

The
OPEN COURT

Devoted to the Science of Religion,
the Religion of Science, and the Extension
of the Religious Parliament Idea

FOUNDED BY EDWARD C. HEGELER

FEBRUARY, 1931

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VOLUME XLV NUMBER 897

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FRANK THILLY

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.....Arthur O. Lovejoy
- IV. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association, 1930.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> ILLUSTRATION BY BLAKE IN PARADISE LOST SERIES.	
<i>The Salvation of Satan in Modern Poetry.</i> MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN	65
<i>Prohibition—A Study of The Problem and The Remedy.</i> CHARLES KASSEL	93
<i>The Universe in Transcendental Evolution.</i> AUGUST F. STEFFAN	112
<i>Is The Universe Running Down?</i> VICTOR S. YARROS.....	123
<i>Some Recent Books</i>	128

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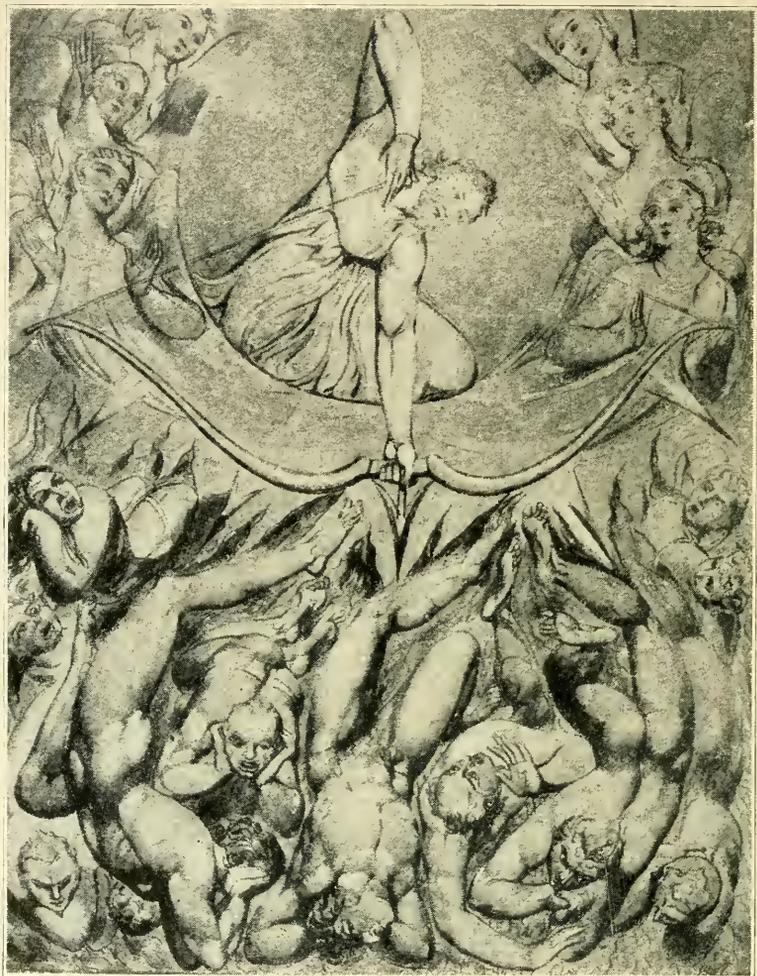


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THE SALVATION OF SATAN IN MODERN POETRY

BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

THE reversal of poetic judgment with regard to the Devil is among the most striking characteristics of the modern period. The popular medieval conception degraded Diabolus from the former high potentate of paradise to a powerless and ludicrous personage, who served our ancestors as the butt of such laughter as still rings across the ages. The modern period, on the other hand, has clothed the Devil with the pathos of a defeated hero. The Devil of today forms a complete contrast to his *confrère* of former times. The modern devil is as fascinating as the medieval devil was frightful; he is as bright and beautiful as his predecessor was dismal and dreadful. The new devil enlists as much of our sympathy and admiration as the old devil inspired horror and terror in medieval man.

This change of attitude toward the Devil during the past century has been well expressed by Renan, who, in an anonymous article, writes as follows:¹

“Of all the formerly accursed beings that the tolerance of our century has raised from their anathema, Satan is, without contradiction, the one who has chiefly profited from the progress of the lights [of reason] and of universal civilization. The Middle Ages, which understood nothing of tolerance, found pleasure in representing him as wicked, ugly and distorted. . . . A century as fruitful as our own in rehabilitations of all kinds could lack no reasons for excusing an unfortunate revolutionary, whom the need of action threw into hazardous enterprises. If we have become indulgent toward Satan, it is because Satan has thrown off a part of his wickedness and is no longer that

¹ *Journal des Débats*, April 25, 1855.

baneful spirit, the object of much hatred and horror. Evil is evidently nowadays less strong than it was in former times."

As so aptly stated by Renan in the foregoing passage, the century which demanded the rehabilitation of all outcasts of terrestrial society, the bastard and the bandit, the courtesan and the criminal, also claimed the restoration and return to heaven of the celestial outlaw.

From the philosophical point of view, the conception of Satan's conversion and re-admission to heaven is the corollary of faith in the perfectibility of man, and belief in the consequent end of evil on earth. This utopian hope for the final triumph of universal good, which was aroused in the minds of men during the eighteenth century, was still strengthened by the French Revolution. The enthusiasts of this great historical event believed that the revolutionary revelation would put an end to the reign of the Powers of Evil, and usher in the universal reign of the Powers of God. Furthermore, many metaphysicians developed the theory of the Devil's repentance and return to heaven as part of their explanation of the origin and function of evil in the cosmic order. They believed in the essential unity and fundamental identity of good and evil. The poets of the past century followed the path paved by the philosophers of the preceding century and envisaged the salvation of Satan as a symbol of their belief in the messianic era approaching for all mankind. They desired to bring about a reconciliation of the Deity with the Devil, or, as it would seem, aspired to marry hell to heaven.

From the æsthetic point of view, the idea of Satan's salvation is the natural outgrowth of the literary conception of Satan. Byron and Shelley created in the Devil a personage whom a superficial reader might well call Promethean. What then was left to their French followers? Nothing but a step further in the attempt to lead the fallen archangel back to heaven.

It must be admitted, however, that this original and spiritual idea of the salvation of Satan, beautiful as it may be philosophically, is neither æsthetically nor theologically acceptable. Such a conception of Satan is inconsistent with the grandeur of the Personality of Evil. The sentimental devil, who repents his past wrongs and is willing to creep to the Cross, is certainly inferior to Byron's impenitent Empyrean, who scorns all ideas of reconciliation with his ancient Adversary, and who prefers torment to "the smooth agonies

of adulation, in hymns and harpings, and self-seeking prayers." The idea of Satan's return to his former paradisaical position is also in flat contradiction to the traditional belief in the irreversibility of the Devil's doom. All successful treatment of the Devil in literature and art, however, must be made to conform to the norm of popular belief and Catholic dogma. In art we are all orthodox, whatever our views may be in religion.

Orthodoxy has always taught that Satan is doomed for all eternity. The Devil, it is maintained by the theologians, is damned beyond redemption, and cannot repent and win pardon like Adam. The fall of Satan, according to Catholic creed, is greater than that of our first ancestor. The original sin, by which mankind fell a prey to the powers of hell, will be wiped out, at least for a part of mankind, but Satan's sin can never be expiated. This Catholic conviction is based on the biblical text that "the Devil will be destroyed utterly" (Hebr. ii. 14; cf. also Ex. xxviii. 18-19). St. Michael, who appears in Jude 9 as the enemy of Satan, will in the end of days, according to the Revelation of St. John (xii. 7 ff.), vanquish the diabolical dragon. The Adversary will be chained eternally in hell, the portals of which will never again open to permit him to molest mankind.

The dogma of the eternal damnation of the Devil was, however, not universal in the Church. Basing their belief on the biblical passage: "Even the devils are subject unto us through thy name" (Luke x. 17), several fathers and doctors of the Church entertained hopes for the Devil's reform and restoration to heaven. Origen, who was among the leading authorities in deciding what was and what was not to be included in the New Testament, predicted the Devil's purification and pardon. This belief in the salvability of Satan was apparently shared by Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus and afterwards by Didymus and Gregory of Nissa. In the eighth century, St. John Damascene taught that the Lord gave Satan some time to reform after the sin of the fall, but that the Tempter used it instead to lead Adam astray. In the following century, the famous Irish philosopher and theologian, John Scotus Erigena, professed the belief that, inasmuch as all beings came from God, they must all return to him, including the evil spirits. A religious poem of the thirteenth century, *A Moral Ode*, contains the assertion that the Devil himself might have had mercy if he had sought for it.²

² *Old English Miscellany* (Early English Text Society), I, 214ff.

Father Sinistrary, the famous *consulteur* of the Inquisition, in the seventeenth century, argued that the atonement wrought by Christ included the demons, who might attain final beatitude. He even intimated, though more timidly, that even their father, Satan himself, as a participator in the sin of Adam and sharer of his curse, might be included in the general provision of the Deity for the entire and absolute elimination of the curse throughout nature.³

The belief in the final unity of Good and Evil, and the reconciliation of the Deity and the Devil, was taught by the magi and Gnostics and shared by many medieval sects. The modern George Sand, who expressed through the mouth of Lélia her belief that "the spirit of evil and the spirit of good are but one spirit, *i.e.* God," later put this idea in the mouth of a heretical sect. We read in her novel *Consuelo* (1842-3) the following report concerning the supposed followers of John Huss in Bohemia:

"A mysyerious and singular sect dreamed . . . of uniting these two arbitrarily divided princip'es into one single principle. . . . It tried to raise the supposed principle of evil from its low estate and make it, on the contrary, the servant and agent of the good."

Many pietists, deviating from orthodox teaching, also believed in the possibility of the repentance and restoration of the Devil. Madame de Krüdener (1764-1824), the Swedenborgian mystic, who converted many handsome but wicked men even at the cost of her own virtue, had the utmost confidence in her ability to bring about even Satan's conversion. This lady from Courland turned to religion after a rather dissipated youth, which she prolonged as much as she could.⁴ Having arrived at the conclusion that all was not well with the world, she decided to reform humanity, and was seized with a great ardor of proselytism. During her apostolic mission, she traveled all over Europe and preached her gospel to everyone she could reach; princes, kings, emperors, dwellers in huts, all listened with rapture to her inspired words. Her holy zeal to recall to the mercy of the Lord the inhabitants of this earth extended even to the hosts of hell. Again and again the idea of converting the very denizens of darkness,—nay the Devil himself, occurs in her writings. "What can I say to thee, O my Beloved?" she addresses

³ Anatole France, in *Ics Opinions de Jérôme Coignard* (1893), quotes the liberal abbé, contrary to Catholic dogma, expressing his hope for the redemption of Satan.

⁴ The most pathetic episode of her first period, her *liaison* with Alexandre de Skatieff, Mme de Krüdener described in her novel *Valérie* (1803).

the Lord. "Would that I could shout over the whole earth, and through all the heavens, how much I love Thee! Would that I could lead not only all men, but all the rebel spirits back to Thee!" In another connection she writes: "I cannot help wishing that hell might come to this God who is so good."

But the Church has always condemned the belief in the redemption of Satan. Protestants and Catholics alike hold out no hope for the deliverance of the Devil from his deserved damnation. In our own country, the Reverend Mr. Tillotson, a minister of the Universalist Church, which believes in the salvation of all men, was unfrocked by his church for wishing to extend its doctrine of universal salvation to Satan.

Christianity showed itself less tolerant with regard to the Evil Spirit than the ancient religions. The Hindus thought that, inasmuch as evil is but a passing form of the realization of existence, it cannot last eternally and must some day disappear by merging with the Absolute. Buddha believed in the universal redemption of every creature throughout the worlds. In Persian eschatology, Evil will in the latter days disappear from the face of this earth, and the Spirit of Evil, having been wholly regenerated, will be the last to arrive saved and sanctified in Paradise. The Yezidis, a sect of devil-worshippers living in ancient Assyria, still hold the belief that the rebel will in the end of days celebrate his return to heaven.⁵

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When the beautiful Balder, god of light, was slain by Loki and descended to the land of the dead, Hel, the queen of the lower world, promised that he would be raised from the dead if one day there would be found on earth someone who would weep for him. In like manner, Satan, the successor to Balder and all other pagan gods, should long ago have been redeemed from hell and returned to heaven by virtue of the tears which the French Romantic poets of the past century have shed over him.

The Devil has not been denied pity in earlier ages. He has had apologists even among the saints, particularly among the saints of the weaker sex. St. Theresa desired that men should not speak ill of the Devil, and pitied him for not being able to love. St.

⁵ See I. Joseph, "Yesidi Texts: The Devil Worshippers; their Sacred Books and Traditions." *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXV (1909), nos. 2-3.

to those of Satan? Just think! For thousands of years he has been dragging himself through this world of sorrows, the most wearied and the most restless of all afflicted spirits. As his ordeal seemed endless, he was particularly an object of pity to the Romantics. We know what a resistless attraction hopeless woe had for Romantic imagination. As Satan was, moreover, staggering beneath the unjust condemnation of a superior power, he was the worthiest object of Romantic devotion. He figured among the "lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties," in support of which the Romantics threw their weight. It is a psychological fact that an individual who is an artist, or peculiar in some other way, naturally has great sympathy with unpopular causes or individuals for the reason that he himself is unpopular.

Moreover, the Romantics felt a deep admiration for solitary grandeur. This "knight of the doleful countenance," laden with a curse and drawing misfortune in his train, was the ideal Romantic hero. As the original *beau ténébreux*, Satan was the typical figure of the Romantic period and its poetry. It has been well remarked that if Satan had not existed, the Romanticists would have invented him.

The sympathy of the Romantics for Satan was far greater by reason of the bond of kinship which they felt with the celestial rebel. We must bear in mind that the spirit of revolution is at the very root of Romanticism. This movement was a revolt against all authority, in heaven as well as on earth. Romanticism was the logical reflex of the political revolution which preceded it. All French Romantics were members of the Opposition. The Romantic School, we may say without any derogatory intent, was a human Pandemonium. They all were "of the Devil's party," to employ the term applied to Milton by William Blake. George Sand might just as well have called her contemporaries sons of Satan as "sons of Prometheus." The most characteristic trait of all the Romantics was a proud and rebellious spirit. Even the sweetest and serenest of the great Romantics, Lamartine, also revealed a Satanic streak. He, too, shouted to heaven his "Désespoir" (1818); and the echo of his cry of despair uttered in this poem is prolonged through most of his later works.

The Romantic generation saw its own spirit best personified in Satan. He was the symbol of all its aspirations and afflictions, the incarnation of all its longing and yearning. In himself Satan

personified the daring and self-sufficiency, the mystery and gloom, the love of liberty and hatred of authority; all held as the highest ideal of every Romanticist. The Devil is the very embodiment of the malady of the century, which is the most characteristic trait of Romanticism. This malady—the *Weltschmerz*—has been made flesh in the celestial outlaw.

The Romantics painted themselves and recognized themselves in Satan more fully and more perfectly than in any other historical or mythological character. They found in his career much of their own unhappy lot, of their own thwarted ambitions. In their eyes he represented all that they loved and cherished. They felt they had so much in common with him that they looked up to Satan as to a blood brother.

The man in opposition to a society which refused to accept his claims had a fellow feeling for Satan, who is the father of all unappreciated geniuses. The Devil has always complained that he is misunderstood on earth. "Le démon souriant dit: Je suis méconnu," says Victor Hugo. The Devil, in Sir Walter Scott's "Wandering Willie's Tale" (1824), also complains that he is "sair misca'd in the world." The Shavian demon, in *Man and Superman* (1905), likewise bemoans the fact that he is so little appreciated on earth. He who shook off the trammels of tradition had a spirit kindred to that of the fallen angel, who was the first to combat conformity. The man who craved personal dignity and political freedom was attracted by the Demon, who was the first to proclaim the sovereignty of the individual spirit. The rebels against conventions, creeds and critics on earth felt drawn to him who demanded freedom of thought and independence of action in heaven.

The Romantics could never speak of Satan without tears of sympathy. The fighters for political, social, intellectual and emotional liberty on earth could not withhold their admiration from the angel who raised the standard of rebellion in heaven. "Cher Satan" was always on their lips. They pitied the fallen angel as an outlaw; they applauded him as a rebel. "A noble heart will always love the rebel," declared a Romantic poet in 1846. The rebel of the Empire was hailed as the first martyr in the cause of liberty—"the first dreamer, the oldest victim," as Leconte de Lisle terms the Devil. The word Satan on the lips of the French poets offered the hint of a hard-won salvation. The rebellious Romantics were bold enough

to demand a revision of the judgment pronounced against the celestial hero and endeavored, each in his own manner, to rewrite Milton's *Paradise Regained*. They even predicted the day when the Devil should return to heaven and occupy his former seat at the right hand of the Lord.

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It must be admitted, however, that the idea of the rehabilitation of the Devil was not wholly original with the French Romantics. The theme was touched upon by writers in other countries as far back as the eighteenth century.⁷ Klopstock, in his *Messias* (1748-73), depicts the fallen angel, Abbadona, of lower rank to be sure, re-entering heaven. Goethe intimated that he had written a passage in his *Faust* "where the Devil himself receives grace and mercy from God." It was, however, in France during the Romantic period that the idea of the Devil's redemption and restoration to celestial favor found frequent expression in the different forms of various poetical works. The sympathy extended by that country, considered the center of the revolutionary spirit of Europe, to all victims of oppression and to all rebels, whether individuals or classes or nations, could not well be denied to the expiate from Paradise.

The happy change in the character of the Devil, which Origen anticipated, for which St. Thomas Aquinas prayed, to which Robert Burns looked forward, which Goethe contemplated, and which Mme. de Krüdener wished to bring about, was eloquently preached by the French Romantics. First, they believed in this conversion from a feeling of sympathy, and secondly, as a part of their conviction that the end of the reign of Evil on earth was imminent. Byron, from across the Channel, also shared the belief of his French *confrères* in a new earth and a new hell. In his *Heaven and Earth* (1822), the English poet predicted a time

"When man no more can fall as once he fell,
And even the very demons shall do well!"

The only discordant note in this general clamor for clemency toward the celestial outlaw was sounded by Balzac. The creator of the *Comédie humaine* was prevented by his Catholic convictions

⁷ William Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790) has nothing to do with the idea of a reconciliation between the powers of Good and Evil. This allegory is a mystical work full of diabolical humor, in which hells and heavens change names and alternate through mutual annihilations.

from sharing the dream of his day for the final salvation of Satan. Balzac thought, however, that if Satan should ever make his peace with God, unless the Fiend were a greater scoundrel than popularly depicted, he ought to bargain for the pardon of his adherents (*l'Élixir de longue vie*, 1830).

Alfred de Vigny is the first French poet to approach the problem of the Devil's purification and pardon. The beautiful poem *Eloa* (1823), already discussed in a previous chapter, may be considered the turning point in the literary treatment of the relations between hell and heaven. Vigny's work was the prologue to a long series of compositions, the authors of which, rejecting all tradition, endeavored (without especial success, however) to lead the legend of the Devil into new channels.

Eloa expresses in its highest form the sympathy for suffering which is at the root of Vigny's best work. This pessimistic poet had a passion for pity, which he wished to see manifested without limits. His sympathetic heart was always touched by the sorrows of his fellow men. He loved, as he said, the grandeur of human sufferings, and poured out all his treasures of tenderness and devotion on his "companions in misery." He was a great champion of lost causes in his period. He pleaded for the aristocrat, the soldier and the poet. But, though the aristocratic bent of his mind led him to dwell on exceptional natures, he was equally touched by the boundless misery in the lot of the common man.

His *Eloa* is inspired by his feeling of pity—pity for all suffering, pity for all lives but a moment, pity even for sin and Satan—Supreme guilt, therefore, supreme misfortune! This poem is the glorification of compassion, of tenderness and sacrifice, of vain self-immolation and of pity without hands to help. It is the story of a bright being, a woman-angel, born from a tear of the Redeemer. Tempted by pity, she falls a victim to the Spirit of Darkness. This "sister of the angels," having heard in heaven the tale of the misfortune of the brightest archangel, leaves her dwelling of delights and descends to the bottom of the pit in order to search for her unfortunate brother and bring him back to bliss. But, unsuccessful in her efforts, she prefers to remain with him in hell rather than return to heaven.

In a sequel poem, which was to bear the title *Satan sauvé*, the author, however, intended to bring this woman-angel out of hell,

to save this pathetic damned spirit, the least criminal and certainly the most lovable that hell has ever received. And the poet conceived the notion of saving Satan himself by the grace of Eloa, and, at the same time, of abolishing hell by the all-powerful virtue of love and pity. The following are the poet's notes on his proposed sequel to *Eloa*:

"Eloa had not spoken since her fall. She sat immovable in the eternal shade, like a precious stone which casts its rays of light. The night was less profound since she came into the nether darkness. The spirits of the damned passed and repassed near her, to see themselves by the light of her beauty, and their despair was calmed. A mysterious restraint prevented Satan from approaching her. He walked around her like a wolf round a sheep. From time to time, he rejoiced over the misfortunes of men. . . . Every time that more souls arrived in hell Eloa wept. And one day, while her tears were flowing, Satan looked at her. He had ceased to take pleasure in evil. She saw his change of heart and spoke to him. He wept. Eloa smiled and raised her finger to heaven, a gesture which one dares not make in that place.

'Listen!' she cried. 'It is the crash of worlds which fall in dust. Time is no more.—Thou art saved.'

Vigny never carried out his project of portraying the redemption of Satan through the pity of this woman-angel who descended into hell to bring cheer and comfort to her fallen brother. It is, therefore, fair to say that Théophile Gautier is the first of all French Romantics to treat the beautiful subject of Satan's salvation.

This dramatic poem, *la Larme du Diable* (1839), is one of Gautier's most original fantasies. In its consistent levity, it is most characteristic of his art. It is a clever *pasticcio* of the medieval miracle-plays, and nothing illustrates better the way in which Gautier conceived the most exalted ideas as subject-matter for pictorial purposes. The play is full of humor and irony. The scene is placed alternately in heaven and on earth. Satan is the hero, and "le Bon Dieu" and Christus, comically assembled with Othello and Desdemona, are among the minor characters. The poem is less indecent, but more impudent and irreverent than *Albertus* (1832). Satan offers the impression that he is a good fellow, pleasing and amusing, mischievous rather than malicious. He bears no ill-will toward God or man. He jokes with the Lord about the denizens of heaven and maintains that any man of good judgment and inde-

pendent spirit would prefer going to hell. Satan wins the sympathy of the women among the election in heaven, and they plead with the great God in his behalf.

The principal *motif* of the poem involves a wager between the Lord and the Devil in regard to two mortal maidens. God believes them to be proof against all temptation, but Satan insists that he could cause their fall. A bet is arranged between the Deity and the Devil. If Satan wins, he is to obtain pardon for Eloa, the beautiful woman-angel, who (in Vigny's poem) forsook heaven to seek Satan in his misery. But this angel makes her voice heard in heaven. From the depths of hell she proclaims that she still loves the rebel spirit, and that she prefers hell with him to heaven without him. Satan then requests a glass of cold water to cool his parched lips as a reward in the event he accomplishes his aim.

Satan sets his wiles to work and is about to win the wager, but touched by the purity and delicacy of the feelings of the young girls he is about to lead astray, he sheds a tear. The angels gather up the tear and lay it at the feet of the Lord. This exhibition of pity on the part of Satan so stirs the hearts of the blessed women among the hosts of heaven that they plead with the Lord in behalf of the fallen archangel. The magnanimous God is willing enough to pardon his old enemy, but he cannot reverse the judgment he previously pronounced, and so prefers to drag the matter out at great length. "I cannot perjure myself like an earthly king," he informs the angelic delegation." It is not, however, a flat refusal, for he adds, "In two thousand years we shall see!"

Vigny considered setting free the damned spirits through the daughter of Christ, but Alexandre Soumet, in his *Divine Épopée* (1840), makes Christ himself redeem the dwellers in hell. Soumet supposes that the Saviour returns to earth to offer himself a second time, and on this occasion his mission is not to redeem the inhabitants of this earth, but the damned spirits of hell. Christ suffers a second Calvary. Lucifer is given again his place among the archangels of heaven, a general hosannah is sung to the Highest; and the poem ends with the following words written across the heavens in letters as bright as the sun:

"*Salut Éternel.*"

The popular French song-writer, Jean Pierre de Béranger, also treated the subject of Satan's salvation. His poem, "*la Fille du*

Diable" (1841-43), inspired by a touching philosophy, contains notes of deep and universal tenderness for all sufferers, including the Devil.

Satan, traveling in Rome in the form of a young man, seduces a virgin, who presents him with a daughter. The Devil, moved by the smile of this child, wishes to preserve her from the evils of earth so that after her death she will go to heaven. He has his child baptized, intentionally choosing the name "Marie," puts her into virtuous hands, and leaves hell every day, assuming a human form, to visit her on earth. At the age of fifteen, this saintly child, who has consecrated herself from her earliest youth to almsgiving and prayer, is admitted to her first communion. Her father trembles at the idea that God might repudiate her. But this fear is without foundation. So Satan conceals himself in the organ of the church, which under his hands sends forth torrents of such celestial harmonies that, in order to hear them the better, the angels descend from heaven. After the ceremony, Marie totters and drops dead in the arms of her heartbroken father. Satan falls into despair, just like an ordinary mortal, but does not blaspheme against the Lord, for the soul of his daughter is perceived rising up to heaven. Broken-hearted, the Devil returns to hell, where he abandons himself entirely to his sorrows and to thoughts of repentance. He reviews all the wrongs of his past and is tortured by remorse. Satan implores his daughter to intervene on her father's behalf with the Lord. Christ is so touched by the repentance and the sorrow of Satan that he begins to weep. One of the tears which Christ sheds over the misfortune of the banished angel penetrates into hell and falls on the heart of Satan. In an instant, the infernal spirit is transformed into the dazzling Lucifer and goes to join his daughter in the celestial choir-stalls.

Edgar Quinet, in his *Merlin l'enchanteur*, (1869), a vast prose dramatic epic, containing twenty-four books and nine hundred pages, depicts the son of Satan redeeming his father. Merlin, as the legend goes, was born of the morganatic marriage of the Devil with a nun. Prodigies—such as a great storm—occurred on the night of his birth. As often happens with young men of good family, Merlin in his youth evidences traits more characteristic of his mother, the daughter of heaven, than of his father, the ruler of hell. Instead of carrying out his father's mission among men, he

helps to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. When Satan sees that he no longer wields the power of sowing evil in a world which has been transformed under the influence of his own son, he repents and turns in prayer to his old Adversary. After having received pardon and mercy from the Lord, the Devil with his own hands destroys the pillars which support the vaults of hell. The souls of the damned receive liberty and perfect happiness in the world, and the Devil is restored to his ancient estate in heaven.

Victor Hugo has perhaps carried the new evangel of universal sympathy further than the other Romantics. This writer is the most illustrious representative of the Romantic ideal of cordial compassion for all beings, even for those who have fallen into the very depths of the abyss. The greatest French poet of modern times had that general unlimited sympathy for the unfortunate which is finally extended to the wicked as well as to the luckless. In his "la Prière pour tous" (1830), the Christian poet asks his daughter to pray for all the sorrowful, including Satan. How, indeed, could he deny the Devil that pity which in his heart was not limited to humanity but comprehended all creation, including animals, plants, and even inanimate objects? What does it matter if Satan is guilty or not? Victor Hugo with his doctrine of universal indulgence and forbearance does not judge; he forgives. He refuses to recognize a single being on earth or under the earth whom one could hold responsible for his crimes.

Thus Victor Hugo is primarily the poet of pity. He felt a deep and ardent compassion for all who suffer through the fault of others. His sympathy went out to the sufferings of all the down-trodden, of all the oppressed, whether peoples or individuals. He gave pity an important place in his poetry, and to this sentiment he finally consecrated his work *la Pitié suprême* (1879), in which he asked pity for hatred, pity for evil, pity for the Devil. A few passages from this new gospel of evangelical pity, referring to his compassion for the denizens of hell, follow:

"Oh! je me sens parfois des pitiés insondables,
Je gémis. . .
Sur les démons grondants."

(*la Pitié suprême*, V.)

"Pardonnons. Petons même aux démons l'indulgence."

(*ibid.*, XIII.)

Victor Hugo's pity for the demons of hell may also be noted in his other works:

"Bénir le ciel est bien; bénir l'enfer est mieux."

(*le Pape*, IV.)

"Ma pente est de bénir dans l'enfer les maudits."

(*les Quatre vents de l'esprit*, I, xxxiii.)

Victor Hugo's pity for the Devil is so great that he declares,

"Si Jésus. . .

. . . venait à son tour crucifier Satan,

Je dirais à Jésus: tu n'est pas Dieu Va-t'en."

(*ibid.*, I. xx.)

The great exile of Guernsey had a fraternal feeling for the archangel banished from heaven. Exile alone in the eyes of the expatriate poet was sufficient to put the aureole of martyrdom on the Devil's brow.

"C'est une chose

Inexprimable, affreuse et sainte que l'exil," said Victor Hugo in June, 1870.

(*l'Année terrible.*)

The fighter for freedom on earth, who lived for twenty years as a martyr to his ideal, was deeply affected by the fate of the fighter for liberty in the skies. The champion of the sacred right and the holy duty of opposition to tyranny on earth must perforce extend his hand to him who, in the words of Milton, "opposed the tyranny of heaven" (*Par. Lost* i. 124). The champion of all outlaws could not refuse his protection to the first outlaw. The warm defender of the fugitives of all nations, who turned toward him as toward a lodestar, declared himself ready to protect even Satan if the latter should seek asylum with him.

His Messianism—his belief in the final extinction of all evil in this world—led him also to predict the end of Satan. His beautiful epic poem, *la Fin de Satan* (begun in 1854 and published posthumously as a fragment in 1886), describes the end of the reign of the Spirit of Evil on this earth. Satan's fate, however, for Victor Hugo does not consist in the exiled archangel's final punishment and eternal perdition, but, contrary to church dogma and tradition, in his pardon and peace. The salvation of Satan, which the poet of pity predicts, will come about through the mediation of a being engendered jointly by the Devil and the Deity. A feather, detached from the wings of the archangel when he was hurled from heaven, remains lying on the edge of the abyss. The Lord takes pity on it.

A ray from the eternal eye of Him, who created the world, is fixed on it and puts life into it. Under this animating glance, the feather comes to life and grows into woman-angel. In answer to an inquiry from the angels, the Lord gives the name Liberty to this "daughter of hell and heaven." The spirit who thus owes her birth to the Devil and the Deity will, when the proper occasion presents itself, deliver from sin and suffering the Devil along with humanity. In order to conquer death and redeem the individual, the Son of God was made man. In order to break the shackles of the masses and deliver the nations from bondage, the daughter of the Devil was made a woman. This woman-saviour will on a certain day lead the masses in their rebellion against their oppressors. We may detect in this detail Victor Hugo's political views. Liberty is created by the Lord from Lucifer's feather. Liberty is born only from rebellion. Revolution is necessary to set the nations free from political oppression.

When Satan's heart softens and he turns to the Lord, beseeching mercy, his prayers ascend to heaven and touch the heart of his daughter. She asks the Deity's permission to descend into the dismal darkness and bring deliverance to the Devil. This supplication granted, the angel Liberty, after much wandering, finally alights at the feet of Satan, and bends over her father, who has fallen asleep from exhaustion. Pitying him, consoling him, bathing him with her tears, the angel of pity and mercy falls on her knees before the unhappy accursed archangel. She extends her supplicating arms towards him, enveloping him with a mysterious incantation. All the infernal pride, all the hatred in the Demon's soul melt in the warmth of the humanly humble and divinely tender words of his daughter. The angel Liberty begs her father to pity the misery of mankind and end his own sufferings. "Father," she implores him, "permit me to save the good, the pure, the innocent. Look! I weep over them and over you. Oh, hear my prayers. *Dieu me fit Liberté, toi, fais-moi Délivrance.*"

The struggle between good and evil in Satan's heart is reflected on his face. Suddenly on his forehead appears a light similar to that which formerly shone on his countenance, and from his lips escapes the word for which the angel has been waiting. It is the signal for her to break the chains that bind humanity. Liberty makes her appearance on earth to carry out the mission of delivering humanity from the fetters of oppression. Immediately the angel

starts for Paris to break the bolts of the symbolical prison, the Bastille, which is to disgorge its captives. By the fall of the prison-fortress of Paris Victor Hugo intended to represent the symbolical liberation of humanity. The work of evil was for him incarnated in this famous prison for political offenders. According to Victor Hugo's symbolism, Cain, in order to murder his brother, Abel, used a nail, a stick and a stone. The nail later became the sword of Nimrod. The Lord broke it, and war was eventually to disappear. The stick became the cross of Calvary. Religion, alas! crucified Christ. The Church founded by Christ, placing itself at the service of the State, oppressed the masses and blessed mass-murder, war.⁸ The stone served as a foundation for the Bastille. The French nation will tear it down and carry out the work left uncompleted by Christ. France will again take up the interrupted work of Jesus and guide it to fruition. Human liberty will bring about what the Nazarene himself could not accomplish. Through the destruction of political tyranny, progress will be advanced to such an extent that misery, misfortune, and perhaps even death, will be no more. For in the eyes of the great French poet, the French Revolution is the most important event in the history of humanity. The real Messiah is no other than the Revolution.

The deliverance of man will be followed by the deliverance of the fallen angel. The harmony between the inhabitants of this earth, particularly between the oppressors and oppressed, will also bring about a reconciliation between the Deity and the Devil. Good, having conquered Evil, will now reign forever over all creation.

The merits of the angel Liberty are counted to her demon-father for righteousness. The Lord applies to the Devil the Catholic dogma of the reversibility of punishments and rewards. As the poem ends, Satan is offered amnesty. The Devil is dead; the archangel is reborn.⁹

Leconte de Lisle, in his poem "la Tristesse du Diable" (1866), which shows echoes of Victor Hugo's *la Fin de Satan*, predicts another fate for the Devil. Satan, sitting silently on a mountain peak covered with eternal snow, and thence surveying the sufferings of

⁸ During the Great World War an eminent bishop of the Episcopal Church justified war on the ground that there was already war in heaven. In Stephen Phillips' play *Armageddon* (1915), on the other hand, war is represented as being planned in hell.

⁹ A longer analysis of Victor Hugo's *la Fin de Satan* will be found in the present writer's study, *Satan et le Satanisme dans l'œuvre de Victor Hugo* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1926), pp. 88-103.

humanity on this Sorrowful Star, is willing to put an end to himself and to the world in order to do away once and for all with sin and suffering on this earth.

Paul Verlaine, the leader of the decadent poets of France and the most distinguished disciple of Baudelaire, also envisioned the end of the old antagonism of the Deity and the Devil. Verlaine, however, was not interested in the cosmic conflict carried on between Good and Evil so much as in the war waged in his own heart between his guardian angel and his evil demon, as he has described this conflict in his collection of poems entitled *Sagesse* (1881). What Verlaine attempted was the reconciliation of the seven deadly sins and the three cardinal virtues, or a harmonizing of the pagan idea of self-affirmation and the ascetic theory of self-abnegation. What he desired was the reconciliation within him of St. Francis of Assisi and the Marquis de Sade, as Vance Thompson (*French Portraits*, 1899), puts it.

Verlaine kept the affairs of his soul in two separate compartments. The effects of his conversion in the prison of Mons did not last long. The old Adam within him soon reasserted himself. He continued to proclaim himself a Catholic, but he practised few of the tenets of that religion. "Verlaine believes in the Roman Catholic Church," said Jules Lemaître, "as earnestly as the Pope himself, but in Verlaine there is only belief; practice is wholly wanting in him."

The work of Verlaine shows a twofold aspect. His poetry offers alternations of fervency and flippancy, spirituality and sensuality, mysticism and eroticism, piety and perversity. This satyr-songster introduced an infinitely more religious mood into his poetry than did any of the other Symbolist poets. "Verlaine wrote the most Christian verses we have in France," says Jules Lemaître. "Certain strophes in *Sagesse* recall in their accent the *Imitation of Christ*" (*les Contemporains*, 4e série, 1886). But, we might add, he has also written some of the lewdest lines in modern French poetry.

Verlaine's interest in diabolism derived in a direct line from Baudelaire, that superb singer of sin and Satan. The poet of the *Fleurs du Mal* (1857) was a deity in the youthful eyes of Verlaine. The latter's *Poèmes saturniens*, published in 1866 but written for the most part during his later school-days, reveal many traces of his master's Satanism. But *Jadis et Naguère* (1884) is the Bible of the young decadent and diabolist poets. And in this perfection of

their methods and aims, we find Verlaine's most important diabolical poem. It is in this poem, "Crimen Amoris," written in the prison of Petits-Carmes, Belgium, in 1873, that Verlaine treats the subject so dear to the Romantic generation, the salvation of Satan. Mr. Arthur Symons puts this poem at the head of all of Verlaine's work "for a certain diabolical beauty, for an effect of absolute sublimity" (*The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, 1919). The words have a marvelously musical rhythm, "full of the sound of gongs and trumpets," to employ Symons' expression.

The poem takes for its subject-matter the wish on the part of Hell to sacrifice itself of its own accord to Universal Love. In a palace blazing with silk and gold, at Ecbatane in Asia, to the sound of Mohammedan melodies, a band of juvenile demons "font litière aux sept péchés de leurs cinq sens." Finally, satiated with their sensual pleasures, the demons vainly attempt to break away from the evil to which they are attached, but which at heart they abhor. And one, the youngest and brightest of them all, despairingly exclaims:

"Nous avons tous trop souffert, anges et hommes,
De ce conflit entre le Père et le Mieux!"

He proposes with his fellow-demons to suppress hell, in order to do away with sin and suffering in the world. They set the infernal palace on fire. The flames rise to heaven. Singing hymns, the demons perish in the flames. Everything crumbles down. At that moment, a thunderbolt descends from heaven as an indication that the sacrifice has not been accepted. As a good Catholic, Verlaine realized that no reconciliation could be effected between Good and Evil, and that the Devil was damned for all eternity.

The last French evangelist who assumed to convert the Devil was Jules Bois, who wrote a curious "esoteric drama," to which he gave the name of *Noces de Sathan* (1892).

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The subject of the Devil's absolution and redemption has also been appropriated by a few English and German poets of the past century. Philip James Bailey treated it in his *Festus* (1839), a philosophical poem, which at the time of its publication was favorably compared with Goethe's *Faust* and enjoyed a greater popularity than it deserved. The idea of Satan's final return to his former

glory in heaven also served as subject for Kurt von Rohrscheidt's *Satans Erlösung* (1894) and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's *Satan Absolved: a Victorian Mystery* (1899), a dramatic poem of political content, also suggested by the Prologue to Goethe's *Faust*.

The American writer, Henry Mills Alden, has expressed his belief in the final redemption of the Devil as follows:

"Lucifer is the light-bearer, the morning-star, and whatever disguises he may take in falling, there can be no new dawn that shall not witness his rising in his original brightness."

The most important treatment of the subject of Satan's salvation by a poet other than the French is found in Lermontov's *The Demon* (1829-41), already discussed at length in a previous chapter of this work.

The woman in this Russian poem, who finally, out of pity for the fallen angel, consents to return his love, is no longer the symbolic virgin, who held Vigny's enamoured fancy. She is not like that being born from a tear dropped by Christ over the tomb of Lazarus, but a living, passionate woman—a Jewess of the Babylonian captivity in the first sketch of the work, then a Spanish nun, and finally a Georgian princess. It must be admitted, however, that Lermontov's version, though written in the main under the inspiration of Vigny's poem, is based on a Caucasian legend, according to which the Evil Spirit will reform and become regenerate when he is redeemed by the love of an innocent young woman.

It may be recalled that, the moment the Demon sees the beautiful Georgian maiden, Tamara, he becomes more and more freely human in his feelings and actions. The first awakening of passion brings to him the long forgotten thought of redemption. But Tamara is too weak a woman to bring about a reform in the heart of her demon-lover. At his first kiss, she dies from terror. Only Vigny's angel, not Lermontov's woman, would have conceivably succeeded in converting her demon-lover to repentance and reconciliation with God.

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Other French Romantics, not satisfied with leading the Devil back to celestial glory, wished him to carry out after his restoration the project which he had failed to accomplish before he was hurled from heaven. They expected him again to start the revolution he

had headed in the beginning of time, and supplant the King of Heaven in the government of this earth. This champion of celestial combat, in the Romantic version of the war in heaven, was not actuated by hatred and envy of man, as Christianity was thought to teach us, but by love and pity for mankind. The eternal war waged between the Lord and Lucifer, in the opinion of the Romantics, was not for glory but for humanity.

It is needless to say that the Devil, as conceived by the writers of the past century, is the very antithesis of the dogmatic demon. He has been divested of his traditionally diabolical character. He is an altogether new species of the *genus diabolus*. Instead of a demon of darkness, he is a god of grace. He continues to be the enemy of the Lord, but he is no longer the enemy of man (Tasso's "*gran nemico dell' umane genti*"). Far from being the tormentor, he is regarded as the benefactor of mankind. In Byron's *Cain* (1821) Lucifer takes men under his protection as his natural allies and his brothers in misfortune in his war against the Ruler of the Heavens. Strindberg's Lucifer also is full of compassion for men. He enters into combat with Jehovah not to wrest power from Him, but to prevent Him from torturing mankind. Marie Corelli, in *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895), describes the Devil as a generous spirit, who wanders up and down the earth, lamenting the fact that the Christians will not suffer him to aid them. As Mr. George Arliss portrayed the Devil in Molnar's well-known play, Satan is seemingly the friend to all mankind.

This commendation of Satan implied the condemnation of God, and, as a corollary, the belief that the accomplishment of the salvation of humanity must be taken out of the hands of the Ruler of the Heavens. The Romantics, from their pessimistic point of view, thought ill of the world and consequently also of its Creator. Of all French Romantics, Alfred de Vigny perhaps held the most pessimistic attitude toward this earth. He considered the world an evil creation and compared it with a prison. In 1824 he jotted down in his diary the following remark:

"We have been thrown into the world, and as in a prison we are forced to do our sentence of penal servitude for life, yet we know not what wrong we have done."

This French poet had so poor an opinion of the world, into which mankind had been tossed, that he wished to see it destroyed.

"If there were a God," he said again in his diary, "we

would provoke Him to shatter this earth into a thousand fragments; and so, by our suffering a speedy annihilation, at least the generations of the future would be spared existence."

Romanticism is the consciousness of a disorder in the individual and in the world in general. The Romantic generation of 1830 thought the world out of joint more than ever. To Hamlet, Denmark seemed gloomy; to the Romantic, the whole world appeared dark. In this world composed of good and evil, the Romantics believed that the evil far outbalances the good; in fact, to paraphrase Leibnitz, that all is for the worst in this worst of all possible worlds. They did not believe that there was any balm either in Gilead or Golgotha. And if we wish to be truthful with ourselves we must admit that the world is not actually well run; rather, that it is very badly run; and no Huxley is needed to point out this obvious fact.

Now if the Romantics did not think well of the world, how could they think well of its Creator and Ruler? The author of an evil world must necessarily himself be evil. There is no escaping from this inference. The French, with their logical minds, were more consistent in their disillusionment than the men of other nations. If we abandon the Christian teaching of purification through suffering—and that is just what the Romantics did—what answer, indeed, can we find to the eternal question: "Why is the world so full of difficulties and dismays, of deceptions and disappointments, of defeat and despair, of sin and suffering, of misery and malady, of decay and death?" It is necessary to reach the conclusion that God is either not omnipotent or not benevolent.¹⁰ As we cannot very well doubt the omnipotence of God (for otherwise He would not be God) we must reach the conclusion that He is not benevolent. This is just what the Romantics finally deduced from the existence of evil in the world. Stendhal, speaking of the reality of evil, remarked, "God's only excuse is that He does not exist." Proudhon, author of the famous dictum, "Property is theft," said, "God is evil."

Mme. Louise Ackermann was deeply indignant against what she called "la caprice divine" and its disarrangement of human affairs. In her poem, "les Malheureux" (1871), she depicts the dead at the Last Judgment refusing to rise at the summons of the archangel, and

¹⁰ The present writer was told a few years ago by a Hindu that he had seen the following inscription on the portal of a secret Gnostic church in Paris: "Si Dieu existe, il n'y a pas de mal. Si mal existe, où est Dieu?"

rejecting even happiness, since it is God, the author of evil, who brings it to them.

It must be counted to the Romantics for righteousness that they deeply concerned themselves with the problem of human destiny. The question of the presence of evil in a God-governed world obsessed their minds. Their eyes were open to the sorrows, the sufferings and the struggles of humanity. They made moan over the miseries and maladies of mankind. They were touched by the boundless wretchedness of the common lot of humanity. They were puzzled about man's painful powerlessness over life. Their souls were filled with righteous indignation concerning the reign of injustice all about them. They were always "complaining and sighing and wailing" over the woes of this world.

The Romantics were faced by a world whose inhabitants were sick and weary, yet battled on with a courage which would make a pagan god relent, but which had no power to move the Christian God. What other conclusion could they reach except the alternative that either God did not concern himself with the affairs of men or that he even delighted in human struggling and suffering? Theirs was the revolt of the human reason crying out in despair, "He who is almighty has willed that pain should be!"

Alfred de Vigny considered the Creator cold, capricious and cruel, standing aloof from his creation in eternal unconcern, or even actually finding joy in the sufferings of mankind. This French poet could not suppress a cry of anger against the Author of all Evil, who is deaf to man's cries of anguish and who refused even to lend an ear to the prayers of His Son who, sad unto death on the Mount of Olives, implored his Father in Heaven to permit him to remain on earth in order to help humanity. In a postscript to his poem "le Mont des Oliviers," which he entitled "le Silence" (1862), he exclaims:

"If it be true that, in the Sacred Garden of Scriptures,
The Son of Man said that which is reported;
Mute, blind, and deaf to the cry of his creatures,
If Heaven abandoned us like an abortive world,
The just man will meet absence with disdain,
And a cold silence will evermore be the reply
To the eternal silence of the Deity."

Vigny even went so far as to depict the Deity as a God of blood, intoxicated by the fumes of the sacrifices offered on His altar, caus-

ing the just and unjust to perish together in the Flood, delivering up a daughter to her father's ax.

In our indignation over the bold blasphemies of Vigny, we should not forget that the God of the Hebrew Dispensation is actually represented in the Old Testament as unjust and cruel, and that the official creeds of many churches of Christianity even today contain conceptions of God's nature and of His actions toward the human race which are intolerable in the light of the ethical standards and ideals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In one of his projected poems, Vigny depicts a young man committing suicide and appearing before God in order to ask the creator of the world:

"And why hast Thou created the evil of the soul—sin, and the evil of the body—suffering? Was it necessary to offer Thee still longer the sight of our sufferings?"

The sketch entitled "le Jugement dernier," found among the poet's papers at his death, contains a scathing arraignment of God, an indictment unprecedented in Christendom. The poet represents God himself on the last day standing before the bar of justice, with Man sitting in judgment over his Creator.¹¹

Small wonder that God saw the great Rebels rising up against Him: Still less need we wonder to discover that man harbors a secret admiration for these Contemners of the Creator! Says Alfred de Vigny:

"The world revolts at the injustices entailed by the creation; dread of the Eternal prevents it from speaking openly; but its heart is full of hatred against the God who created evil and death. When a defier of the gods, like Ajax, the son of Oileus, appears, the world approves of him and loves him. Such another is Satan, such is Orestes, such is Don Juan. All who have combated the injustices of heaven have been admired and secretly loved by men."¹²

We now can understand why Satan was such an object of admiration to the Romantics, and why he was selected to express their dissatisfaction with the celestial government of terrestrial affairs.

¹¹ Alfred de Vigny would furnish an interesting subject for a psycho-analytic study. In a recent number of *Psyche and Eros* (III, 68), Dr. Wm. Stekel, of Vienna writes: "Those who suffer from nervous depression hate God just as they hate everybody else. The malady is often ushered in with some blasphemy or revolt against God."

¹² Émile Montégut (*Revue des deux Mondes*, LXVIII, 231) thinks that Vigny might have shown better judgment in his selection of the condemners of the gods. Satan will do, but not Orestes, still less Don Juan.

It was out of the mouth of the Great Malcontent that the Romantics expressed the darkness and doubt, the disenchantment and despair of their souls. Satan was the interpreter of their sorrows and heart-searchings. He voiced their rebellious and blasphemous words. He was the patron of their poetry of complaints. The genius of the hapless and hopeless generation of a century ago uttered its protest against the world and its Ruler through the mouth of the Great Accuser. From his lips was heard man's despairing cry of anguish against the accumulated miseries of many thousands of years, and against the ever-increasing sufferings of thousands of generations.

Even when the Romantics portrayed Prometheus, they had Satan in mind. The railing of the fettered Titan against Jupiter in the numerous Prometheus-poems of the Romantic School was but a thin veil for the blasphemies of Beelzebub. Louise Ackermann, in her "Prométhée" (1866), pictures her protagonist rebelling against the Creator—the Being who fashioned man and caused his misery. "Why are there evils in the world?" Prometheus asks, and concludes that the God who could prevent it willed that suffering should exist. The Titan blasphemes against the Creator and predicts for Him judgment, vengeance, and ultimate rejection by man, who shall be "delivered from faith as from an evil dream." Again, in Rapisardi's epic *Lucifero* (1877), the two Titans join forces to dispel the darkness from the earth. Lucifer departs for Hell to tell Prometheus of his plan to hurl God from Heaven and reign in His stead.

Cain, another favorite character with the Romantics, was a kind of Satan clad in human flesh. In his Promethean anger, this afflicted and heavily laden primal son of man, becomes the avenger of mankind by insisting on the eternal *why*. It is significant that the story of Cain has inspired three of the greatest poets of the past century—Byron, Victor Hugo, and Leconte de Lisle. Victor Hugo, as might be expected, treated the subject from a less heterodox point of view than the other two. Byron in his *Cain* (1821) brings together two titanic spirits, Lucifer and Cain, drawn to each other by mutual sympathy. The first was exiled from the celestial paradise, the latter from the terrestrial paradise. Leconte de Lisle personifies in the hero of his poem *Quain* (1869) suffering humanity in revolt against the injustices of a jealous God. He uses the ac-

cursed son of Adam as a mouthpiece to rail against the God of the Catholic Church, the monks, the Inquisition, and the smoking *auto da fé*.¹³

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Just as pessimism leads to anti-theism, anti-theism leads to Satanism. If what has been considered good is found to be evil, what opposes it must necessarily be good. Thus the denunciation of the Deity led to the sanctification of Satan. If the ruler of an evil world is bad, his adversary must necessarily be good. This paradox accounts for the belief held by many Romantics that Satan was wronged and that there was, as Vigny asserted, a great historical case to be judged anew before the court of our conscience. Baudelaire, who addressed prayers to Satan, also argued from this assumption when he termed the Devil "*Dieu trahi par le sort*"—"a Deity betrayed by Destiny." Thus was born among the Romantics the wish for Satan's return to heaven, with the aim of delivering man from the cruelty of his Creator. In the modern Anatole France's *la Révolte des Anges* (1914), however, Satan declines an opportunity to head a second revolution against his adversary. He decides in the end that it is not worth the effort to supplant the King of Heaven, as a successful revolt with a new Ruler will make so little difference on earth that he really prefers to remain in the Opposition. Power makes for tyranny; rebellion is the essence of nobility.

It must not be denied, however, that among the Romantics many might be named who were led to their adoration of Satan through their love of evil. Instead of exchanging, they accepted the traditional conceptions of the Deity and the Devil, nevertheless substituting Satan for the Saviour in their adoration. "Naturally," says Max Nordau in his *Entartung* (1893), "the love of evil can only take the form of devil-worship or diabolism, if the subject is a believer, that is if the supernatural is held to be a real thing. Only he who is rooted with all his feelings in religious faith will, if he suffers from moral aberration, seek bliss in the adoration of Satan, and in impassioned blasphemy of God and his Saviour."

We know of at least two groups in Paris who, in the first half of the last century, organized a Satanic cult and created a class of poetry expressing their worship of Satan and predicting his usur-

¹³ Cf. Henri Bernes: "le *Quain* de Leconte de Lisle et ses origines littéraires." *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XVIII (1911), 485-502.

pation of the power of heaven.¹⁴ Just as the Christians gathered on Sunday morning to sing glory to God, these diabolists congregated on Sunday evening to honor Satan with hymns and harpings, and to address prayers to the powers of Evil for alliance and aid. Each member of the group officiated in turn; in other words, recited the verses he had written for the occasion. These extravagants, in their eagerness to show their opposition to all orthodoxy, proclaimed that "fair is foul and foul is fair." "Evil," they declared, "be thou my good, and good my evil." Thus the son of poor Pierre Huet declares in Eugène Sue's *Salamandre* (1832): "Vice, crime, infamie, voilà les seules choses qui ne trompent jamais." These diabolists expressed delight over the works of the Devil and disgust for the acts of the Deity. They even argued the merits of the seven deadly sins. Eugène Sue sang the praises of the seven sins in his *Sept péchés capitaux* (1847-9). In all likelihood a few among them went even so far as to put their teachings into practice, and "romanticized" their lives, as they called such perversions in those Romantic days. The Romantic search for new sensations led to all sorts of sexual aberrations. In this manner, the Romantic rant about self-expression and self-fulfillment was reduced to the ridiculous. These devotees of the Devil wished and prayed for universal reign of evil, and predicted the day when the Devil should regain heaven, wrest the reins of government from the hands of God, and clutch the world completely in his claws.

This movement, however, may have been of a very harmless character. It probably was but another manifestation of that search for singularity which was the besetting sin of all Romantics. The Bohemian must, perforce, hold beliefs diametrically opposed to those of the bourgeois.

Furthermore, any affirmation of the Devil in modern times must necessarily follow the rehabilitation of the world and the emancipation of the flesh, both of which Catholicism associated with the Spirit of Evil. In discarding the ascetic dogmas of Christianity and refusing any longer to reject the world and the flesh, the youthful generation of a century ago also declined to deny the Devil.

In the last analysis let us not forget that, at a period in which monarchism and Catholicism were joined in holy wedlock, the crown and the cross could not be separated. Neither of the two could be rejected without the other. If the monarchists claimed the Deity for

¹⁴ Cf. Louis Maigron: *le Romantisme et les mœurs* (1910), p. 187.

themselves, the republicans could not help declaring for the Devil.¹⁵

We can offer no better end for our chapter on the idea of Satan's salvation in contemporary thought than by quoting the following paragraph of the penetrating study of the Polish critic, Ignace Matuszewski:

"The poetic type of Satan has to a certain degree ended the cycle of his individual existence. He has passed from one form into another, until he has gone through the various forms and existences of all life. He has passed through all the rungs of the double ladder on which, according to the theory of the Hindu thinkers as well as of certain European pantheists, every nomad of the eternal existence must mount and redescend. In the beginning Satan descended from the absolute to matter, from heaven to earth (the fall), where he was lowered to the rank of the inferior animals and was even forced, according to the New Testament, to enter into the bodies of the unclean animals. Then rising endlessly from a lower form to a higher form, he finally dematerialized himself in the works of our contemporary poets. He has reconquered his attributes of an archangel and has entered again into the Infinite (the redemption)."¹⁶

¹⁵ This idea has been developed at greater length toward the end of the present writer's monograph: *Romantisme et Satanisme* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1927).

¹⁶ Cf. Ignace Matuszewski: *Dyabel w Poezyi*. 2nd edition. Warsaw, 1899.

PROHIBITION—A STUDY OF THE PROBLEM AND THE REMEDY

BY CHARLES KASSEL

PART TWO—THE REMEDY

I

IN the issue of this magazine for last month we ventured upon a discussion of prohibition in sundry of its aspects as a problem for solution, deducing such lessons as we might from our experiences, past and present, with liquor-agitation and liquor-legislation, but the remedy we reserved for later treatment. Our study of the subject led to the conclusion that the cause of temperance was hindered and not helped by the attempt at an enforced abstinence and that so far from simplifying the governmental task centering about the manufacture and sale of liquor it had enormously complicated the problem and had brought new evils in its wake which were sorely afflicting the body social.

With the liquor habit making converts among women and young people and carrying its infection into social life at mixed gatherings—with the private home reeking with odors once confined to breweries and wineries—with the illegitimate liquor traffic numbering by hundreds of thousands its adherents and retainers, and corrupting through its fabulous profits in all great centers the instrumentalities of law and order—with the populations of large cities parcelled out for exploitation by gang leaders, grown rich in the illicit liquor business, and enforcing their brigandage by the terrorism of sabotage and assassination—with indictments laughed at by the chief beneficiaries of the traffic, even when they happen to be returned, and prosecutions ineffective against them despite the army of enforcement agents and the oceans of money expended—with tons of poisonous concoctions pouring into the veins of mil-

lions of men and women, spreading blindness, insanity, paralysis and death, as though they were curses flung about by some god gone mad—with all this, and much more that defies recital, we pronounced prohibition a dismal and ghastly failure, supplying a remedy worse than the disease for the evils it sought to cure.

“But,” says the critical reader, “assuming the truth of what you say, and that the present method is impracticable, what system between the extremes of absolute prohibition and the open saloon can be adopted within the eighteenth amendment? This, indeed, is the rub. Few more difficult questions have been presented for the consideration of constitutional lawyers. With prohibition fixed in the constitution like an iron spike in a granite wall the area for legislation is tragically limited.

Let not the restive anti-prohibitionist lay the flattering unction to his soul that repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment is in sight. The difficulties in the way of any amendment to the constitution are most formidable. As is remarked by Professor McBain in his *Prohibition, Legal and Illegal*, “the legislatures in the thirteen least populous states in the Union, comprising less than five per cent of the total population of the country, can prevent.” The truth is, moreover, that the predominant sentiment in this country turns again and again to prohibition and after every temporary fluctuation the voting masses come back to that method. Our examination of the history of the movement in the United States, as recorded in an earlier paragraph, abundantly demonstrates the truth of this statement. Were the eighteenth amendment removed from the constitution, and the question thrown back to the states, history would soon repeat itself, one state after another adopting state-wide prohibition, with national prohibition again as the ultimate objective. The cycle is inevitable, in spite of the foredoomed failure of the method, until a rational and effective plan is adopted which shall demonstrate in practice the expediency of a middle course between the extremes of prohibition and the open bar and the wisdom of leaving purely to the influence of education the superiority of abstinence over temperance in the use of liquor, if that superiority is real and not fancied.

II.

Of the varied plans thus far offered for the solution of the problem within the limitations of the constitution as now existing a few

only merits the serious study of the constitutional lawyer. All others run a-foul of definite pronouncements from our highest court or are clearly pre-destined to condemnation by that tribunal.

We may, in the first place, as urge many sincere students of the subject, amend the Volstead act and place at an arbitrarily high figure the alcoholic content which shall give to beverages an intoxicating character insofar as concerns national enforcement, leaving the states by legislation of their own to lower this figure in accordance with the wishes of their inhabitants. The idea, whatever its value in practical working, is an interesting one. Partisans of the present order strenuously insist that so to amend the Volstead act would be to utter a palpable falsehood and that so shameless a misstatement plastered upon our statute-books could never be tolerated as constitutional. It can not be gainsaid, of course, that such a statute would be a mere subterfuge and it does seem that such a law could not pass the test of constitutionality. It would be no worse, however, than the present statute which solemnly asserts, in the face of common sense, that one-half of one per cent of alcoholic content gives an intoxicating character to commercial beverages. Indeed, of the two the last is the most flagrant untruth, since a high alcoholic content will *not* intoxicate in the moderate quantities imbibed by temperate people whereas an alcoholic content of one-half of one per cent could not possibly intoxicate in any quantity consumable!

Between the proponents of this plan, on the one hand, and partisan prohibitionists, on the other, the weight of reason is unquestionably on the side of the former. Under this plan the national government would not undertake the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment except as to heavy alcoholic liquors, leaving light wines and beers to be vended as freely as was done in the old days of the saloon in so far as concerns federal interference, but allowing to the states the privilege of regulating the sale, use and possession even of these milder beverages or of banning them altogether.

Assuming the constitutionality of such a law—and it would seem clearly constitutional if the Volstead act is constitutional—its working is obvious. A few states, undoubtedly, here and there, would outlaw light wines and beers but any citizen could obtain his supply of these beverages from easily accessible states where the contrary was true and the occasion for bootlegging these commodities would

be greatly reduced. On the other hand the federal government would find its burden immensely lightened, since it could concentrate on liquors of high alcoholic content, and with wines and beers easily obtainable few might care to incur the hazard of purchasing from outlaw agencies, in the case of the more powerful liquors, questionable as these would necessarily be on the score of purity. Under such a system, moreover, Congress would not hesitate to make the purchaser equally punishable with the seller, and with the enforcement agencies of the general government devoting their energies solely to the extirpation of the traffic in heavier beverages the illicit vender would have much harder sledding.

The persuasive objection to this plan from the standpoint of the absolute prohibitionist turns on the idea of the open bar even for the sale of light wines and beers. Anything suggesting the return of the saloon, on however limited a scale, is sure to stir a psychological reaction which condemns it at once from the viewpoint of the extremist. It is true that even in the states permitting the sale of light wines and beers consumption on the premises might be forbidden by law and even consumption in any public place, including hotels, trains and restaurants, but there is no assurance that such limitations would be prescribed, and there is a universal lack of confidence in state enforcement in contrast with federal enforcement of liquor regulations. The feeling, in reality is a deep-seated one among the prohibition masses, and it is not without justification, that once liquor vending places are licensed under state auspices, even in the case of light wines and beers, and under whatever restrictions otherwise, heavier liquors will be smuggled through with comparative ease and the old order of things thus reestablished against which so long and arduous a struggle was waged.

Quite apart from these aspects of the problem, involving the determined opposition of the prohibitionist faction, there is a practical consideration in connection with all merely state-wide methods of liquor regulation which cannot be lost sight of and which may procure for such plans the quiet but effective opposition of business interests unallied with the prohibition cause. This consideration revolves about the disadvantage a prohibition state suffers from the proximity of non-prohibition states. The existence of an open state next to a closed state will protect the machinery of enforcement in the latter against collapse, since a ready revenue exists for

supplying legitimately the liquor wants of those in the prohibition state who would otherwise make possible by their patronage the existence of illicit agencies of manufacture and distribution, but the citizens of states predominantly prohibitionist in character can easily picture the long cavalcades of automobiles rolling across the state line to non-prohibition centers, which would inevitably be combined with general shopping excursions to the detriment of the mercantile interests of the dry states. It was prohibition on a national scale which offset this objection to the prohibition program in the separate states and won to the support of the measure the business interests of doubtful states which saw a state-wide ban in the offing if the eighteenth amendment should fail of adoption.

Another objection to the plan of a federal enforcement act confined to liquors of high alcoholic content, with lighter beverages left to state regulation or interdiction, is the political turmoil which must at once result in the various states. The tumult in the national law-making body over such a drastic amendment of the Volstead act will be quite enough for the average citizen and congressman to contemplate. We can readily picture the wracking scenes and episodes in the drama to be enacted. It is an easy prophecy that by the time the warfare between the wets and dries over the modification of the Volstead act has ended in an acceptable amendment the whole country will be heartily weary of the overwhelming inundation of perfervid oratory. To meditate without aversion on the political storm that must immediately follow in every state over absolute prohibition or the type of regulation the particular state shall adopt is quite impossible. The gorge rises at it. To some, at least, sick unto death with super-heated politics, even the monstrous and abortive thing we have now would be preferable.

Attractive in the abstract as the idea may be, therefore, and powerful as might be its appeal, on the score of states' rights, to democratic feeling in the Southern states, precisely where prohibition sentiment is most strongly entrenched, the practical objections are insuperable. The like is true of the plan occasionally suggested for complete repeal of the national enforcement act without substitution, leaving enforcement wholly to the states—an expedient, indeed, to which prohibitionist partisans would never agree and which, if adopted would produce political chaos, each state becoming the arena of as bitter contests between the wets and dries as dis-

graced political history in the days of local option. The same motive, moreover, which moves business interests from a purely material point of view to prefer national to state prohibition would urge a powerful opposition to such a plan. State enforcement alone, as viewed by the prohibitionist, means the equivalent of the open saloon in wet states with absolute prohibition in others, bringing in its train, on top of all other problems, the huge pilgrimages to liquor-shrines across the borders which so greatly irk dry state merchants.

If we reject, as we must, the repeal of the Volstead act, so as to leave enforcement wholly to the states, and refuse its modification so as to place at an arbitrarily high figure the alcoholic content which shall subject a beverage to federal displeasure, even though such figure be designed merely to protect the sale of light wines and beers, the enemies of the present order of things will be driven to a direct attack on the eighteenth amendment, or if this proves unavailing, or is given up in advance as fruitless, as will probably be the case in view of the extreme unlikelihood of a successful outcome, they must turn reluctantly to an expedient which has always been open but to which confirmed American sentiment is opposed except as a last resort—namely, the institution and operation of public dispensaries.

Notwithstanding the deep American repugnance to the idea of the government in business, a consideration of the question in the light of historic experience does lead to public control and sale, with laws against consumption on the premises and possibly against consumption in any public place, including even railroad trains, hotels and restaurants, as the solution which will best meet the peculiar difficulties of the problem and provide the most promising middle ground between the prohibitionists and their antagonists. It is to public control and sale that the evolution of liquor legislation always tends, as one method after another breaks down, and once the American public is reconciled in the abstract to the thought of the experiment any disturbance in the orderly progress of the movement toward this objective will be chargeable to the advocates of the present system.

Opposed to the open saloon, and to prohibition as its antidote, the advocates of the middle course, who have realized all their fears and seen their worst predictions signally fulfilled, point to

government control and sale as the ultimate event of these ten years and more of vexation and futility. They warn the unreasoning partisans of the present system that if the mockery of prohibition continues, as continue it must if unmodified, the revulsion of sentiment now definitely on its way, and easily attaining irresistible proportions, may sweep the whole "noble experiment" into the discard and restore with all its incidents the era of the saloon—something the moderate as distinguished from the extreme anti-prohibitionist desires greatly to avoid.

In the domain of public control and sale the plan which most readily suggests itself is the state dispensary system and this is now urged as reconciling state regulation with national prohibition under the Volstead act. It is earnestly contended by the advocates of the plan that the eighteenth amendment applies only to the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages by the citizen in the channels of commerce as distinguished from the manufacture and sale by the state itself, thus leaving the way open to a system of public dispensaries in the wet states. It would be difficult to make a convincing case against the validity of such a regulation under the federal constitution in its present form. Chance expressions might be found in the decisions of the courts seeming to imply the contrary, but no decision since the eighteenth amendment has ever directly involved the question and it is a truism of the law, familiar to all lawyers, that language in court decisions not strictly pertinent must be rejected.

The eighteenth amendment, which has precipitated such deluges of printed matter, is in fact a very simple utterance. The citizen is clearly forbidden but that a sovereign state has wrested from it by the language of the amendment the power of manufacture and sale which unquestionably existed before is quite another thing. The whole background of American history runs contrary to such an idea. The student of constitutional law is taught, as his first principle, that all power not vested in the federal government by the express language of the constitution, or by necessary implication from its terms, nor denied to the states, is left to the latter. Every tyro in the law knows this by heart. To annul a prerogative which at the foundation of the government each state withheld in the formulation of the national covenant would surely call for something like an express declaration. It would have been easy to

say that the interdiction of the manufacture and sale shall apply to the states themselves and the silence of the amendment is eloquent of a desire to avoid a pronouncement on the subject. If that silence were due to mere oversight the conclusion would be the same, but the conspicuous example of South Carolina, with its system of state dispensaries vividly in the memory of all prohibitionists, forbids the idea of inadvertence. It is a reasonable view that the domain of state manufacture and sale was purposely left untouched by the framers of the amendment, and should the subject ever come up before the Supreme Court we can not doubt that such will be its decision.

IV.

It is not alone, however, nor indeed chiefly, on the score of constitutionality that the opposition to a system of state dispensaries will turn. Partisans of the present system recognize in the state dispensary, once established and in operation, the death-knell of national prohibition and the practical restoration, according to their view, of the reign of the saloon. Not only the leaders but the rank and file of the prohibition forces are wholly without confidence in the capacity of any state, and less, if it were possible, in the capacity of any local constabulary to confine a state dispensary to its legitimate function. It is possibly true that prohibition sentiment of the less radical wing would accept the dispensary idea for the wet states, modifying the eighteenth amendment, should need be, to validate the plan, if adequate assurance could be given that such an institution would be kept within bounds. It is the belief, however, of all prohibitionists—and the belief indisputably rests in sound warrant—that no state wet enough to institute a dispensary will have either the wish or the power to restrict dispensaries to the sale of liquor in sealed packages with regulations against consumption on the premises or in any public place. Less than this, indeed, prohibitionists would refuse at this time to accept, since the basis of their quarrel is not merely the insidious influence of social drinking but the evil example of public drinking, and a dispensary law which permitted consumption of liquor on the premises where sold, or on railroad trains and in hotels and restaurants, would mean little less to them in their present state of feeling than the open saloon.

Quite aside, moreover, from the difficulty of keeping the state

dispensary under control the idea itself is objectionable, not only to prohibitionists but to sound thinking anti-prohibitionists as well, on the score of the political chaos which must result in all states when the issue is again and again presented to the voters either by the insistent wets or the insistent dries. It is perhaps the surcease from political hubbub upon the liquor question in the various states which has helped to check the outburst of public rage over the abuses of the present system, and but for that offset to the odium of prevailing conditions the discontent with the effort to legislate an appetite out of existence might have attained volcanic fury by this time. The state dispensary plan, once its constitutionality under the eighteenth amendment and its validity under the Volstead act become clear, would serve as the generating principle of political storms in every state where a sizeable wet sentiment can be found, and with the cyclonic nature of liquor elections rooted in the memory of millions of voters any recrudescence of ancient conditions will be fought with desperation, not only by prohibitionists but, in all likelihood, if anything better can possibly be devised, by a large proportion of the antis.

Not only, however, will the state dispensary be unacceptable upon the grounds we have mentioned but the proximity of wet and dry states will evoke opposition to any method for the former of public control and sale. Business is a very sensitive affair and with the purse strings so easily opened for shopping purposes in general by the stimulus of such excursions the mercantile interests of the prohibition states will recognize the menace to their material welfare from the endless lines of automobiles piercing the wet states from all dry sections. An eloquent challenge is sure to appear from the representatives of all states definitely committed to prohibition whenever the suggestion of a state dispensary for wet states comes up for discussion. Every argument serving to condemn the idea will be utilized by its opponents. The expense of policing the highways—the safety and despatch of traffic—the physical welfare of pedestrians with drunken drivers dashing about—even the threat to the amusement business in the dry states on holidays and church attendance on Sundays—all these grounds and others will be urged with fervor by voices from the prohibition states against any innovation which shall give to the neighboring states the lure of legalized liquor sales, if any power of Congress can prevent.

It is quite true that a system of state dispensaries would do much to relieve the difficulties now in the way of national enforcement. It would supply the safety valve necessary to protect the mechanism of federal regulation and redeem the condition of ineffectiveness and futility which attends at this time the whole prohibitory scheme. With dispensaries in the wet states available bootleggers, now badly overworked everywhere, might enjoy some abatement of the pressure on their time, and the army of enforcement agents, struggling in vain to sweep back the foaming tide of intoxicants, might mop their dripping brows and take an easy breath. It is no strain upon our credulity to suppose that where a dispensary can be reached without too much exertion the thirst-afflicted devotees of the bottle and the beer-mug would willingly exchange the labor of a short walk or brief ride for the danger and uncertainty of a visit to their favorite bootlegger, and if the latter should offer to undersell the legitimate agencies the possibility of blindness, paralysis, madness or death from the cheaper potions might suggest the superior wisdom of the lawful source of supply, particularly with a prosecution possible as an added deterrent for the illicit purchase.

No such argument, however, can be prosecuted without interruption by the prohibitionists. Nothing, they urge, can prevent the lapse of a state dispensary into the equivalent of the old time saloon. State enforcement has always been, they insist, inadequate to control the traffic and local regulation in such cases is a thing to jeer and laugh at. If, say champions of the present system, state dispensaries are not within the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act, and are purely an intra-state affair, the federal enforcement machinery will have no jurisdiction in states where the dispensaries are set up beyond seeing that the citizen, as distinguished from the state, does not engage in the traffic, and with state and federal courts splitting hairs in such cases as to state and federal spheres of activity, and with cases tossed from one to the other, the federal authorities will wash their hands of any effort to protect the dispensaries and leave the wet states which embark in such ventures to muddle through as best they can, just as the states now, even those predominantly dry, pass to the federal authorities the duty of enforcing the Volstead act and themselves go on to other tasks.

V

The alternative for the state dispensary system, if we are to adopt, as it seems we must, some form of public control and sale, is a national dispensary system. This idea is even more objectionable from the standpoint of orthodox American sentiment than the idea of a state institution of the kind, but no consideration of sentiment can be permitted to weigh against the pressing need for an early solution of the problem and if a national dispensary system is our speediest and surest redemption from the course of present conditions a long-suffering electorate will forget its disapproval of the principle for the sake of the good to come from the remedy.

For the extreme partisan of prohibition, with whom abstract sentiment counts for little where the fate of the movement is concerned, the idea of the government in the liquor business will give no pause if that expedient is necessary to prevent a return to the saloon. The course of the prohibition extremists, indeed, is not difficult to predict. Once the possibility of the state dispensary system dawns upon them and the fact is demonstrated that such a system can be adopted by the states in the face of the eighteenth amendment and without modification of the Volstead act, the clamor for a national dispensary system to the exclusion of experiments of the kind in the separate states will be general and insistent.

The arguments which are the most persuasive against the state manufacture and sale of intoxicants are ineffective against manufacture and sale by the federal government. Such a system operating throughout the country would meet the objections of the inveterately dry states to any system of sale by or within the separate states on the score of the drift of business across the border to the wet centers. A national system would operate under regulations against consumption on the premises, so that no where could the danger exist of the national dispensary becoming an open bar and, free from dependence on local conditions, the laws on the subject would be more rigidly enforced than is ever possible through state courts and juries.

The sale of liquors by the national government in sealed packages, and with laws against consumption on the premises, and under reasonable regulations otherwise, would go far to destroy the business of the bootlegger, put an end to gang wars and racketeer-

ing, which derive their inspiration and sustenance from the illicit liquor traffic, remove from elections in populous centers the corrupting influence of the beer-baron and the rum-runner, and return to their normal channels the activities of our courts, now completely inundated with prosecutions growing out of violations of the federal enforcement act.

Seeing that Congress, under a national dispensary system, could not object to punishment for the illicit purchase as well as the illicit sale, with legalized avenues open to all citizens for obtaining liquors, under such restrictions only as the public interest requires, it is inconceivable that even the most bibulous would be moved to patronize the speakeasy, if such an institution could exist with federal dispensaries in operation. It is a fair guess, moreover, that as a part of any law established a system of government dispensaries the national legislature would freely concede to the advocates of complete abstinence a regulation against the consumption of liquors in any public place, including railroad trains and hotels and restaurants, thus confining to the home and the private club all indulgences in alcoholic beverages, both wine and beer and stronger drink, though the course of the experiment would probably demonstrate the safety of a relaxation in favor of light wines and beers with meals on railroad trains and restaurants, and possibly without meals, though for consumption on the premises in strictly regulated vending places.

With federal dispensaries throughout the land, merely sufficient in each locality to care for the actual demand, we would be sure to have a soberer nation than we can claim now. Experience has tragically demonstrated that where the demand for intoxicants exists the supply will be forthcoming, nor need the purveyors of the commodity in such case give much heed to quality and wholesomeness. A decade's experiment has shown in fact that just because the law emphatically denies thousands demand the more vociferously, bidding defiance to the decrees of government in exact proportion as those decrees encroach on what they esteem their rights. With supplies obtainable through federal dispensaries under reasonable regulations that motive for lawbreaking would be gone.

A consummation devoutly to be wished, where present conditions are under consideration and to which we might fairly look forward as the result of a national dispensary system, is the lapse into oblivion of the frightful vogue which the flask has come to

enjoy among boys and girls and women, and of which the costly and elaborately-wrought specimens on exhibition in our jewelry establishments are mute but bitterly eloquent testimonials. The very scarcity of the unadulterated commodity has exalted what passes for the pure article to a position of primacy as a vehicle of good cheer at mixed social gatherings and with the deadly concoctions now passing from hand to hand in clandestine commerce supplanted by articles of pure manufacture easily obtainable at government dispensaries, the baneful challenge of present usages to the moral welfare and physical well being of boys and girls and women should swiftly disappear.

The most grateful of all advantages, perhaps, to come from a system of national dispensaries in substitution for the present plan, is the relief from tipping as a social duty—a species of enforced indulgence for which, ironically enough, the prohibition system is wholly to blame. To enter an office or residence as a guest, without the fear of being offered, through a mistaken hospitality, liquors of an unknown origin, or of any origin in the case of the total abstainer, would be balm to the sorely tried thousands who, in every section of this supposedly dry land, are constantly forced to accept or refuse that false token of cordiality, carrying by possibility always a hidden menace to mental and bodily health. Certainly no reason could exist for offering such indulgences to guests when the same commodity in its purest state could be readily obtained at government dispensaries.

That federal vending-places for the sale of liquor would completely abolish the present underground agencies for the distribution of criminal concoctions, so disastrous in their effects, may be safely asserted. The vile potions which pass for intoxicating beverages could find no purchasers in competition with the government-sold article. This would be true even in the absence of penalties but the laws against illicit sale would still exist. Any doubt, indeed, as to the drift of patronage in such a case between the pure article sold by the government and the doubtful product put out by the bootlegger is a reflection on the intelligence even of those foolish thousands in every community who now hazard health, sanity and vision in exchange for a potation at which the driving sot of the saloon days would have turned up his bulbous nose.

Apart from these salutary effects the solution of the liquor prob-

lem along the lines of a national dispensary would go far toward allaying the crime wave, mildly so-called, with which the country has struggled helplessly since the advent of prohibition. The evidence accumulates at an appalling rate that everywhere crime has come to rotate about the illicit liquor traffic, with a distinct interrelation between its various branches, and with mutual understandings and common agencies of protection. In the huge ramifications of the system, with its mountainous profits and wholesale debauchery of the police and prosecuting agencies, terrorism has become a fine art, and even where indictments against the leaders of the traffic can not be prevented trials are rendered nugatory by fear of assassination on the part of state witnesses. The present writer lays no claim to powers of divination but he ventures the statement that the transfer of the liquor business from the bootlegger to the national government would do more to destroy crime in its breeding-grounds than could be accomplished by the authorities if every grocery establishment were a court and half the citizens were armed officers of the law.

An objection to the idea of national dispensaries sure to be urged by many is the abhorrent notion of the federal government as a saloon-keeper. It is not a pleasant thought. None the less the same objection will apply to state dispensaries, and if, as we believe the state dispensary is constitutional and requires no change to its creation either in the eighteenth amendment or the Volstead act, the partisans of this view will have their choice between the state as a "barkeep," operating vending places in the states differing little from the old time saloon, and the national government as the dispenser of liquors in sealed packages with penalties against consumption on the premises and possibly against consumption in any public place. Should the extreme prohibitionist hesitate between such a choice his supposed convictions on the subject can be nothing more than blind prejudices. If we are correct in our assumption that the national dispensary would starve the bootlegger into extinction the present enormous cost of national enforcement would be reduced to a modest figure and the distribution of the commodity at even moderate prices would yield a handsome profit which might be devoted to temperance propaganda on a national scale, thus letting the traffic supply by educational methods the means of its own destruction.

It will be urged by earnest advocates of the present system that any hope of destroying the bootlegger through federal dispensaries is utterly vain, even were all the advantages realized which we expect, and they will point to the undeniable fact that in South Carolina, while the dispensary system prevailed, the secret traffic to some extent went on. The South Carolina dispensary system is not a true parallel. It was in reality forced on the state by Governor Tillman through sheer political might, and was without actual support in public sentiment. There was no penalty against an illicit purchase equally with a penalty against sale which, while wholly inadmissible under a system of absolute prohibition, would be practicable and logical under a dispensary system. Chiefly, however, and above all, the persuasive distinction between the South Carolina experiment and a system of federal dispensaries lies in the fact that the former rested for its enforcement upon local machinery and state courts, with constant susceptibility to local influence in contrast with a national dispensary system, wholly free from local influence and dependent entirely upon national agencies of enforcement.

Why, with national dispensaries close at hand, and the consumption of liquors in the place where purchased made a penal offense, as would probably be the case, any citizen would feel the urge to patronize the illicit vender, is hard to conceive, particularly with punishment in the hands of the federal authorities and the pressure upon enforcement agents sufficiently reduced to make possible prompt and proper prosecution of offenders. Let us assume, however, as doubtless is true, that even under these conditions places would occasionally be found where, in spite of the law, liquors would be sold and consumed on the premises. True it is, none the less, that such places will be relatively few and whatever commodities they dispense will be of the pure variety sold by the government, for nothing less need be accepted by patrons. Even, though, moreover, under a system of federal dispensaries, clubs should thrive here and there where liquors are served this will be infinitely better than the conditions that now obtain. Our problem, after all, is to leave the citizen as large a freedom as possible consistently with the general welfare and to institute conditions under which the evil of the drink habit can be isolated and dealt with by sane methods instead of being spread abroad through vicious channels, corroding as

it goes and eating away the supports of public order and private health and character.

Certain to be offered against the idea of a national dispensary is the danger of a lapse of the system into a huge political machine operated for the benefit of the administration in office. It was this, in fact, rather than any intrinsic demerits of the plan itself which brought about the overthrow of the state dispensary system in South Carolina and its substitution by a system of county dispensaries. The unseemly spectacle, moreover, of manufacturers of liquor vying with one another by methods none too savory for the liquor contracts of South Carolina is one no thinking man could desire repeated on a national scale. As regards these considerations, however, any objection to a federal dispensary system is, we are persuaded, largely fanciful. Liquors for federal dispensaries would be manufactured under government supervision or purchased abroad. The opportunity for corruption, moreover, should be no greater than exists now in the construction of federal buildings and the huge projects on which the national government is constantly engaged. The use of the dispensary system for political purposes as in South Carolina would be impossible in the wide diffusion of the system throughout the United States and would be held in check, besides, by civil service regulations. At the worst, however, the system would afford less opportunity for political spoils than does the present system of prohibition enforcement with its multitude of officers and agents for appointment and millions of money for expenditure.

It is probably true that no solution of the liquor problem along absolutely ideal lines is practicable. To get along well either with or without the traffic in some form is not possible in the present state of progress. Human nature in this domain is too much for even the astutest statesman and no plan, perhaps, will ever work in a wholly satisfactory manner. Whatever its shortcomings, in actual practice, however, a national dispensary system is sure to work immeasurably better than the plan we have now.

VI

Be all this as it may, our chief difficulty in this field is not with the comparative merits of federal and state dispensaries. It is wholly from another quarter the leading obstacle comes. Our problem springs from doubt of the constitutionality of a federal

dispensary system even in the absence of the eighteenth amendment. We have here a very different type of inquiry from that which confronted us in connection with the state dispensary idea. The states, as we have said, possess all power not delegated to the Congress of the United States and with only such powers vested in the national government as can be found within the four corners of the federal constitution the task before us assumes impressive proportions.

In so far as concerns the construction of the eighteenth amendment in this regard application of familiar principles of interpretation will lead to the conclusion that by the amendment no hamper was placed on the federal arm to create and operate liquor-dispensaries if such power existed before the eighteenth amendment was adopted. That such a power did exist, however, we are not prepared to assert. It is true that federal activities quite as foreign to what must have been the ideas of the fathers have been sustained under one clause or another of the constitution. It is certain, also, that in the march of progress room must be found within the constitution for various exertions of the central government undreamed of at this time. A hundred years from now, doubtless, reviewing the decisions of our Supreme Court, upholding as valid the multi-form activities of the national government in the inconceivably intricate civilization of that distant time, the idea of a federal dispensary system as a valid exercise of the federal power may seem simple enough, but just now the idea presents a baffling problem and one with which the student and practitioner of constitutional law wrestles in vain.

One prediction, however, in this aspect of the subject we may venture without hesitation to make. If no warrant can be found within the national covenant for a system of federal dispensaries, and the constitutionality of state dispensaries under the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act is accepted, as we think is inevitable, the relentless prohibition partisans will be the first and most eager to champion, by way of compromise, a modification of the eighteenth amendment to legalize federal dispensaries and invalidate state dispensaries. With the eighteenth amendment ineffective to prohibit the latter, and the Volstead act consequently inapplicable, the uncompromising prohibitionist will realize that his long-fought-for and dearly-bought victory has turned to thin air in his hands. The exchange of the private saloon of the old day for the govern-

ment saloon in the wet states, operating under the guise of a state dispensary, will be poor pay for the heroic and devoted effort which brought to birth the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act, and if a state dispensary is within the constitution at all it is within the constitution in any form and even though it exactly reproduce the atmosphere and environment of the old-time bar.

More and more, as this angle of the situation becomes clear, will the idea of a modification of the eighteenth amendment become attractive to the prohibitionist rendering impossible the state-owned dispensary, and as such an amendment can only be obtained at the price of a substantial concession to the anti-prohibitionists, and a federal dispensary provides the logical middle ground, that contingency swings distinctly into view. The extreme wets would doubtless prefer the wideopen state dispensary, and would be loath to give up the privilege of establishing such agencies if that privilege exists, but the country is still, certainly when counted by states, predominantly dry, so as to defeat, in all probability, either repeal or modification of the eighteenth amendment, and the extreme anti-prohibitionist would doubtless consider it a fair exchange to give up for all time the possibility of state dispensaries in order to make constitutional beyond question the establishment of federal agencies of the same kind.

An attitude of opposition, indeed, to any modification of the present system is no longer consistent with reason or good sense, and hardly consistent with sanity. The signs are too numerous and too ominous for such a course on the part even of the extreme prohibitionist. The wise champions of the cause have long since anticipated the time now upon us when a revulsion against the abuses of prohibition and its enforcement would compel a recession. Nor can the shift of responsibility from one department to another avail. The difficulty is not with the instrumentalities of enforcement but with an essential vice in the prohibitory idea. It is a matter of principle and not one of personnel, and no alteration in the machinery or technique of enforcement will solve the problem. Forlorn a hope seemingly as may be any attempt to repeal the eighteenth amendment outright, and extravagant as may be the waste of time and energy involved in such an effort, the undertaking is sure to be launched by a desperate electorate if no middle ground can be found. The accomplishment of such an end will require, of course, an up-

heaval against prohibition almost revolutionary in character, but the upheaval is not beyond possibility, and however slender the chance, to all appearance, even now, a wave of execration from all winds of the compass, in default of a moderate course on the part of the prohibitionists, may remove this excrescence on the federal constitution born in an hour of fear and travail.

The prohibitionists have taught the country the terrible power of an organized and determined minority and the lesson will not be lost upon the antis and the moderates. The extremists must abandon as the sheet-anchor of their hopes the program of law-compelled abstinence and the slogan of no compromise with liquor. The whole question, moreover, must be removed from the domain of religion, where it so easily becomes the subject of unreasoning fanaticism, and restored to its proper place as an economic problem to be dealt with by statesmen-like principles of legislation. The tenure of prohibition as a religious crusade is in reality at an end and the sentimentality and frothy declamation familiar to students of the movement represent a wholly obsolete note in the discussion. A flouting by the prohibitionists, finally, of all admonitions from the moderates means, we are sure, some day, some way, the return of the old-time saloon for a long and obstinate lease of life before the cycle of reform begins again.

THE UNIVERSE IN TRANSCENDENTAL EVOLUTION

BY AUGUST F. STEFFEN

I.

HENRI BERGSON, in his *Creative Evolution* arrives at this cheerful conclusion: "The animal takes its stand on the plant, man bestrides animality, and the whole of humanity, in space and time, is one immense army galloping beside and before and behind each of us in an overwhelming charge able to beat down every resistance and clear the most formidable obstacles, perhaps even death."

Yes, not only the whole of humanity, but all other beings and things, animate and inanimate, organic and inorganic, individual and social, objective and subjective, are in a galloping charge, moving forward on a thousand fronts achieving ever new developments. The entire universe, physical, mental and spiritual, is in the process of unfolding, in the making, in the act of eternal creation, in the process of transcendental evolution in which all material continuities are the building-stones of spiritual continuity, holding in its unified plan and purpose the promise that man shall some day overcome his mean and mortal limitations and roam in happiness among the stars.

In the words of Nicodemus, "How can these things be?" To substantiate this liberal premise it will be necessary to get down to fundamentals.

II.

All things are in the process of perpetual change; there is no such thing as a definite arrival at a time or place immune to change; nothing has yet been discovered to be at rest; Nirvana in final equilibration is an idle dream. Every particle of matter in the universe, from the infinitesimal electron to the gigantic sun, and the super system of the Milky Way, is in motion, changing position and form. The agencies of erosion are constantly at work remold-

ing the face of the earth, altering the mountains and valleys, and reshaping the islands and continents. Every blade of grass and every giant redwood, every creeping thing and every bird and marine monster swell the mighty chorus and add their note of harmony to the universal anthem of change.

By studying the effects of a long series of changes in any specific field a more or less definite trend in such changes will be observed. A nebula develops into a celestial system; an obscure bud unfolds into a beautiful flower; an egg gives forth an animal; a tribe develops into a nation. This trend or gradual unfolding of successive phases of growth, this process of spontaneous generation is called evolution.

Plant and animal life is here in great profusion because under the amorous wooing of the ardent sun life becomes a necessary corollary of cosmic development and evolves into the morphological and physiological characters which distinguish each specie and individual. No matter what origin is ascribed to man, or what species are introduced as his relatives, he is here in his present state of civilization, unlocking the secrets of nature, groping gradually toward more knowledge, more consciousness and more light, because he has evolved from lower forms, from primitive man, from barbarism and ignorance.

Many people have only a sort of monkey-notion of evolution. Because of a too literal interpretation of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* and his *Descent of Man*, the idea became current that man descended from the monkey and to some minds this idea eclipsed all the rest of evolution. But now that Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn has come forward with the discovery that man did not pass through a stage of tree-life, but emerged a free-running, bipedal being on the high plateaus of Central Asia, it is hoped he has definitely "knocked the ape off the family tree," and the monkey-shine should come to an end, anti-evolution legislation included.

In certain circles the impression prevails that the doctrine of evolution had its beginning with Darwin and Spencer and ended with Huxley and Haeckel. As a matter of fact the theory of evolution is as old as European philosophy and is still in the ascendancy to-day. The basic idea of evolution was conceived by Thales, who lived about 600 B. C. This ancient philosopher held that water was the first principle, or universal substance, from which all

things developed, thus fathering the idea of the marine origin of life, adhered to to-day by many biologists.

But the first real naturalist and more or less scientific evolutionist was Aristotle. In his *Physics* and *Natural History of Animals*, are set forth remarkably accurate observations of nature, including both plants and animals. He discovered a hereditary chain, including about five hundred species of mammals, birds and fishes in the list, and extending from the lowest animals to the highest, man.

Though St. Augustine interpreted the "days" in the creation as given in "Genesis" to mean "long and indeterminable periods of time," thus showing a leaning toward the evolution idea, yet as a whole, neither Christian Platonism nor Scholasticism had much time for scientific research, and the theory of evolution lay dormant during the Middle Ages.

Then Copernicus came and with one blow shattered forever the frail celestial shells of Ptolemy that had encompassed the heavens for nearly a thousand years. A static earth, the footstool of God, around which the sun and the planets revolved in great circumferences, was pried loose from its moorings and sent whirling through space. The earth became one of the planets, revolving on its own axis in its orbit around the sun; in fact, the earth became a minor satellite of a minor sun. The old order of the medieval world passed away and man commenced his long effort to rebuild with thought a new heaven and a new earth. Kepler and Galileo started where Copernicus left off, and then Giordano Bruno widened the scope of speculation by the conception that the so-called fixed stars are distant suns giving light to other systems of planets. The entire universe appeared in a new light inviting and inspiring the mind of man to new observations, to new discoveries and new knowledge.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century Laplace developed the Nebular hypothesis which held that the solar system was born of a whirling cloud of gaseous matter, which theory is now superseded by the Planetesimal hypothesis—meteoric material and cosmic dust evolving into systems by the process of accretion. Regardless of theories, however, the nebulae are there, celestial systems, new and old, are in the making, in the process of evolution. The universe, as it now exists, is the result of a long series of changes which are so far related to each other as form a series of growths analogous

to the evolving parts of growing organisms, such as traced in the evolution of plants and animals.

Leaving the evolution of the celestial systems for the time being we must go back to Bruno and record the fact that he recognized a physical relationship between man and various of the lower animals. This was only a step toward the transmutation of species among animals suggested by Buffon in 1750, which was followed by Lamarck's theory of the inheritance of acquired characters. Thus the foundations were gradually laid for the epoch-making achievements of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, the two great apostles of the evolution theory.

The hypothesis of Darwin's *Origin of Species* is that different species originated in spontaneous variation and were propagated under the law of the survival of the fittest through natural selection and the struggle for existence. The true naturalist that he was, his theories were the outgrowth of observations based on many years of research and the widest reach of scientific knowledge. Though causing a storm of controversy at first, his doctrine blazed the trail for extensive researches by Huxley, Haeckel, Weismann, and many others. Though largely outgrown to-day, his theory served the purpose of directing scientific thought for years.

Herbert Spencer developed the philosophical side of the subject, extending the doctrine of descent to cover the subjective as well as the objective field. He defined evolution as a progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from general to special, from the simple to the complex elements of life. He held that this progress can be traced, not only in the multiplication of types and species among animals and plants, but that it holds good in the formation of worlds in space, in the origin and changes in languages and the arts, in the changes of human institutions, in religion, ethics and society.

While Spencer was acclaimed as the philosophic exponent of the spirit of his age, and then outlived the height of his own popularity, while his fame vanished almost as suddenly as it had come, this does not becloud the permanent influence he exerts on modern thought. At the close of the nineteenth century evolution as a principle was acknowledged by nearly all scientists and philosophers. It had become an established fact in nature—a valid induction from man's knowledge of natural order.

Nor has the first quarter of the twentieth century been lacking in

evolutionary development. Evolution is the science of growth and it is still growing. Darwinism is undergoing modifications, and in the forges of science and philosophy the principle of evolution is undergoing daily development; in fact it has been given a new interpretation by Henri Bergson's "Creative Evolution." According to Will Durant, "a distinguishing feature of John Dewey's philosophy is the undisguised completeness with which he accepts the evolution theory." Dr. Osborn, perhaps the greatest living paleontologist, is also a noted evolutionist. The theory of relativity holds eminently enshrined the name of Dr. Albert Einstein, and it may seem intrusive to class him as an evolutionist, but his relativistic doctrine can be sighted as a concrete example of new development in the evolution of the science of space.

Paleontologists and anatomists, embryologists and geneticists, scientists in every field, are studying, experimenting and comparing, not to determine whether evolution is a fact, but to discover what lessons the fact of evolution teaches—how evolution may be employed to advance the knowledge and progress of mankind.

In reality evolution is more than a theory, more than a principle, more than a dogma to be believed in—it is a process to be recognized; but whether recognized or not the process exists active and actual in eternal creation. The development of the evolution theory is but a history of man's awakening to the fact of evolution—a history of man's slow and gradual discovery of this perpetual process in eternal creation.

III.

There is, however, another phase to the subject which has not been mentioned in the foregoing development of the evolution theory, and that is the phase of decay and dissolution—evolution in reverse. If change implies growth, it also implies decay; growth and decay go on at the same time in all living organisms, in all systems, objective or subjective. The flower that blossoms so beautifully soon withers and fades away. Man lives to conquer the forces of nature only to be subdued by the forces he conquers. Astronomy is a study of celestial systems in the making and in the unmaking; even the brightest suns will run their courses and fade like flowers. In a sense the penalty of death is written across the face of the universe.

To quote Will Durant on Herbert Spencer: "The earth will be a chaotic theatre of decay, a gloomy drama of energy in irreversible

degradation; and it will itself be resolved into the dust and nebula from which it came. The cycle of evolution and dissolution will be complete. The cycle will begin again, and endless times again; but always this will be the denouement."

However, Durant hastens to point out that this is merely speaking from the materialistic view point. Evolution received its development in a materialistic age and to a large extent was expressed in quantitative categories. Darwinism and materialism are so closely allied that they are regarded as synonymous terms. According to Albert Lange materialism is well founded only when it means mechanism, absolute negation of final causes; and, as Kant has demonstrated, the physical sciences, to which materialism is limited, cannot reach or explain the thing-in-itself, the absolute.

Materialism has its definite limits, and so have the physical sciences as such; but wisdom does not die with them, nor is all knowledge buried here in "irreversible degradation." Knowledge goes beyond the physical sciences; it runs out into the wide ocean of metaphysics.

Every physicist knows that no particle of matter can ever be destroyed, that matter is eternal. He knows that no physical energy can ever be dissipated, that energy is eternal. He knows that the atom is an aggregation of negatively charged particles of electricity, or electrons, which revolve at enormous rates around a central nucleus of protons carrying a positive charge—matter in ceaseless dynamic action. He knows too that light is nothing more or less than free electrons, always traveling at the highest velocity of which matter is capable of traveling. In short, matter of every form spells physical continuity, and the physical universe is not a gloomy drama of inertia and death, but an ever changing, ever evolving, everlasting firmament of power, teeming with vibrant action, development and life-matter spiritualized, as it were.

As a matter of fact, every atom has within it a concrete and positive proof of eternity, more positive than the positivism of Comte. All matter is eternal and is eternally in motion causing eternal changes. Death is destruction of form only, not of matter: matter remains and takes on new form. Dissolution is only a turn in the cycle of evolution, as necessary to it as the night is necessary to the day. The gloomy fatality of materialism, therefore, is dispelled by the knowledge of physical continuity, and by the knowledge that behind every physical science lurk the higher problems of

metaphysics. The tombs of materialism have been made empty; death and dissolution are transfigured into resurrection and life.

IV.

According to Bergson time is the essence of all reality. He says, "the past in its entirety is prolonged into the present and abides there actual and active . . . Duration is the continuous progress of the past which gnaws into the future and which swells as it advances." Thomas Browne holds a similar view when he says, "what to us is to come, to His Eternity is present, His whole duration being but one permanent point." Eternity is infinite, without beginning and without end. In eternity all things are in the present tense, in the active mood. Eternity, through the aeons of time man calls the past and the future, is precipitated into the present and "abides there actual and active." The universe is in the making in which all time is the present time. Evolution is the process by which the cycles of eternity roll and unfold in perpetual creation; the heavens reflect eternity's perpetual achievement. Worlds and suns may freeze and then melt again to be resolved into the dust and nebulae from which they came, but all matter is the eternal property of the active and perpetual cycle of evolution.

The universe is seen to be under laws that express thought and plan which certainly are not the thought and plan of man. Who is the author of these laws, of this thought and plan? Professor Compton and Professor Heisenberg, two modern scientists, answer, "a Directive Intelligence;" Voltaire says, "a Workman infinitely able;" and Spencer replies in absolute certainty, "the Infinite and Eternal Energy." We may add to these answers a Supreme Consciousness, an Infinite Will, Creative Energy, Etc., and we have expressed only attributes of the one Supreme Being, the one answer, God. God conceived the thought and plan of the universe and wrote the laws into the book of nature; the method of his eternal creation is the process of evolution. He is not only the creator and invariable sustaining order of the universe, but his plan includes a purpose, a direction, a process of development toward an ever higher order, toward a spiritual transcendency—eternal creation with a meaning. This process is best expressed as the universe in transcendental evolution.

Contemplating the stellar universe, the silent orderly procession of the worlds, the music of the spheres, the eternal harmony of the heavens, Kepler exclaimed, "O God, I read thy thoughts after

thee!" Humanity is a part of nature, the best part, the only part of creation that can read God's thoughts after him. It will, therefore, be necessary to give special consideration to man's sphere in the process of transcendental evolution.

In "Genesis" it is recorded that "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." From all that is known this process of creation may well have included the whole long line of ascent from amoeba to man as set forth in the science of evolution. The conception that man has risen from a low and humble form of life, that he has slowly overcome the brute by force of mind and reason, by the exaltation of the spiritual over the physical, certainly fits in with the entire process of transcendental evolution. It is a noble conception of the method and purpose of the Directive Intelligence, and provides for further development, for continued creation.

Though we may never agree as to the route by which man came here, we do know when he arrived here—when he looked up and said, God. It was then that God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." An animal does not perceive thought, does not perceive plan, does not perceive God. A creature that can grasp the thought of God, can think God, is more than a physical creature. He is intellectually united and has a conscious relation to God. He is eternal like God is eternal.

John Fisk says: "The more thoroughly we comprehend the process of evolution by which things have come to be what they are, the more we are likely to feel that to deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in man is to rob the whole process of its meaning. . . . According to Mr. Spencer, the divine energy which is manifested throughout the knowable universe is the same energy that wells up in us as consciousness. Speaking for myself, I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion that at some period in the evolution of humanity this divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forces, and endure forever. Such a crowning wonder seems to me no more than the fit climax to a creative work that has been ineffably beautiful and marvellous in all its myriad stages."

Recognizing that all matter, all physical forces, all mental energies are eternal, then who will deny this "fit climax" to the creative work of evolution—the soul, the self-conscious, I related to the imperishable and everlasting Consciousness, and with him imperishable and everlasting.

Dr. H. D. Curtis, director of the Alleghany Observatory, is quoted as saying: "What we crudely call the spirit of man makes new compounds, plays with the laws of chemical action, guides the forces of the atom, changes the face of the earth, gives life to new form and takes it away from millions of animals and plants." Man makes the wilderness blossom like a rose; he makes the fields yield rich harvests in endless varieties; he lays low the forests and plants new ones; he directs the production of domestic animals and develops them in endless varieties of breeds; he harnesses the force of electricity, makes it run factories, railroad trains and automobiles, and makes it light the world and facilitate communication by telegraph, telephone and radio; in short, man is a co-creative force, a redirected force, "a center of creative evolution," as Bergson puts it. Man is a sum of contingency, a portion of the Supreme Consciousness entering into the world, a certain quantity of creative energy of possible action. In a small way, each human being is a subagency of the Directive Intelligence carrying out the supreme plan in the eternal process of evolution, a co-creator with God.

According to Bergson, "for a conscious being, to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to go on creating one's self endlessly." Day by day man is renewed in body, mind, and spirit, constantly rising on stepping stones of his dead self to better and higher things. Over each buried hope a resurrected hope arises. From tombs of doubt and darkness man rises daily into realms where the spirit of life weaves the fabric of a higher and higher destiny. In the consciousness of his divine vision he has made all graves empty, with the stone rolled away where hope and love lay buried once in doubt, and from which they have arisen to sit upon the throne of eternal aspiration. History is replete with conflicts stern and bitter, but for each Gethsemane there is a Mount of Transfiguration. Man weaves no longer a spotted life of shreds and patches, but lives in the aspiration of universal unity. He is growing in depth of reality toward the actualization of ideals and in spirit enters more and more fully into the Universal Spirit, merging his consciousness with the consciousness of God. Day by day he is transfigured by the eternal process of transcendental evolution.

The exaltation of the spiritual over the physical nature of man is not limited to individual evolution only, but spells social evolution as well. It indicates a growth toward a greater social ideal;

it means a social system transfigured by love and mutual service. It is for the community, for its business life, its political life, what it is for the individual man and woman. It means all humanity evolving toward a common brotherhood growing gradually in the spirit of helpfulness and good will; it means a world growing richer and more beautiful with the life and love of God. It is what Christ had in mind when he taught his disciples to pray for the coming of the Kingdom.

For the individual and for society transcendental evolution means eternal attaining toward the spiritual, toward the Divine Nature. It bids fair to overcome all obstacles and usher in the millennium when death shall be no more, when man shall turn a thousand years into a day and eternity into a permanent point of duration, when man shall roam among celestial spheres and enjoy the splendors of the universe.

V.

It will be perceived on reflection that the entire process of evolution is pregnant with a unified order and purpose, planned, guided and directed by a Creative Intelligence, who is more than the material with which he creates, in whose hands the universe is but so much raw material in the construction of a sublime masterpiece, a divine system, spiritually approaching the Master Builder, himself. Through the entire process of evolution there runs a current of spiritual exaltation over the material, as in the case of man, mind directs the body and spirit directs the mind. To designate the process as Transcendental Evolution, therefore, is to recognize the fact that all material continuities are the building-stones of spiritual continuity, that an unseen hand, a spiritual force, directs the entire process of creation toward an ever higher destiny.

However, the Goliath of materialism is not to be slain by the David of spiritualism, but guided and directed by him: the two are brothers and one takes up the work of the other. Too long man has been thinking in terms of combat, in terms of opposing forces, one seeking to destroy the other. Too long man has been deaf to the music and harmony produced by a unified universe in which harmony is king and contradiction is an outlaw. Too long man has been unmindful of the cosmic order and its unified plan and purpose that permits of no contradiction.

In view of existing conflicts and bloodshed, clashing of ideas

and confusing controversies on every hand, man may seem far from the goal of universal understanding and order; but through the accumulation of truth gathered from ten thousand fields of research, and stored in the wisdom of the ages; through the eternal process of transcendental evolution, human beings shall some day survive the night of doubt and discord, shall some day overcome all obstacles and shall stand as children of the dawn looking hopefully forward toward a grander day, toward a fuller realization of the eternal harmony toward which all creation is advancing.

A study of human progress proves that man has traveled some distance, and the past holds the promise to the future that this rising current shall yet rise more swiftly, that man will continue to grow in knowledge and wisdom and in consciousness continue to approach the Universal Consciousness until he overcomes even death, and attuned to eternal harmony, encompasses the stars as pleasure islands.

IS THE UNIVERSE RUNNING DOWN?

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

PERHAPS the greatest and most fascinating scientific and philosophical controversy of all time is that which has been carried on for some years by the two brilliant groups of physicists, mathematicians and astronomers, respectively headed by Sir James Jeans of Great Britain and Prof. Robert A. Millikan of the United States. The issue in this dispute is this: Is the Universe dying, running down like a clock, or is it immortal, endowed with the power of self-perpetuation, automatic self-winding, as it were?

It is scarcely necessary to call particular attention to the metaphysical and theological implications of this issue. If the Universe is doomed, condemned to a "heat death," then it is absurd to predicate rationality of Nature. All the known theologies at once lose their basis and their meaning. Speculations concerning human survival after death, concerning redemption and salvation, concerning the mission of so-called saviors, become puerile. Philosophy must purge itself of the last vestiges of theology and become strictly scientific.

Religion—as contradistinguished from theology—and Ethics would also be deeply affected by the general acceptance of the theory of inevitable death for the Universe, although the results to either would not be fatal or even very grave from the viewpoint of human reason and human good-will. We, the proud lords of Creation, the crowning glory of Evolution, would need principles and rules of conduct, social and other, for the duration of our franchise on the earth, as would inhabitants of other planets—if there are such—fortunate enough to have developed conditions favorable to life in its higher forms and manifestations. Clearly, the question of life or death some billions of years hence would be wholly irrelevant

and incompetent to any discussion of human relations, responsibilities, opportunities and privileges in the present and the calculable, predictable future.

Still, to repeat, the issue as to the ultimate fate of the Universe would mold and shape *all* our thinking if we treated it with the gravity and solemnity with which a rather small, select company of men of science approach and discuss it.

The indifference of the average person to this question of questions, however, cannot be shared by the intellectually curious, the seekers of truth and knowledge for their own sake, the quiet adventurers in the realms of abstract thought.

What, then, is the truth regarding the destiny of the human race, of the tiny globe which that race inhabits, and of the whole Universe?

Sir James Jeans, in his new book, "The Mysterious Universe," as well as in several recent lectures, has asserted that there can be but one end to the Universe—"a heat-death," in which the total energy will be evenly distributed and the substance of the Universe will have the same temperature throughout. Both astronomy and physics, according to Sir James, lead up to that melancholy conclusion. Both are forced to deduce it from the second law of Thermodynamics. To quote Sir James:

"Just as Tantalus, standing in a lake so deep that he only just escaped drowning, was yet destined to die of thirst, so it is the tragedy of our race that it is probably destined to die of cold, while the greater part of the substance of the Universe still remains too hot for life to obtain a footing."

All roads lead to universal death, then, and there is no way of escaping that doom!

But, many ask, what will become of the human spirit, the human intellect and conscience? What terrible, amazing waste the fatalistic view implies! To evolve Man, with all his faculties and potentialities; to produce saints, heroes, martyrs, great savants, and then destroy all life without remorse or mercy!

Well, this objection, which even eminent men of science not infrequently advance, is disposed of by Jeans and his followers by directing attention to the littleness of our world in space, the rarity of planets capable of sustaining life, the absurdity of imagining that the universe is interested in human beings. Life, says Jeans, seems

to be an unimportant by-product; living things appear to be "off the main line of cosmic evolution."

Consider the fact that life can exist only inside of a very narrow zone, and the further fact that, perhaps, only one star in 100,000 has a planet revolving around it in the zone in which life is possible, and it becomes incredible that the Universe can have been designed primarily to evolve human beings. As to the appalling wastefulness of nature if the universal death theory be true, Jeans reminds us that modern science regards the Universe not as a mechanism, but as pure mathematical thought. "It would now seem to be beyond dispute that nature is in some way more closely allied to the concepts of pure mathematics than to those of biology or engineering," he says. If the Universe had a designer, that designer was a pure mathematician, not a moralist or prophet. To pure mathematical thought, the ideas of waste, conservation, matter and spirit are quite alien and irrelevant.

There are inconsistencies and even paradoxes in Sir James Jeans' argument, but we cannot now stop to deal with these. He doubtless would admit the charge, for he frankly recognizes that his metaphysics may not follow strictly and irresistibly from his physics and astronomy. But upon one conclusion—that of the ultimate fate of the Universe—he is firm and insistent. He simply finds no possibility of escaping the heat-death verdict for the Universe.

Sir Arthur Eddington, the author of "The Nature of the Physical Universe," finds himself in complete agreement with Jeans. In his recent presidential address before the British Mathematical Association, this eminent scientist not only predicted the end of the world, but somewhat reluctantly, according to his own admission, attempted to draw a picture of the world as it would appear after the inevitable end.

If, he said, matter slowly changes into radiation, then the world will and must "become in time a ball of radiation, growing ever larger, the radiation passing into longer and longer wave-lengths. About every 1,500,000,000 years it will double its size and its radius, and go on expanding in geometrical progression forever." Time may extend to infinity, but after the destruction of matter the term time can have no definite sense, he added.

And why, according to Eddington, *must* the world die? Because of the fact of Entropy, "the law of disorganization." Evolution, it

is true, means that more and more highly organized systems develop as time goes on, but science knows that evolution has its limit, and that, on the whole, there is a steady loss of organization. Finally, a state of complete disorganization will be reached, and the universe will become "a uniform featureless mass in thermodynamic equilibrium."

Prof. Millikan and his followers do not admit, however, that the laws of Thermodynamics condemn the universe to complete disorganization and a heat-death. They affirm, first, that science is still too undeveloped to justify dogmatic conclusions concerning Entropy. And they plead, in the second place, that certain phenomena, not otherwise satisfactorily explicable, render it *probable*—at least—that a law of compensation is at work in the Universe, and that matter is being created as well as converted into radiation.

In the words of Prof. Millikan, the Creator is still on the job and will remain there, replacing loss and waste and renewing or rebuilding his universe. This view of Dr. Millikan has been set forth in scientific as well as popular lectures on several occasions, but the best exposition of it is to be found in an article on "The Origin of the Cosmic Rays" which was published in *The Physical Review* in 1928. In that paper evidence is offered in support of the theory that the so-called Millikan or cosmic rays owe their origin to the formation of helium, oxygen, silicon and, perhaps, iron out of hydrogen. This atom-building is taking place continually in the universe, but not inside the stars at all. According to Dr. Millikan, this type of atom-building is apparently favored by the extreme and thus far unexplored conditions of low temperature and density existing in interstellar space.

It will be useful and instructive to quote in full the following important paragraphs from Dr. Millikan's article. In these he discusses what he calls an "incomplete cycle," the elements of which have the credentials of actual experience, and then points out how the cycle can be scientifically completed. He writes:

"1. Positive and negative electrons exist in great abundance in interstellar space. (See the evidence of the Spectroscope.)

"2. These electrons condense into atoms under the influence of the conditions existing in outer space,—*viz.*, absence of temperature and high dispersion. (See the evidence of the cosmic rays.)

"3. These atoms then segregate under their gravitational forces into stars. (See the evidence of the telescope.)

“4. In the interior of stars, under the influence of the enormous pressures, densities and temperatures existing there, an occasional positive electron, presumably in the nucleus of a heavy atom, transforms its entire mass into an ether pulse, the energy of which, when frittered away in heat, maintains the temperature of the star and furnishes most of the supply of light and heat which it pours out. (See the evidence of life-time of the stars—Eddington-Jeans.)

“The foregoing is as far as the experimental evidence enables us to go, but the recent discovery of the second element of the above unfinished cycle, namely, that the supply of positive and negative electrons is being used up continually in the creation of atoms the signals of whose birth constitute the cosmic rays, at once raises imperiously the question as to why the process is still going on at all after the eons during which it has apparently been in progress—or better why the building stones of the atoms have not all been used up long ago. And the only possible answer seems to be to complete the cycle and to assume that these building stones are continually being replenished throughout the heavens by the condensation with the aid of some as yet wholly unknown mechanism of radiant heat into positive and negative electrons.”

Thus Prof. Millikan regards the Universe as reversible. The cosmic catastrophe predicted by the Jeans-Eddington school is not only not unescapable, but impossible.

There are weaknesses in the Millikan theory, as he is frank enough to admit by using the terms “probable” and “probably” in building it up. But it will have been noted, perhaps, that Sir James Jeans is also forced to speak of probability in developing his alternative theory.

Neither school has completed its work or said the final word. But the controversy between them challenges the attention of the realms of science and philosophy. Many thinkers choose to remain neutral, but we may expect interesting contributions to the great debate in the next few years. One of these contributions, according to indications, will take the form of a new theory of the structure of matter, a radiational theory Prof. James Mackaye, the author of this theory, expounds it in a work entitled “The Dynamic Universe,” and this interesting book merits serious consideration. It may or may not find acceptance, but it is not to be ignored.

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Chapter

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 - IV Concerning the Postulational Treatment of Empirical Truth
 - V The Structure of Exact Thought
 - VI The Notion of Doctrinal Function
 - VII Hypothesis Growing into Veritable Principle
 - VIII What is Reasoning?
 - IX The Larger Human Worth of Mathematics
- Index

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