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AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF THOMAS PAINE.

WRITTEN TO JEFFERSON, AMERICAN MINISTER IN PARIS.

No. 13 Broad Street Buildings,
London, Feb. 16, 1789.

“DEAR SIR:—Your favour of the 23d Decr continued to the — of Jan’y came safe to hand; for which I thank you. I begin this without knowing of any opportunity of conveyance, and shall follow the method of your letter by writing on till an opportunity offers. I thank you for the many and judicious observations about my bridge. I am exactly in your Ideas, as you will perceive by the following account.—I went to the Iron Works [Yorkshire] the latter end of Oct’r. My intention at the time of writing to you was to construct an experiment arch of 250 feet [an iron Bridge], but in the first place the season was too far advanced to work out of doors, and an arch of that extent could not be worked within doors; and *nextly*, there was a prospect of a real Bridge being wanted on the spot, of 90 feet extent. The person who appeared disposed to erect a Bridge was Mr. Foljambe, nephew to the late Sir George Saville, and Member in the last Parliament for Yorkshire. He lives about three miles from the Works, and the river Don runs in front of his house, over which there is an old ill-constructed Bridge which he wants to remove. These circumstances determined me to begin an arch of 90 feet, with an elevation of five feet.—The foreman of the Works is a relative of the Proprietors [Messrs. Walker], an excellent mechanic, who fell in with all my Ideas with great ease and penetration. I staid at the Works till one-half of the Rib, 45 feet, was compleated and framed horizontally together, and came up to London at the meeting of Parliament on the 4th of December. The foreman, whom, as I told him, I should appoint “President of the Board of Works” in my absence, wrote me word that he has got the other half together with much less trouble than the first. He is now preparing for erecting and I for returning.

“Feb. 26. A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Foljambe in which he says, ‘I saw the Rib of your Bridge. In point of elegance and beauty it far exceeded my expectations, and is certainly beyond anything I ever saw.’

“My Model and myself had many visitors while I was at the Works. A few days after I got there, Lord Fitz William, heir to the Marquis of Rockingham, came with Mr. [Edmund] Burke. The former gave the workmen five guineas and invited me to Wentworth House, a few miles distant from the Works, where I went, and staid a few days.

“This Bridge I expect will bring forth something greater, but in the meantime I feel like a bird from its nest [America], and wishing most anxiously to return; therefore as soon as I can bring anything to bear I shall dispose of the contract and bid adieu. I can very truly say that my mind is not at home.

“I am very much rejoiced at the account you give me of the state of affairs in France. I feel exceedingly interested in the affairs of that nation. They are now got or getting into the right way, and the present reign will be more immortalized in France than any that ever preceded it: they have all died away, forgotten in the common mass of things, but this will be to France like an Anno Mundi, or an Anno Domini.

“The happiness of doing good, and the pride of doing great things, unite themselves in this business. But as there are two kinds of Pride, the little and the great, the privileged orders will in some degree be governed by this division. Those of little pride (I mean little-minded pride) will be schismatical, and those of the great pride will be orthodox, with respect to the States General. Interest will likewise have some share, and could this operate freely it would arrange itself on the orthodox side. To enrich a nation is to enrich the individuals which compose it. To enrich the farmer is to enrich the farm—and consequently the landlord;—for whatever the farmer is, the farm will be. The richer the subject, the richer the revenue, because the consumption from which taxes are raised are in proportion to the abilities of people to consume; therefore the most effectual method to raise both the revenue and the rental of a country is to raise the condition of the people,—or that order known in France by the Tiers Etat. But I ought to ask pardon for entering into reasoning in a letter to you. I only do it because I like the subject.

“I observe in all the companies I go into the impression which the present circumstances of France have upon this country. *An internal Alliance* [of

Throne and People] in France is an alliance which England never dreamed of, and which she most dreads. Whether she will be better or worse tempered afterwards I cannot judge of, but I believe she will be more cautious in giving offense. She is likewise impressed with an idea that a negotiation is on foot between the King [Louis XVI.] and the Emperor [of Germany] for adding Austrian Flanders to France. This appears to me such a probable thing, and may be rendered [so] conducive to the interest of all parties concerned, that I am inclined to give it credit and wish it success. I hope then to see the Scheld opened, for it is a sin to refuse the bounties of Nature. On these matters I shall be glad of your opinion. I think the States General of Holland could not be in earnest when they applied to France for the payment of the quota to the Emperor. All things considered, to request it was meanness and to expect it absurdity. I am more inclined to think they made it an opportunity to find how they stood with France. Absalom (I think it was) set fire to his brother's field of corn to bring on a conversation.

"March 12. With respect to political matters here the truth is, the people are fools. They have no discernment into principles and consequences. Had Mr. Pitt proposed a National Convention at the time of the King's insanity, he had done right; but instead of this he has absorbed the right of the Nation into a right of Parliament,—one house of which (the Peers) is hereditary in its own right, and over which the people have no control (not as much as they have over their King); and the other elective by only a small part of the Nation. Therefore he has lessened instead of increased the rights of the people; but as they have not sense enough to see it, they have been huzzinga him. There can be no fixed principles of government, or anything like a Constitution, in a country where the government can alter itself, or one part of it supply the other.

"Whether a man that has been so compleatly mad as not to be managed but by force and the mad shirt can ever be confided in afterwards as a reasonable man, is a matter I have very little opinion of. Such a circumstance, in my estimation, if mentioned, ought to be a perpetual disqualification.

"Had the Regency gone on and the new Administration been formed I should have been able to communicate some matters of business to you, both with respect to America and France, as an interview for that purpose was agreed upon, and to take place as soon as the persons who were to fill the offices should succeed. I am the more confidential with those persons, as they are distinguished by the name of the Blue and Buff,—a dress taken up during the American war, and the undress uniform of General Washington

with lapels, which they still wear. But at any rate, I do not think it worth while for Congress to appoint any Minister to this Court. The greater distance Congress observes on this point, the better. It will be all money thrown away to go to any expense about it,—at least during the present reign. I know the Nation well, and the line of acquaintance I am in enables me to judge better than any other American can judge, especially at a distance. If Congress should have any business to state to the Government here, it can be easily done thro' their Minister at Paris; but the seldomer the better.

"I believe I am not so much in the good graces of the Marquis of Lansdowne as I used to be. I do not answer his purpose. He was always talking of a sort of reconnection of England and America, and my coldness and reserve on this subject checked communication. I believe he would be a good Minister for England with respect to a better agreement with France.

"Remember me to the Marquis de la Fayette, Mr. Le Roy, Mr. De Corney. Please to inform me if anything further has been done about the Bridge; and likewise how the new Bridge in your neighbourhood goes on.

I am, Dear Sir, with much respect,
Your sincere Friend,
and ob't H'ble servant,
THOMAS PAINE."

AMERICAN PROGRESS.

BY VOLTAIRINE DE CLEVERE.

In a very able article in the October *Monist*, Mr. T. B. Preston gives a bird's-eye view of American Politics, for the purpose, it would appear of pointing out the coincidence of American political development with the more general theory of Evolution. This article commands admiration for its evident spirit of fairness, and desire to bring out the truth concerning the purpose of the rise, growth, and decay of political parties. Nevertheless he has arrived at certain conclusions which, in my opinion, are incorrect, and should not pass without criticism.

If I rightly apprehend the general tenor and particularly the concluding paragraphs of "American Politics," Mr. Preston falls into a common error of interpreting all evolution as progress; for he alludes to the two opposing forces which alternately gain the political ascendancy as in turn, "bringing the nation to a higher plane of progress." This, he observes, is neither Socialism nor Anarchism, but EVOLUTION. No one who accepts the dictum of modern science will dispute that the several triumphs of the centralising and decentralising political parties are evolutionary; but that they are always *progress* can and will most certainly be gainsaid. The spirit of free inquiry which

should possess the searcher after truth should nevertheless work no confusion of right and wrong principles; "Truth is intolerant," to quote the editor of *The Monist*. Therefore the sociological student, however he may recognise the inevitability of opposing political successes, will never mistake social disease for health, but test each by the exacting Law of Progress.

To deduce the law of progress from the history of social experience was one of the main purposes of modern sociology. As pointed out by Dr. Post in his article on "Ethnological Jurisprudence," scientific jurisprudence and scientific sociology alike, demanded that the facts concerning their respective subjects be gathered from all the peoples of the earth. In the one as in the other the task is necessarily still very incomplete. Nevertheless sociology has already passed from the "purely empirical" stage. The far greater task of examining and interpreting these facts; of establishing their relations; of constructing a theory which should unite them into one meaningful whole; this task also has been accomplished, and the "increasing purpose" running through the ages has been formulated in the law of progress, viz.: *that society progresses proportionally to the diminution of the powers of the state, and corresponding increase of scope to the activity of the individual.*

It was possible to have deduced this law even without the record of American politics; yet the story of no other nation more thoroughly verifies it than our own. In the process of examination, Sociology was obliged at the outset to take cognizance of the two tendencies which Mr. Preston has pointed out and likened to the centripetal and centrifugal forces of associative life. It recognised in one the conservative element, in the other the progressive. It recognised that each political party has generally a platform of mixed principles, in which either the conservative or progressive element is dominant. It recognised that a progressive party, having accomplished its dominant purpose, generally becomes conservative with continuance of power. But it also pointed out that wherever progress ensued, it was due to the libertarian spirit; never to the authoritarian. It did not confound political success with sociologic progress.

Let us now apply the test of progress to the most notable case instanced by Mr. Preston—that of the civil war. Our writer says that the republican party, the avowed party of what he denominates the socialistic principle, or the centripetal force, "grandly and patriotically fulfilled its mission" of liberating the chattel slaves. He alludes to the abolition agitation, previous to the war, as advocating the principle which shaped the policy of the republican party. He endeavors to show that, in accord with his declaration, this party was liberal in comparison with its prede-

cessor in power. To a careless student this will appear true. Travelling in an unknown sea, without a compass, the unskilful mariner may call east, west. But let us be more careful. If it be true that the republican party, representing the authoritarian principle (which term I prefer to "socialistic" for, as I shall hereafter try to point out socialism does not necessarily imply centralised power), if it be true that, by virtue of an authoritarian triumph, progress was wrought, then it is an anomaly without parallel in history. Is it true? Those familiar with the history of the war, know that the principle of equal right advocated by the abolitionists had nothing to do with the policy of the republican party. The war was fought on other grounds, viz.: States' right versus United States authority. The majority of those composing the republican party cared nothing about the negroes; their motive was to compel the southern states to remain in the Union. As one old soldier expressed it to me, "All I knew was I was fighting for the flag." Mr. Lincoln declared: "If I could preserve the Union without freeing the slaves I would do it."

Why then did the Union party free the slaves? As a matter of fact they did not. There are two aspects in which the condition of the negroes at the close of the war must be viewed, an ethical and a material aspect.

There had been an ethical progress, in the recognition of the black man as an individual, included in the social law of equal freedom; a recognition, which it is true, was but a partial one, and, for the most part, is as yet barely an ideal. It has not, as yet, been incorporated into the lives of the old masters and the old slaves; they are not really free men, and will not be until the old inheritance of slavery has been obliterated by many generations of social adaptation. Notwithstanding, it was a step in progress; but it was not achieved by the authoritarian party. The Emancipation Proclamation made no one free; ethically speaking it had no value save as an agitator of thought. Freedom cannot be accomplished by declarative pieces of paper; you can make no one free by taking away his master. Every ethical advance must be wrought out in the life of the individual before it is an accomplished fact. Such advance as had been made resulted from the contagion of the abolitionist religion of human rights; and, as is well known, the question of Union or disruption was of little moment to its agitators. If with Mr. Lincoln it was, "save the Union at whatever cost," with them it was "free the slave at whatever cost." With, or without war, as Mr. Preston admits, this idea was and is bound for ultimate victory. His mistake is in supposing that the war precipitated the victory.

The other aspect of the situation, the real effect of

the triumph of authoritarianism, was an economic change; a substitution of the wage system for chattelism, cheap labor for dear labor. This was evolution, but not progress. It is hard when we have been long accustomed to the evils of any particular institution to survey them with the same detestation as that which possesses us at the description of those with which we are unfamiliar, or which we have outgrown. Our ideas of justice are so much matters of habit, that, what to one with a higher ideal seems the blackest enormity, is to us altogether natural. Hence the daily recitals, and the facts staring in our eyes in evidence of the horrors of wage-slavery do not torture us, do not shock us, often scarcely rouse us. To paint them as they shall be one day painted is the task of the poet and the novelist of the close future, for to such is given the mastery of the emotions. But the cold logician who cares nothing for tears or graves save as factors in his problem, can both theoretically and practically prove that where, in chattelism, the cost of human labor was higher than any other, in the wage-system human life is maintained at less cost than that of working animals. As the subsistence line goes down, down go the powers and capacities of the individual, down goes society, backward turns the wheel of evolution. So much for the civil war in its most vital aspects.

Concerning Mr. Preston's prediction of alternating triumphs for the opposing principles, I think it altogether likely they will be fulfilled. None the less I earnestly hope they may not. I hope America will take no more backward steps in the direction of government aggrandisement. Yet there is a profound truth touched by Mr. Preston, in regard to the "centripetal and centrifugal forces" of society, a clearer grasp of which would render his utterances of more value as teaching. Socialism and anarchism are indeed co-existent with Society; and *they are not at war with each other*. On the contrary the greater the recognition of individual liberty, the greater the socialisation of human effort. Any ideal of society which ignores either of these great factors, is like trying to conceive God apart from the Universe, or the Universe apart from God, if I may be allowed the term "God" to express the *rationale* of the Cosmos, a matter in which I am not altogether clear myself.

Many socialists however, anxious for speedy deliverance from the horrors of Wavery, conceive their half-truth to be a whole, and invoke Authority to utter a "be it enacted." Many anarchists conceiving *their* half-truth to be a whole, cry for the immediate abolition of government, fancying that paradise will bloom at once where hell has raged. He who is both socialist and anarchist, and a student of history, knows that neither victory can come to man by any royal road. In

the imagery of Olive Schreiner the bridge to the "Land of Freedom" must be built of human bodies; and of those living now scarce any one will help to form the foundations of its piers; "they will be swept away and drowned." This is a sad thought viewed from the standpoint of individual existence, as indeed all life is. It is only in rising to that point from which he whom I have criticised took his view, when he looked away back to the dim morning of the dark old earth, and saw the divinity in it all, that personal pain or pleasure ceases to be of moment. Then racial life stands out in a grandeur which makes the suffering of Now, glorious as the gateway of Then. And we learn—
PATIENCE.

THE LESSON THAT HARD TIMES TEACH.

THE REV. BROOKE HERFORD'S remark, as quoted by Gen. M. M. Trumbull in this number, that he believed occasionally in "a good wholesome starvation" appears at first sight brutally inhuman, and I am inclined to think either that he never said it or that the context in which it was said would supply us with the key as to his real meaning. It reminds of Moltke's famous phrase "*ein frischer fröhlicher Krieg*," which well harmonises with the same general's saying that "a war even though successful is a calamity." Moltke's opinion is: This world is a world of struggle; struggle is an indispensable element in the household of nature: therefore let us act accordingly, let us struggle unflinchingly whenever duty calls upon us to fight.

Struggle, hard times, war, and other calamities come upon mankind, and the evolution of mankind takes place as a reaction against the evils of life as well as in the fierce competition for progress. This does not mean that we should seek the struggle for the sake of struggle, or go to war for the sake of war, or enjoy to see hard times come upon mankind; this means that we should learn the ethics of struggle, to struggle nobly and bravely, that we should be ready to go to war, if need be, for a just cause, but shrink from misusing a superiority of power, because an unjust war even victorious will be a blot on our escutcheon and in some future time its curse will come home to us; further it means that in good times we should prepare ourselves for bad times. We had a plentiful harvest this year, but its lesson is not to waste, as is actually done on an outrageous scale in this country, but to lay it up for times of scarcity. Do not think that such times will not come. They are constantly near at hand, for times of tribulations which try the souls of men may come, they can come at any time, and they do come occasionally.

There is no use in arguing or remonstrating against this state of things; such is nature and nature is as stern as the God of the Bible. Says the Apostle:

"Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" We cannot change the laws of nature, we can only change ourselves by adapting ourselves to the laws of nature; yet in doing so we shall progress, we shall grow stronger, nobler, and more moral.

Professor Lloyd Morgan shows in his book "Animal Life and Intelligence" that the change between good times and hard times is an important factor in evolution. Good times produce an expansion of life, they develop many varieties good and evil. Hard times however eliminate; they prune the opulent growth and let the fit alone survive. He says:

"During the exhibitions at South Kensington there were good times for rats. But when the show was over, there followed times that were cruelly hard. The keenest competition for the scanty food arose, and the poor animals were forced to prey upon each other. 'Their cravings for food,' we read in *Nature*, 'culminated in a fierce onslaught on one another, which was evidenced by the piteous cries of those being devoured. The method of seizing their victims was to suddenly make a raid upon one weaker or smaller than themselves, and, after overpowering it by numbers, to tear it in pieces.' Elimination by competition, passing in this way into elimination by battle, would, during hard times, be increased. None but the best organised and best adapted could hope to escape. . . .

"The alternation of good times and hard times may be illustrated by an example taken from human life. The introduction of ostrich-farming in South Africa brought good times to farmers. Whereupon there followed divergence in two directions. Some devoted increased profits to improvements upon their farms, to irrigation works which could not before be afforded, and so forth. For others increased income meant increased expenditure and an easier, if not more luxurious, mode of life. Then came hard times. Others, in Africa and elsewhere, learnt the secret of ostrich-farming. Competition brought down profits, and elimination set in—which variety need hardly be stated."

This is one instance that demonstrates the error of hedonism. The happiness theory in ethics is wrong and dangerously misleading.

At present we have good times; yet how few people learn the lesson of life, how few know that this is the time of a preparation for hard times. Is it not a cruelty to feed paupers and make them more unfit still in the struggle for existence than they are already? There should be no charity except it be educational so as to teach people to help themselves and show them a way out of being in need of charity. Yet for those who refuse to learn any lesson from life, there is no other hope than an eventual extermination in hard times.

CURRENT TOPICS.

MR. McCRIE's article in *The Open Court* of November 26th presents to us again that intricate puzzle called "Abraham Lincoln's creed." It is very interesting that such a question should have any interest at all. The religion that begs the patronage of presidents doubts its own theology, for the true God needs not the favor of men. Shall we think of Abraham Lincoln as having had a dual character? That he was a Christian is proved by abundant evidence; while the testimony is overwhelming that he was an

unbeliever and an atheist. He invoked the aid of prayers; and in some of his public acts, he made appeals to God in words of worship and in a tone of adoration. Some of his tributes to Deity were merely rhetorical emphasis, but others were not. Cicero often swore "By Hercules," as in the oration against Catiline, although he believed no more in Hercules than Abraham Lincoln believed in any church-made God. We know little of Lincoln's moral principles and theology, but we know his actions and his politics. The Emancipation Proclamation was not "the greatest moral document of his presidency"; it was not a moral document at all. It was a political document, and Mr. Lincoln himself never claimed for it any moral quality. It was issued, with much parade of apology, as a bit of military strategy, and a "war measure." It had a dual character. It is anti-slavery now, but had its terms been accepted by the confederates, it would have been pro-slavery. By the very terms of it slavery was to be preserved should the states in rebellion return to their allegiance within a hundred days. And, as it was, it abolished slavery only where we had no jurisdiction, and retained it where we had.

* * *

I see by the papers that the Rev. Brooke Herford told the Associated Charities of Boston last week that he thought there was danger sometimes of too much assistance to the paupers. He believed, occasionally, in "good, wholesome starvation." Not for himself, of course, nor for his own children; not for the nobility that buys his pews, but for the mob-ility, who have no money to buy either pews or bread. I wonder how it happens that such Anti-Christianity is generally proclaimed by a gentleman with "Rev." before his name. True, Mr Herford did not mean what he said, but his gaunt, grim wit makes an excuse for others to lock up charity. A man ought to be sure that he himself is very good before he recommends "wholesome starvation" for his fellow men. No doubt that alms are often misapplied, but better that than starvation. Charity, even to the shiftless and unworthy is a mistake that leans to virtue's side. The Associated Charities organisation means well, but it believes too much in the doctrine of "good, wholesome starvation" for the poor. Charities, when "associated" become jealous of retail charities, and freely assert that they do more harm than good. Charities, "associated" in a corporation or a syndicate, sometimes practice the methods of monopolies, and try to crush out all retail competition. The spiritual influence of alms-giving on the giver who bestows directly upon the object of his bounty, is weakened when he gives through the medium of the Associated Charities, although it is better to give through them than not to give at all. If "good, wholesome starvation" came only to those who deserve it, how many children of the self-righteous would go hungry on thanksgiving day.

* * *

There is no cause for alarm just now at the prospect of an "over-production" of charity. The demand for charity still exceeds the supply. Several years ago, I pompously declared in an article on the labor problem, that the working men "ask not charity but justice." Since then I have seen the sentiment quoted so often to the prejudice of charity that I begin to think I made a mistake in placing those two qualities in contrast. They are in reality kindred virtues, and I now believe that a man cannot practice charity very much without wishing to do justice too. For that reason I hail with benedictions the thanksgiving dinner bestowed by almsgiving people on a thousand "waifs," as they call them, in Chicago. So far as it goes, I welcome the dinner as a pledge of justice to come; when, because of justice, there shall be fewer "waifs" than there are now. I see that General Booth of the Salvation Army gives a banquet to six-hundred thieves in London, and I approve of that also, because the spirit of the gift moves the six hundred some little distance at least along the way that

leads to salvation. This banquet is given to them, not because they are thieves, but because they are men, every one of them with some good in him somewhere. It is an offering, not to the thief, but to the scourged and disfigured Christ within him. In some religions this feast will rank as a sacrament; and that it will confer spiritual grace I have no doubt whatever. I believe that although six hundred thieves may sit down to the banquet, less than six hundred thieves will rise from the table, I am sure that some of them will be converted.

* * *

There was eager bidding by rival cities for the next republican convention, and the bids all came from the Nor', and the Nor'-west by Nor'; the South made never a claim. The proceedings before the national committee resembled an auction, with this difference, that the highest bidder did not get the prize. The bids had a sectional tone which grated harshly on the ear, a tall young giant of the cowboy order, called the "Northwest" mixing a good deal of swagger with his bids, and menacing an elderly gentleman in civilised clothing called the "East." New York, Cincinnati, and Pittsburg put in their claims, and then Detroit offered the electoral vote of Michigan, promising that Michigan should be "redeemed" from democratic rule; and not only that, but Detroit would provide "a hall capable of holding 10,000 people, a wigwam in the centre of the city, and a floating raft in the river." The last part of it was fatal to the bid, for the proposition to anchor the convention on a raft in the river, although a wise precaution on the part of the citizens of Detroit, alarmed the committee, and the bid was rejected. Omaha put in a bid as "the gateway to the new empire of the Nor', Nor'west," but the "gateway" metaphor having been so much ill-used and over-worked, hurt the bid. The impassioned plea of San Francisco to come to that city "for God's sake," made a deep impression on the committee, backed as the appeal was by an offer of luxurious living, and free tickets for all the delegates; "not that we would offer a bribe," said 'Frisco, "Oh no, certainly not." The disclaimer had an unpleasant suggestion in it, which was fatal to the bid. Never say "bribe" to the man you are bribing. Just bribe him and have done with it. "I wouldn't presume to offer you a bribe," said the lobbyist to the statesman he was tempting; and the honorable member answered him, saying, "Then send somebody that will." The bid of Minneapolis was "a hall with 14,000 seating capacity, and plenty of hotels. "The coming fight would be won or lost in the Nor'west," said Minneapolis, "and the convention should go there as a stimulant." The word "stimulant" had a great effect. "Are you all done, Gentlemen?" said the auctioneer. "Gone! to Minneapolis."

* * *

It is curious that in a land theoretically so jealous as ours of the people's "rights," the right of social privacy is continually invaded, and the luxury of being nobody placed among the forbidden fruit. Not long ago, a modest lady of New York died at her own home, and as her life had been spent in doing good, some admiring friends took measures to honor her memory by a public monument. This was so arrogantly out of harmony with her unostentatious character, that her family, by means of a writ of injunction forbade the building of the monument, the courts deciding that the right of social privacy was under the protection of the law. This was well; but as a writ of injunction is not always available, the protection is imperfect. Within the past few years a new terror has been given to life by the woodcut caricature of himself, called a portrait, which any man is likely to see in the newspapers on the smallest provocation. If editors knew how much pain those woodcuts give, they would not publish them. I know a man, fearful of celebrity as he is of hydrophobia, who rashly consented to "make a few remarks" at a public meeting in Chicago. The next day he saw in one of the papers a full length portrait of himself as he appeared in the very act of talk. Slowly

and sadly he carried the paper home, and showed it to the folks. His daughter, a proud and sensitive young lady, very nearly swooned at the sight of it, and bursting into tears, exclaimed, "Oh, look at them feet!" The innermost sanctuary of the home is not secure in its right of privacy, and even little children may be dragged into notoriety, whether their parents like it or not. Surely the instinct of good manners ought to have prevented that burlesque election, when Baby KcKee, and Baby Cleveland were pitted against each other as candidates for a doll, or something of that kind. This, for the mercenary object of raising funds for the society that "nominated" those little children, and made them an innocent and unwilling part of an "entertainment." More surprising than the rest of it is the fact that the papers, without a word of reproof, proclaimed that Baby McKee beat Baby Cleveland so many hundred votes; and that the society "cleared" so many dollars by the parody.

M. M. TRUMBULL.

EVOLUTION AND IMMORTALITY.

MR. THOMAS B. PRESTON does not take that idealising view of American politics and especially of the motives of the Republican party in freeing the slaves that Miss Voltairine de Cleyre attributes to him. On the contrary, he makes out, as he states himself, "a pretty bad indictment of corruption against our politics," but he recognises at the same time that "the moral forces which are operating in the world are fortunately not dependent upon the changeable methods or the selfish objects of men." Evolution takes place in spite of the sometimes extremely insincere motives of parties and party leaders, which are most instrumental in effecting progress.

Miss Voltairine de Cleyre quotes from Olive Schreiner the sentence that the bridge to "the Land of Freedom" must be built of human bodies, and of those living now scarcely any one will help to form the foundations of its piers. They will be swept away and drowned. Miss de Cleyre adds: "This is a sad thought." It is a sad thought that so few will help to form the foundations, but that the bridge to the land of freedom, indeed the bridge to any higher existence is to be built of human lives—lives rather than bodies—is not a sad thought; it is a great thought and a sublime idea, it is an elevating, refreshing, and strengthening idea. It is the idea of immortality. The lives of all those who have labored and aspired for freedom and progress are not swept away; they form the living building-stones of the temple of humanity and our present civilisation is their embodiment. So far as certain ideals have been realised in our political or social life we of the present generation are thinking the thoughts of the martyrs of these ideals; the better parts of their souls have entered into our psychical constitution and form part of ourselves. In this sense Schopenhauer says that our beloved dead are always with us; they live still.

Is this a sad idea? It is only a sad idea to him who considers death as a finality. He who imagines that his present existence from his birth to the grave is all of his life must feel disheartened. But he who recognises that this span of life is but a fragment, and that that element of his soul which gives it worth, will continue to live, has no cause for being overpowered by melancholy and pessimism. It appears that almost all the mistakes of ethical and philosophical errors arise from a wrong conception of man's personality. If we take the ego to be a real entity, being the subject or substratum, the bearer of the actual facts of psychical existence, and if this mythical ego is assumed as the main constituent of man's personality, the whole world is rent in twain, a veil wraps our mental eye; it is the veil of Maya which prevents it from recognising itself in the not-me. The belief in the ego produces the erroneous idea of considering death as a finality. If we take the actual facts of psychical existence as the constituents of personality the gap between ourselves and mankind disappears. We ob-

serve the souls of our ancestors, our teachers, our friends, and even of our enemies floating into and out of this vessel of our existence which we are wont to call our personality. But our personality, our soul, our best self is not the vessel, but its contents. The vessel will be broken, but the contents will not be wasted. The tissues of man's body are dying away daily, hourly, nay at every second of his life; but his soul lives on amid all these changes. The soul can be made immortal and it is our highest religious duty to shape our lives with a constant outlook upon that which lies beyond the grave. The work to be done for immortality is the problem, the aim, and the basis of ethics.

P. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

JUSTICE, THE BASIS OF ETHICS.

To the Editor of *The Open Court*.—

THE able article from your pen, "Immortality and Science," appearing in *The Open Court*, Nov. 19, is worthy of the most candid consideration. Solomon might be assured that what "befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, and that they all go to one place," but Solomon being an orthodox Jew, no doubt had sublime confidence in the immortality of his race. It evidently never occurred to the ancient Hebrew that the one indispensable requisite thereto was morality. There were certain rituals to be observed, certain customs to which the people were to conform. Man was not to oppress his brother. But here was the weakness of the Jewish theocracy. Humanity was limited to race. Against the nations about the chosen people, any amount of iniquity might be perpetrated. In an act of injustice is incorporated its own retribution. It becomes a Nemesis unto itself. The Jewish race thus created its Karma, and received only that which it had sown—destruction.

Christianity was so far grander than Judaism, that it included in its fellowship all the nations of the earth. The latter had faith in the eternal existence of a race, the former in the immortality of the soul. Accepting the evolution embodied in the later idea, personality, individual responsibility becomes prominent. Not the mighty forest itself is to be called to account, but each unfolded acorn thereof.

The chicken picks its way from its shell, instigated to the act by the chicken soul inherited from many generations of shell-picking ancestors. The little duckling plunges into the pond, guided thereto by the soul of uncounted, pre-existent plungers. And that the chicken emerges from its shell, and the duckling sports in the water, enables the chicken and the duckling of the future, to indulge in the same grand privilege, to manifest the same sublime possession of a soul. For it is quite inconsistent, and altogether illogical, that the Monist should create a subdivision of the kingdoms. Says Professor Draper, confirming by the thought the unity of the cosmos: "What we call spirit sleeps in the stone, dreams in the animal, and awakes in man."

Mr. Hegeler, the brave founder of *The Open Court*, says: "We can preserve and elevate the soul of the present generation and of posterity. To preserve and elevate the quality of the human soul, that is the basis of ethics."

Upon this broad definition it would seem that all schools should be enabled to unite. But the difficulty is that in all ages there has existed a grave disagreement as to the real meaning of morality. The metaphysicians of to-day—and I accept Comte's classification, placing priests of every creed in the category—are discussing the question pro and con with the old-time vigor and acrimony, relinquishing, however, in the enforcement of various autocratic decisions the once popular and effective accessories of rack and torture, fagot, stake, and dungeon. The philosophers have apparently arrived at what may be accepted as a crystallised conclusion, and that is that the basis of ethics is justice, thus

placing the question as it were among the Positive Sciences. Reciprocity—the correlation of forces is the eternal, fixed fact of the universe. In the "Ignorant Philosopher" Voltaire says, and I quote from memory, "that while two savages might not hesitate to cheat each other in the trading of jack-knives, or a Catholic might regard it as a sin to eat meat on Friday, and an Esquimaux would swallow without any compunctions of conscience a tallow candle on that day, or on every day in the week, yet each would recognise the justice of returning to the other the money borrowed to procure food with which to sustain life." Justice, then, if this reasoning be accepted is the natural basis of morality. Hence it follows that immortality of the individual or the race, can only be attained by a strict conformity thereto. Were the chicken only to pick its way partially into existence, future generations of chickens would come into the world with shells sticking to their backs. If the individual then only partially performs his duty to himself—which non-performance necessarily includes his lack of duty to his fellow man—he depreciates in so far the quality of the soul he is creating, infringing thereby upon the soul inheritance of his future fellows. It is agreed then that whether the soul hereafter rejoice in a conscious, individualised existence, or whether it mold into grand proportions the future of the race, that Justice is the one standard whereby to measure its work, and consequent worth.

"In order," as Mr. Hegeler says, "to preserve and elevate the quality of the human soul," it becomes a vital necessity that this basis of ethics—justice, should be strictly conformed to. When we behold little children perishing for the necessities of life, labor robbed of its rights, the people bending under a grievous burden, of unjust taxation, and the great Christian church adding to that already heavy burden with its taxless temples, and pagan, un-American privileges, certainly the conclusion is inevitable, that it is building up for itself a very perishable soul.

For the sake of the unborn future, and in the interest of self-preservation, we insist that it build better, broader and higher, in fact that it stand honestly and squarely on its own foundation. If it resist the appeal, if it remain indifferent to the sharp cries of the people's agony, then the inferior inheritance of soul it has created will crumble—its boasted civilisation be ground into dust, and as Babylon, Tyre, Athens, and Rome,—fallen through the same fatal process of disintegration,—its former grandeur will be but as the memory of a brilliant dream.

MRS. M. A. FREEMAN.

Cor. Sec. Am. Secular Union.

[It appears to us that Mrs. Freeman is not just toward the "Jewish Theocracy." To a certain extent, it is true that to the Jew "Humanity was limited to the race." But so to the Greek other nations were Barbarians. From the standpoint of secular criticism we must confess that the ethics of the old Testament were much superior to the ethics of the sacred books of other nations and this its superiority is the reason why it became the Bible of mankind. The New Testament with its glorious gems of noble sentiment was a combination in which not only Jewish thought but also Greek philosophy and Hindoo wisdom coalesced in a peculiar way. It is time for freethinkers to recognise the value of the Bible. In order to conquer the errors of the old orthodoxy we must be just to acknowledge its merits. It is true that grave disagreements prevail as to the nature of morality; and Mrs. Freeman says that morality consists in justice. Most certainly! But we are embarrassed by the same difficulty, for the same disagreement prevails as to the nature of justice. The communist has other ideas about justice than the anarchist, and an anarchist again differs from our lawyers and judges. I have not as yet found two anarchists who hold the same view of anarchism; how can they agree on the meaning of justice? Among the adherents of ethical culture the word justice is often used, but I have found no definition of the term.—ED.]

BOOK NOTICES.

FIFTH REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES ENTOMOLOGICAL COMMISSION. Being a Revised and Enlarged Edition of Bulletin No. 7, on Insects Injurious to Forest and Shade Trees. By *Alpheus S. Packard*, M. D., Ph. D. With wood-cuts and 38 plates. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1890.

This book has been published by the United States Department of Agriculture following the resolution in the House of Representatives and the Senate. It is a voluminous work of 928 pages with several hundred wood-cuts and 38 plates, a great part of which are most accurately colored. The book contains invaluable instruction concerning the injurious insects of this country and suggests the best known remedies against them. After an introduction on the literature of forest entomology and insects in general (pp. 1-47), the subject of injurious insects is discussed in twenty chapters, the material being arranged according to the trees which are the object of their attacks. This makes the book handy for practical purposes. Three good indexes of the insects, the plants, and of names of authors referred to, increase the usefulness of the work.

The December number of *The Century* will be especially welcome to lovers of art. It contains a collection of engravings after several paintings of different styles. There is the Madonna of the Goldfinch, Æneas rescuing his father, from the "Incendio del Borgo," the famous Parnassus Fresco, the portrait of Maddalena Doni, all four by Raphael. In addition to these classic pictures we find a number of modern pieces of art. "The Holy Family," by Frank Vincent du Mond, an American artist, is peculiarly effective. While Raphael's Madonnas are ideally human, Du Mond depicts Catholic Saints. Fritz von Uhde's "Holy Night" appears to be the work of a Protestant artist. It is difficult to detect any beauty in "The Annunciation to the Shepherds," by J. Bastien Lepage. One of the shepherds looks silly, the other old and wretched and the angel is misdrawn. P. Lagarde's picture "The Appearance of the Angel to the Shepherds" is very dramatic. It is in one respect the most modern conception of all. The landscape and the shepherds are oriental without phantastic or ideal additions and the angel's hazy figure is like the indication of an hallucination. A strongly ascetic feature lies in Dagnan-Bouveret's "Madonna"; Mary is dressed like a nun and the infant is lightly wrapped in swaddling clothes. But the severity of the dress is well contrasted by the sweetness of the holy mother's face.

The Century may be proud of its staff of engravers. The engravings are, as usual, all executed by competent artists. Through some coincidence it happens that the December number of *The Cosmopolitan* contains the last mentioned picture, Dagnan-Bouveret's Madonna, as frontispiece in the shape of a well done photograph. Connoisseurs will find interest in comparing the effect of the engraving with that of the photogravure.

The "Freidenker Almanach" of 1892 (Milwaukee Freidenker Publ. Co.) appears in its wonted shape, containing articles and poems by many representative German Freethinkers of this country. Dr. H. H. Fick's article "Der 22. Februar," winds a double wreath for George Washington and for Karl Heinzen, for it is the birthday of both. C. Hermann Boppe, the editor of the *Freidenker* discusses the "Culturaufgaben der Republiken der Gegenwart." His article is mainly directed against the European system of the Sovereignty Emperors and Kings by the grace of God, yet he indicates sufficiently his criticism of our own republic. His ideal republic would not be the administration by party government, but a commonwealth in which "individuality is developed as the bearer of general ideas." There is a rich store of poetry by E. A. Zündt, Hugo Adriessen, Otto Soubbron, Hermann Rosenthal, Johann Straubenmüller, Karl Knortz, (a clergyman himself, but sat-

irising with good humor the comfortable life of an orthodox country pastor), Max Hempel, Rud. Puchner, and others.

We have received from the Messrs. Willey & Co. of Springfield, Mass., publishers, a book of four hundred and sixty-six pages entitled *Africa and America, Addresses and Discourses*, by the Rev. Alex. Crummell, Rector of the St. Luke's Church, Washington, D. C. The work consists of a number of addresses and papers on the various problems that the presence of the negro race in our midst has occasioned, and are written with fervency and earnestness. The titles of the principal papers are: "The Need of New Ideas and New Motives for a New Era"; "The Race-Problem in America"; "The Black Woman of the South: her neglects and her needs"; "Defence of the Negro Race in America"; "The Responsibility of the First Fathers of a Country, for their future life and destiny"; "Our National Mistakes, and the remedy for them," etc.

The New Reformation, A Lay Sermon, by Prognostic, is a neatly got up pamphlet of seventy-six pages, in which the author deals, from the standpoint of a practical business man and the Gospel of Jesus, with the social and religious problems of the day. The pamphlet is written in a contained and simple style and with the air of conviction. (J. Van Buren: New York P. O.)

Lee & Shepard of Boston have again published under the title "All Around the Year," an artistic little Calendar which will be a welcome guest to any lady's desk.

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P. O. DRAWER F.

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