The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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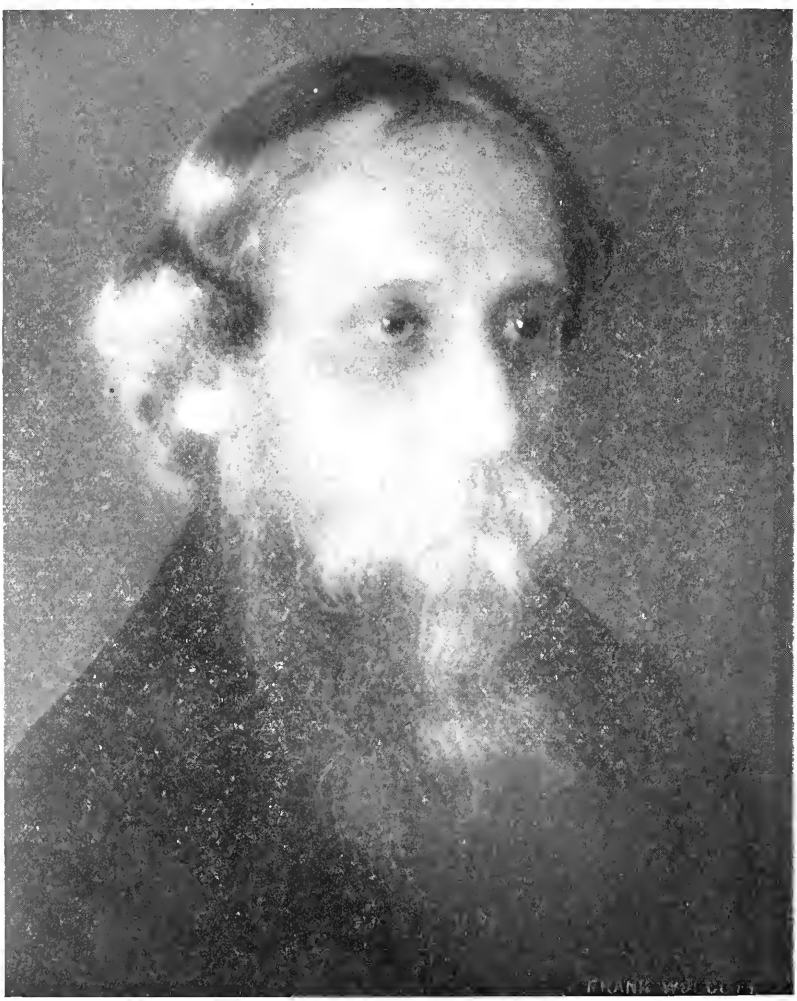

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE MESSAGE OF HINDU STAGE*

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE Natyashastra of Bharata is the standard work on Hindu drama. Bharat describes the stage in this book; but there is not to be found even the faintest reference to settings and scenery. It seems to me that drama does not suffer in the least by the absence of concrete scenery on the stage. The fine arts are morbidly jealous of one another. Each art shines the purest in its innate effulgent glory when it is absolutely and completely free from the presence of a rival art. As a faithful wife never casts wistful glances on other men, even so the muse of poetry smiles the sweetest only in the company of the imaginative.

We all act within ourselves when we read a play. If this mental acting fails to unfold the beauty of dramatic poetry, then that dramatist does not deserve any consideration. The drama that has to sell its soul to be congenial to the skill of the actor naturally meets with contempt. The art of acting must of necessity be somewhat dependent on the beauty of poetry in the play. But why should acting bow its head to other arts? To be consistent with its own sense of self-respect it can acknowledge only that much dependence on other arts that is absolutely necessary for its fullest expression. To do anything more is to degrade itself.

The words of the poet are absolutely necessary for the actor. He has to laugh with the words of laughter woven by the poet; if the poet is kind enough to offer him a little leisure for weeping, he weeps to draw tears in the eyes of the audience. But why, why pictures that idly hang behind the actor? He does not create them on the stage. They were painted by the painter according to his conception of things. The actor has nothing to do with them. They only obstruct the blossoming of his creative genius. No doubt with

* Translated from the original Bengali by Basanta Koomar Roy.

the borrowed help of the painter he thus fraudulently shirks his own responsibility by creating a false illusion on the minds of the audience. This only proves his own incompetence and cowardice.

The actor is not supposed to stand in a witness-box in a court room, so that every word he utters has to be sanctified with a solemn oath. Then why such elaborate scenic preparations to cheat the spectator that has come to enjoy the play with abundance of faith in his heart. He has not left his imagination at home under lock and key! There is a subtle friendly understanding between the audience and the actor that their respective imagination voluntarily co-operate for the proper understanding of the play. It is not difficult for a normal person to imagine a cottage, a couple of trees or a river on the stage.

That is the reason why I like our village jatra plays so much. The gulf between the actor and the audience is most simply and soulfully bridged in these open-air plays without settings and scenery. There is such an exuberance of confidence on both the sides that the purpose of the poet is most sympathetically attained. By dint of sheer sincere acting poetry is made to dance out of a fountain of beauty and enrapture the entire being of the spectator.

There is an invisible stage in the mind of the audience. Enchanted scenery is constantly being automatically painted there by the magic touch of imagination. That stage and that scenery are the goals that the true dramatist seeks to reach. No artificial stage and no artificial scenery can be worthy of the fancy of the poet.

In the West the audience demands presentation of the things mentioned in the play. It is afraid to take chances with imagination. It naturally makes a compromise in its willingness to imagine a mountain on the stage, but a picture of the mountain must, by all means, be furnished in the settings. So tremendous amounts of money have to be wasted for the production of scenic effects—for mere child's play.

The theaters we have set up in India today in imitation of the Western stage is a cumbersome and swollen monstrosity. It is a costly affair. So it is not accessible to all. The barbarous display of wealth by the producer crushes the refinement of the genius of the poet. If the Hindu spectator has not yet been vitiated beyond redemption by Western scenic aberrations on the stage; and if the Hindu actor has any genuine respect for his own art and for poetry; then it is high time for them to rise in a righteous revolt against this devastating innovation, and simply sweep aside the costly unnecessary scenic rubbish that contaminate and smother our stage today.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD AND THE ORIGINS OF PIETY

BY H. GODDEN COLE

WE KNOW little enough about comparative psychology but we have good reason to believe that some of the higher mammals have an instinctive dread and horror of the corpses of their own species. Doctor Mackenna in his *Adventure of Death* cites the case of horses. If that be so it would not be unreasonable to believe that primitive man shared that instinctive disgust or loathing of his own dead. Whether or no, the dissolution of the body would call for some method of disposal and he would probably adopt the same course as do other animals, that is to say, leave it to rot and move elsewhere himself. Now this simple-enough procedure may be adopted in the case of small nomadic communities, but it is cumbersome or impossible in the case of tribes and especially where the tribes live in villages and cultivate their own pasture land. Many possibilities suggest themselves as feasible methods of disposing of the corpse. Let us consider the most important.

1. *Exposure.* Sometimes the corpse was thrown into the forest. The Mongols to this day simply expose their dead. It would probably be devoured by carnivorous beasts, or flies would find a rich harvest. Let me anticipate a possible theological suggestion and remind you that Beelzebub was the god of flies, that is flies were his messengers or even himself incarnate, carrying the soul of the deceased to the unknown. That, however, is hypothetical. Among some tribes, for example the Kamachadales, dogs were actually kept for the express purpose of eating the corpses. Again, this may have been a contributary origin of the domestication of animals, even of totemism. The Parsees take their corpses to the top of high towers. Towers of Silence, as they are called, and they are there exposed. Vultures quickly enough dispatch them. Where the carcass is, there are the eagles gathered together. Now this is primitive and

loveless. The Jewish king Jehoiakin was a blackguard, and coward, and a war-time profiteer, and so keenly was he hated that no one bothered to bury him. Jeremiah describes his burial as the burial of an ass. All this, I say, is crude and callous. One likes to feel that even savage man shows a certain sense of delicacy and finer feeling, and to watch a jackal seize an erstwhile member of the tribe is gross enough. I only surmise that a certain innate good taste would awake in man and prompt him to dispose of his dead in other ways. Of course, it may have been the other way round, that is to say, that burial, adopted for some reason of which we know nothing leading to the gradual development of good taste.

In Tibet the body, Waddell states, is taken out to the cemetery, laid face downwards on a slab, stripped and tied to a stake. The undertaker, or corpse cutter rather, slices the flesh off the bones and throws it to the dogs, pigs and vultures. Those who can afford to indulge in extravagant obsequies pay a little extra to have dogs and pigs prevented from sharing in the last rites. There is, it seems, something more holy about vultures. The treatment of the bones, again, is a matter of expense. Poor people are buried. Rich folk have their bones ground to powder, made into a pulp with flour, and the bolus thus formed thrown into the air for the vultures. This is the celestial disposal of the relics. Two variations are worthy of mention. Buddhist priests are cremated and the bones made into amulets, the skull into bowls and drums, the thigh bones into trumpets, and the small hand bones into rosary beads. The other is that paupers, lepers, those killed by accident, and barren women are dragged by a cart rope and thrown into a river or lake. Thus does Buddhist Tibet differ from Christian England. It all seems very horrible, very disgusting to us, because, I suppose, only paupers have their flesh sliced off their bones,—and that not in the interests of religion but of anatomical research. It all seems very horrible and yet. . . .

Now we can begin to see how it probably came about that birds take such a prominent part in all religion. One can conceive how savage mentality connected the eagles, the vultures, the ravens, that devoured corpses with messengers of the gods or even the gods themselves metamorphosed. That peacocks and woodpeckers and doves may not have been carrion feeders is a detail. Once the idea had gained a hold on the mind that certain birds were god's ministering spirits, then any birds might be. Who can tell how Athena's owl was evolved, or Aphrodite's doves, or Juno's peacocks, or the

eagle of Jove, the woodpecker of Zeus, Leda's swans? May I mention here the belief of some savage tribes the amazing superstition that the mother of twins has had two husbands, and one a bird. May I remind the reader of his nursery days and the swan maidens, the girls who were changed into swans. I suggest that we are not far from explaining the meaning of angels, God's ministering spirits who receive the soul at parting and on joyful wing, cleaving the sky, fly upward. May I, tentatively, suggest how easily it came about that the supreme Holy Spirit should be conceived in the form of a dove. So much then for Exposure. But so far we have no suggestion whatever of any communion with the dead, no piety. And yet we can just begin to discern the glimmering dawn of religion. Let us turn to another method of the disposal of the dead.

2. *Tree Burial.* All religion tends to be conservative and one can see why our first parents, who lived in trees, should have chosen this method. The body died in the tree and there it was left to rot: that is the simplest explanation. But there is a supplementary one. The corpse in a tree, though unexposed to voracious jackals was fully exposed to the birds of the air. If their relatives had souls they stood a better chance of getting to heaven, for in the tree they were well on the way. Be that as it may, Tree Burial has had some very important results.

Easily the first so far as comparative religion is concerned is the sacred significance of serpents. If the dead in trees were safe from the maraudings of lions and tigers, jackals and hyaenas, if they were exposed to the beneficent service of the heavenly birds, they were not safe from snakes. Serpent worship cannot be explained merely by one root—and serpent worship in connection with trees is only one factor of this great subject; yet I am sure that savage mentality need not be strained too far to invent wild mythologies about the serpent and the tree; the serpent and the bird; the serpent and the evil spirit ready to drag down the soul; and even the serpent and immortality.

The second result of importance is the almost world-wide superstition of capital punishment. The gallows is but an improvised tree, even a lamp-post on which an offender is lynched is but a mob's substitute. Criminals may be electrocuted by nations who have little sense of the past; or decapitated by those, as for instance the Dyaks of Borneo or Lady Jane Grey's well wishers, who have too much; but hanging still remains the method *par excellence*. Read

the essay about Aphrodite and the Mandrake, read the Epistle to Peter who converts the cross into an accursed tree.

In the third place there is the important part that trees play in animism; as is indicated in the origins of kissing under the mistletoe. Notice how often a tree, usually a yew, finds a prominent position in our churchyards and, what naturally follows, how often elegies from Gray's to Tennyson's *In Memoriam* make use of the old yew.

Fourthly, consider how easy a step it is from tree burial to burial under a tree, as for instance in the case of the wives of the patriarchs, and from thence to trees sacred to the memory of the dead. The Gospel oaks, the Honor-oaks, the Seven-oaks of England bring us near home geographically; but the sacred groves of Baal worship are not far removed in the religious world. And (though I do not press this) the idea has been mooted that even our cathedrals are built on the plan of a forest.

3. *Hut Burial.* Another method of the disposal of the dead is by leaving it in the hut, which is either deserted or fired. This is the common practice among the Hottentots. It is not quite so crude and callous as leaving the body in the forest or even in a tree. It is protected to some extent from wild animals. But much more important as a step in the direction of piety is its entailing the loss of the hut. It is the step towards sacrifice. A very beautiful custom (I condense from Frazer's *Golden Bough*) holds in some parts of East Africa. When a baby or quite young child dies the body is not thrown out as is usually the practice, but buried under the eaves. Then when another baby is born in that hut the soul of the first child becomes reincarnate in the new arrival. I wonder if the fairy tale of the stork (whose nest is in the eaves) has any part or lot in this matter. After the second birth, of course, the soul has no need for its earlier body and the latter is thrown out in the ordinary way. But the dead man's hut is of infinite value in the history of comparative religion. Without an altar it is yet a temple, the dwelling sacred to the dead man and the place where his honor dwelleth. A building unused for ordinary domestic habitation, the masoleum of St. Chad or St. Philemon, it becomes the depository of his body, and when that decays of his bones; and when those crumble to dust, of his soul. What is that but a temple. Not far away is modern religion.

4. *Burial in Caves.* This has been practised considerably but not universally. So much depends on the nature of the country.

Those who read the Bible will recall many instances. A big stone rolled before the entrance would protect the corpse from wild beasts, but not from the serpent on the rock; not from lunatics who seemed to have regarded cemeteries as asylums and who were popularly regarded as being possessed with devils, possessed by the souls from the corpses deposited in the rock hewn tombs. The Veddahs of Ceylon still practice cave burial. This method has led to two important developments which are really one. The first is the artificial erection of dwelling places for the dead culminating in the megalithic architecture of Egypt. The second is the sacredness of the stone placed at the entrance of the cave.

5. *Mountain Burial.* This has found sporadic devotees. Certain advantages offer themselves. The corpse is tolerably safe from jackals, is hygienically remote from the village community is near heaven. Its religious importance can hardly be over-estimated. The sacred mountain looms up large in nearly every religion. We climb the mountain but we live in the valleys. The mountain of Mahomet, Mount Olympus, Buddha's mountain—these probably represent tombs of religious heroes, demigods. Tradition has it that Queen Boadicea was buried on Gop Mountain in Wales.

Max Muller believes that mountains are sacred in religion because they, by their grandeur, would impress primitive man with a sense of the infinite. Personally I believe that the sense of the infinite to be a secondary matter. I believe that when a kinsman died and was carried away as were Moses and Aaron or Elijah those who had loved him in the flesh cast wistful longing eyes to the hills from whence came their grief. Hope springs eternal in the human breast and gradually phantasy and mythology would build up a god. How personal love developed into religious worship can only be explained when we can see inside the pensive, wistful soul of the first man who asked, "if a man die shall he live again?"

6. *Water Burial.* The inhabitants of modern Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and the ancient Ichthyphagi threw the dead into the sea. In many lands and in many times the corpse was put into rivers and floated away to the regions beyond. I cannot find any cases where the corpse was habitually and customarily put into a well but the idea is not preposterous. Water burial has been productive of much. There is little doubt that baptism is a great debtor. It probably accounts for the sacredness of certain rivers as the Ganges, Father Tiber to whom the Romans pray, and many another; and for sacred wells and fountains, as Lourdes and St. Winifred's. The

idea still survives in modern hymnology. Old Doctor Watts and other timorous mortals who stand and shrink afraid to launch away still sing of death's cold stream. Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar* needs no quotation. One ought, in this connection, to mention the fine heroic funeral accorded to the old Norse kings who, decked in all their warrior's accoutrements and luxuriously furnished were sent out to sea in a flaming ship:

"They launched the burning ship,
It floated far away,
Over the misty sea,
Till, like the sun, it seemed
Sinking beneath the waves:
Balder returned no more!"

Other methods have played their part in the world's history, e. g., urn burial with its connections with pottery, and cannibalism and its tremendous significance in ritual. Two remain as the standard methods today.

6. *Fire.* Although it is the last form of fire disposal to be evolved it will be convenient to remark on cremation at this juncture. The disposal of the dead by fire may (but I doubt it) have had a sanitary origin. Even the Jews, to whom cremation was abhorrent, practised it during a plague and the Vale of Tophet became a symbol of Gehennah. Religion is a much more probable origin. The worship of the sun god, the fire ritual, the ascending of the smoke, a holy incense as food (howbeit nasal feeding) for the god—that I take it is the probable source. Fire burial may have originated by accident. A case came under my own notice not very long ago in which, at a wake, when every one was drunk, a candle of religious import got overturned, setting fire to the coffin and charring the corpse. Cremation has been a widely distributed custom. It existed in India and Japan, in Polynesia, in Greece and Rome, in Scandinavia and Britain. But it was very exceptional in Egypt, and to the Jews it was an abomination. "Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Moab and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; Because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime." Instances from the Old Testament might be multiplied to substantiate this statement. It would be possible to analyze the religious significance of the fire cult in much greater detail, and to bring together scattered beliefs about bonfires (or

bonefires): but one thing is clear: cremation was never merely a cheap and easy way of disposing of the dead. Rather it proved deep respect and loving interest for them. Some of the practices connected with cremation in Melanesia testify to the real and sincere grief experienced by the mourners, and some of the Greek tragedies, e. g., Sophocles' *Antigone*, or Virgil's *Aeneid*, or the Hindu Ghats all tell the same tale. Not the least interesting aspect of the study of cremation is the several methods of the disposal of the ashes. Sometimes they were stored in an urn—I counsel you to read old Sir Thomas Browne—sometimes buried in the earth, sometimes thrown to the four winds. The Digger Indians smear the ashes over the heads of the mourners and paste them on with gum. Surely never was communion with the dead practised so literally.

7. *Earth.* So much for ashes to ashes. Now a paragraph on dust to dust. "this barbaric and disgusting custom, so repugnant to all the more delicate sentiments of human nature" as Grant Allen used to call burial, a statement with which I should be sorry to acquiesce, is, of course, exceedingly common in comparison with the other methods enumerated. "The paleolithic cave dwellers buried in the natural grottoes of the country, the later stone age in chambered barrows and cairns, and the bronze age in unchambered barrows in cemeteries of stone cists on natural eminences surrounded by a stone circle." Let me make one point now—that stones indicating the site of burial developed into ecclesiastical architecture. The Moors bury, not in the earth or stone, but under prickly thorns. For the most part burial in the earth is, in essence, conducted as in Christian England.

As to the position in which the body is buried little need be said. In the majority of cases the corpse is taken to its long home in a sleeping posture lying east and west, with his feet towards the dawn, probably the result of solar symbolism. But all posture have been described; sitting, standing, lying on one side, with the knees drawn up, and so on. The interest of posture to our immediate purpose lies in its attempt to make the corpse comfortable for its long journey, and its adaptability for resurrection.

I need hardly point out that permutations and combinations may be rung on these methods of disposal not only in the same community but even at the same funeral. The Warramunga tribe of Northern Australia offers a striking example. These folk bury in the earth and preserve a hand, bury in a tree; cure by smoking as we cure hams; cremate, and eat cannibalistically, when the skin is

kept as a momento. But tree burial is the usual custom. After the corpse has been hung in the higher branches of a tree the village is deserted for a while. Many months later the mourners return and the bones are raked down with a stick, the skull smashed and the bones, with the exception of the thigh, buried where the man died. After much totemic ceremony in which both men and women take part the arm bone is broken and the fragments preserved. The ancient Colchians hanged the men and buried the women, the Gonds burn the men and bury the women. The Todas burn generally but bury babies who are the victims of infanticide—an interesting point. The Muddikers generally bury, but burn lepers. The Kalmucks practice exposure or cremation, or burial, or drowning, or even build a hut over the deceased; each corpse being discussed on its own merits by the priest. Borneo babies are buried in jars.

So much, then, for the disposal of the corpse. It is not easy to trace each step in the progress. Many factors play a part; climate, natural conditions, theological beliefs—all contribute. But, cause or effect I know not, running parallel with all the methods of the disposal of the corpse there is an increasing desire to retain it. Horror is gradually being dethroned to give place to grief. Piety is developed. Love becomes more intense, more lasting, more definite. We appreciate this better if we study the preparation of the corpse. A coffin was originally a basket. That it has developed from wicker to thick elm proves the growing attempt to retain the body as long as possible, and though leaden shells are going out of fashion, family vaults still hold their own. The grave (which is not, I believe, connected etymologically either with grave meaning solemn, or grave meaning to engrave a tombstone) is the earthy and earthly representative of the Sheol or Hell of the Jews (their Gehennah is fire). The dead body was taboo to the Jews and the graves whitewashed. "Ye are like whited sepulchres which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness." The Greeks cremated and the dead ascended to heaven in the smoke. Christians, though consistent neither with Jew nor Greek have succeeded in making the best of both worlds. John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave but his soul goes marching on, to the confusion of psychology but the simplification of eschatology.

To the Jews, as I have said, the corpse was taboo. "He that toucheth the dead body of any man shall be unclean seven days." They shunned contact with it. Perhaps this was due to fear. But another explanation may have contributed to this reluctance. Unlike

the Chinese with their eyes on the past the Jews set theirs forward to their children. A quotation from Gubernatis may help to explain the religious (really a mental) incompatibility of marriage and funeral. "They who return from the funeral must touch the stone of Priapus, a fire, the excrement of a cow, a grain of barley, a grain of sesame and water,—all symbols of that fecundity which contact with a corpse might have destroyed." But in general grief is too poignant to make matrimonial considerations possible and thought for the future is forgotten, temporarily at least, in passionate love and eager communion for the present dead. Piety is the attempt to retain the unretainable. From the material aspect this desire finds its highest expression in the practice of embalming. As this was carried out most fully in Egypt, we may refer to that country. Two theories have successively held the field as to the meaning of certain funeral customs. Some anthropologists attribute certain rites to fear of the dead man's ghost, others to love of the deceased. On their face value it does seem that these two are incompatible, and yet each may be right if we remember that what appertains to one country may not to another. National character is largely explainable by physical geography. Probably in Chaldea, Assyria and Babylon the fear theory would dominate thought and consequently religion. In Egypt, on the other hand, with its placid life, the sunny fountains rolling down its golden sands, its annual rise of the Nile, its insular safety, I have little doubt that love, social and tribal love, prompted most of the rites with which they celebrated the dead. It is appalling to try and reckon the number of bodies which must have been embalmed, millions and millions at least. Not only were human remains preserved in this way but some of the lower animals, notably cats and crocodiles, snakes and beetles. Possibly totemism may be the explanation of this. The initial stage of embalming was performed by a man of low social position. He opened the side and flank with one long sweep of his knife and immediately ran off as fast as he could. And well he might for he was pursued by a crowd throwing stones and hurling curses. The work was completed by others. The Bible calls them "physicians." The viscera were removed and either preserved separately or replaced in the belly which was filled with aromatic and disinfectant spices, myrrh, and what not. The body was soaked in brine, wrapped round and round with bandages, and the mummy was complete. The future, apparently was, to some extent, a matter of personal taste. Sometimes it was kept at home, even brought out at feasts; sometimes placed in a sarcopha-

gous; ultimately after a judicial trial it was laid in the tomb—asleep in Osiris, blessed sleep. The pyramids, the Sphinx, megalithic tombs (or colonial cemeteries as they might well be called) testify to the loving tenderness which the Egyptians lavished on their dead. But preservation of the whole corpse is rather a tall order for general practice. For the most part physical communion with the dead resolves itself into cherishing some part of the anatomy. Usually, of course, it is one of the bones. The Bible suggests plenty of instances. David took the bones of Saul and Jonathan, Moses took the bones of Joseph, and Elisha's bones were potent to work a miracle. To set against these is Scipio's last will and testament *Ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem habebis,* "Not even my bones shalt thou have, ungrateful country." In the Admiralty Islands it is the teeth which are preserved. Sometimes the skull is the momento. In the Warramunga tribe, already referred to, the hand is preserved and hung round the neck. In England the hair is sometimes saved and worn usually in a ring or even in a bracelet. But there is another side to the picture. More than one person is implied in communion, and communion with the dead often resolves itself into the mourners not merely sharing a piece of the corpse with themselves but sharing pieces of themselves with the corpse. Supremely this is seen in the Indian Suttee, the widow throwing herself on her husband's funeral pyre. Again this is too great a sacrifice for general practice. More usually only a piece of the mourners is left to comfort the corpse. The Todas cut a curl from the dead and keep it, and (I believe) leave one of their curls with the corpse. The Badaga women, the Esquimaux, squeeze the milk from their breast into the mouth of the corpse. A most amazing method seems to have been not uncommon in early Britain. The corpse and the chief mourner were each trephined and the circlets of bone changed from the living skull to the dead and the dead to the living. But apart from tears, it was blood shed into the grave which evoked the most important development. The men of New South Wales used to cut themselves with boomerangs and let the blood flow over the dead. The Jews were forbidden to do this. "Thou shalt not make any cuttings in thy flesh for the dead." But the very commandment suggests that it may, at an earlier day, have been a regular practice. The mourners who spilt their life blood for the dead must have numbered thousands, and tens of thousands.

Thus communion with the dead entails sacrifice, sacrifice first of all of their own bodies, and then sacrifice of those things which

would be pleasing and acceptable to the one who had passed on. The corpse was given things that he enjoyed in this life; armor if he was a warrior and spears and arrows; dogs if he was a hunter. A relic of this was enacted when King Edward died. His dog Caesar was led to the funeral, though not actually killed. If an alderman died, or the New Hebridian equivalent of an alderman, pigs were sacrificed; slaves were sacrificed in the case of a king; in the case of a woman, a mirror; of a child, dolls and toys. Very pathetic but exquisitely human and natural. Money was commonly given. It has been said that money was given to provide the fare for their long journey. I cannot believe it. I believe the mourners gave gifts actuated by sheer love and that the explanation came later. I no more believe that money was given to the corpse to pay his fare to Charon than I believe that we place flowers on our graves for our dead to smell on their way to heaven. As a matter of fact when death does occur in a small community all the members of that community normally express their love by gifts. And from time to time food would be given; in most savage countries venison or meats taken in hunting, among agricultural peoples bread or wine. We are not far from the kingdom of heaven.

Some wiser than others would persuade themselves that the lost one was not dead, but that, somewhere, his ghost lived on still—the ghost that left him during sleep and returned when he awoke, the ghost that left him when he swooned or fainted in battle and returned as he revived, the ghost that came to him in the silence of a dream. Somewhere that ghost lived on still. And even that speculation (whether it be false or true need not be discussed in this place) certainly may have had, and probably did have, a scientific basis. We, in these latter days, do not speak of ghosts but whether ghosts have objective reality or not, it has been proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that they have subjective reality.

Persuading themselves, these loving mourners would persuade others. And persuading others their whole outlook on death would be remodeled. Their old ritual would remain but it would have a new content. Their gifts would be interpreted as for the use of the dead in another world; the coin as the wherewithal to tip Charon to row him across the Styx, the spears and arrows that he might hunt in the undiscovered country, the anima of the bread to give him ghostly sustenance and the spirt of the wine to cheer his spirit. And now we are in the porch of the temple of religion.

Let us summarize our gleanings so far. First of all then religion is a perfectly human natural thing. There is no need to hypothesize either institution by supernatural powers nor, on the other hand, avaricious priestcraft preying upon a gullible people, though each of these factors may play a part. Secondly, religion springs out of the expression of love. It is too early to introduce any theological dogma, but it is fair to say that had these lowly savages been able to think in terms of philosophy they might have said that god was love. And there is a deep underlying philosophical reason for this, though quite unconscious on the part of the mourners; and this is, so far as we know, all life springs from love. Thirdly, religion springs out of love for the dead. Piety is, to quote William Simpson, "the worship of death." Frequently, though not necessarily, religion is, in essence, ancestor worship. The late departed is a ghost. A generation or two later, when the ghost's personality begins to become encrusted by myth he becomes a spirit. And finally a spirit who for some reason, probably because of his prowess in battle or his ability as a priest, and whose remains continue to be worshipped by the tribe, becomes a god. In short, a god is the spirit of a dead hero. A special name, "euhemerism," is given to this doctrine when it occurs in Greek culture; but it is a mistake, I think, to limit the term geographically. I believe most gods, probably all, are dead heroes. Fourthly, religion is communion with the dead. Fifthly, sacrifice, as used in a religious sense in feeding the dead. Sixthly, the ghost either for love or fear would have nothing but good said about him or to him. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.* Prayer was born in threnody and cradled in epitaph. Prayer is praising or supplicating the dead. That is the first stage of religion, and to that aspect a name may be given, a word which should be restricted to that aspect. I refer to the term "piety." Piety denotes loving care and tribal communion and respectful worship of the dead. Every schoolboy translating the sixth book of the Aeneid grudges construing *At pius Aeneas.* We consider him a blackguard. To treat Dido as he treated her rouses our righteous anger and indignation. Nevertheless the virtue of the man who carried his old father out of burning Troy was piety. Honor thy father and thy mother that thou mayest be called pious. Domestic piety is centered in and around the hearth and home; the hearth where the dead was burnt and his ashes collected; the home, where the urn, in which the ashes of the father were collected,

reposes. Religious piety still prompts us to pray for the souls of the dead, and we still have a day in the calendar called All Souls' Day. All our gods are dead heroes. That is the first stage of religion, but now there comes the introduction of a false note, a selfish note. It may be attributable to cunning priests. It may be due to fear, the result of political changes involving kingly despotism. I know not, but the reasoning is simple. It would seem that primitive man never grasped the fact that he himself was mortal. Perhaps the realization of the ego had not developed so far. But when self-consciousness did dawn and a man discovered that he must one day, sooner or later, enter the valley of the shadow, then the whole trend and tenor of religion underwent a violent revolution. No longer was the be-all and end-all of religion the salvation of the dead but the selfish craving for everlasting life. There were various methods adopted to attain this end. All I need emphasize here was that this second stage of religion, personal salvation, was inevitable.

The evolution of piety, then, as indeed the evolution of any other great spiritual achievement, is not a straight-forward progress like the evolution of a cart-wheel but rather like the evolution of an oak from an acorn. Nevertheless there are outstanding landmarks. First of all the corpse is abandoned. Next love steps in and the corpse is protected. Then provision and loving care is lavished on the corpse. And then, with the idea of a soul as an entity separate, and capable of life separate, from the body, provision is made for the soul. Finally communion is sought with the establishment of absolute atonement. That there are counter-forces and subsidiary factors one well recognizes. As a set off to soul communion is fear of the ghost, entailing endless tabooes. I recognize the importance of that aspect of the subject quite clearly. Nevertheless, I am fully persuaded in my own mind that it is not fear of the ghost but the despairing love of the departed that is the beginning, or at least one beginning, of religion. Let us recognize how easy is the transition from piety to religion, how easily the love spent on the dead becomes divine love, how easily the soul becomes a ghost, and a ghost a spirit, and a spirit a god. Let us recognize how simply and sanely one can account for sacred mountains and sacred trees and sacred streams and sacred places, for temples and idols and angels and altars and for the universal longing after immortality. Piety is not religion. Piety is human love, religion divine love: but so narrow

and so vague is the line that divides them that great leniency should be afforded to the poor savage whose untutored mind fails to discriminate between his father which is in heaven and god.

Light, though illuminating all things is itself invisible. Love though always deadly, always hand in hand with death, is itself deathless. For love is the harbinger of Life. Life is the offspring of Love, and Piety and Religion are mankind's blundering efforts to discover this tremendous secret, and to demonstrate its truth.

PERSONALITY AND CULTURE

BY LESLIE A. WHITE

THERE have been, in general, three kinds of theories advanced by sociologists in the past to account for the motives and mechanisms of human association. These have dealt with race, psychology and environment None, however, has proved entirely adequate. In recent years, a group of students of Man, the American anthropologists, have attacked and seriously threatened these older sociological concepts. By their investigations of exotic peoples, they have shown quite clearly that these theories fall far short of the universality of application to which they aspire. The neglect of sociologists to appropriate anthropological data has been pointed out by H. E. Barnes[1] and C. A. Ellwood.[2] In a recent article in the *American Journal of Sociology*,[3] Messrs. Herskovits and Willey have developed this theme to considerable length. They also state (p. 189) that certain anthropologists have become quite dissatisfied with the older sociological theories and have begun to advance, in their stead, theories of their own. Such men as Kroeber and Wissler are examples of this tendency.

It has been maintained by Ogburn[4] that man's biological equipment is practically a constant, both among the several races now and among those of the past for many thousands of years. Culture, however is an actively varying factor. When we say that man's biological equipment is a constant, we admit that it varies between certain limits, both in the life of an individual, and over a long period of time, but we maintain that these limits are comparatively narrow, and that they remain practically equal, both from the point of view of the several races now, and of a perspective of many thousand years.

As Professor Dewey observes in his *Human Nature and Conduct* (p. 14), "Breathing is an affair of the air as truly as of the lungs;

[1] "Development of Historical Sociology," *Pub. Am. Socio. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 26-34.

[2] "Theories of Cultural Evolution," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, 1918, pp. 799ff.

[3] "Cultural Approach to Sociology," *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, Vol. XXIX, pp 188ff.

[4] *Social Change* (Huebsch), pp. 130-142.

digesting an affair of food as truly as of tissues of the stomach. Walking implicates the ground as well as the legs." These significant facts are often ignored. Similarly, there is action and reaction between culture and biological equipment in any human situation. Since of these two factors, the biological is the constant, and the cultural is the variable, an understanding of civilization is practically a knowledge of cultural history. This conclusion which is warmly defended by Mr. Kroeber, is, no doubt, a trifle extreme and not in strict accord with logic, but nevertheless it affords a very efficient working hypothesis from which to approach sociological problems.

Since the civilization that a people will have is a matter of cultural history rather than of instinctive equipment or organic superiority, may we not translate this concept into psychology and assume here that the kind of personality one will have depends more upon his cultural or situational setting than upon his nervous system or his digestion? Just as any race or people has potentially the biological capacity for any type of culture, so does the individual have an undifferentiated physiological capacity for personality, the form and shape it will have when developed depending upon the environmental situations under which he is reared. Just as we are beginning now to attack collective problems from the standpoint of cultural history and not of biology and psychology, so we must shift our emphasis from the physiological side of the individual to the cultural or situational phases which condition the development of personality and shape its final form. Of course, it is well known that many psychiatrists recognize the existence of these non-physiological factors, but none give it a place of prime importance, and among the orthodox, academic psychologists, it is ignored almost entirely.

None of the older psychologists gave an account of personality, as such, at all in their books, though they did, of course, give an account of such things as habit, etc., which are involved in personality make-up. We find no chapter on personality in the books of James, Titchener, Pillsbury, nor others of their day, despite the fact that psychology is supposed to deal with the organism as a whole which in human beings is essentially the personality. Professor Woodworth, in his *Psychology, A Study of Mental Life*, is about the first of the academic psychologists to include a chapter on personality among the usual ones on will, emotions, etc. In this chapter, he refers to personality as an "intangible something" and gives as the factors in its make-up (1) physique, (2) chemique, (3) in-

stincts, and (4) intelligence—all physiological factors. McDougall would describe personality in terms of instincts and emotions. Watson has a chapter entitled "Personality and Its Disturbance" in his book, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist.* He thinks of personality as the functioning of the organism as a whole in its environment (p. 392), but his attention is primarily on the physiological organism and only incidentally concerned with the conditioning effect of the environment. In a section, "A Possible Hint from Mechanics," he compares the human organism to a machine, to illustrate how the parts function together and how they act as a whole. This is indicative of his attention and emphasis on the physiological basis rather than upon the cultural factors.

Kempf thinks of personality in terms of autonomic segmental cravings. He has presented this view admirably in his *Autonomic Functions and the Personality.* Cannon is considered as having made a great contribution to psychology by his physiological researches set forth in *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage.* Postural tonus and muscular tension which Sherrington discusses in his *Integrative Action of the Nervous System* are also considered as being important factors in personality make-up. Perhaps this physiological interpretation of personality has been carried to the most extreme degree by some of the endocrinologists, for example, Berman, in his *Glands Regulating Personality.* He would have us believe that the world needs merely to await further investigation by the endocrinologist in order to control human nature and direct the destiny of man!

Any equation in which the product is the result of two or more factors can not be understood by considering only one of these factors. We could not understand water, steam and ice by merely analyzing them into their chemical components hydrogen and oxygen; temperature and pressure must be taken into account. The future of a cell, or group of cells, in a developing egg is not only a matter of bio-chemistry, but of position relative to the other cells. Thus a group of cells in an egg may be shifted into another position (before the differentiating process spreads from the blastospore) so that cells which originally would have formed the eyes, will now form a segment in the spine; cells that would formerly have gone to form skin will instead form brain tissue, etc.[5] It is the environmental forces and situations that produce and condition the final differentiated form.

Just as psycho-biological explanations have been found inade-

quate to explain the difference between the Mongolians, the Bantus, the Nordics, and the Italians, so are interpretations of personality differences in terms of neurones, ductless glands, etc., inadequate. As it has been found necessary to introduce the methods of the culture historian into problems of collective human behavior, so should the psychologist turn his attention to the cultural and situational factors of personality rather than the physiological. This is logically reasonable since the latter is relatively a constant whereas the former is a variable of wide range.

Why do one people have a mother-in-law avoidance rule and not another? Why do some tribes care tenderly for their aged, while other tribes kill those approaching senility? Psycho-biological explanations of these questions as well as of the practice of head-hunting, the ghost dance, etc., have not sufficed to account for these traits, while cultural history has done much to supply a solution.

Why does one boy grow up thinking it wrong to steal while another does not? Why does one person bow before authority all his life whereas another asserts aggressively his independence? Why does one and not another possess a castration complex? These questions have been answered in terms of the endocrine glands, but in practically the same way that differences in civilization were explained in terms of biological superiority.

Can any difference be found in the glandular make-up of a homosexual and a heterosexual? Can the fact that one boy grows up with an ungovernable temper while another controls his be explained in terms of physiology? Can the fact that a boy never succeeds in transferring his affectional attachment from his mother to another woman, and hence never marries, be explained in glandular or neurological terms?

Our contention is that the average normal human being is practically a physiological constant, that he presents from the fertilization of the egg a great degree of physiological undifferentiation. The environmental and situational factors condition the process of development and final end. The average individual has the potential capacity for any of many different types of personality, just as a people, race or group possess relatively undifferentiated capacity for any one of several different kinds of culture.

The situation in psychology has been much the same as in sociology. Thinkers have failed to take account of the cultural factors,

[5] H. S. Jennings, Lecture at New School for Social Research, April 21, 1924.

and have sought to explain race, group and civilization differences in terms of psycho-biology. In almost every instance they have erred or their treatment has been inadequate, as Boas, Lowie and Ogburn have pointed out. In psychology the emphasis has been, and still is, upon the physiological side. This is justifiable insofar as man is an animal, but he is more than this. He is a unique animal. He alone uses tools and he alone possesses an articulate language[6]—in short, possesses a culture. Man has a *personality* in addition to an *animality*. This personality is something that is built-up; a process of complex habit functioning *of both the organism and the cultural environment*. Analyzing the organism into nerves, glands and organs will no more tell you what kind of a personality will be developed than a knowledge of metals and mechanics will tell you, of given material, whether an automobile or a rotary press will be manufactured. A personality is the result of a process, a growth and development, just as a culture or a civilization is the result of a process which is not simply biological. In this process the physiological organism is only one of the factors which go to make up personality. The other is a complex set of environmental situations. Just as in a collective study we regarded the biological factor as a relative constant and the historic-cultural process as the variable, so in studying the individual (generic term) we may regard the physiological factor as a constant, within comparatively narrow limits, while the other, the environmental situations vary widely indeed. For example, the glandular, nervous and digestive systems of individuals differ within comparatively narrow limits, while the environmental situations under which they are born and reared vary extremely. The multitude of ways and instances in which a child's or youth's emotions may be conditioned or fixed in this way or that, and the many and diverse habit formations and combinations which situational expedience may occasion is astounding.

Of course, a knowledge of physiology is both commendable and justifiable, but in view of the fact that about eighty per cent of the neuroses and psychoses are of a functional—non-physiological—nature,[7] and in consideration of the relative efficiency of physiological and environmental situational factors in producing personality, it would seem expedient for the psychologist to make the shift of emphasis from the physiological to the cultural or *situational* factors as the more dynamic sociologists are trying to do.

[6] Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 96.

[7] *Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the State Hospital Commission, State of New York*, p. 129.

BELOVED TRUTHS AND HATED TRUTH

BY B. H. SOMERVILLE

IS THE world's civilization one-tenth as safe from destruction as it is complex? Are we certain that there are sufficient forces of authority and discipline in the world to insure civilization from any of the many forms of decay and death which may come upon it? Do we feel sufficiently sure of civilization to leave its very greatest problems to be faced by the mere handful of men who alone now face them? Will the next dark age be permanent?

Let us remember that those who seem most willing that civilization be risked are generally those who are quickest to abandon all hope for civilization, when the fullness of its dangers becomes apparent. We do not have to go far to find men who take it for granted that the rapid strides of science bear positive proof that the present civilization is in the best of health. These men say that the present spread of education insures against there ever again being a dark age. How can there be darkness when the world is aglow with knowledge, when every man has his daily papers and his magazines? They tell us again and again that the curve of scientific progress resembles a parabola, that science progresses at a cumulative rate. And when we question the safety of civilization they think it is because we have overlooked this curve of scientific progress.

But remind these men that life is primarily a struggle of will. Show them that the scientific and intellectual struggle is but the peak of humanity's mountain of struggle. Then it becomes easier to tell them that a vast wealth of knowledge, of science, may well accumulate while men do yet decay. For have not mountains collapsed and peaks been lost?

And, if their faith in science has not grown into what psychologists call a compulsion, these men can perhaps be persuaded to come down to fundamentals, to confine their arguments as to civilization's

safety to the moral aspect. Many men will retain their faith in science. For faith in science is very pleasant. In fact, it is very exhilarating. And when a man is pleased and exhilarated he is pleasing to others. Hence he draws many others to him and to his faith.

But more important is the fact that the man becomes habituated to his faith with its exhilaration, just as men become habituated to coffee and to alcoholic drinks. Though he be advised that his faith is a fool's paradise, yet does he feel great pain at losing it.

Having been brought to see that the value of science is nil when morality is ebbing, these men are, of course, anxious to discover that morality is not ebbing. Their interest in morality's actual advance is not nearly so great, however. Thus their ideas of sustained human welfare seem still to be centered about scientific progress, and not about moral progress. As long as the world can be shown to be growing no worse morally they are satisfied. They do not like the idea that when morality is not actually moving forward it is, somewhere within itself, slipping backward.

And it is not difficult to believe that morality is even growing. Do we not see more written about morality now than ever before? And do we find it necessary to remind ourselves that more is written on practically every subject now than ever before?

From the idea of decay and death the mind tends to shrink and turn aside. Only minds in fine discipline remain unaffected when they contemplate the return to dust. Mankind as a whole in like manner shrinks and turns from the idea of a possible future decay and death. And as long as the world allows itself to swallow intoxicating doctrines of universal freedom it is especially certain to believe itself far better than it is. Blind to its own steady decay, it will ever laugh at the past and ignore the future.

Nor should we be surprised to find that those who have had such overflowing hope have now no hope at all. For the same pleasure that was realized in the ease accompanying overflowing hope can be realized in some measure in the complete abandonment of all hope, with all the great effort that hope incites men to make in the face of great danger. Hope is not pleasant when it makes men put forth painful effort. And men not accustomed to painful effort cannot easily bear such hope. Instead they cry, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry."

After all, the great dark age that seems to be coming upon us is absolutely different from the dark ages of the past. In the past it was the intellect that was darkened. It was knowledge that was

destroyed. Life became more difficult in the sense of becoming more strenuous and bare. Necessities became luxuries, and luxuries things of a past paradise. For this very reason the will of humanity was kept brightly polished in good exercise. There were indeed few pleasures, few temptations to take life easy.

But the dark age now threatening us is a dark age of the will. Intellectual achievement may attain to untold brilliancy, and science may shine forth on all sides. Science may mirror to man vast dominions awaiting his conquest—awaiting his conquest if he but maintains his strength of will, his deep strength called morality.

But the flashing of man's intellect, his science, tends to obscure the great "if." And man accepts as promised and guaranteed to him that land which is even now slipping from his hand. His expectation runs high, his strength runs low.

Let us see where man is failing, where his will is going down. We will see two phases of this failing, both of them exceedingly important. One phase is the inverse selection of the mediocre and the unfit for survival. Every increase in this so-called civilization tends to intensify this phase, to take a greater and yet greater toll of the fittest and noblest specimens of the race. In the selection of the fittest physical specimens for war, and the destruction that tends to come most surely to men according as they are brave, we see the general tendency of our civilization writ large.

Moral fitness makes also for physical and mental fitness, as may easily be understood. Probably long before Socrates, did men observe that wisdom leads to goodness and goodness to wisdom. And virtues, since they demand a certain exertion, tend in general to make men strong of body. Evil and laziness have always been intimately associated.

Therefore, when the most morally fit men are destroyed the race is weakened not only morally, but as well mentally and physically. When men die in their self-sacrifices the race tends to lose in three distinct ways.

If it happens that sacrifices are in any way *imposed* upon the morally fittest minority, the effect is quite the same. The fact that the majority does not like being accused of imposing upon a minority does not at all change things. The rule of the majority has long been noted for ingratitude.

Besides, is not the world learning to accept that the will of the majority is always right? Does not the majority believe that its very *desire* to do a thing gives it the right to do that thing? Does

not the majority do just what it condemned in Louis the Fourteenth —does it not call itself "the state," "the people," "the world"? This is indeed an age of the majority—an age of the majority, the flesh and the devil.

How does the majority impose sacrifices upon the most morally fit minority? It is by urging this minority on with *unfair urges*, by broadcasting appeals to motives which it is the morally fittest who possess in greatest degree. It is by appealing to the great storehouses of courage, of pain-enduring, of deep effort-making. Furthermore, the majority often destroys its benefactors with little hesitation. More than one Caesar has been destroyed by a multitude of inferiors.

Not only this, but the sacrifices of the morally fittest are not made good, either to them or to their groups. There is almost no true reward. Many hidden guns of resentment are pointed at the men who are ostentatiously given a chance to accept the full reward that is their right and desert. And if the deserving sense such to be the case and refuse reward, the refusal is readily interpreted as being the true will of the deserving men, rather than the reflection of the will of the world which owes reward.

If the deserving men happen to be consumed in their self-sacrifices, it is regarded as being rather unnecessary to reward their *groups*. "No man should be rewarded merely because his *ancestors* were great," says the world, and why, indeed, should any man be rewarded merely because of his brothers and associates?" And we are left to infer that great men have no desire that reward come to their descendants, their kindred, or their associates—that when great men are lost there is no possible way in which to reward them through rewarding other people in whom they had interest.

Rewards are nothing in reality save attempts to make losses good to the losers. And rewards by right cover not only actual losses, but also risks that have been borne. For risks are, in broad terms, losses. When we run risks, do we not lose just so much from our *safety*? And if we continue such risks will we not eventually be great actual losers? What, then, is withholding reward, save a shrewd way of imposing sacrifice?

Leaders seem not even to expect that the greatest rewards will come to those deserving them. Reward is indeed withheld according as the virtue to be rewarded is great and high. Facing death, even in terrible form, in fighting for one's country, is thus called "one's first duty." And a certain great amount of bitter scorn is heaped by at least a large number of men upon those who ask any-

thing worth while in return for such risks. It is forgotten that, "No greater love hath any man than that he shall lay down his life for another."

Leaders fight the idea of *absolute* equality of reward, as we all know. They endeavor to counterbalance the dangerous belief in any sort of equality with lengthy and constantly repeated explanations in the hope that such beliefs will not eventually undermine principles that they admit to be absolutely necessary. And they take it for granted that the ordinary run of men sees also the necessity for these principles. "Absolute equality is obviously impossible of approach," they say, "and a little equality is necessary in order to stimulate men and make them put forth effort. *Everyone* can see the truth of that."

But all sorts of equality are related. And a belief in any kind of equality leads mankind to believe in practically all kinds, and to insist upon forcing such belief into the life of society.

Even equality of opportunity is a stumbling-block. For equality is of two very different, almost opposing, sorts. There is opportunity to assist oneself. And there is opportunity to assist society. And if the opportunity to assist themselves that is allowed men is not governed by the past use they have made of opportunity to assist society, where will opportunity lead? And which will eventually lose all things, including all opportunity, in such case, the forces of virtue, of usefulness, or the forces of vice, of destruction? Yet even so important a thing for consideration as this is overlooked with ease by a world growing more and more freed from true ideals, more and more enslaved to appetites. And thus does the sacrifice of the morally fittest grow steadily greater.

The physically and mentally weak, and as well the morally weak, live in more or less of an asylum. They are shielded by their internal make-up as well as by their environment in a civilized world. Who would think of asking anything positive of the physically, mentally, or morally weak? Who expects them to make positive contributions to human welfare? We are satisfied if they do not destroy us.

Yes, even the morally weak are protected. They are protected from the vengeance that should have issue from their crimes. Revenge is considered as being far worse than actual crime. "We will teach men to respect law at all costs," say the jurists as soldiers are ordered to fire into crowds who feel a great urge to punish with effective swiftness those who break even that most respected of laws, "Thou shalt do no murder."

Is it remarkable, then, that the race decays steadily? The mere fact that there actually are eugenists and others who say that the race needs upbuilding makes the world think that it need not worry over that matter at all. It does not know how few and how powerless are those men. Nor does it grasp the fact that those men have no hope of positive racial up-building until a great period has passed, that those men hope only for arresting the present rapid decay.

And racial decay, racial weakening, cannot be thought of, save as causing decay of racial will, undermining of humanity's deeper strength.

The other phase of racial weakening of will is the phase of laziness. It includes, for one thing, the progress of science. For science is a bringer of rest and leisure. Every step of science forward allows men just so much more rest, just so much lying in nonuse of faculties. And as faculties are not used they tend to weaken and to disappear, slowly but steadily.

This phase includes also moral decay, since moral decay means moral laziness. As the morally fittest, the men who make greatest true struggle, in the deep sense, tend today toward destruction, and not toward survival, as in precivilized ages, morality itself suffers and disintegrates.

For morality is a frail flower, after all. It does not support itself, but depends upon a struggling minority of men to support it. Morals are high and morality as a whole is true only when the men who have high morals and true morality are maintained as a group and multiply. In their going down is the going down of morality, the going down of organized resistance to laziness, to inertia.

This age is indeed the twilight age of morality. The most godlike of men are passing, while the ape is breathing deeply in delight and his shadow is deepening upon mankind.

Shall mankind, the highest product of evolution, bear the seed of dissolution? Shall he spring the leak of unending weakening of will, and degenerate slowly and steadily until he is at last a degenerate brother to the worm? Nothing permanently hindered his ascent. Will nothing permanently hinder his descent? Shall we not admit that there is a radical something out of place, some misplacement that has brought about the ends of other civilizations, and has made dark man's intellect? Surely, the thing at fault is more than a mere detail.

May it not easily be that the thing at fault is our very idea of life? May it not easily be that we have not yet the proper *symbol* for

life? Such a thing might seem, indeed, to be a mere detail, harmlessly overlooked, while yet it is of exceeding and fundamental importance. There seems in truth little concern for a proper symbol for life. Yet we see many thousands of dollars offered for the most suitable name, the most suitable symbol, for one of the many newspapers.

Omar Khayyam pictured life as a succession of bubbles in a glass of wine. Others have pictured it as a bird that flies from darkness into a lighted room only to return again into darkness. And the chief thing common to such pictures is the temporal aspect of life. Life is shown to be with beginning and with end.

The Hindus have pictured life as a great wheel moving round unceasingly, and carrying the soul from one existence to another. And in many modifications and colors has this picture been painted.

Others have pictured life as a sea of moving logs, ships and icebergs, in which one has to make greatest effort, if one is to remain long without collision.

Now the important thing for emphasis in a symbol of life is not the obvious fact of struggle so much as the method of struggle, the direction in which struggle should be made. One may make the same degree of effort in any direction. But that effort will carry one at a running pace in some directions, and at next to no pace at all in other directions. Note how easy it is for champions of organized appetites, such as the desire for the many forms of freedom, equality, and rights, to go far with the effort they make. Note how, during practically every age, champions of some form of these desires are by the populace applauded constantly, and immortalized at their end. And note how the most important ideals as authority, justice, and duty, shrink and yet shrink. Note how unsung are the heroes who risk and give all that authority, for instance, remain as high and strong as possible.

The ideal symbol for life must be simple, even in its representativeness. It must be the simplest possible representation of centrifugal and centripetal forces, and the great struggle between these forces.

Now the simplest representation of these forces and the struggle between them is the spinning disc. For a spinning disc tends to throw off all things upon it. Place a marble, for illustration, upon a spinning phonograph disc, at the center. At first it is not appreciably affected. Then it is. Then it is sped off the disc. You are upon your individual spinning disc. And society is upon its own,

much greater, spinning disc. You and society are not marbles, however. You are given will, the centrifugal power to remain on your spinning discs by resisting, by controlling appetites, and remaining in safety on the centers of your discs. But when you cease to control your appetites, when you cease to resist, you are becoming indeed as marbles, and like marbles you then roll unresistingly.

And when your ideals have become pleasant and your effort spontaneous you have ceased to struggle. When your ideals bring your mouth to water they are not true ideals, but are idealized appetites. Not on such as these, but on true ideals alone should you focus your attention. For appetites are obscure, yet safe, in true ideals, while true ideals have no room in appetites.

Thus it is that freedom is obscure yet safe in authority, while authority is ever lost in freedom. For every degree of freedom invites and makes for, not authority, but a yet greater degree of freedom. All degrees of freedom are dovetailed together, to the very ultimate of anarchy.

Thus also it is that equality is obscure yet safe in justice while justice is ever lost in equality. For every degree of equality invites and makes for, not justice, but a yet greater degree of equality. All degrees of equality are dovetailed together to the very level of desolation and death.

And thus also it is that rights are allowed full being in duties, while duties are ever lost in rights. For all rights invite and make for, not duties, but yet greater rights, to the very limit of indifference and selfishness. Note how great is the extent in which men who clamor for rights neglect all duties. And note how men who perform their duties do not care to take advantage of the rights which are so universally exercised.

Is it not alone the spinning disc which pictures the great and unceasing pull which doctrines of freedom, equality and rights exert? And does not it alone picture the great and unceasing effort of the conscious, painful, sort which must be put forth in order to resist and overcome these great appetites? Does not the spinning disc alone remind one constantly of the direction in which struggle should be made—of the safe, central, position which is gained and maintained only when authority, justice and duties have full attention given them? Does not the spinning disc, identical in form with the bull's-eye target, alone keep effort focused?

But to focus effort is like forcing the world to awaken and arise on a morning of bitter cold. The world would lay warm and in com-

fort all day, even until the twilight, when it is too late for earning future bread. The world imagines itself to have headaches and many excusing pains. The world thinks its symbols for life are good enough. The world says, "We have come near enough to the things. Let us alone. We do not like extremists." And we are left to wonder whether all extremes are not harmful, whether even extreme goodness is not to be sought after, but is ever to be compromised with evil.

Woe to the nation that comes "near enough" to winning a war, and loses the last battle thereof! Woe to the world that comes "near enough" to Truth, and misses the important part thereof! Woe to the world that calls half truths "good enough," and follows the appetizing untruths suggested, into the very wilderness of confusion! Woe to the world that is led astray by such half-truths, by such truths that cannot be trusted alone!

Did you note how the marble rolled over and over as it sped off the spinning phonograph disc? Compare this with the recurring anarchy that was noted by even the ancients, the rolling under of anarchy as newly established authority rolls in the ascendency, and the rolling under of newly established authority as anarchy rolls up again in the ascendency. Then ask yourself, "Where is society rolling?"

Had authority been deep it would never have started rolling, or at least would have stopped rolling almost at once. Authority would have remained safe on the center of its spinning disc, on the center which represents the indefinite stretch of future ages. And in so remaining, authority would have guaranteed to these future ages life and strength. As things are now going, authority does not know which age will bring to it forever its end.

The Caesar who comes at intervals to restore order has ever bargained for showy, dynamic, discipline with obscure, yet exceedingly valuable, static discipline. That is, the deeper reverence for authority has been allowed to go, in order to be certain of obtaining that showy respect for authority which is manifest in beautiful oaths of allegiance, oaths which men never mean to keep. It is like a man's forcing himself to pray to a god whom he hates. His tongue is willing, but his soul is weak. In bargaining for such discipline, the Caesar has ever been bargaining with the devil—with the devil who never loses in a bargain, who never gives save to cover up a greater theft.

Men noticed at an early day that authority will always win, and truth crushed to earth will rise again, provided there are men fighting for authority and truth with full energy. But they forget that there must be men fighting for authority and truth with full energy. They forgot the part that man himself must play in the battle for authority and truth. They remembered merely that authority had won and truth risen. Men's faith in authority thus grew, and instead of fostering authority and truth, men became quite dependent upon them. They took great pleasure in the victory of authority and truth which they supposed to be assured and absolute. And they have not yet learned their mistake.

Instead, they have learned to think it blasphemous to say, "I shall make God's fight mine own. I shall invite God to work through mine agency." And they are glad to leave the most important, most frail, things to God, while turning aside to cultivate weeds, or to enjoy further release from effort.

As authority decays and the rod of discipline is increasingly spared, we can almost see the devil's smile as it widens in delight and in mockery. For crime increases in greater and yet greater extent, even in spite of immense increases in the world's economic wealth, immense advances in education, and immense advances toward equality, any one of which was thought to be a sure cure for crime. Especially does the devil's smile seem to widen as apparently unassailable excuses are found for preventing punishment from coming to criminals. That is, all crime tends nowadays to be blamed upon the criminal's environment, upon his composite group. Thus the criminal escapes with little pain. And, of course, it is taken as self-evident that no group should bear even a small fraction of the punishment which should issue from crime. Thus the group also escapes. And society, the group composed of the greatest number of men innocent of each crime, has to bear the pain of criminality that grows steadily greater. And yet the world thinks it is to be congratulated for having prevented in major extent the suffering of the innocent for the guilty!

On life's spinning disc there is but one safe point of direction. Yet there is an infinite number of points which carry to destruction. There is but one truth which should be accepted as most fundamental. This is the truth that the struggle to maintain morality, which allows freedom to things according as they deserve freedom, and calls the things of greatest deserved freedom things of authority—that this is the real, deep, significant, struggle of life.

Yet there is an infinitude of truths, any one of which, when accepted as fundamental, rolls one away into confusion. The arguments for authority are few and unchanging, while the arguments for freedom are a changing multitude without end. A unity is opposed to an infinite plurality.

The pull against authority will never end. The spinning disc will spin on through all time. But woe to the world that fails to recognize the spinning, and thus rolls over and away!

A GLIMPSE AT SPIRITUALISM

BY JOHN J. BIRCH

THE term Spiritualism, as used by philosophical writers denotes the opposite of materialism, but it is also used in a narrower sense to describe the belief that the spiritual world manifests itself by producing in the physical world, effects inexplicable by the known laws of natural science. Many individuals are of the opinion that it is a new doctrine; but in reality the belief in occasional manifestations of a supernatural world has probably existed in the human mind from the most primitive times to the very moment. It has filtered down through the ages under various names. As Haynes states in his book, *Spiritualism vs. Christianity*, "It has existed for ages in the midst of heathen darkness, and its presence in savage lands has been marked by no march of progress, by no advance in civilization, by no development of education, by no illumination of the mental faculties, by no increase of intelligence, but its acceptance has been productive of and coexistent with the most profound ignorance, the most barbarous superstitions, the most unspeakable immortalities, the basest idolatries and the worst atrocities which the world has ever known."

In Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece and Rome such things as astrology, soothsaying, magic, divination, witchcraft and necromancy were common. Moses gives very early in the history of the human race a catalogue of spirit manifestations when he said: "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord."

Greek mythology and the belief in the messages of the oracles is nothing more than spiritualism as were also the public and private

seances held in ancient Rome. Pliny, the celebrated naturalist of antiquity, seems to have been one of the few to challenge this doctrine. In his *Natural History*, Book 30, Chapter 2, he says: "We may be fully assured and boldly conclude that it is a detestable and abominable art, grounded on no certain rules; full of lies and vanities, howsoever it carry some shadow of verity and to say a truth with certitude which it hath in effecting anything, proceeds rather from the devilish art poisoning practiced therewith than from the art of magic itself. But why men seek and harken after the lies which the magicians of old time have let fly and sent abroad; when I myself in my youth have seen and heard Apion, that great and famous grammarian tell strange tales. . . . That same Apion reported in my hearing that he had conjured and raised up spirits to inquire and learn of Homer, in what country he was born and from what aprents descended; but he durst not relate what answer was made again, either unto him or them." Ancient Greece and Rome were the hotbeds of spiritual deceptions and manifestations and as a consequence, many of their customs were barbarous; their social life was infamous and their worship was gross and licentious.

The early Chinese in their teleological superstitions of Taoism and Hindu Buddhism held the notion of the survival of the dead. In either religion is found all the shocking phases of mediumistic superstition and bewildering witchcraft, which in comparatively modern times so benighted the mind of Christendom They believed that spirits were everywhere—they haunted houses, frequented thickets and roamed from place to place. Their sounds, weird and eeric were heard in the darkness of the night when the wind howled about the roof or the mice or rats held revelry in the ceiling. The dread of the spirits is the nightmare of the Chinaman's life.

In India, Siam, Africa and other heathen lands, spiritualism has come to its fairest fruitage, for it fills the mind of those ignorant people with constant terror and brings to them most debasing superstitions. Today there are thousands of spirit mediums in unenlightened India and in all essential respects they teach the same doctrines, perform the same wonders and claim the same intercourse with spirits as do the mediums of England and America. The doctrine of spiritualism has kept India in profound ignorance; it has erected thousands of temples which are the haunts of infamy and vice; it has kept that country in the deepest illiteracy and has permitted thousands of people to die from snake bites because those reptiles have

not been molested for fear of disturbing the spirits of the grandparents who are believed to have returned in that shape.

Africa has been cursed for ages by spiritualism. It has its spirit mediums, its medicine men, its witches and the spirits of the dead are the objects of worship. Fear and superstition reign supreme and the same results have been produced as in China and India. In these lands, the doctrine manifests itself in its true colors. It is the direct cause of the deepest degradation and the most debasing superstitions. It fills the minds of its ignorant and superstitious votaries with the ever-present fear of evil spirits. The mediumship of its priests, witches, conjurers and medicine men has opened the way to the most fearful tyrrany and infamy. Everywhere throughout heathen lands unclean demons are working their will, leaving darkness, stagnation and death in their trains. It has contributed nothing to the advancement of these people but tended to increase their darkness and augment their superstitions.

Modern Spiritualism

Modern spiritualism has abandoned many of the ancient practices and now centers itself upon receiving messages from the departed dead rather than appeasing them and building temples and making sacrifices to their honor and glory. Its vast number of adherents are drawn mostly from people of an inferior intelligence as a glance into the average spiritualistic meeting or conversation with the majority of mediums will give evidence. It is with this general type of intelligence that certain psychological phenomena such as illusions, hallucinations, apperceptions and mental telepathy are carried from their field of science to that of religion, being very often misapplied and falsely used, not only by the laiety but especially by the mediums. The phenomena of illusions are very often mistaken by those interested in spiritualism to be spirit manifestations. An illusion is a false or erroneous perception which is often spoken of as a deception of the senses. Illusions of sound are very common. A person may fancy having heard his name called when in point of fact the sound thus interpreted may have been anything from a summons to some other person of a similar name to the barking of a dog or the whistle of a locomotive. Similarly, when one enters a darkened room the sense of sight will often dictate that a person is sitting on a chair—an experience which most people

have had as children—and the subsequent discovery that the supposed person consists of clothing hanging upon the chair is hard to accept as true. In extreme instances, strong desires often determine errors of perception. One falsely recognizes as a desired friend or feared enemy, some stranger or even a clump of bushes or a stump seen in the moonlight; or one falsely singles out his voice or footstep among the confused mass of sounds that fall on the ear. Such instances of false recognition or illusory perception bring vividly the fact that perception is not a passive reception of a sense perception, but rather a reaction of the mind upon a cue supplied by the sense-impression.

The reverse is also true—namely that the mind will often supply not only the cue but will create the sense-impression as well. Thus, when one is listening for expected footsteps, one will find one's self time after time interpreting other sounds, as those of the awaited step. At night a nervous person will often awaken to hear burglars passing from room to room. Step follows step in stealthy but unmistakable rhythm, though the whole impression has no other objective basis than perhaps the occasional cracking of the floor, accompaniments of changing temperature.

Illusions of every sort are more readily induced if one has recently had experiences which might suggest them. When an individual comes face to face with a friend in the dark, the person will be more easily recognized if he has been thought of for some considerable time. The more keenly attentive one is to any imagined object, the more potently does imagination govern perception, both at the moment of imagining and for subsequent periods of indefinite duration. The spiritualist whose mind is continually dwelling on spirits of departed friends, will in many ways perceive illusions of the departed ones. The more easily their minds are influenced the more real will be the supposed visions or messages.

Hallucinations furnish equally as good grounds for spiritualistic fallacies. These phenomena refer primarily to the consciousness of objects felt to be physically present, when as a matter of fact no object of any kind is at hand. Many of the alleged telepathic phenomena involve hallucinations; thus for instance when one sitting in a room suddenly sees another person known to be thousands of miles distant come in and sit down. Again, when alone in the same way one suddenly hears some sentence clearly spoken. In neither case, needless to say, is any one actually present, except the owner of the hallucination, and there are no obvious external phenomena

which could be held accountable for the experience. All the senses seem to be represented from time to time in the hallucinary perception, although hearing and vision are perhaps the ones most frequently involved.

Mysticism likewise plays an important part in spiritualism. As far as psychology is concerned, mysticism arises from the fact that we only partially can foresee and control our bodily and mental changes. What one does from habit or from direct forethought is the result of direct past or present volition, but if the hand writes something of which the writer has no knowledge or intention, such is termed automatic. When primitive man experienced loss of mental or physical control through drug intoxication or through any of the trance-inducing processes, the only possible interpretation was through mysticism or that someone else was controlling the muscles or the thought activities. Out of such mental and bodily automatisms grew spiritualistic practices for securing visions or procuring information. Wherever it is not fraudulent as it generally is in materializing seances, automatic writing or similar phenomena, it has to do with the psychological problems of the subconscious mind and mental-volitional activity.

Wherever mysticism is a systematic practice, the procedure contains certain common elements. The first is the withdrawal of attention from the activities and sense stimuli of the common life—a negation of personality as it were and the second is extraordinary concentration of attention upon some particular object, ofttimes suggested by the medium of hypnotism. More or less elaborate directions are given to the tyro as to methods of procedure and the stages of the process are carefully set forth. In oriental mysticism, there are directions as to how to sit; how to control the breath, and how to exclude the distraction of the senses. It is an emptying process of the mind thus especially fitting the individual for the reception of external suggestions. It is upon the susceptibility of the mind that spiritualism builds its superstructure and the successful perpetuation of its frauds depends upon this very thing. Very susceptible persons, those of a weakened mind, those of easy convictions and those ignorant of physical laws, are chief among its adherents.

The psychological ground of mediumship lies largely in their ability to keenly analyze the mind of their subjects and by adroit questions gather material for their messages. This can very easily be done with the average person appearing before a medium for a reading. Personally I have tried this with a number of celebrated

mediums. Very carefully and tactfully they have suggested questions in the course of their message which I made a point of answering, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly. Then by carefully watching, I noticed they added superfluous details to what I had already told them and returned the same to me as a message. I remember with special vividness one seance in which I suggested to the medium that I was a teacher of biology and soon he began to tell me all about my teaching and that I was soon to be placed in different circumstances, etc. I gave him cues from time to time to which he added details and returned as messages. The facts of the case is that at that time I was not a teacher, neither had I ever taught biology.

With mediums, the imagination frequently becomes a creative power of the first order, vast in quantity, if not in quality. If they can once secure an insight into the desires or past life of their subjects they manipulate that data so that very plausable messages are constructed. When most of the communications are carefully analyzed they are found to be made up of two parts: One a reflection of what we read in the Book of Revelation giving a vision of the heavenly city, the condition of the departed and their desire to inform those of earth that they are happy and contented and the other part merely a reflection of ordinary earthly appetites and habits gathered by the mediums from their subjects.

Hypnotism is also very frequently resorted to by mediums. This is especially adaptable to small public meetings where the medium can hypnotize an individual, making an automaton of one and then magnetize the others. This is a condition very easily obtained when one realizes that the general type of people who attend seances or adhere to the faith are those whose hearts are sorrowing for the loss of loved ones. It appeals to the human heart at a point when it is peculiarly liable to deception and unless there is a very robust common sense and a very stalwart faith, far removed from credulity, there is a great temptation for practicing deception as well as there is a great liability to deception. The medium comes with the "ouija" board, the trance, the spirit materialization, the tipping table and the saddened heart or inquiring mind easily translates the rappings and writings and vision into its own desires. Spiritualism fattens on the weakness of human nature.

It is claimed by mediums that their mood and the condition of their health have a great bearing on the character of their work. When these statements are made one is often tempted to inquire

whether or not the mentality of the person desiring a reading does not create in them an unfruitful mood. That is to say, if upon observing the person coming to them, they believe him to be unsusceptible to suggestion or of a superior mentality, they can resort to the plea of being incapacitated or otherwise unable to give a successful reading.

Frauds Perpetrated by Spiritualists

The spiritualists themselves have spoken their own death sentence. For a long time the Fox sisters, who were the original exponents of spiritualism in this country, baffled investigating committees relative to their work in regard to mysterious tappings. However, professors Flint, Lee and Coventry of Buffalo, New York, discovered that the baffling noises were produced by one of the sisters as she partly dislocated and restored to place the bones of her knees.

Besides the general arguments for supposing that the physical phenomena of spiritualism may be due to conjuring, there are several special reasons which gain force as time goes on. Principal among these is the fact that almost every medium who has been prominently before the public, has at some time or other been detected in fraud or what cannot be detected from fraud, except on some violently improbable hypothesis and also that although it is easy to devise experiments of various kinds which would place certain phenomena above the suspicion of conjuring by eliminating the necessity for continuous observation on the part of the investigators, there is no good evidence that such experiments have ever succeeded.

The expose of Eusapia Palladino in the autumn of 1909 at Columbia University, is a most conclusive proof that fraud is widely used. Professor Munsterberg of Harvard considers that all the phenomena produced in the presence of Eusapia are fraudulent. He relates in a fascinating manner how in a dark seance where he was present, a spectator, lying on the floor near the chair of the medium, the better to observe her, caught her bare heel at the very moment she was reaching her leg behind her in order to obtain possession of a stool. It is said that other American investigators who have seriously studied her case have also met with fraud and trickery, stimulated by trance and no trace of true hysteria.

The exposure made in Boston by prominent newspapers before large audiences also point to the falsity of spiritualistic materialization. At a certain theatre in that city when a prominent medium was giving a demonstration of spirit return, the lights suddenly flashed on and newspaper men rushed upon the stage, opened the materialization booth and revealed to the audience the lecturer among his array of wigs and make-ups. Personally it has been my pleasure to attend a number of select materialization assemblies. During the first of them I sat in the rear of the darkened room, far removed from a tent from which the spirits emerged. Finally it was my good pleasure to sit nearer the tent in such a position that I could see the side of the canvas structure. Communicating with it from the back was a small door through which the supposed spirits entered. A number of spirits appeared and likewise a number of people in the audience recognized them as departed relatives or friends. Finally, a spirit appeared with a message for me and I followed the custom of the others and left my seat in the dark and shook hands with the supposed relative materialized in a body. Then the next day as I was walking on the street I happened to meet the party who conducted the meeting. She having become more or less acquainted with me, stopped and we shook hands. While grasping her hand I told her that her voice sounded very familiar and her hand felt equally so—in fact very much like the voice and the hand of the evening before. Her face became very much flushed and she uttered these words: "There are lots of fools who like to part with their money." From her own mouth she admitted the falsity of her practices.

There are persons who will undoubtedly say that this is not spiritualism nor spirit manifestations. In reply I must say this: That whatever it is, it goes under the name of spiritualism and is being carried out by celebrated mediums in various parts of the country.

At another time I was invited to a trumpet meeting. Before entering the house where the gathering was to be held I sprinkled calcium sulphide in my hair and on my face. This chemical has the property of glowing with a yellowish-blue light in the dark and therefore soon after the lights were turned off my head and face began to glow with a faint light. The medium informed me that I had a wonderful aurora and that my father was materializing in my form. Also a message was given me from my sister. The fact of the case is that my father was at home that night listening to the radio and as for my sister, I never was fortunate enough to ever have had one.

After the meeting several persons told me of the wonderful stimulating effect I had given to the meeting and described the "aurora" about my face and head. The medium who conducted the meeting did not approach me, but the others fully believed that I possessed psychic power—thanks to my knowledge of the chemistry of luminous compounds.

Great Men and Spiritualism

There are some who ask how the names of celebrated men such as Doyle, Hyslop, Flammarion and others can be associated with such spurious practices. The explanation is that they have been interested in the subject so long and allowed it to occupy such a major part in their mental activity that they have actually forced themselves to believe it and in consequence they do. I might illustrate it by an elderly gentleman of my acquaintance. He will tell me most vividly of the battle of Gettysburg and how he spent those awful days of battle. But the fact is that he never fought in that battle at all, for he enlisted in September and the battle was fought in the previous July. His mind is not at all deranged. He joined the remnants of one of the companies which had fought at Gettysburg and at the close of the war his company was remembered as having fought in that battle. He began by not denying he was at the battle and later told stories of the battle until at last after years of story telling,—in reality, lying, he now fully believes he passed through the siege of Gettysburg. He forced upon his own mind this belief and did not stop to compare calendar dates. This is the same with men who hold to any false doctrine. They have lead themselves to their present belief and have not met the facts squarely and been honest with themselves to admit their errors.

OUTLINE OF LIBERAL FUNDAMENTALS

BY CURTIS W. REESE

LIBERAL religion can never formulate a statement of faith that will possess any authority other than that inhering in its conformity to observed and experienced facts, its essential reasonableness, and its evident human worth. Indeed, liberals in religion are so diverse in origin and so multiple in method that to find and state their common fundamentals is a very difficult task. Nevertheless, I am convinced that deep below the ordinary formulations of the faith of the liberal religious movements there are certain fundamentals which are the source of whatever power the current formulations possess. The discovery of these fundamentals is prerequisite to a united liberal movement.

If, as I believe, these fundamentals are also the foundation of social idealism and progress, then the discovery and statement of them is doubly desirable. If liberal religion is in fact basically at-one with accurate knowledge, humanistic aspirations, and technical skill, then liberal religion has everything to gain by reformulating its faith in a way that will sharply demark it from the vain repetitions of the older creeds and place it squarely on the side of thorough-going realistic modernism.

To me the liberal fundamentals appear to be: (1) the authority of evidence; (2) the supremacy of intelligence; (3) the validity of freedom; (4) the leadership of the competent, and (5) the commonwealth of man. Let us see what these fundamentals involve.

I. The Authority of Evidence

Man has always tended to rely on authority of one sort or another. With some authority has rested in various externals—as oracles, seers, teachers, institutions, books, creeds, and the like. With others authority has been internal—as conscience, inner light,

sense of ought, pure reason, etc. But the tendency has been more and more to rely on evidence; that is, facts reasonably interpreted. Throughout practical life the authority of evidence is very generally accepted. Throughout the world of science evidence is the sole authority. Jurisprudence presupposes loyalty to evidence.

Religious beliefs for the most part have been founded not on carefully weighed evidence but on uncriticized desire, ecstatic experience, and false logic. Authoritarian creeds usually consist primarily of pronouncements in regard to things unknown if not unknowable, and secondarily with man's conduct in view of the primary pronouncements. But thus far there is not a shred of competent evidence in regard to the nature and purpose of ultimate reality. Hence, a conduct-creed based on such pronouncements is a house of straw on shifting sand. Only man's sound instincts have saved him from the utter sandal of committing his body as well as his soul to such precarious dwellings. A healthy nature has saved many a man from the logical consequences of his formal professions.

So unfounded in point of evidence are the authoritarian systems of religion that in my judgment they may well be left out of account in the new formulations. We do not need a paraphrase of Calvinism—an anemic counterfeit of ontnology—but a new departure that will depart as far from creeds of the pre-scientific age as can be justified by the evidence at hand.

The genuine liberal in religion, as elsewhere, is willing to follow the evidence wherever its reasonable interpretation may lead. He makes no reservations. There are no forbidden fields. Though the evidence slay him, yet will he follow it, firm in the belief that fact is better than fiction, that truth is better than error, that the uneasy struggle for knowledge is better than the peace that passeth understanding.

II. The Supremacy of Intelligence

Closely related to the authority of evidence is the supremacy of intelligence. The function of evidence is to reveal the truth. The function of intelligence is to control conduct in harmony with the desirable possibilities revealed by the truth.

The acceptance of the supremacy of intelligence has far reaching consequences. It means a break with the age-long habit of conformity to precedent. It means also a skeptical attitude towards

one's own bias, intuition, and pure reason. Intelligence accepts the testimony of the fathers, the history of institutions, and systems of logic as evidence of what has been, but not as authority for what should be. Intelligence is intolerant both of purely external authority—including precedent as such, and of purely internal authority—including bias, intuition, and pure reason. But intelligence gives due consideration to all that which when critically considered properly bears on any proposed conduct.

Intelligence applied to any given problem involves: (1) the collation of all pertinent facts; (2) fair weighing and ordering of the facts; (3) definite understanding of a goal that is both desirable and possible in view of the facts, and (4) the technical skill to enlist and direct all available forces in the achievement of the desired goal. This is human engineering.

How different is this method of intelligence from that ordinarily in operation! Ordinarily we "catch an idea," "jump at conclusions," "take chances," and "revel in mystical intoxication." It is not too much to say that with the exception of a few noble ventures the human race has never yet tried to apply intelligence to its problem of conquering the world and of living an abundant life.

Suppose we studied the race problem as thoroughly as an architect plans a steel structure; suppose we attacked the problem of education as comprehensively as an international banking house surveys the resources and needs of the people it serves; suppose we set about production and distribution with the exactness of the mathematicians who measure and weigh the stars; and, while we are supposing, let us try to imagine what could be done for human justice and happiness if the government of the world were a science instead of a system of conflicting ambitions. As a matter of fact the present state of exact knowledge gives reasonable ground for the fervent hope that we shall yet intelligently control our social destiny.

III. The Necessity of Freedom

Freedom is a much-abused term. It is frequently used indiscriminately as a synonym of caprice and license. Without entering here into the interminable discussion of freedom vs. determinism, suffice it to say that beyond all actions growing out of inherent trends and environmental pressure there is a wide realm in which the exercise of freedom is not only possible but necessary to noble

conduct. In this realm we throw artificial human restrictions about freedom at the peril of all that is finest in personality.

Freedom from hampering human restrictions is prerequisite to effective and creditable conduct. It should be the definite policy of all institutions—state, school, church, home—to restrict social inhibitions and compulsions to the lowest possible minimum consistent with the public welfare. No man is at his best save when he is free.

Thus far in history it has been found safe and wise to enlarge the boundaries of human freedom. Patriarchs, barons, kings, and priests have all been shorn of authority without any of the predicted catastrophies resulting. Slaves have been freed, suffrage has been extended, bills of right have been achieved, constitutions have been made responsive to the public will, and still the social structure holds together. Indeed the very life of organized society now seems to depend more and more on the free action of free peoples. The trend of current social evolution seems to be definitely in the direction of greater freedom for all people.

Liberals encourage the free interplay of free minds and the general extension of the realm of free behavior.

IV. The Leadership of the Competent

A superficial understanding of democracy has caused many people to arrive at the conclusion that democracy discounts leadership and depends primarily on the spontaneous popular will. This conclusion is found to be erroneous when we understand that true democracy is not primarily a method but a spirit, a goal, a gospel.

The liberal insists that with democracy, as well as with life in general, competent leadership is a matter of first importance. The great mass of the people will follow some sort of leadership. In the absence of competent leadership (and sometimes in spite of it) they will follow demagogues and charletans. One of the greatest curses today is the prevalence of incompetent but magnetic public figures. A striking presence covers a mass of incompetence. The funeral of many statesmanlike proposals has been preached by incompetent but volitile opponents.

We must learn to distinguish between spurious and genuine leadership. That is to say we must learn to examine for ourselves the basal facts at issue and the reasoning processes of our leaders. It is, of course, not possible for all of us to familiarize ourselves with

all details of the subjects presented for consideration; but we can and should know enough general principles to distinguish between the experts and the fakers, between mature judgments and airy romance.

We must not only distinguish competent experts but we must learn to use them in the social as well as in the physical sciences. We examine the credentials of an engineer before we employ him to construct a bridge or a dam. Why should we take chances on the men we select to enact and administer our laws? When social situations need adjusting we should employ experts just as we do in tunneling a mountain. Until we form this habit we are children directed by impulse and led by fancy. The day the world begins consciously to depend on the consensus of opinion of competent socially-minded commissions then will begin the manhood of humanity.

V. The Commonwealth of Man

Any worth-while order must be based on the verified conviction of the supreme worth of human personality, of the world-wide community of interest, and of the practicability and necessity of the human direction of social progress. Any worth-while religion must have human life as its object, loyalty to human life as its content, the enhancement of human life as its aim, and the fulfilment of human life as its supreme test of values. All other considerations whether of an other-worldly or of a materialistic character are of secondary importance. At the fiery altar of human life must be tested every idea, every symbol, and every institution.

The building of a commonwealth of man necessitates the conscious dependence of the race on the human control of human destiny on this planet, subject always to the possibilities inherent in the natural order. The technique of such control involves many factors which must be experimentally worked out through the years but the indispensable minimum requirements are: (1) universal education; (2) social guarantees, and (3) world organization.

Only an educated people can establish and maintain a commonwealth. (a) Educational standards must be raised; (b) educational opportunities universalized; (c) compulsory education revised upward; (d) the technique of determining potential qualities devel-

oped, and (e) persons showing unusual potentialities afforded the utmost opportunity they are capable of using.

At best, the risks of life are many and great. No man can stand alone. Mutual aid is a factor of the utmost importance. A new world order wherein human life shall be the first concern requires not only equality of opportunity, not only co-operation in the use of opportunity, but also social guarantees against the ill effects of misfortune. Mankind must unite to beat back from the doorsteps of the world the terrors of accident and unemployment, of improvidence and sickness, of old age and death. Chance almsgiving and organized philanthropy are plainly inadequate. The necessity of a comprehensive plan of social insurance, involving dignified and equitable preventive and redemptive methods, is increasingly evident. Whether social guarantees should be administered through private and fraternal concerns publicly controlled, or through governmental agencies, or both, is a matter of expediency. The thing of chief concern is the recognition and application of interdependence as the law of social life.

Manifestly, the world must be managed co-operatively. The peoples and the nations are intertwined and are forever inseparable. No nation or people can prosper permanently at the cost of any other nation or people. All the world goes up or down together. We are made one by the economic interests of every land, by the bonds of knowledge and literature, by a thousand necessities of peaceful and happy living, and by the holy stream of blood that courses through all mankind. Wise men will accept the world-wide community of interest as a fact and good men will rejoice in its truth.

SCIENCE AND THE END

(Continued)

BY J. K. SNOWDEN

XVII

IT MAY be that no time is lost, though much life is lost. While events have taught science to see her way and to know her responsibility, that way has been described, however dimly, by the plain sense of ardent minds in every fellowship and field of social activity; so that among those who may read this, there will hardly be one surprised by the plea for investigation now, or unaware that the belief in an evil bias disabling every child born into the world has lost its power upon us. It is no longer the first principle of education. There is the extreme belief on the other hand, held by some educationists, that a normal child may be left to itself without fear; and most minds know the very real sense in which it may be said that a new generation begins the quest of happiness unembarrassed. This is the ground of Mr. Maeterlinck's perception, "Humanity is made to be happy as a man is made to be healthy."

Sixty years ago, in England, there was no such readiness to think fearlessly of instinct or to admit an exact determination. Those who nursed the old doctrine could point to the experience of France, where Rousseau's rash attack upon it had brought more disillusionment than welfare. There was no education not inspired by it. It was the foundation of all religious persuasions, all conventional thought about morals and all criminal legislation. Had science directly questioned it, she must have lost judicial temper in a fiercer conflict than is good for any court of truth, and might have imperilled her prerogative. Who can say? But she was preoccupied by the single instinct of curiosity, and found other use for that than

to forge weapons for such a conflict. Would that she had forged none of any kind!

And now, uncertain as distinctions are between evil and good, so that clerics cry out that a sense of sin must be re-established, there is nothing lawless or extravagant in the hope that science will distil out some soul of goodness from the instincts. The suspicion of extravagance can attach only to the hope that this may yield sufficient guidance.

XVIII

Neither in the instincts nor in our environment, it will be thought can science look for a code of laws like Solon's, or a table of commandments. Nor will she do away with error and correction. Yet if, looking back, she can show us to have been uplifted truly from the beginning, and not enabled merely, men will take heart and be aware of some false leaders. More than that. They will have for the first time a sure consciousness of direction, sensed until now but vaguely by philosopher and poet. Nor is this all, much as it may seem to be in our circumstances. If it were, the case would be only that which a rationalist poet has already seen:

> What can we do, o'er whom the unbeholden
> Hangs like a veil with which we cannot cope?
> What but look forward, and with faces golden
> Speak to each other softly of a hope!

This is pathetic. There lurks behind it the thought of error and disaster during unmeasured ages, and it is not with such a thought oppressing him that man can march breast forward in Browning's mood. He needs the wisdom to avoid error and to avert disaster. The claim made upon science, and to be met by her, is that, discerning for us the growth of all man's faculties and not of some only, she shall teach us their balance—the sane co-ordinations of normal life. This is the smallest and the greatest measure of her possible service.

XIX

Can it be doubted that the balance in question puts human dignity in the scale against cleverness, good feeling against bare intelligence, at the present moment of history? This service, then, must restore the lost authority of good feeling, and at the same time warn it against those excesses which have hitherto betrayed and weakened it. The risk of disillusionment and disaster must be lessened, and as men grow wiser under the new light they may be happier. To know the increasing purpose of the ages will enable us to speak to each other not softly, but with the courage of liberty in war-time and of all natural ardors.

On the threshold of inquiry, let those who think to explore it be well assured of one consideration. The origin of things noble will not be found in things without promise of nobility. Where it appears, there will already be something admirable as a cause; and where that is not seen reason will reject the induction. Who has been convinced by Mr. Herbert Spencer's account of music, that it comes of contractions and expansions of the chest, abdomen and vocal chords due to strong sexual emotion? This may explain some primordial sounds, such as all animals utter; but what we need to know about a supreme art is what law of life in man, existent when he made such sounds as theirs, decreed the noble sequel. There is, as that philosopher was showing painfully, esthetic feeling. The problem is man's nascent fitness for it. Where was the promise? What foreshadowed "La Cathédrale Engloutie" or a Bach toccata?

At once it seems that what has been said of preconceptions is relevant. Former attempts to explore the realm of feeling have not allowed its dignity, and so have failed to find that nascent. They assumed, perhaps, the greater lordship of intellect. Their curiosity was cold, at least; and (for other instances) nothing noble in morals was explained by tracing them to prudence, or in religion by imputing it to mere fear.

XX

Yet, on a little thought, it must appear that the case of early man was not contemptible. Let it be looked at well, for this is the

kernel of our problem. That earliest ape-like shape with the rudimentary hand, how was he placed, and what instincts more than curiosity certainly inspired him?

He had appeared in a world where all the factors that could affect living creatures were forms of either peril, interest or beauty. Since he reacted to these, in whatever degree, he was endowed with courage, curiosity and admiration. Without courage, he must in all likelihood have perished; without curiosity and admiration, he would have remained brutish. Here, it is plain, were three great instincts destined to uplift him; and there is nothing stranger in science than the fact that their respective values for this purpose have not been weighed. Between the pride of scientists in curiosity and the contempt for Pithecanthropus felt by all men, one instinct of the three has indeed been almost overlooked, namely admiration, the response to beauty.

Is there any good reason to suppose that in the earliest men and women, this was less active than curiosity? Mark its use in the general scheme of Nature. Some sense of beauty, however indefinable, plainly lives in creatures of smaller brain than theirs was. Not only is it seen in the bower bird and other birds, but it serves the alchemy of sex universally. In man, it now refines that alchemy and does much else. There is no need to ask for a definition of beauty: it is enough that this instinct of admiration, measured *ex pede Herculem,* was stronger in Pithecanthropus than in the bower bird. As much may be said for curiosity, but no more.

With respect to courage, even Spencer did not see its value as a principle of dignity. Was it imperfectly considered as part of what, with a poor discrimination, is termed "the instinct of self-preservation"; or was it ignored in that concept? Courage is an essential of every moral quality that can be called admirable. Thus, at the outset of any wise inquiry, it is evident that, until the ends fostered by courage and admiration have all been seen, we cannot define progress, and it is a mere conceit to think that man's destiny will be worked out, in achievements won and judged alike, under the sole spur of curiosity.

XXI

The argument does not need even love, of all instincts the most imperious. It might be worked out clearly if this were left aside.

The assumed predominance of intellect over feeling would be thus examined with less prejudice, and the case much simplified. What a question, this, to discuss by itself, whether love adds to human dignity or compromises it! But, however a plebiscite might decide the outlook for intellect would not be Mr. Shaw's.

That leaves love aside with a vengeance. An instinct such as this may, it seems, be dispensed with! It is rebellious to eugenic treatment and must be superceded by the chemists. Why it should be more easily bowed out than, say, courage or admiration, one is left with curiosity to ask. Even chemists, who hope to break up an atom some day, have not proposed to deprive Nature of an element.

Love meant less to early man than it means to man as he is, and this is all that need be said for the moment; but even so it was already, for all living creatures, the corollary of death. Since they were to die, and leave a fitter progeny to follow them, all in their fashion loved. Of the life-force, which Mr. Shaw seems to respect sometimes, love was the keenest pressure. It still is, with whatever differences, and some of these differences belong to any thought of progress.

XXII

But leave aside at least the old dispute whether love alone may promise our salvation, though curiosity should not. This concert of instincts in the earliest beings to be called human, beings with a brain that was to grow for some crescendo, claims to be considered first. It is the more arresting that, for so long, there has not been a soloist.

To appreciate its harmony, one must know the value of each instrument, and it appears that there has been one under-rated. What is the value of that which responded to the touch of beauty? What did the ability to admire mean to men? The obvious answer that it meant the arts is incomplete deplorably, and yet has been the only answer current. The reaction allowed to beauty is our esthetic sense and genius, no more. Let us see if it was for this alone, in addition to the service of sex and even a sublimation of love, that beauty is set against peril.

What must psychology say, looking at early man in his environment? Nothing disputable; yet, long before esthetic sense could

dispose men to limn with skilful hands the shapes and drawings found in the caves of France—amazing proofs of its antiquity—instinct must have taught men wonder. This is but a mingled curiosity and admiration. It must have dawned, however feebly, before such skill as that which the drawings and shapes attest was mastered. Wonder came soon, we may be sure. Yet observe that the degree in which it is felt alone distinguishes wonder from reverence. The dawn was that of a religious impulse, for good or ill.

There was fear in this, it is not doubtful. Their peril, with this respect for inscrutable powers outside themselves, made men fearful. It is known that they were superstitious, and practised magic. But, with a deepening wonder, they ceased to do so. It is bad psychology to miss the sense of beauty in religion, and worse now than formerly, since the element of fear tends notably to dissolve out of it. With a curious fear only, men could not have imagined even devils.

XXIII

Psychology must say much more. It is evident that, after admiring what the eye saw, men admired what the mind perceived, seeing another beauty in feeling and thought. However foolishly, they began with self-consciousness to have moral notions, quickened by this aptitude.

The consideration is not hackneyed; but it is not upon self-interest only that moral codes, as they came into being, can have been founded, even the rudest. They are not, in fact, seen to be so founded among the more savage of races now living. All instincts whatever, in measures varying with every tribe's mentality, have helped to give them character, and we, the races more civilized, judge between them inevitably by standards in which neither self-interest nor cold intelligence is unalloyed. It was in the beginning as it is now, and we have come far because there was that beginning.

The classic thought that goodness and beauty may be one and the same quality is not too poetic. In deeds, "the beautiful seems right by force of beauty." It appears that the instinct overlooked or under-prized, this gift of admiration, was capital.

XXIV

In the august opposition of beauty and peril there is, in fact, that of life and death included, and it should cause no surprise if a future theology, grateful to the Nature-loving Germanic races, catch a little of beauty's smile. Men whose courage was lately tried will understand how this might be; for, as in Shakespeare's magic it needs the brothers' stoic grief for Imogen to make us love their song, and needs the song to make that lovely, so beauty is valued most when peril threatens. Such men remember it. The beauty of the world fosters admiration, to foster courage in turn.

Consider courage now, that other noble instinct. There is nothing better to set down here than the story of a young Scots officer, told to me with that piercing modesty with which men spoke of their great behavior in the hell of what was called scientific war. After four days' misery in the trenches and three nights without sleep, the ugly havoc of slaughter had disgusted him. It was before Thiepval. He was one of the first million and a half British heroes who went to France, giving themselves freely. The moment came to lead his men into action, and although he did not grudge to die for liberty—which is a fair thought—there was no joy of the sacrifice. Fatigue and the foul horror of all he had seen made it look meaningless. What he did, moving out to the vain and wretched attack, was mechanical; his heart dead within him. But, chancing to look up, he saw in morning sunlight on an old tower wallflowers growing. Just that touch of the world's beauty was enough; he had his faith again and went on gladly, because there is no courage without its inspiration.

This, however, is the one instinct without which neither love nor hope, neither any virtue nor life itself, could have been. The war, which is the true author of this protest, revealed its greatness; for truly few men had known that it was even instinctive, and perhaps not one that there is no peril conceivable by which it can be overcome. This is familiar knowledge now, and it is clear that, if the need could be imagined, men might be found to advance against a volcano in eruption. Of such stuff has Nature made us: life is stronger than death.

XXV

The triumphs of curiosity are not great enough to set beside this fact, in the light of which our permanent situation of peril and beauty has meaning. They teach us less. It is to life that we are destined, not to self-extermination, and yet to a life sufficiently conditioned; a life for which no philosophy founded in fear or simple prudence can be of service, and no purpose merely intellectual is ample.

But it is proper to keep a cool argument. The point to be made is that the uses of courage have grown since early man faced odds, and the instinct with them. Its quality is higher not only in war, which may be of no use for an expert and governed evolution, but in the prowess of exploration, of first attempts to fly, and of a thousand daily acts named or passed over by the newspapers, than it was for Pithecanthropus. More than that. It is our test of virtue. Any grace or fealty of conduct put on with another motive is called hypocrisy if unmasked; for, however meek they may be, we know as false those fealties or graces which do not involve it. There is even some condemnation of those checks which do not conserve it. All true virtues are magnanimous; the Roman word for them was not coined foolishly. We admire them with a standard that courage sets.

The thought, then, that Nature is hostile to virtue was illusory. A thing admired and brave, virtue is in the plain line of man's advances; but, as it could not be an easy thing and still virtue, Nature makes occasions for it.

XXVI

Now that so much is evident, love need not be left aside. And it is the main urge felt by us. Of all the modes of courage that are uplifting though "animal," it is the most beautiful as well as the commonest; counterpoise of death, it could be nothing less. But, for this reason, it comes easily and is not a virtue. It is only the unparalleled nurse of virtue. Courage with all its implications is quickened most where love is worthy, as courage is most injured by love's abuse.

Again the process of evolution seems to have made for dignity, and this in ways beyond enumeration. The hue and cry against abuses, conventional and real abuses both, requires the fact to be stated for pessimists; who are not encouraged that love knows ten thousand amplifications, diffusions and devotions more than it once did. If they deem it evil, as Rome does, these appear only good as they have been freed of sex intention or specially blessed. But the hue and cry lacks proportion. The world knew most of them before it was raised. There were noble mothers, there was much kindness, there were infinite loyalties. And though men sublimate love from sex, and find it still come easily, and build fair hopes upon it for this world or another, these must be judged as we judge the dispassionate virtues and fall into Nature's pattern. Is it ease or magnanimity they dream of?

It will some day be a curious task of historians to trace, in the concept of an unsexed and diffusive love, the error by which rewards and ease were thought of more than braveries; and philosophers will ask if it was an error to which such a form of love is naturally liable. Than love in any form, there is no more fertile cause of disillusionments, for nothing else has so enriched our ideals. But the commoner disillusionments correct themselves without grave mischief, and in regard to none is it true that

> Beauty stands
> In the admiration only of weak minds
> Led captive.

Pace Satan (to whom a Puritan gave these lines), it is true rather that beauty takes all minds and tests them. Seeing love to be no virtue, Meredith called it a crucible.

But, desiring to help us, a pietist of intellect has conceived synthetic eggs in place of this principle of life and nurse of all courage and much dignity. *Reductio ad absurdum.* By intellect we should not be well guided. By feeling, then? No; but by Nature's pattern.

XXVII

It appears that there has been a subtler evolution than Darwin discerned, the evolution of man's distinguishing spirit, and that this is not expressed in the notion that might is right, or well defined as intellectual. It is more than a survival of the fittest. If it were

only that, we should not see fine spirits and coarse perishing equally in wars, or find that cultured men and women have small families. It is a special law of fitness for the race, retrieving constantly such losses. The general law of life is compensated by it.

The co-existence of this special law in man with that which Darwin determined is evident. Since every thought not utilitarian must ignore that, and any heroism may be a handicap, there could have been no spiritual distinction evolved in man without the compensation in question. Our distinction does not exempt us from Darwin's law, but has not come of it and could not have done so. A special law alone makes possible some higher form of life than that of the other races, and it is seen in consciousness itself, endowed with the three principal instincts which have been considered and with a brain that may be nourished by their play.

XXVIII

But what is the part of intellect in our consciousness? What is, in fact, the pattern woven in consciousness by factors that do not change and cannot be evaded? If this were seen our reason might at least be wise, and we should know better, if not precisely or completely, how much it can accomplish. Science, no doubt, can patiently show it; it is not hidden, but only subtle. We need to see it clearly. For is there not in adequate wisdom some power to avoid error; and must we not hope to foster that happiness which, in tune with his environment, man may count upon, and the desire of which never abates within us?

In the woven pattern, it may appear either that the proportions of all its colors have been constant from the first, or that one or other of the colors tends to predominate. The Jacquard loom of our environment does not, or does, change those proportions while enriching the design. In the design of mingled thought and feeling, thought may not, or may, become the more important strand, as men who think have assumed that it must. So far, it has only been shown that the assumption was gratuitous, and that it implies a change not in all lights admirable, or plainly good for the strength of the web; that there is a pattern and there is a quality which had been ignored by it. To see this may be sufficiently useful at the moment, but more must be known. What, exactly, may thought do for us?

Its service must be at least more modest and contributive than the group of living "intellectuals" conceive; it is not there for nothing. But the modesty of thought's service appears more saliently as it is examined; for there is yet another reason, as strangely overlooked as any, why nothing is possible but to follow the pattern whether wisely or fallaciously. It is that we are motived by what we feel, not by what we think.

XXIX

The demand made of science is partly met by the recent verification of this fact, known to psychologists and accepted by all men capable of self-examination. It is not a new fact; Aristotle and Descartes, among others, had long ago discovered it. But it has lately been cleared and illuminated. Man's large brain, far from being a seat of pure intellect, is a complex in which some feeling, recognized or not, prompts every thought that is shaped; and no act is ever done by him, or word spoken, in which the play of this impulse is not traceable. It is there either immediate or remote. Even wisdom cannot be purely intellectual.

Assume that nothing were known of evolution: this fact would still show clearly that the first concern of a real civilization must be with feeling. There should be no dreaming of a wisdom that would either dispense with feeling or slight it. How was the cart put before the horse? What perversity of feeling prompted that maneuver, and then, treating the horse as after all of little value or none, aspired to move the cart by some mechanical means? Some mistrust, bolder than that of old-time clerics, must be conjectured in an evolutionist. They, at least, knew the horse and cart to be inseparably harnessed, and did not mistrust one more than the other.

This fact of psychology bears upon the question of what wisdom may do for us, and instructs us to ask first what wisdom may be. If it is not purely intellectual, and owes to feeling something at all times, it is not the less wisdom; but what value has it, and how has it any? The answer lies in the fact that thought may modify our impulses though it cannot supercede them. A wise thought apprehanded makes a change in the complex. What it is important to realize is that such a thought about humanity must be one that has regard to the whole human makeup, the pattern. It must trust the life-force even if ignorant of the working of that force, and perhaps

it may not only trust but bear a hand when the working is known.

Except the life-force and our environment, there is nothing trustable; nothing, even, that may be known with certainty. Seeing that these have brought us so far on the road of advance, and still encourage and move us, what atomy among men can think them faulty and not be ridiculous? Let us chiefly admire the greatest things. Doing so, we shall not be disillusioned dangerously.

XXX

Is it necessary to say that the appeal made to science avows her own faith in truth, in the strength of which she works with unique humility? Men can only admire and trust well what they know well. True, there have been great thinkers exceptions to this rule. Plato and Spinoza were such men of genius. But there have been more thinkers who proved it. The Sophists and Kant taught us to mistrust our senses; empiricists and mystics, materialists and sceptics failed alike from ignorance. To plain men, happily, most of these have meant as little as pure thought will always mean unless it be concerned to inform, or to corroborate, men's admirations.

This is why the world's religions, with all their crudities and figments, have meant more; and, if they have done more harm, it proves the case equally. This, too, is the reason that, hitherto, religion has had little sympathy with science, even in the free churches. Religion knows no concern else. Science, which has also done harm as well as good, or has at least made harm possible, is not urged to copy that particularity, or even to turn from her proper business, the pure quest of knowledge; but, knowledge not being all of equal value, she is persuaded to that great department in which the mind and spirit of man may be seen developing. Besides seeing her vindication there, she may hope to teach religion her own humility.

The diversion involves no change of either spirit or method. The wisdom established by her circumspection will not be currently imparted to plain men by those who procure it; for their work will still be research, and the very nature of this wisdom must require for its dissemination all the existing agencies of culture. By a better care for her own authority science is to save theirs. Otherwise it is certain that these agencies, which are permanent on the showing, will move against her with an augmenting force of reaction.

XXXI

The prospect is worth a cool review. When the unimagined war was over, many hopes and faiths which had kept us light-hearted burned low; but men of science will hardly think that, among them, there was any dimmed so unhappily as the unquestioning faith of civilized peoples in knowledge. The possibility of reaction presents itself as a consequence of this impairment. It will seem real, if not certainly grave, to any man who takes account of the impairment with a little sense of history, or of public movements in his own lifetime.

The faith in knowledge had been livelier than any other. One may say, without being accused of rhetorical exaggeration, that it lit the dawn of an era splendidly and made old lamps look pale. Knowledge was a boon esteemed the least doubtful of all boons whatever. Sane men had no misgiving in counting its blessings or in supposing them to be for sane humanity unmixed. If there were drawbacks to such of these as change men's ways of working, and to some others that changed our ways of living, it could be believed, and was, that all drawbacks must yield to adjustment. Either we should accommodate ourselves to any change that knowledge might bring in, or it would resolve itself into something better. And observe that such a confidence had never before prevailed. A faith of great minds only in the past, it was now that of all men; and any man with whom one fell into talk might share the opinion of Socrates, that ignorance is the one only evil.

We plainly lived in a great period, and one of which science could boast. This faith, old and noble as it is, had only evolved a system and its first universal practice in her pious laboratories: prior to that event, the quest of truth for its own sake had hardly been conceived except by the mathematicians. The period of Athens, wonderful on a smaller scale, had indeed glimpsed it, but had not found its method. Science in the nineteenth century imposed the severity of this method more or less on every branch of learning; all branches flourished together, and the modern world came into being. An assurance born of honesty and splendid achievements, but of the method's honesty most, took hold on the future as if it were a settled estate; and the title deeds were knowledge.

It is clear that all knowledge is not the pure boon imagined. We cannot be sure that knowledge has not added appallingly to the sum of human peril; for there was more peril packed into the war than there had been in the recorded earthquakes of fifteen centuries. The comparison of death-rolls can be made with the help of "Whitaker's Almanac." How shall we accommodate ourselves to such a drawback? It is not easy to imagine great minds holding the same faith in time to come, and average minds have meanwhile lost it. Is knowledge still "the great sun in the firmament," and do we think, like Daniel Webster, that "life and power are scattered with all its beams"? Who makes the Shakespearian speech to Jack Cade now, about "the wing wherewith we fly to heaven"? On a waft of poison gas!

XXXII

Smaller events have changed the course of history, and no man, therefore, can estimate the shock of this one unless it be averted. While free minds are staggered by it, and minds less courageous take cover, and vulgar minds have leave to revive the dark ages without ridicule, science may do well to reflect that, in her long and calm apostacy, she has never as now had to reckon with human nature and the stress of life. Public happenings will certainly bring this reckoning, one way or another; and, as she is no longer believed to hold title-deeds, it will then be found that science has lost a host of friends.

Unless the shock be averted, and fuller knowledge can be defended as beneficent clearly, her enemies may hope much from that emergency. It is no stretch of probability to foresee an effect upon education and research that may bridle her in one generation. Much as science has done for us, her benefits must by that time have a matter-of-fact course prevalence, and benefits of another kind may be in fashion. Meantime it is not insignificant that a school of thought which is shy of knowledge altogether has taken heart, and rallies opinion upon old beliefs that deny to the quest of truth all validity. That ancient school is too well-founded to be laughed at. It has never allowed the scientific method, nor cared if knowledge be, as Webster said, "the only fountain both of the love and the principles of human liberty." It does not in any case permit liberty. There is no branch of learning which the revival of this priestcraft

would not wither, nor a hope of progress which it would not quench. For it claims to have the only knowledge of God procurable, holds any other to be mischievous, thinks progress an illusion and knows no compromise.

It is not to be laughed at; and, whether it be feared or not, what should be plain is that the conflict between those who seek truth at all hazards and those who oppose the search culminates. It does so in a general alarm, one so great and reasonable that we shall not presently forget it; and on the issue of this conflict all faith in knowledge and freedom is, as it were, staked afresh in conditions that the course of events will determine. Were science content with her former role, that of an iconoclast of old beliefs and wizard of material gains, the case would be as when, in war, a front crumbles. This may conceivably happen. If it should, the strength and glory of that faith would suffer an eclipse.

XXXIII

I do not say an extinction, for the reason which has been named, that ideas are now world-wide, and doubtless the eclipse, like every other, would have in Europe a penumbra as well as a region of total shadow. It might, however, be the more complete because of political reaction; which must attend any such check to freedom of thought, and which, on the other hand, might very well have enhanced the power of obscurantism, and helped to bring the mischief on.

Nor would such a mischief be at all stranger, though it would be worse, than the present refusal of many minds to become scientific. Religion is not perishable, though religions are. It is instinctive and even practical. If reason were of much more importance than it is, and men stopped to apply the method of science at every juncture, life would be embarrassed. Not only must feeling prompt thought, but there must be beliefs and predilections. We have to take almost all decisions quickly, and so they are governed by feelings already known, predilections already felt, decisions already taken. Even at leisure, with nothing to do but think, there is not, perhaps, one man in ten thousand who can thoroughly revise his mind, reducing all to reason, and the rare thinker is not always more efficient for doing it.

How is it thought strange that men in their need of ready judgments—judgments often unconscious of the factors involved, judgments as rapid as feeling itself—should be glad of a school of teachers that saves them any such difficult problem? Here is a complete code of beliefs founded in pure feeling, with rules of conduct that profess to serve all occasions. It has a natural welcome. Science offers nothing of the sort, and not even a sufficient basis for something less pretentious. What in fact? Something half-applicable and half-riddled about survival, something about health and heredity, something of the virtue there is in facing facts; but, as to the great realm of feeling, nothing but curious observations that may be taken to warrant the clerical mistrust of it. There is an unequal rivalry.

It would seem, then, that in the present plight an eclipse of the faith in knowledge and a real check to freedom is not impossible, or unlikely.

XXXIV

On the other hand science—which freedom of thought engendered—may save a heritage won by much heroism, and so oblige her enemy to surrender at discretion. There will in that case be no conflict with religion. Science, as the peculiar guardian of freedom and knowledge, will have cleansed religion of superstition, fear, bigotry and savage doctrines, left it with a visible and heroic beauty, and proclaimed for it an authority that all men may perceive.

That great service to the world's future must be incidental to any adequate deliverance and amends. No doubt it makes a plenary demand for humility in scientific men. They are not to consider what, if it is rendered, will in time to come be the relative positions of religion and science. They are still to trust the spirit of truth which requires it. No religion indefeasibly established in that spirit can, however, contain a menace for them, since they and its apostles must be leagued for a crusade against imperfect civilizations. Nor can a natural religion admit or involve the old acerbities. It will engage literature and the arts as part of its apostolic body, working freely with more than their present tolerance and alleviation, as well as with a cleared aim, and, although there must always be the clash of ideals that is proper to human zeal, with eternal controversy, it is the last of probabilities that science will be the loser.

XXXV

Suppose the service rendered, as I think it must be, and imagine a modern world as well aware of a law of human worth as it is of a law of survival. How might human wisdom expect to ripen, enlarging happiness?

It is plain that the arguments by which public questions were advanced would be intelligent with a new clarity. They must have to do, as now, with the give and take, the golden mean to be found, between survival and worth; between necessities of mere existence and the claims of man's characteristic spirit. It will never be possible (and should not seem desirable) to exclude the operation of either principle of progress. But, this being understood, public questions could not mean such a clash of ignorance as now bewilders men at cross purposes, unable to say what may be permanent in the ends they aim at, or to see what must be unstable and deceptious. Nor could the debate be at any time made critical by such a blinding obsession of material aims and false morals as that which has wrecked Europe.

One cannot measure the strength accruing to human dignity. It is only certain that, in a thousand ways, this would have found the fair expression now denied it; for all good agencies would flourish with a new assurance and discretion. It could be neither scouted nor ignored, and its errors would not be great disasters. The true march of progress must be steadied and made more expeditious. Nor can one measure the gain of happiness, since it would come not only of the disappearance of present woes, but of a new spirit, sanely natural and full of hope.

(To be continued)

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