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CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

BY MONGURE D. CONWAY.

ON the 242d anniversary of "King Charles the Martyr" died another Charles, who represented the more civil but more fatal steel which England keeps suspended over its throne. Charles Bradlaugh was something of a martyr too. His herculean frame, which lies low in his fifty-eighth year, must have lasted many years longer had he continued a comfortable Christian. But in his seventeenth year, when he became slightly skeptical, a pious hunt began: the superintendent of a Sunday school, in which he had taught, started a clerical hue and cry; Bradlaugh was driven out of his situation of solicitor's errand boy, and, after nearly starving, passed three wretched years as a soldier in Ireland. His strength sapped by early privations was further impaired by years of persecution; in defending the freethinker's right to speak in public, to print his opinion, to testify in court, to sit on juries, to sit in parliament, he received blow after blow from the tyranny he was overthrowing; his accumulated costs bound on him a burden of debts that wore upon his life, and was largely instrumental in weighing him down into his premature grave. Yes, Bradlaugh was a martyr. No Christian of our time has had a heavier cross to bear. In this country Bradlaugh was known by his lectures, and in evening dress; but the man's proportions could not be truly seen in that way. His place was on a hill-side speaking to thousands of miners, swart and hungry, with a canopy of furnace-smoke for their only sky; or in his London Hall of Science, where he drilled his humble comrades for service in great issues; or in the court room, where he maintained single-handed the constitutional liberties of Englishmen against the retained casuists of Church and State. I have seen and heard him on occasions when he seemed to stand like some century-worn obelisk, scarred all over with hieroglyphs of innumerable battles. Even what friendly censors called his faults were historic and monumental. If he appeared egotistical, it was because he had been left alone by intellectual peers who should have been his friends. If his voice was sometimes shrill, it was because he was so long compelled to contend for the plainest truths and simplest justice. If he was now and then revolutionary, it was

because of the oppression that, as Solomon says, maketh a wise man mad. His faults mirrored the wrongs he had suffered. But let me not be supposed to countenance the judgments of his adversaries. No man was ever more ludicrously misjudged. He was supposed by many to be of a hard and harsh nature. In the course of a long personal acquaintance with him, during which I witnessed some of his most trying experiences, I found in Bradlaugh a womanly tenderness. He has often brought to my mind what Emerson said of Carlyle, "he was a trip-hammer with an æolian attachment." He was an affectionate husband, a kind father, a faithful friend, and most scrupulously polite to all who treated him as what he was,—a gentleman at heart. In all matters relating to sex and marriage, Bradlaugh was not merely chaste personally, but exceptionally conservative in opinion. Yet he was cruelly slandered in relation to a refined and eminent lady. The gossip was all the more cruel because, as I happen to know, these two leaders of freethought had deliberately sacrificed their happiness for the sake of their example and the honor of their cause. The lady had been driven out of her home by her husband, because of her heresies, was legally separated though not divorced, and left dependent on her own energies for her own and her little daughter's bread. Bradlaugh's wife had long been in an asylum. Morally divorced, their union might have been pardoned by society in any but so-called "infidels." Any intrigue was impossible to either, so with love in their hearts they continued apart to the last. In speaking of this matter Bradlaugh once said to me, "If I know myself, I have not a passion that I would not crush like an egg-shell rather than stain the honor of my cause." Just now, when we see the slowly raised hopes of Ireland brought to the dust by the vulgar lewdness and egotism of a trusted leader, it is but fair to place on record this heroic self-renunciation of freethinkers who had no future reward to bribe them to virtue, nor any fear of punishment to deter them from self-indulgence. It is especially just, also, because these two persons were indicted for selling, through the Freethought Publishing Company of which they were chief partners, a book alleged to be immoral,—"The Fruits of Philosophy." A jury declared the work to be of immoral tendency, and though the con-

viction was quashed on appeal, it is probable that some have an impression that the book was really immoral. Such, however, is not the case. The volume, written by an American physician in the last generation, is out of date, and fortunately out of print; but, with all its offences against good taste, it was an honestly meant Malthusian book. It was against my urgent advice at the time that the right to publish "The Fruits of Philosophy" was defended. But I am now inclined to think I was wrong. We have come upon a phase of social development when the right to discuss subjects of importance to human welfare is liable to restriction by a recrudescing Puritanism. An Australian Judge (Windyer) has lately decided that the right which Bradlaugh then defended is one of increasing importance to civilized society. In England, the importance of checks to population has been recognized by all great political economists,—Fawcett, Cairnes, Mill. John Stuart Mill was, indeed, once on the point of arrest for circulating a pamphlet of the same kind. Over-population is perhaps not such a great evil in America at present, though it may become such in certain congested centres. But, apart from that, all who recognize the approach of a new moral world, and realize that it will mean chaos unless thought is free to deal with its every aspect, have reason to respect the courage with which Bradlaugh defended his right to publish the condemned book. The case being won, the work was instantly suppressed by his own order; some of its features, which he had not previously observed, having struck him as not worthy of the scientific standard he wished to maintain beside the standard of liberty.

An able law lord, before whom Bradlaugh several times had to plead, remarked to a friend of mine, "Whatever may be thought of Mr. Bradlaugh, he is certainly one of the ablest lawyers in England." His first employment was as an errand boy in a solicitor's office (where his father was a clerk,) and it is probable that he began then to read law-books. But the knowledge and skill which defeated so many shining lights of the English bar were not gained from the Inns or Temples. Bradlaugh was trained in the law by his life-long struggle for the intellectual and constitutional rights transmitted by the heroes, martyrs, and reformers of English history. I hope to review, in a future paper, some of his achievements, which appear to be little understood or realised in obituaries that I have seen. But I will add here something concerning his action, in his conflict with the House of Commons, which seems to be completely and universally misunderstood. As I was on the ground, and watched those events with much care, I am able to disabuse those who have derived an impression unfavorable to Bradlaugh. A long struggle had secured

the right of "Atheists," so-called, to testify in law courts, and to affirm instead of taking an oath. The act allowed this to any one who declared that the "oath" (as distinct from an affirmation) was "not binding on his conscience." Personally, Bradlaugh was not much concerned between "oath" and "affirmation." He was too good a lawyer not to know that the phraseology of an oath is not of the oath's substance, as the courts have repeatedly held. If a man said "So help me God," as a part of his pledge to tell the truth, it did not imply any theological or philosophical belief in God. The oath being the relic of an ancient ordeal, when it was supposed the invocation might draw down instant death on the false swearer, no educated man could take it if the phraseology were a legal part of its substance and purpose. The object of the oath is to bring him who takes it within the laws and penalties of perjury. But affirmation being optional, in the courts of law, Bradlaugh naturally preferred it. It was not supposed, at first, by any lawyer, that the act authorising affirmation in the courts did not equally extend to the parliamentary oath. Bradlaugh, however, submitted this question to the law-officers of the government. The Solicitor General and the Attorney General both declared that he had a perfect right to affirm. They so maintained afterwards, in the debate. Their opinion proved to be erroneous. The act for the courts did not extend to the House of Commons. The law-officers of Gladstone's government had unintentionally led Bradlaugh into a trap. The conservative party's lawyers had made the discovery but kept it secret until Bradlaugh requested to affirm. They then pounced on him, and proved their case. But when Bradlaugh said, "Very well, then I will take the oath," they said "No, for you have said that an oath would not be binding on your conscience." "I never said so," said Bradlaugh; "it will be just as binding on my conscience as an affirmation." To this their dishonest answer was, "You applied to affirm under the Act for the courts; and that act says those may affirm who say that an oath would not, as an oath, be binding on their conscience." Thus they took the phraseology of an Act which they contended had no application to Parliament, and applied it just far enough in Parliament to keep out Bradlaugh. That of course was a foregone conclusion, and one theory was as good as another for that purpose. The House of Commons knew it was a trick, and afterwards backed down. Since that it has recognised the character and ability of the man so brutally treated, with a shame that has at last expunged the disgraceful page from its annals. Its penitential message fell on the unconscious ear of the dying man, but it will be remembered by the people to whom he was faithful unto death.

MEMORY AND PERSONALITY.*

BY TH. RIBOT.

MEMORY is the subject of our present article. There is no reason why we should study it apart, for it is found everywhere throughout our subject. Personality in fact is not a phenomenon but an evolution; not a momentary event, but a history; not merely a present or a past, but both. We will leave aside what I shall call objective, intellectual memory; viz. perceptions, images, experiences, and stored up knowledge. All this may disappear either partially or totally; these are the diseases of memory, of which I have given numerous instances elsewhere.

Let us consider only subjective memory, that of ourselves, that of our own physiological life and of the sensations or feelings that accompany it. This distinction is purely factitious, but it will allow us to simplify.

In the first place, does there exist a memory of this kind? We might maintain, that in any perfectly healthy individual the vital tone is so constant, that the consciousness which such an individual has of its own body is only a present time, incessantly repeating itself; but this monotony, if it exists, would on the contrary, by excluding consciousness, favor the formation of an organic memory. In fact, there are always changes taking place however slight they may be, and, as we are conscious only of differences, those changes are also felt. So long as they are feeble and partial the impression of uniformity will persist, because the incessantly repeated actions are represented in the nervous system in a far more stable manner than the ephemeral changes. Their memory by sequence is organized beneath consciousness, and hence is all the more solid. Here lies the foundation of our identity. These diminutive changes will act in the long run, and produce what is called the insensible change. After ten years of absence an object, a monument is seen to be the same; but it is not *felt* the same; it is not the faculty of perceiving, but its accompaniment that has changed. Yet all this belongs to the state of health, and is the simple transformation inherent in all that lives and evolves.

Here, then, we have the vital habitude of an individual represented by another habitude, viz. organic memory. Let us suppose the entrance of causes, almost unknown, of which we are only able to verify the subjective and objective effects. They produce a deep, sudden or at least rapid and persistent transformation of the *cœnesthesis*. What will then happen? Experience alone can return an answer, since ignorance of the causes reduces us to pure empiricism. In extreme cases,—and we shall not notice others,—the individual

is changed. As regards memory this metamorphosis is met with under the following three principal forms:

1. After a more or less protracted period of transition, the new personality alone remains; the old personality is forgotten (as in the case of the patient of Leuret). This case is a rare one. It supposes that the old *cœnesthesis* has been entirely abolished, or at least, has for all time become inactive and incapable of reviviscence. We need not wonder at meeting so seldom with a case of this kind, when we consider that the *absolute* transformation of personality, that is, the substitution of one personality for another—completely so without reserve and without any link connecting the present with the past—supposes a radical change within the organism. To my knowledge there does not exist any case in which the second personality has not inherited at least a few relics of the other, were it only certain acquisitions become automatic, such as walking, speaking, etc.

2. Generally, the old organic memory will subsist below the new sense of the body, which has been organized and which has become the basis of the existing ego. From time to time it will return to the consciousness, weakened like any youthful recollection that has not been revived by repetition. This reviviscence probably has for its cause some background common to the two states; and then the individual appears to himself as another. The existing state of consciousness will evoke one that is similar, but which has a different accompaniment. The two appear as *mine*, although they contradict each other. Such are those patients, who find that all remains the same, and nevertheless that everything is changed.

3. Finally, there are the cases of alternation. Here it is hardly doubtful that the two subjective memories—the organized expression of the two *cœnestheses*—subsist and by turns predominate. Each is accompanied by, and puts into activity, a certain group of feelings, of physical and intellectual aptitudes, which do not exist in the other. Each forms a part of a distinct complexus. The case of Azam affords an excellent example of the alternation of two memories.

Upon this subject we could not say anything more without falling into repetitions, or without accumulating a number of hypotheses. Ignorance of the causes arrests our progress. The psychologist is here like a physician who is confronted by some disease that only betrays its symptoms. What then are the physiological influences that thus change the general tone of the organism, consequently the *cœnesthesis* and the memory? Is it through some condition of the vascular system? Is it an inhibitory action, an arrested function? No one can say. Until this problem has been solved, we cannot penetrate beneath the surface of the question. We have simply wished to show

* Translated from the French (*Diseases of Personality* Chap. III. 3.) by

that memory, although in some respects blended with personality, is not its last foundation. Memory rests upon the state of the body whether conscious or not, and depends upon it. Even in the normal state the same physical situation has a tendency to recall the same mental situation. I have frequently remarked that at the moment of falling asleep, some dream of the preceding night, until then entirely forgotten, will suddenly return to my recollection completely and vividly. In travelling, when leaving one town to sleep in another, this reproduction will sometimes take place; but my dream will then emerge in disconnected fragments, which it is difficult to reconstruct. Is this the effect of the physical conditions—alike in the former instance, slightly modified in the latter? Although I have not seen the above fact mentioned in any work on dreams, I doubt whether it is a particular and exclusive experience of my own.

Then again, there are other well-known facts, even more conclusive. In natural or induced somnambulism the events of former states, forgotten during wakefulness, will return during the hypnotic state. Let us recall to mind the well-known story of the carrier, who while intoxicated lost a packet, which he was unable to find when sober; he got drunk again and then found it. Is there not in this instance a marked tendency toward the constitution of two memories—the one normal, the other pathological—expressions of two distinct states of the organism, and which are like embryonic forms of the extreme cases that we have spoken about?

A CHAPTER ON ANTHROPOPHAGY.*

BY RICHARD ANDREE.

THE following essay is the last chapter, the summing up, of an exhaustive ethnographical study of anthropophagy. After briefly surveying what may be called prehistoric cannibalism—taking into account the various tell-tale remains that have been found in different places, the testimony of old writers, the witness of myths, legends, and fairy tales, and the like—the author refers one after the other to all the known anthropophagous tribes of the world. The chapter translated is simply a chapter of conclusions drawn from this territorial survey. In a measure it gives the results of a volume. The preliminary discussion of prehistoric cannibalism may be summed up in a word. Though the evidences are meagre, they are conclusive. Even in Germany, the author's native land, A. Wollemann has found heaps of human bones, burned and broken,—the remains of cannibalistic feasts—as though human beings were once burned and their bones broken for the marrow. These heaps are typical of many such remains that have been found in

various now settled districts. Comparative mythology furnishes the material for reconstructing the old world of gods and goddesses, and at the same time for establishing the early practice of anthropophagy. The myths, legends, and fairy tales of the folk lore of all nations, from the Cyclops of Homer and the cannibalistic gods and heroes of classical peoples to the brownies and witches who for love of it ate the hearts of men, all directly or indirectly bear witness to anthropophagous customs. Even in these mythical accounts we find traces of superstitious beliefs, such as are prevalent in the cannibalistic tribes of to-day; such, for instance, as that by the eating of human flesh certain powers and qualities were to be acquired. "Whoever eats a cooked human heart becomes invisible."* This old witness to cannibalism finds its parallel in the following occurrence which took place in 1871: "The people in the district Cheung-lok seized a youth, carried him to the top of a hill, where they killed him and ate his heart."† There is no essential difference between the cannibalistic practices of these early days, as shown by such remains as have come down to us, and those existing at the present time; and the conclusion is almost inevitable that anthropophagy is a practice once well nigh universal, but now fast dying out.

Though it cannot be denied that the proofs of the existence of anthropophagy in prehistoric times are few, and not always strictly credible, this is due largely to the insufficient number of investigations that have been made and in part to the difficulty attending such investigations. From the material of proof adduced, however, the anthropophagy of prehistoric men must henceforth be accepted; and this conclusion has nothing surprising about it when we reflect how widely spread cannibalism is at the present day, and how it once extended over wide-reaching districts where it no longer exists. Though it cannot be absolutely proved, it can be accepted that anthropophagy was one of the diseases of the childhood of the human race; that it was once extensively spread over our own part of the earth, which to-day is free from the curse. The numerous passages of the old authors mentioning it, pronounce in favor of this; and though here and there these passages may rest on exaggeration or be utter fictions, they, in conjunction with what myths and legends, fairy tales and folk-remains of all sorts teach us, form the proof in its entirety. Indeed the folk-literatures of the European peoples agree with respect to anthropophagous customs. Mention is not merely made therein of the purely material enjoyment of human flesh; but even those superstitious ideas which among

* Grohmann, *Aberglauben aus Böhmen*. No. 1448.

† W. Lobscheid, *Evidence of the Affinity of the Polynesians and American Indians*. Hongkong, 1872, 62.

* Translated from the German.

uncultured peoples are connected with cannibalism, like the anthropophagy of revenge, have there found their place as a remains and survival of the cannibalism which once existed among the primitive peoples of Europe.

All anthropophagy which exists to-day—and it is now only prevalent among a comparatively small portion of mankind—appears, however, merely as a remnant of what was once general. Those peoples among whom we still find it, have had it from primitive times. Of its first appearance among them we have no existing information; and nowhere can we perceive that cannibalism was introduced at a later day.

No portion of the earth can be said to be free from cannibalism. Where it does not prevail to-day, it formerly existed. Rich and poor lands knew it or know it still. It appears in America from the icy regions of the Hudson Bay Territory, through the tropics, to the southern point of the continent. Anthropophagy is scattered throughout all the zones, though its real home to-day is in the region of the tropics, and for this fact we can assign no sufficient ground. It is found among settled agricultural peoples, as in Africa, in full scope, not less than among roaming hordes, as in America and Australia.

How anthropophagy develops from hunger into custom and is conditioned by the physical relations of a land, can be shown by the example of Australia. In Australia it is the case that often unfruitful districts deny the necessary food by which the thinly scattered population ekes out a wretched life. With the drouths which come and often burn up all germs of life, perish the animals which, together with the necessary vegetables, make possible the support of the blacks. If the horde, forced by the want of food, does not resort immediately to cannibalism within its own tribe, it sets out and seeks other districts which may have suffered less from the drouth and thus offers the means of nourishment. Impelled by the same reasons, other and hostile tribes also go to the same territories where now a strife arises about the right to hunt. The struggle begins and the hungering hordes devour the flesh of the fallen foes which affords them welcome nourishment. Now has arrived the moment for revenge to step in as a motive for anthropophagy. The slain enemy is said to be wholly destroyed, and the Australian eats with a relish the "tongue and heart" of the fallen foe,* the organs from which proceeded the hostility and derision of the dead. Then again superstition comes into play. The savage rubs his body with the kidney-fat of the slaughtered under the delusion that thereby he will transfer to himself the strength of the foe, or he eats the fat for the same

reason. Thus superstition and revenge take rank as motives for driving people to cannibalism.

Anthropophagy appears under very different forms. Though these need not necessarily have been developed from one another, they could yet run parallel with one another. These different forms, moreover, are conditioned by the motives which lead to anthropophagy, or according to which it is practiced, and these furnish the basis for classification.

That hunger at all times and among all peoples in unfortunate circumstances has driven men to cannibalism is natural and need not here be further discussed with examples. Only in the extremest cases, when the regular, customary food failed, did men resort to human flesh for food, and the forced cannibalism ceased, when the utter want of food, which was the original cause of cannibalism, vanished. In many peoples and in many districts want and hunger, being so often dependent upon physical relations, recurred regularly so that that which in the beginning took place against the will became a habit and a custom.

Hunger has certainly been one of the leading motives which led to anthropophagy among the Fuegians, according to Darwin; among the Indians of the Hudson Bay Territory, according to Hearne; and among the Botokudos, according to Tschudi. Human flesh in and for itself is not unwholesome, and most judgments agree in this that it is palatable. The Fans (according to Winwood Reade) say it tastes like the flesh of the monkey; the Batuas praise it (according to Bickmore) above all other foods, and the same is maintained by the Melanesians of the New Hebrides and of the Fiji Islands (according to Wilkes). The Botokudos (according to Tschudi), like the inhabitants of the New Hebrides (according to Turner), prefer the flesh of the blacks to that of the whites. But there is no lack of opposing assertions, as when the Manjuema assured Livingstone that human flesh is not good, that the enjoyment of it is a fancy; and when the Nyam-Nyam told Schweinfurth that human flesh acted as an intoxicant.

But hunger which is said to furnish a physiological excuse for anthropophagy is in comparatively few cases to be regarded as the real cause of it. Most peoples and tribes which are addicted to the custom live in abundance; they have no want of vegetable and animal food. This applies to almost all cannibals of the South Sea and Africa; and even higher or lower civilization is of no influence whatever in the shocking phenomenon. The Nyam-Nyam in Central Africa rank far above many neighboring negro tribes, such as Dor, Schilluk, Dinka, etc., and still the latter are in no wise anthropophagous, while the former are cannibals in the fullest sense of the word. Even the Fiji Islanders enjoy a comparatively developed condition, and rank

* W. Powell, *Among the Cannibals of New Britain*. (German.) Leipsic, 1884, 220.

above many Polynesians, among whom anthropophagy has already disappeared even without the influence of the whites. Finally, the Batnas in Sumatra, among whom every traveler has marveled to see, side by side with a script and a literature, cannibalism brought into a form of law. And that even cultivated people are guilty of the offense of cannibalism is shown by the case of the Aztecs.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

OATHS.

BY GEO. L. HIBBARD.

Why administer and take oaths?

If to impress a greater sense of duty and responsibility, it may properly be questioned if such is the usual effect. Official oaths have less to recommend their use than the judicial, for it cannot be shown that a single government officer was ever constrained to do his duty by reason of his oath.

The late Civil war proved the official oath useless. It did not prevent the Southern leaders from arraying themselves against the National government and taking an oath to support the Confederacy. Oaths like promises are made to be broken; they simply indicate the mind of the party at the time; made to be observed until different conditions demand their abrogation, when others will be made, to share the same fate. To promise beyond known desires and conditions is to invite repudiation, and it makes the promise no stronger because given in the form of an oath.

We may decide then that this oath being in no way beneficial must be injurious. To take a so-called solemn oath with the full consciousness that it will be violated whenever convenience demands it, is to impair the force of all obligations, to lessen the regard for truth.

Arguments no less conclusive can be found against the use of the judicial oath. A liar is the same under all conditions, and he who speaks falsely without the oath, cannot be depended on with it.

A bad effect upon the average mind, as a result of taking oaths, is to be careless about the truth in ordinary statement or conversation. The untruthful man speaks recklessly when not under oath; put under oath he is as false as before, only more guarded in his statements. Under oath his evidence is accepted and allowed to offset that of a truthful man, the jury, the public, which give heed to him under oath would not listen to him without it, to such an extent is this error grounded in the popular mind, that taking an oath will transform a liar into a truthful man. An expression sometimes heard is "I would as soon have that man's word as his oath," and to say of a man "I would not believe him under oath" is considered an extreme statement. Thus we see two standards have become established; every-day speech is not counted sacred; it is only when oath-bound that most men feel constrained to tell the truth, or at least to approximate towards it, and then through fear, and not for the truths sake.

What can be more plain than that a loss of truth and principle is the result of this practice? The origin of oath-taking is not of such a nature as to commend it to an enlightened people. It was conceived in fear and superstition, and is maintained by the power of bigotry and tradition, for in requiring an oath in the name of a Deity, we are simply copying the practices of our Pagan ancestors.

Man was to be dragooned into telling the truth by appeal to savage, vindictive Gods, who would wreak vengeance on him if he proved false. To our shame be it said, the idea of men telling the truth for the truth's sake, is as unknown to our code as to that of the ancients. The practices observed in taking oaths are much more disgusting than impressive, for instead of all men giving evidence as *men* we see the Protestant swearing on the Gospels, the

Catholic on his approved version, the Mohammedan on the Koran, while John Chinaman is impressed by breaking a dish or twisting off a fowl's head.

In the courts of New York, at the conclusion of the oath, a book is presented, often a soiled, dirty one, for the witness to kiss. Only a mind filled with superstition could find more consolation in kissing a book called a Bible than one called a Dictionary. And consider the filthiness, the danger of disease in a calf-bound volume handled and kissed by clean and unclean. In a country like ours dedicated to *no* religion, oaths invoking *any* Deity or acknowledging *any* religious system are arbitrary and out of place.

Laws that disqualify a witness without religious belief are born of bigotry and intolerance; are repressive of honest thought, put a premium on hypocrisy, wrong some of the most estimable citizens and thereby frustrate the ends of justice. In addition to the intolerant spirit dictating such injustice, is the belief that only through fear can man be relied on to tell the truth. To make a man a liar, give him to understand you consider him one; and the reverse, if you would make a man truthful, give him to understand you expect truth.

In place of oaths we should have an affirmation or a simple promise on honor; something acceptable to all races and religions, or no religion.

That such measures would have a tendency to popularize truth and make it the common medium of communication, there can be no reasonable doubt.

Grant the fact that oaths were necessary in earlier days, they have ceased to be either needful or beneficial in the light of worthy motives and simpler ways.

Then why administer or take oaths?

CORRESPONDENCE.

IS OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM A FAILURE?

To the Editor of *The Open Court*.—

A WRITER "In Defence of Civilization," in No. 176 of *The Open Court*, tells us that "the mere fact that poverty exists, does not justify the charge that it is increased, or in any way made more painful, by our present system of labor and government." This is a statement which many people would be only too glad to see proven. For if the cause of poverty does not lie with "our present system of labor and government," then the poor and the discontented must be among us either because enough for all cannot be produced, or because an increasing proportion of the community prefer to barely subsist, rather than live in comfort, with some opportunity for mental, moral and physical development. The first supposition, that in the civilized portions of the earth, the brawn, the brains, and the labor saving machinery are not able to successfully cope with nature and provide a comfortable living for all, is manifestly absurd. It is not yet necessary to put a prohibitive tax upon child-bearing, or otherwise endeavor to enforce the Malthusian theory. Neither is it reasonable to affirm that a growing body of men and women prefer hunger and homelessness to being fed and sheltered as their well-being demands. Leaving out the exceptional cases of those who have sunk so low in the social scale that they are brutes in all but form—canker spots upon the face of society, produced by a diseased condition of the whole organism—and it is absurd to declare that the poor would continue to live in poverty and dirty squalor, if a fair opportunity was given them to extricate themselves from such unwholesome conditions.

If we find, as any political economist must admit, that our productive ability is more than able to meet the demands made upon it, and if the poor are poor by necessity rather than by choice, then certainly the trouble must lie somewhere in the sys-

tem of distributing the products of labor. No other conclusion can be drawn from the facts in the case. Indeed, this conclusion is generally admitted by those who criticize the reform measures advocated by the best-known socialist writers. Prof. T. H. Huxley has written a letter to the "London Times" condemning the scheme for the social regeneration of London proposed by General Booth. While Professor Huxley protests against General Booth's plan, he admits the general proposition of the existence of an immense amount of remediable misery in England, the result of individual ignorance or misconduct and of *faulty social arrangements*, and which, he says, must be effectually dealt with, or the increasing hordes of vice and pauperism will destroy modern civilization as effectually as uncivilized tribes of another kind destroyed the great social organization which preceded ours. What is true of England, is true, in nearly the same degree, of the great centres of population in this country. Many well-known authorities on political and scientific subjects affirm the charge of the socialist against society, the charge which the writer "In Defense of Civilization" denies, and who also tells us that "The burden of proof rests upon the prophets of revolution. They are bound to prove the justice of their charges against society and civilization." But these charges are only statements of facts which are self-evident to any person who is at all in touch with the spirit of the times. One cannot read the daily papers, one cannot go abroad in city or country and avoid coming face to face with the proofs. If one cares to look for them, to read the organs of the trade-unions or the various socialist societies, and occasionally attend the meetings of some of these organizations, he will be abundantly satisfied that there is an enormous body of men in this country, men who live from hand to mouth, intelligent, economical, liberty-loving men, who hold our present system of government responsible for their condition, and who are slowly formulating a demand for a new system which shall guarantee a fair distribution of the products of their labor. They will ultimately obtain what they demand. Peaceably, if possible. If not, by the destruction of everything which opposes them. They are not a mob, but are becoming an organized army. It is only the lowest scum of society that composes the rabble. It is this rabble which will break loose and loot and destroy, when the working men make a stand for their liberty. It is this class which may repeat the horrors of "The Reign of Terror" in days of the French Revolution. Says Cardinal Newman: "The present condition of our laboring people is one of widespread unrest. They are sore and discontented. The world of capital is alarmed and combining for its defense. The world of labor is uniting to demand a fuller and fairer share in the products of its skill and toil."

Surely it is not necessary to further "prove it," when we hear upon all sides an ominous undertone of discontent, which ever and anon rises into a passionate cry of hatred. No, it is as plain as the truth of a fact need be that the trouble lies in the present system of society which is producing not only "The Coming Billionaire," as Mr. Shearman tells us, in the January *Forum*, but an organization of labor in opposition that points to a final day of crisis, when quarter may neither be asked nor given.

Of the writers, whose well-known names are quoted by the author of the article under discussion, the following words by Bishop Huntington, in the October *Forum*, well apply. "It needs no very profound interpretation of history to see that the world's welfare in most times and places has been indebted to an order of men whose business has not been that of meddling disturbers or of wanton destructionists, but who have had singularly clear visions of moral distinctions, and a strong hold on the throne of everlasting justice and judgment—men who have not undertaken to turn the world upside down, but who, finding it wrong side up, have done a great deal to turn it right side up; men who have called wrong things by their right names. On the whole, they

have contributed as much toward the betterment of society as the capitalists and the leaders of industry, the master manufacturers and the multipliers of money." JOHN RANSOM BRIDGE.

IN REPLY TO MR. BRIDGE.

To the Editor of *The Open Court* :

I AM greatly obliged to Mr. Bridge for answering the most obvious objection to the article of which he complains. Critics might have said, "We did not know that civilization needs any defence." But it seems that there is "an enormous body" of intelligent men in this country who are becoming an organized army, are going to make a movement which may involve the destruction of everything which opposes them and "repeat the horrors of the Reign of Terror." I am satisfied that any insurrection which is started in America must be a failure. The majority is sure to have its own way peaceably; and woe to him who takes up arms against it. It would be a pity to have a single life thrown away thus; and it is also a pity to have noble, generous, earnest men, like Mr. Bridge, who might do a great deal of good in the rich field of practical reform, waste their strength in beating the air.

Perhaps others may have found it as hard as he does to understand me. I said that those who assert that civilization has increased poverty ought to prove, first of all, that poverty really has increased. They have, however, not brought forward any proof that it does; and they have taken no notice of well-established facts, which prove that poverty is on the decrease. This decrease seems to me largely due to our public school system and our labor-saving machinery, both which improvements Mr. Morris and other revolutionists wish to abolish; but I will not stop here to take up *news from nowhere* for more than this remark. What I wish to point out now is that Mr. Bridge does not take the slightest notice of the facts which show that poverty is on the decrease, nor does he refer to any fact in proof that poverty increases. He merely says that this assertion is self-evident, and that "many well-known authorities on political and scientific subjects affirm the charge." He does not tell us who these authorities are; and I can tell him that I submit to no authority but that of actual fact. Nothing has done more to keep our race in ignorance than satisfaction with "well-known authorities." Mr. Bridge will find them by the dozen on both sides of every important question, for and against protectionism, free coinage, woman suffrage, prohibition, Sunday laws, and many other issues. Three hundred years ago, there were plenty of cardinals and bishops in favor of burning heretics and witches. I did not call for authorities but for facts.

My skepticism even goes so far as to doubt the infallibility of Mr. Bridge's own method of proving our social system a failure. When I consider how large a part of actual poverty is due to idleness, intemperance and extravagance, I must be slow to admit that "The poor are poor by necessity rather than by choice." And if we use the word "necessity" in so wide a sense as to cover many physical, moral, and intellectual defects, which make him who suffers from them less able than his neighbors to support himself comfortably, then we can admit poverty to be a necessary evil, without admitting that "The trouble must lie somewhere in the system of distributing the products of labor." Disease is a necessary evil; but does the trouble lie somewhere in the present system of doctoring? That system might doubtless be improved; but I do not intend to join a secret society for destroying disease by murdering all the doctors. No one who has read my articles on the tariff can suppose that I fully approve of our American system of distributing products. But the facts of history prove conclusively that poverty has actually diminished under the British system, which closely resembles our own in other respects, and I do not think that any well-known writers are going to persuade me to shut my eyes and charge, like a mad bull, head first, against civilization.

F. M. HOLLAND.

NOTES.

"The Reform Advocate" is the name of a new journal to be published weekly in the interests of Reform Judaism, especially to advocate the views of the Rev. Dr. E. G. Hirsch. Dr. Hirsch is not only a rabbi, a pastor of his congregation, indefatigable in practical work for the souls entrusted to his care; he is also a man of science and he has in his sphere made successful attempts in the reconciliation of science with religion. He has broadened the sectarian views of Judaism into a religion of science and it does honor to him that there are many gentiles among those who crowd his temple to listen to his weekly discourses.

We published a note in No. 178 concerning the imprisonment of the Editor of "Lucifer." The sentence was declared to be "unwise, excessive and unjust." At the same time we expressed our disapproval of "the methods and taste" displayed by him, mentioning also that we did not believe in the prevalence of the evils he denounces; namely, the brutal treatment of wives. It may be added however that we do believe in the prevalence of other evils and diseases produced by sins against the laws of sexual ethics. We have received criticisms of the above mentioned note and publish the following extract from a letter so that our readers may hear the other side, in case we have been in the wrong:

"I don't know who writes 'Notes,' but presume they are Editorial. In criticising or commenting on H— and H—you say, 'We do not believe the evils he denounces are prevalent.' Now I have made it my business to find out if they are so, and I think few have a better chance to know, unless it be doctors; and many will tell me who would not tell a doctor. I have lived in four States and many homes, and have an extensive correspondence as a writer for some ten or a dozen Liberal and Local papers. I have lived here many years, and if there are a dozen boys who have been raised here, and who have reached the age of twelve and fourteen, that have remained pure, I fail to have heard of it. Syphilis is so common that it is rare to find a family free of it in some form or other, and marital intemperance is almost universal. I do not approve of H's manner of expressing himself, nor of his wife's, but that either of them should be punished for it is all wrong. I believe them conscientious in their work and they compel no one to read their paper, and thrust themselves on no one. We must win the good and true through educational influences. *The Open Court* is usually liberal and broad and elevating, but that 'Note' was hard, harsh, and bigoted. I don't think you realized it and hence my letter."

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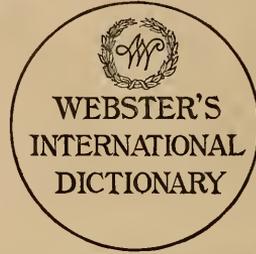
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