutes from the opening of the Congress, that there was to be nothing there if not a quarrel, and made up my mind to have nothing more to do with it than my duty as a delegate required of me. With the exception of asking two or three questions of the president, which did not in all interrupt the fight more than two or three minutes, I said nothing. But I voted with the "reform" party all through, and signed the protest of the minority. Upon reflection, I am not sorry that I did so. After having read the efforts of the other side to convince the people that they did right in committing the League to the repeal of the Comstock law on the ground that said law is unconstitutional, I am convinced that my early convictions, formed before I had had any opportunity to read either side of the controversy, were correct. My conviction is that the law is constitutional, and therefore that the movement for the amendment of it is the proper method of procedure. In the only paper I have written upon the matter [an article re-

fused by the *Truth Seeker* and afterwards published in THE INDEX], I took the ground that the first thing to be done is to appeal to Congress to remove Comstock. Put an honest agent in his place, and the law would be harmless as it is. But, to make assurance doubly sure and take a bond of fate, I said, let us aim to have Congress so amend the law that the crime against which it stood should be so clearly defined that there could be no chance to injure innocent people. I do not see anything wrong with that opinion now.

The only argument against it from the other side will be that drawn from the assumption that the law is unconstitutional.

I want to examine that briefly. The Supreme Court has decided that it is constitutional; that settles it until that decision is reversed. But it has been threatened that the opinions of the Supreme Court will be trampled under foot by public opinion as they have been in other cases. Suppose that such an event is possible; that does not prove that the law of 1873 is not now constitutional. Suppose that the repeal party should be augmented to such a degree that it could march to Washington and confront Congress with a force sufficient to coerce it and compel the repeal of the law, that would not prove that Congress had no right to pass the law. It would prove only this, that the country had undergone a reversion to the condition of barbarism, where muscular power is king and moral convictions have not yet been born.

It is said that the Constitution gives Congress no authority to control the public mails. The reason given is that the Constitution does not particularize, does not say what shall or shall not be carried. It does not particularize in regard to the navy, but says Congress shall have power "to provide and maintain a navy." A navy is for purposes of war. What right, according to the reasoning of the repealer, has government to use the navy in times of peace, or to use it at any time except for war purposes? Clearly, none. But our navy is being continually used in exploring expeditions, to promote knowledge, the sciences, arts, and industries of the country. It is used, according to the judgment of government, for the good of the people. Why hasn't Congress the same right to control the use of the mails, which, like the navy, is only one arm of the public service of the people, for the good of the people? The Constitution says no more and no less about the mail than about the navy. It says Congress shall have power "to establish post-offices and post-roads." That's all. But it closes thus: Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." The power to establish mails carries with it the power to keep them up, and this implies and necessitates the power, and the right also, to protect them against any enemy, or influence, or misuse that would either directly or indirectly, either immediately or eventually, weaken, degrade, corrupt, or destroy their usefulness. Either this must be true, or the word *ought* should be abolished; either Congress is right in declaring that filth shall not be carried virtually free in the public mails, or all ideas of right and duty and protection should be obliterated.

What are the mails for? For the mutual benefit of the people. What are the people? Society. What is society? A combination, a union of two or more persons for mutual benefits, for general good. Without society nothing like progress is possible. Without society we have anarchy, chaos. Without society every individual is the enemy of every other. The individual stands up, before society began, as a murderer, a thief, an assassin, a robber, a destroyer of human life, an enemy to human affection. To have society he foregoes his privilege to be all these bad things, and agrees to treat his people well, that he may receive the benefits of mutual interests which will lead to mutual advancement, elevation, progress. In no other way have we been pushed up from the condition of savagery. In no other way can we keep up or go higher. Society is the greatest reality in the universe. It is humanity at its best. It can only exist so long as it tends to the mutual or general good of its members. When it ceases to do that, it falls to pieces. Only through it can we rise. Our first and profoundest duty is to protect society. For this we have LAWS. The necessary machinery for the execution of laws constitutes GOVERNMENT. What is the relation between government and society? Society is the creator of government. Society makes government, and instructs it to make and execute laws,—for what? For the good of the people, for precisely the same end for which society exists. Government, then, is an instrument created by society to enable it to carry out its design of general good, and to protect itself against whatever endangers its own existence.

Laws are made and executed only for the general good of society. It is for the safety of society that jails and penitentiaries are built, that men are manacled, incarcerated, and hung.

What, now, can we think of a society which keeps up jails and penitentiaries for its own protection, and yet encourages a class of men and women in any business or profession or life, the legitimate end of which can only be to make the criminals who necessitate jails and gibbets? What can we think of it? Only that in some way those who control that society are peculiarly interested in the jail and gibbet business, and so desire to promote criminality. No other supposition is possible. What will be the end of such a society? A steady descent from vice to crime. First, a mental rot, that spreads itself through the moral and then through the physical nature, until at last we have a leprosy that can never be cured—that can only be banished from sight and sound and left to die of its own fearful crimes.

Better far than this, I say, let society be true to the laws of its own existence, the good of the whole,

which will necessitate the strict moral conduct and growth that will in time make jails and gibbets and broken-necked angels unnecessary, and bring about the time when the face of humanity shall be no longer scabbed and scarred with jails, gibbets, lunatic asylums, schools for idiots, houses of prostitution, homes of misery, and all the unholy blight of theological scrofula that curses our moral blood to-day!

Society is destroying itself when it fosters the existence of any business that degrades any of its members. Society has no right to allow any of its members to make a business of obscenity. Society is bound to protect itself. Now, therefore, the existence and execution of laws for the protection of society against obscenity is a necessity, as laws against murder, rape, arson, and theft are necessities. We must have laws against all crimes against society! Or we must repeal them all! If obscenity must be free and unhampered by law, then the repealer must demand the repeal of all laws against crime,—for if the school is right, the scholars should not be condemned for what they learn,—if obscenity should be free, then the murderer must be free, for obscenity makes murder, rape, arson, theft, and all other crimes possible! If it is right to protect society against one, it must be against all. This is the way it strikes me.

Again many on both sides say this question does not belong to the Liberal League. But, if the moral condition of society is not worth consideration in the question of State Secularization, then I don't think you need trouble yourselves to make any change. I, for one, prefer to take my chances for liberty under "Church and State," with a God on the throne to hold his subjects in check through fear of hell, than to expect it under a system that denies God, throws the reins loose upon the neck of passion, and leaves the beast that is in humanity to trample upon liberty and load the moral atmosphere with its fetid breath of license! If the Liberal League does not draw humanity to a higher level, we have no use for it! If infidelity is to be only a protective union for hypocrisy, dishonesty, obscenity, and social ruin, then, in the name of all that is clean, let it die.

CHARLES ELLIS.

BOSTON, Dec. 8, A. R. 102.

LAW vs. LAWS.

EDITOR INDEX:—

I too am a friend of both Leagues, though belonging to neither, and not so well known as your unknown correspondent who asks such pointed questions. It has long been evident that no league pledged either to "repeal" or to "reform" could command the support of all liberals. The initial mistake was to entertain the question of obscenity at all; the League might properly pass the strongest resolutions sustaining the freedom of the press, as a part of universal freedom, but there was no more reason for taking action as to the laws for punishing or preventing the circulation of obscene literature than for pledging themselves in regard to punishing theft, murder, or any other crime. No union is possible except on a basis of leaving every person and every league free to advocate the total or the partial repeal of Comstock laws, as accords with their judgment and conscience.

"The constitutionality of the law of 1873 is not the real question before the nation to-day." That may be true as to the nation, but it certainly is a question before the liberals, and they must and will decide it for themselves, however the Supreme Court may have ruled. Supreme courts often make mistakes.

Undoubtedly I mean to take the position that the only way effectually and practically to benefit the world is to discover the inherent laws which govern the universe, and order our lives in conformity with them, regardless of the laws made in Washington or on Beacon Hill; but I do not therefore propose attempting to repeal existing laws, except such as clearly and practically infringe upon human rights. Theoretically, all human laws may be said to infringe upon and interfere with my right to govern myself; but as a practical man, I prefer to let these laws die by doing away with the necessity for them, unless in such extreme cases as the law of 1873.

I thought I had shown clearly enough that the people of the United States have no right to use Comstock and his laws for the suppression of obscene literature, and that it is very easy to suppress it in the right way, by destroying the demand for it.

I did not directly reply to the question of the responsibility of the people for the moral character of the sealed matter that passes through the public mail, because, that they do assume or can assume any such responsibility, as a practical proposition seems so preposterous as to be unthinkable to an unprejudiced mind. Let us see to what this responsibility idea legitimately leads. It is corrupting the morals of children which constitutes the crime abetted by sending obscene matter through the mails. In order to free the people from complicity in this crime, these matters must be prevented from being received by the post-offices, or from being delivered, if received. The most ardent advocate of Comstock and his work and ways will not maintain that hundreds or thousands of the corrupting matter do not pass through the mails every day, week or month. Unless Comstock's stories about the "fists" of it are all false, it must be so. Now and then by ordering something in a decoy letter, Comstock gets an offender into his net, and in time he may have that one incarcerated. But not until the mischief has been done, aided and abetted by the people. Not only that: all who know anything of the ways of trade know that so long as the business is profitable, that is, so long as there is a demand, persons will take the place of those caught, and will supply the demand. Of course the people are responsible for all the damage done, and can only free themselves by

total prohibition of the carriage of any immoral or criminal matter through the mail.

Two or more persons plan a murder by means of letters sent through the mails; of course the people are morally responsible. It is needless to multiply examples to show that the only escape from damning responsibility is the appointment of a *Censor Morum* with full powers, provided with an *Index Expurgatorius*, compiled by an Immaculate Congressman, and adopted by an Infallible Majority vote, and making it his duty to examine every letter or package and see that there is nothing in it inconsistent with his ideas of legalized morality, before passing it through the mails. Otherwise the people become the paid agents for the commission of all the crimes which can be committed by aid of the mails.

I cannot see that punishing a few or even all of the criminals after the government has aided the commission of the crime relieves the people of all moral responsibility. That seems to me a very impractical notion. But the practical fact is, that there is no such moral responsibility and cannot be in a free country.

F. S. C.

[1. Our correspondent does not succeed in making his positions self-consistent. On the one hand, it was a "mistake" to "entertain the question of obscenity"; on the other hand, it was not a mistake to entertain the question of the "constitutionality of the law of 1873." It so happens that these two questions are inextricably entangled with each other. How is it possible to entertain the latter without *ipso facto* entertaining the former?

2. This matter of "responsibility" is so plain that it needs few words. No government can possibly prevent the commission of crime; it does its whole duty, if it checks crime as much as it can by punishing it after it is committed. The people justly hold their government "responsible" for enacting good laws against crime and enforcing them as well as it can. If, instead of doing this, it should first furnish extra facilities for the commission of crime and then connive with the criminals by refusing to punish them for abusing these facilities to criminal ends, all the special pleading in the world would fall to shield the government from the people's just wrath. That is precisely the case with the mails. The "responsibility" of the government and the people for the right use of the mails simply means that they are bound to take all reasonable precautions against their perversion to the public injury; and the law of 1873, being one of these reasonable precautions, will stand unrepelled till the crack of doom. Whether it shall be amended or not, so as to protect the right of free discussion of social questions, is another question. The "responsibility" of the people leads to no such absurd conclusions as are above drawn from it, but is precisely the same as that which is universally recognized with reference to all other crimes.—Ed.]

A CONVERTED EDITOR.

For several weeks past it has been stated on the streets that R. Dalley, Esq., editor of the *Evening News and National Democrat*, in this city, had turned infidel, and in the future would espouse the dark cause which leads to despair, death, and damnation. For the purpose of finding out whether there was any truth in the reports in circulation, we visited Mr. Dalley yesterday and asked him the following questions:—

Reporter.—There are rumors in town that you have turned infidel, and propose in the future to work in the infidel cause. Is this true?

Mr. Dalley.—Yes, it is true. I am a confirmed infidel, and expect to work for the cause.

Rep.—How long have you denied the infallibility of the Bible and consequently the divinity of Jesus Christ?

Mr. D.—It was some time in 1866, when I resided in Memphis, Tenn., at the time I was studying theology with a view to enter the Orthodox ministry (that was my desire from early youth), and greedily devoured anything on religion, visiting Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, and Orthodox Protestant ministers, in my earnest desire to learn the truth and preach the pure gospel. In the midst of my studies I received from my brother, John A. Dalley, of Dayton, Ky., several volumes of Theodore Parker's works, which I read with my usual avidity. This led me away from the Orthodox belief. I was convinced that Jesus of Nazareth was a man, a good man; yet, like all other good men, liable to err,—that he did err. I next read Paine's *Age of Reason*. The logic and facts contained in that little book, which will live side by side with the Bible forever, completely knocked the pins from under what little Orthodoxy I had left in me, and I abandoned the idea of entering the Orthodox pulpit. At first I thought I would find rest for a weary soul in the Universalist or Unitarian Church, but found so much of the old Orthodoxy in them that it was a hindrance to my growth of free thought on religion; and, falling to find a congenial organization in which to propagate natural religion and morality, I withdrew to myself and devoted my energies to business, hoping the day would come when I could devote my life and energies to the dissemination of Liberal Christianity, or what is commonly denominated infidelity. This has always been my most earnest desire.

Rep.—But, Mr. Dalley, don't you know that when you attack the infallibility of the Bible you are de-

stroying the Christian religion, and with it all morality, law, order, and the general happiness of mankind?

Mr. D.—No, sir; I don't. I know that I am doing exactly the contrary.

Rep.—Don't tall infidels deny the existence of a God and a future state, thereby destroying the strongest support which human virtue and morality has?

Mr. D.—No; all infidels do not deny the existence of a God or future state. In fact, the most of them are deists. As a matter of course, all atheists are infidels, but they are a small portion of freethinkers,—or infidels, as Orthodoxy opprobriously calls them. You are very much mistaken when you say that infidelity destroys the only incentive which man has to be virtuous and upright. I need only refer you to the fact that all reforms start in infidelity. Jesus was considered an infidel in his time; so was Martin Luther; and so are all Protestants regarded infidels if they are out of the pale of the Catholic Church. Thomas Jefferson, the father of American Democracy, a pure patriot and honest man, the man to whom above all others we are indebted for religious liberty, was a confirmed infidel. The pure, moral, and upright Franklin was an infidel. John Adams, the second President of the United States, if not a confirmed infidel, was a disbeliever in the divinity of Jesus Christ and the gospel plan of salvation. Stephen Girard, whose benevolences are counted by the hundreds of thousands, and whose money built the Girard College, was an infidel. In our own State, Michael C. Kerr and Oliver P. Morton were infidels, and I think their morality will stand alongside such Christian statesmen as Howard, Colfax, and Garfield. Certainly Kerr and Morton were never caught in Credit Mobilier scandals or Freedmen's Bureau swindles. There are other great and good men who were infidels, but these will suffice for the present. In Jeffersonville there are at least twenty liberals, and there is not one among them who is a bad man or woman. I think of one who has been a little wild, and has gambled; but then, do not professed Christians do the same? Can you tell me of an infidel or freethinker who has been convicted and punished for a great crime?

Rep.—But, Mr. Dalley, what incentive is there for a man to do right if he does not fear God and believe in the Bible?

Mr. D.—I will answer that question by asking another. Do men who fear God, as you say, and believe in the Bible always do right, and do men who are infidels always do wrong? And while you are thinking over that, let me say there is no crime known to the divine or secular law that has not been committed by men professing to love God, and who did actually believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ and in the infallibility of the Bible. The Jews murdered innocent women and children; the Christians during the crusades went to the tomb of the Savior with their hands dripping with the blood of Mohammedans, men, women, and children. The Spanish Inquisition was run by men believing in the Orthodox faith. John Calvin believed in the Bible and Christ, and he burned Michael Servetus alive. The Puritans burned witches. Men and women believing in God and the Bible have actually committed promiscuous sexual intercourse, and gloried in their shame, thinking it to the glory of God. Abraham, whom God chose among men, was a liar, and accepted from Pharaoh and Abimelech a bribe as the price of his wife's debauch. After debauching Hagar he drove her out into the world to starve, because of the jealousy of Sarah. David, who was considered a man "after God's own heart," was a common freebooter, and murdered his captives, and deceived and lied in a manner truly shocking to our ideas of morality and religion. Having seduced Uriah's wife, he sent Uriah to be killed because he would not hide David's ruin. So you will see by this that it does not follow that if a man does believe in the Bible, or accepts the Mosaic writings, he will necessarily be a good and religious man. The infidel is the strictest moralist. He has no religion except correct conduct. He does not bother his mind about the eternal essence, or about Christian dogmas. His work is the full and perfect development of all the functions of man; and if he fails of these, he is not true to that yearning in the soul of man which ever reacheth upward to that impulse universally planted in man, and impels him to be honest, true, good, obedient, kind, and all that implies a good man.

Rep.—How is it, Mr. Dalley, when you have a good business, and must know that the utterance of such views as you hold will injure you, that you persist in doing so?

Mr. D.—I can only say that it is a disposition I inherit from my father, who never could refrain from boldly uttering the honest convictions of his mind. I have every inducement to keep quiet. I have smothered my convictions and listened to the pleading voice of personal ease and business interests for twelve years, but I can no longer hide my honest sentiments. A premium is always offered for hypocrisy, but manliness is too often beaten with a lash. I have fully determined to leave my present business on December 1. After that time, I will cease to be editor of the *News and National Democrat*, and if I do not sell the paper I will lease it to parties until such time as they are able to buy it. I had intended to defer this important step for a year or two, but my affairs have turned in such a way that it cannot be delayed any longer.—*Louisville Courier-Journal*, Nov. 7.

[Mr. Dalley's honesty and courage deserve great respect. He writes to us that he "desires the liberals of the country to call him to the work"; by which we understand that he desires lecture engagements. His present address is Jeffersonville, Indiana.—Ed.]

THE GLASGOW BANK AND THE SCOTCH CHURCH.

The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank seems likely to act as a serious blow and great discouragement to the credit and status of the order of officers known in Presbyterian churches as elders. "Since the closing of the doors of the City of Glasgow Bank," says a Scotch paper, "elderdom has suffered a terrible blow. It had experienced in Glasgow many reverses, and has survived them all; but it never experienced one like this"; and the writer then carries his retrospect so far back as to find himself compelled to lay before his readers the following very candid piece of history: "Long ago it used to be a standing joke on the Royal Exchange of Glasgow to ask, when a more than usually ugly bankruptcy occurred, 'In what kirk is the bankrupt an elder?' And though the question was lightly put, it was almost invariably answered in deadly earnest, that the bankrupt had been a burning and shining light in some west-end congregation, was a liberal subscriber to all religious schemes, and always ready to put his hands into the pockets of his creditors to assist Church extension and missionary enterprises." This is bad enough, but there is worse to come; for the editor of this Scotch newspaper actually goes on to say: "We have heard of many business men, taught by sharp experience, whose first question about a new customer was, not whether he had a balance at his banker's, but whether he was an elder, deacon, Sunday-school teacher, or liberal subscriber to new churches. If he was, these suspicious worldlings looked sharply after their goods, and kept pety on short credit." But not only is pety kept on short credit, but, if this native testimony is to be believed, pety is in imminent danger of getting no credit at all. "How can it be otherwise?" says the writer. "We have been made bankrupt in religion and morality, as well as in purse, by the conduct of some of the very burning and zealous lay teachers among us. Succeeding the bright times of revivalism and evangelism, what a comment it is upon them! The eldership has become associated in men's minds with gigantic swindling and fraud, and with all that is mean and base in business." This Scotch commentator is right, and it is the more creditable to him that he condemns thus strongly the conduct of certain of his countrymen to their faces. The sterling qualities of the Scottish nation have been overclouded and overborne sadly too long by a degenerate Puritanism, following what was once a real and active moral force in the country; but even the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank is not too high a price to pay for some sensible abatement of the hypocritical Sabbatarianism and fierce intolerance which have of late prevailed in Scotland.—*Geneva Continent*, Nov. 13.

HOW TO MEET HENRY.

Rev. Dr. Alex. Clark, of the *Methodist Recorder*, is engaged in quite an interesting controversy with one of his correspondents, Rev. Dr. Murray, concerning the question as to how infidels, such as Colonel Ingersoll, should be met by their Orthodox brethren, when by rising into prominence they challenge public notice. Dr. Clark maintains that it is uncharitable, and, so far as results are concerned, worse than unprofitable, to attempt to silence an adversary, even though an infidel, by denunciation and abuse. It is not to be taken for granted that men are rogues because they are sceptical. Unbelievers may be as honest in their convictions as believers, and are entitled to fair and honorable treatment, therefore, from the latter. This respect has not been accorded to Colonel Ingersoll. He has been abused like a pick-pocket; he has been charged with having a vulgar liking for indecent literature, and for exerting his influence for the repeal of the order which prevents the carrying of this sort of matter through the mails; and in various respects his habits of life have been proclaimed as vicious,—nay, vile. Now all these charges against the colonel are basely, slanderously false, as he declares, and as those who are personally acquainted with him well know. There is not a man to be found who, in the privacy of his family and in the larger circles of society, is more free from fault, or who is entitled to higher respect. It is admitted that he is wrong—altogether wrong—in his theological notions, and that every proper Christian effort should be used both to convert him, if possible, and, if that cannot be accomplished, to at least counteract the effect of his teachings. But this is not to be done by means of misrepresentation and vilification. Men are not persuaded thus to become Christians. The sound Orthodoxy of Dr. Clark himself, his correspondent of course does not think of questioning, nor would any one else; and therefore his testimony in the case is all the more valuable. To those of his brethren who would serve well and successfully in the cause to which they have addressed themselves we would say: "Go ye and do likewise."

We trust the many admirers of Dr. Clark (and they are legion) will read this sensible piece of advice; and then, as the *Leader* suggests, go and do likewise.—*Pittsburgh Leader*.

IT IS SAID that one of the French Bourbon princesses, while playing as a child with her favorite nurse, suddenly looked at the woman's hand, and then regarded her own with intentness, counting its fingers. "How is this?" at length questioned the imperious young patrician; "you have five fingers, exactly the same as myself!"

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