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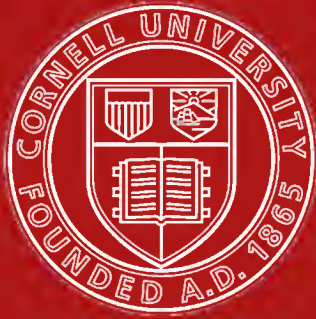
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D. Appleton & Company.

Burton H. Palmer.

A HISTORY ^{OF} THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION



HELD IN CHICAGO IN 1893

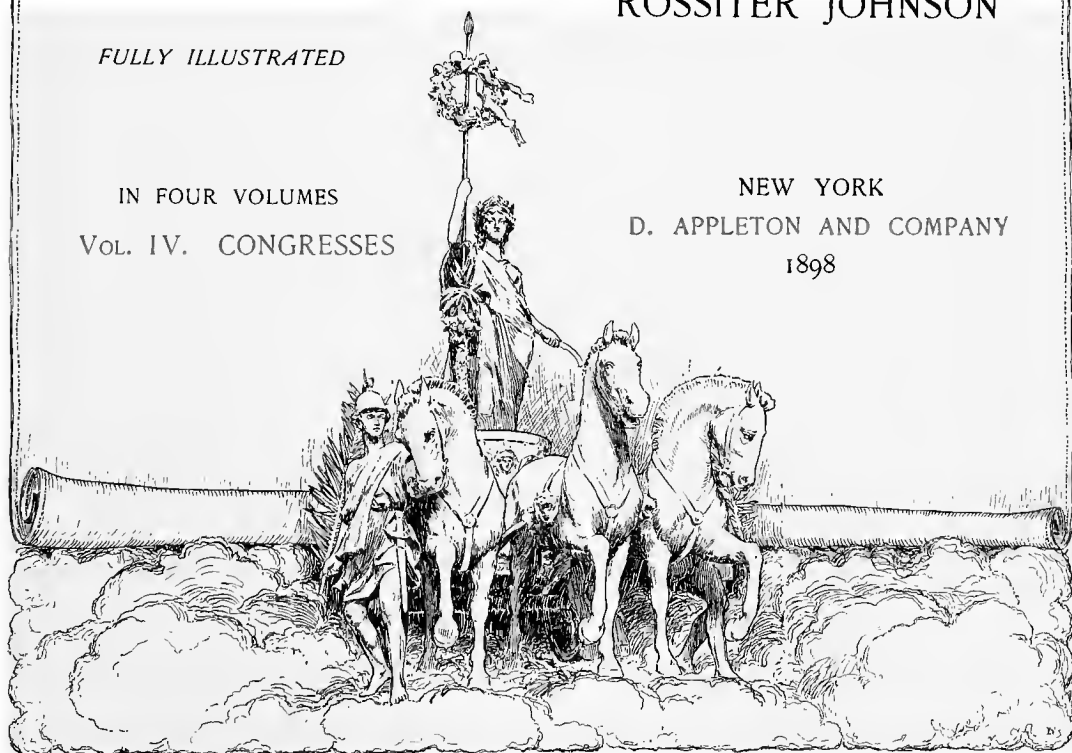
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EDITED BY
ROSSITER JOHNSON

FULLY ILLUSTRATED

IN FOUR VOLUMES
VOL. IV. CONGRESSES

NEW YORK
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
1898



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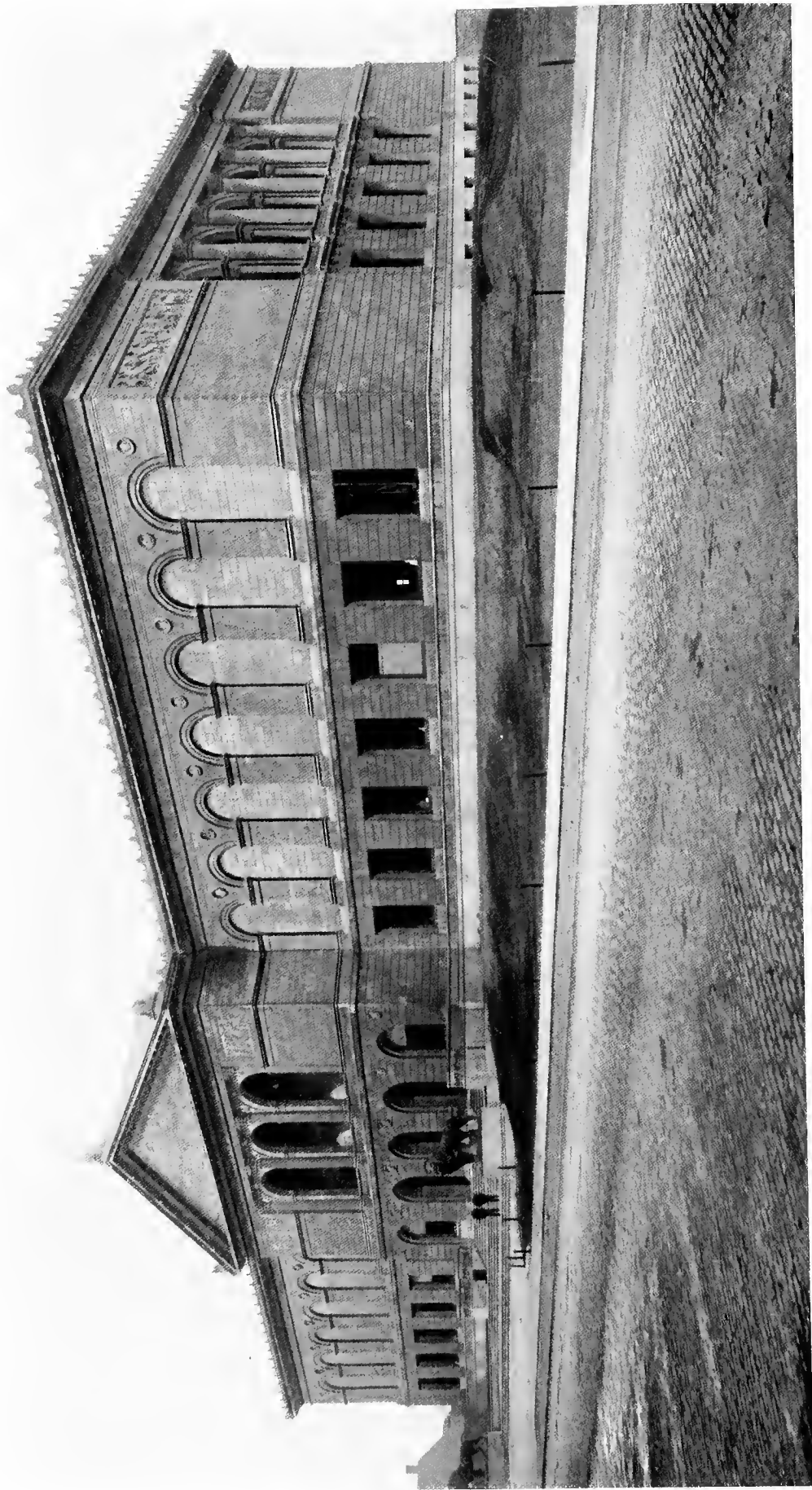
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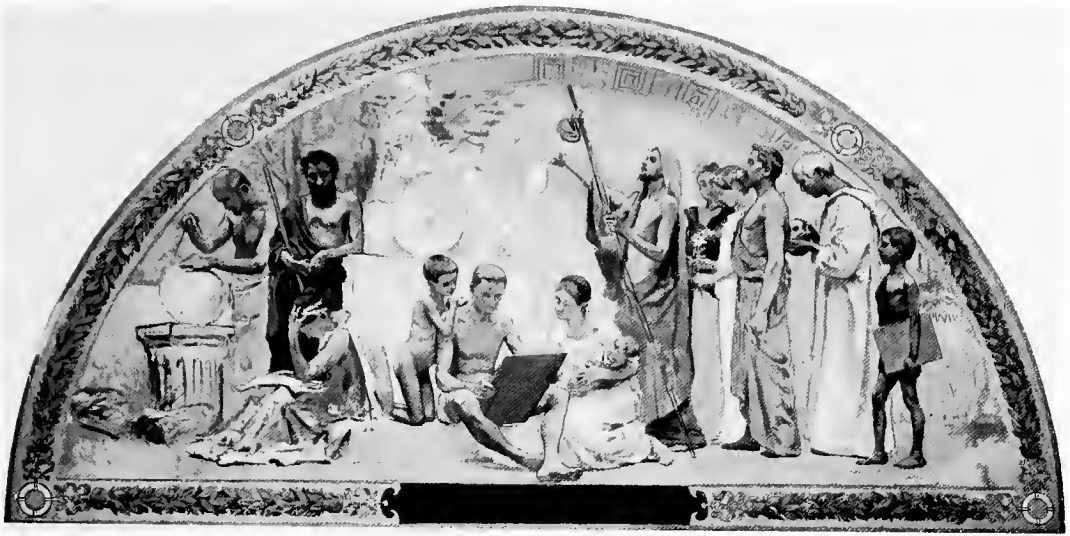
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THE ART INSTITUTE BUILDING, IN WHICH THE SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESSES WERE HELD.



Tympanum on the Manufactures Building.

A HISTORY OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

VOLUME IV.—CONGRESSES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Outline of the World's Congress organization and work—Number and order of the Congresses—Number of addresses and of nations represented—President Bonney's opening speech.



CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY,
President of the
World's Congress Auxiliary.

THE World's Congress Auxiliary may be considered one of the grand achievements of the Columbian Exposition. For its breadth and comprehensiveness of conception, for the skill and wisdom shown in its development, and for the magnitude of its success, the people of our country have every reason to be grateful and the managers of the Exposition to be proud. The gathering of the peoples of the world at a great exposition furnishes an opportunity for association and conference to those who are widely scattered geographically but are united in interests such as exists under no other conditions. Thus at an early day appeared the necessity of establishing a compact and efficient working organization, which should take charge of the arrangements of such gatherings, furnish-

ing places for assemblage, fixing the sequence and times of meeting, and giving to all a systematic and orderly supervision.

The guiding organization, sanctioned and approved by the governing bodies of the Exposition, was granted autonomy, and worked freely, without friction, on its own lines parallel with those of the Exposition, toward the one great purpose of the illumination of mankind. The comprehensive scheme of the World's Congresses of 1893 was the conception of Hon. Charles C. Bonney, of Chicago, and to his tact, industry, and genius for administering undertakings requiring a high degree of versatility and a knowledge of the trend of current thought was due its orderly and successful development.

The Congresses were first proposed publicly by Mr. Bonney, in an article dated September 20, 1889, and printed in the Statesman Magazine for October of that year. A proof sheet of this article was shown by the editor of the Statesman, Walter Thomas Mills, to Judge L. D. Thoman, Prof. David Swing, Thomas B. Bryan, E. Nelson Blake, the Rev. P. S. Henson, D. D., and the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., all of whom wrote brief letters commending the project, which were printed in connection with the article, the historical importance of which leads to its substantial reproduction here. It was then proposed that the World's Fair be held in 1892, and this date was accordingly used in the announcement, which was as follows :

"The crowning glory of the World's Fair should not be the exhibit, then to be made, of the material triumphs, industrial achievements, and mechanical victories of man, however magnificent that display may be. Something still higher and nobler is demanded by the enlightened and progressive spirit of the present age. In connection with that important event, the world of government, jurisprudence, finance, science, literature, education, and religion should be represented in a Congress of statesmen, jurists, financiers, scientists, *literati*, teachers, and theologians, greater in numbers and more widely representative of 'peoples, nations, and tongues' than any assemblage which has ever yet been convened. The benefits of such a parliament of nations would be higher and more conducive to the welfare of mankind than those which would flow from the material exposition, though it would not be easy to exaggerate the powerful impetus that will be given by the latter to commerce and all the arts by which toil is lightened, the fruits of labor increased, and the comforts of life augmented.

"Such a Congress, convened under circumstances so auspicious, would surpass all previous efforts to bring about a real fraternity of nations and unite the enlightened people of the whole earth in a general co-operation for the attainment of the great ends for which human society is organized. It is impossible to estimate the advantages that would result from the mere establishment of personal acquaintance and friendly relations among the leaders of the intellectual world, who now, for the most part, know each other only through the interchange of publications and perhaps the formalities of cor-

respondence. Among the great themes that such a Congress would naturally consider are the following :

" I. The grounds of fraternal union in the language, literature, domestic life, religion, science, art, and civil institutions of different peoples.

" II. The economic, industrial, and financial problems of the age.

" III. Educational systems, their advantages and their defects, and the means by which they may best be adapted to the recent enormous increase in all departments of knowledge.

" IV. The practicability of a common language for use in the commercial relations of the civilized world.

" V. International copyright and the laws of intellectual property and commerce.

" VI. Immigration and naturalization laws and the proper international privileges of alien governments and their subjects or citizens.

" VII. The most efficient and advisable means of preventing or diminishing pauperism, insanity, and crime, and of increasing productive ability, prosperity, and virtue throughout the world.

" VIII. International law as a bond of union and a means of mutual protection, and how it may be enlarged, perfected, and authoritatively expressed.

" IX. The establishment of the principles of judicial justice as the supreme law of international relations, and the general substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international controversies."

Advance copies of the proposal were furnished to the Chicago press and reprinted or noticed with favorable comment, and in circular form it was sent to all parts of the world. Remarkable favor greeted this proposal, and Mr. Bonney was at once called upon to carry it into effect. Early in October a general committee was appointed by the Executive Committee of the provisional organization for the Columbian Exposition, and on October 15 this committee held its first meeting. It consisted of Charles C. Bonney, Chairman ; Lyman J. Gage, Treasurer ; Walter Thomas Mills, Secretary ; the Right Rev. Samuel Fallows, D. D., William J. Onahan, John J. Mitchell, Ferdinand W. Peck, the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., Julius Rosenthal, and John A. Neander.

The work of organization proceeded rapidly, favorable responses came from all parts of the world, and as the plans developed the need of a larger organization was seen. Accordingly, on October 30, 1890, the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition was organized with the following-named officers: President, Charles C. Bonney ; Vice-President, Thomas B. Bryan ; Treasurer, Lyman J. Gage ; Secretary, Benjamin Butterworth. Howard O. Edmonds, who succeeded Mr. Butterworth as Secretary of the Exposition, was for some time Assistant Secretary of the Auxiliary, and was succeeded in that office by Clarence E. Young.

The official announcement of the World's Congress scheme was sent by

the Government of the United States to foreign nations in connection with the invitation of the President of the United States to participate in the Columbian Exposition of 1893. It was at first supposed that the Auxiliary would come within the scope of the Columbian Commission created by the act of Congress ; but, as President Harrison expressed a doubt on this point, a formal recognition of the Auxiliary in a subsequent act of Congress was procured ; and on May 25, 1892, the World's Congress Auxiliary was officially recognized by the Senate of the United States, in a report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, as the proper agency to conduct International Congresses in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition. On June 13 of that year the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States were directed by the Department of State to invite the cordial and hearty co-operation of the governments to which they were accredited, and to use their best endeavors to procure such co-operation in the series of World's Congresses then projected. On October 21, 1892, the inaugural ceremonies of the World's Congresses were held, in connection with the dedication of the buildings erected for the Exposition, in the Chicago Auditorium, with Archbishop John Ireland as the orator of the occasion.

The World's Congresses were held in what was called the Permanent Memorial Art Palace, erected on the shore of Lake Michigan, near the heart of Chicago, through the co-operation of the Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition and the Directors of the Art Institute of Chicago. The city contributed the site, the Art Institute furnished about \$400,000, and the Directory of the Exposition supplied the sum of \$200,000 on condition that the building should be completed and furnished for the uses of the World's Congress Auxiliary during the Exposition season, from May to October. This structure, now called the Art Institute, is a massive building three stories high, in antique style, three hundred and nineteen feet in front on Michigan Avenue, at the intersection of Adams Street, and has two wings extending eastwardly one hundred and seventy-six feet. It contains thirty-three halls, which were calculated to accommodate one hundred to seven hundred persons each ; and between the two wings were erected two large audience rooms with seats for nearly three thousand persons, and standing room for perhaps a thousand more in each. The north room was named the Hall of Columbus ; the south one, the Hall of Washington. It was estimated that the entire building would hold more than twelve thousand persons, and on many occasions—especially during the Women's Congress, the Educational Congresses, and particularly the Religious Congresses—the building was found inadequate to the demands of the occasion. The structure was not finished until about July 1, but was taken by the Auxiliary before May 1 and occupied by the Congresses, which began on the 15th of that month. No accident or disturbance worth mentioning occurred during the entire World's Congress season.

The general meetings were held, for the most part, in the great audience

rooms, and the meetings of the divisions and sections of the Congress Departments in the smaller halls. The applications for times and places were so numerous that long before the Congresses were opened it became extremely difficult to find suitable accommodations for a new congress.

Besides the \$200,000 contributed for the erection of a building, the Exposition Directory also expended in the support of the World's Congress work about \$80,000, and it is estimated that the various Committees of Organization also raised and expended about \$17,500 more, making, with a Governmental appropriation of \$2,500, the total expenditures for the Congresses about \$300,000.

As finally organized, the World's Congress Auxiliary consisted of a central organization authorized by the Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, and recognized by the Government of the United States as the proper agency to conduct a series of World's Congresses in connection with the Exposition, made up of 2,170 members, divided into 214 local Committees of Organization. To these local Committees of Organization were adjoined what were called Advisory Councils, comprising the non-resident members of the Congress, and consisting of persons eminent in the work involved, selected from all parts of the world, and co-operating with the local committees by correspondence and, wherever practicable, in person. The aggregate membership of these Advisory Councils was 14,528. The chairman of each Committee of Organization was director of the Congress committed to its charge, and the president of the Auxiliary was the general director of the whole series of the Congresses. There were also general honorary and corresponding members, invited to give their advice and co-operation to the whole series of Congresses ; also committees of co-operation appointed by particular organizations and recognized by the Auxiliary as representatives of societies and institutions. The honorary membership embraced many distinguished names, including those of King Oscar of Sweden and Norway, Lord Chief Justice Coleridge of England, Lord Tennyson, Cardinal Manning, Prof. Max Müller, Dr. Georg Ebers, of Germany, Prof. De Laveleye, of Belgium, presidents of colleges and universities, foreign ministers of the United States, and many scientists.

Joint committees of men and women were not appointed ; but for Congresses suitable for the participation of women, a committee of women was appointed, with the right to meet and act separately or in conference with the committee of men, as occasion might render desirable. A degree of freedom, independence, and equality otherwise impossible was thus secured, and at the same time the best facilities for any useful co-operation were provided. These committees of women constituted what was called the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Of this branch Mrs. Potter Palmer was President and Mrs. Charles Henrotin Vice-President. The other members of the original committee of women were Mrs. Henry M. Wilmarth, Mrs. J. M. Flower, Miss Frances E. Willard, Mrs. J. Young

Scammon, Mrs. Myra Bradwell, Mrs. John C. Coonley, Mrs. R. Hall McCormick, Mrs. O. W. Potter, Mrs. A. H. Chetlain, Mrs. Wirt Dexter, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Miss Nina Gray Lunt, Mrs. Leander Stone, and Miss N. Halstead.

The work of the World's Congresses was divided into twenty departments and two hundred and twenty-four general divisions, in which Congresses were held. These, in their chronological order, were as follows :

- I. Woman's Progress, 25 divisions.
- II. Public Press, 6 divisions.
- III. Medicine and Surgery, 6 divisions.
- IV. Temperance, 12 divisions.
- V. Moral and Social Reform, 15 divisions.
- VI. Commerce and Finance, 10 divisions.
- VII. Music, 9 divisions.
- VIII. Literature, 9 divisions.
- IX. Education, First Series, 17 divisions ; Second Series, 16 divisions.
- X. Engineering, 9 divisions.
- XI. Art, 5 divisions.
- XII. Government, 7 divisions.
- XIII. General Department, 1 division, besides 4 divisions held out of their regular order and here transferred to their proper places.
- XIV. Science and Philosophy, 13 divisions.
- XV. Social and Economic Science, 4 divisions.
- XVI. Labor, 1 division.
- XVII. Religion, 46 divisions.
- XVIII. Sunday Rest, 1 division.
- XIX. Public Health, 1 division.
- XX. Agriculture, 11 divisions.

The programmes also show 125 sections, of which 29 were of the nature of the general divisions.

These Congresses held 1,283 sessions, aggregating 753 days. The printed programmes show 5,978 addresses delivered or papers read, including 5,454 formal contributions, 131 addresses of welcome, 176 addresses of response, and 217 agricultural reports. But these are much less than the actual number, for many papers and addresses were admitted after the programmes were printed, and were inserted in the corrected programmes used by the presiding officers.

An alphabetical index shows 5,822 speakers and writers whose names appear on the printed programmes, including 368 cases in which the name of the paper to be read or subject discussed is not given. These participants in the Congresses represented all the continents and 97 nations, states, provinces, territories, and colonies, besides 50 States and Territories of the American Union. The tables show the different occasions on which the 3,817 speakers and writers, whose places of residence appear, took

part in the Congress proceedings. This extremely interesting exhibit is as follows :

Europe 803, Asia 104, Africa 41, North America 2,770, South America 48, Australasia 39, Pacific Islands 12. The places represented and the number of entries are : Algeria 5, Angola 1, Arabia 1, Argentine 7, Armenia 1, Asia Minor 1, Australia 8, Austria 35, Bavaria 5, Belgium 19, Bohemia 7, Brazil 6, British Guiana 4, Bulgaria 5, Burmah 1, Canada 39, Cape Colony 3, Ceylon 6, Chili 1, China 14, Colombia 3, Congo 3, Corea 1, Costa Rica 4, Cuba 3, Curaçoa 2, Denmark 17, Ecuador 3, Egypt 15, England 200, Finland 7, France 99, French Congo 1, Germany 112, Great Britain 113, Greece 11, Guatemala 1, Hanover 1, Hayti 3, Holland 16, Honduras 1, Hungary 2, Iceland 5, India 31, Ireland 10, Italy 52, Jamaica 2, Japan 28, Johore 3, Liberia 4, Madagascar 1, Manitoba 3, Mexico 23, Monaco 1, New Brunswick 2, New Hebrides 2, New South Wales 19, New Zealand 1, Nicaragua 2, Northwest Territories (Canada) 1, Norway 9, Nova Scotia 1, Ontario 30, Orange Free State 3, Paraguay 4, Persia 3, Peru 3, Poland 3, Portugal 7, Quebec 15, Roumania 3, Russia 39, Sandwich Islands 7, Saxony 1, Scotland 41, Siam 4, Siberia 1, South Africa 3, South Australia 3, Spain 13, Straits Settlements 2, Sweden 33, Switzerland 20, Syria 7, Transylvania 1, Trinidad 2, Tunis 1, Turkey 11, United States of America 2,641, Uruguay 3, Venezuela 9, Victoria 6, Wales 4, Würtemberg 1. The representation of the United States was : Alabama 20, Alaska 2, Arizona 7, Arkansas 19, California 113, Colorado 34, Connecticut 50, Delaware 3, District of Columbia 127, Florida 11, Georgia 35, Idaho 7, Illinois 350, Indiana 85, Indian Territory 1, Iowa 59, Kansas 39, Kentucky 26, Louisiana 24, Maine 31, Maryland 55, Massachusetts 236, Michigan 125, Minnesota 78, Mississippi 11, Missouri 97, Montana 8, Nebraska 28, Nevada 2, New Hampshire 16, New Jersey 48, New Mexico 4, New York 307, North Carolina 19, North Dakota 5, Ohio 140, Oregon 11, Pennsylvania 156, Rhode Island 21, South Carolina 19, South Dakota 14, Tennessee 49, Texas 29, Utah 5, Vermont 6, Virginia 21, Washington 14, West Virginia 6, Wisconsin 66, Wyoming 2. This list embraces, in round numbers, only about two thirds of the papers and addresses.

No provision was made for any free debating society in the whole range of the Congresses. On the contrary, strict regulations were made and enforced for the exclusion of volunteer addresses, and of every form of random talk. The entire time at disposal was allotted to those who were supposed to be most competent to instruct and advise. Controversy was prohibited, and the passing of resolutions of approval or of censure was forbidden. The writers and speakers were asked not to attack the views of others, but to set forth with as much cogency as possible the merits of their own. The theory of the Congresses was that those who spoke in them were addressing the intellectual and moral world through the medium of the Congresses, and that the views expressed would be afterward widely discussed in pulpit,

forum, public press, and private conversation. The speakers and writers for each Congress were carefully selected by the Committee of Organization, with the advice of members of the Advisory Council of the Congress involved. Participation in the several Congresses was strictly regulated by the programmes formed by the Committees of Organization and approved by the President. Those whose names appeared on the programme, and those only, had the right to be heard.

Members of the Advisory Council of each Congress, located in the centers of the participating countries, were earnestly requested by the local Committee of Organization to recommend for the Congress speakers and writers of the highest qualifications and abilities ; and, as far as practicable, the preference was given to representatives from foreign countries.

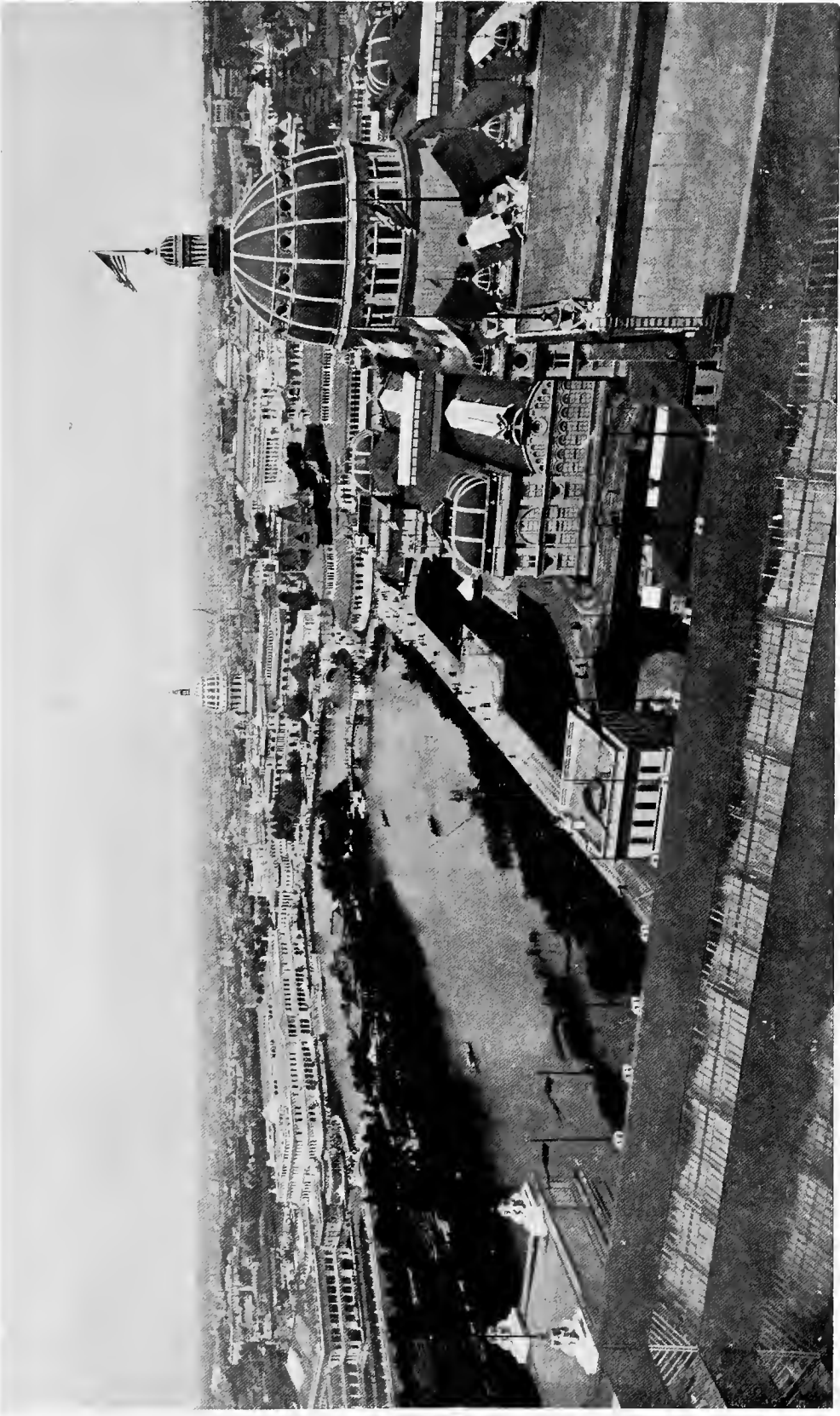
The Congresses were formally opened on Monday morning, May 15, 1893, with an address by the President of the Congress Auxiliary, the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, from which the following quotations are made :

“What must have seemed to many a splendid but impossible dream has become a present reality. We enter this day upon the actual enjoyment of the pleasures and the benefits it promised. The shining blossoms of the dream have changed to ripened fruit that waits our taking. We turn with grateful hearts to the past, for it is the highway which has led us to this hour. We look with pleasing anticipations to the future, for its beckoning heights glow with the dawn of a fairer day of peace and plenty than our race has hitherto known.

“The nineteenth century, richer in manifold wonders than any which has preceded it in the august procession of the ages, crowns its great achievements by establishing in the world the sublime idea of a Universal Fraternity of Learning and Virtue. This idea, long cherished by the *illuminati* of every clime, descends at last from the luminous mountains of thought to the fertile fields of action, and enters upon the conquest of the world.

“The new age has dawned. A new leader has taken command. The name of this leader is Peace. Henceforth, excepting only the names by which the Prince of Peace is invoked, the mightiest word in all the languages of the earth is Peace. In the service of this new commander we proclaim a Universal Fraternity of Learning and Virtue as the best means by which ignorance, misunderstanding, prejudice, and animosity can be removed, and intelligence, charity, productive industry, and happiness be promoted. For these high purposes the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition was organized, the leaders of progress invited, and the arrangements made for the World's Congresses of 1893.

“To sum up the progress of mankind in every department of enlightened achievement ; to review the actual results of that progress ; to note the lessons it teaches and the defects and difficulties that still remain ; to state in clear, concise, and yet comprehensive terms the important unsolved prob-



VIEW NORTHWEST, FROM THE ROOF OF THE MANUFACTURES BUILDING.

lems of our time which still await solution ; to put in definite form the living questions of the day which yet demand reply from living men ; to suggest in brief but lucid terms the means by which obstacles may be overcome, difficulties removed, defects supplied, and further progress made ; to bring all the departments of human progress into harmonious relations in a great intellectual and moral exposition—these are the general objects of the World's Congresses of 1893.

“We have asked the leaders of all countries to aid us in crowning the whole glorious work by the formation and adoption of better and more comprehensive plans than have hitherto been made, to advance the progress, prosperity, unity, peace, and happiness of the world ; and to secure the effectual prosecution of such plans by the organization of a series of world-wide fraternities, through whose efforts and influence the intellectual and moral forces of mankind may be made dominant throughout the world. We would unite in international associations the devotees of every branch of learning ; the disciples of every virtue ; the friends of every charity ; the supporters of every reform. Wherever, in any part of the world, a friend of man follows the path of duty, we would have him feel that he has the sympathy of those who in other lands follow the same pursuit.

“The paramount motive of the World's Congress movement may well be noticed. The golden rule of life furnished the basis for the desired union. Asking from all the world respect for our own convictions, customs, and institutions, and the liberty to enjoy them, simple justice commanded us to offer in return the same respect for what others believe to be truth and duty. Making no surrender of our own convictions, the principles we profess to hold compel us to act toward others as we would have them do by us. When we invite the leaders of other lands to meet us in friendly conference, we stand pledged to avoid every appearance of putting them in any false or compromising position. We aim to be faithful servants of the Truth. We acknowledge its sovereignty. We realize that the most gifted of our race can but imperfectly comprehend and portray its mysteries. Because the Truth is infinite, and we are only finite, it must forever transcend our efforts to understand and obey it, although we may do so to the utmost of our limited abilities.

“We do not ask, as a condition of recognition and friendly intercourse, that individuals, families, or communities of our own race and tongue shall adopt all our peculiar views, whether social, moral, religious, or political. Much less should we make such adoption a condition of international fraternity. But the most zealous devotee of one form of faith or government may, obviously, without any surrender of his own convictions, heartily desire to come into friendly relations with those who cherish other forms of religion and civil authority, not for the purpose of controversy, much less for opposition or persecution, but with the noble hope that they may see reflected in his words and life what he believes to be the superior merit of his own. This

doctrine is the golden bridge over the dark chasm which has so long divided mankind into contending sects and parties.

“For ages races, nations, communities, religions, and institutions have stood in positions of practical hostility toward each other, aiming to be always prepared for strife even in the midst of an apparently enduring peace. At last the time has come when this unhappy condition will be changed. The old rule of international law, that a citizen of one country has no rights in any other save such, if any, as have been expressly conferred, must give way to the higher and better doctrine that in every land the people of other countries should have all the rights and privileges of citizens, except such, if any, as have been expressly withheld. This is sufficient for the proper protection of every nation against dangers from without which it may desire to exclude.

“We would make of many peoples one truly human race; we would form of many states one mighty and harmonious brotherhood of nations, over whose bounteous fields, tilled by enlightened industry, guarded by established justice, and reaped by willing hands for happy homes, shall bend forever the bounteous skies of peace.”

Mr. Bonney then made a rapid retrospect of the origin and development of the World's Congress scheme, which is outlined in the preceding pages, and continued :

“In this review a passing word of gratitude and praise is due to the memory of those honorary and advisory members who have been called before this opening hour to the mightier Congress of the illustrious dead. Not all may here be named, for every day brings sorrow to some home, but some there are to whom we owe a special acknowledgment for special cause.

“Rutherford B. Hayes, ex-President of the United States, was deeply interested in our philanthropic work, and had accepted the presidency of the Congresses of the Department of Moral and Social Reform. We are indebted to James G. Blaine, the American Secretary of State, for the earnest and untiring co-operation of the Department of State, which gave the World's Congress Auxiliary an official standing in all the countries of the earth with which our own has diplomatic relations. To him we are also indebted for the report adopted by the Senate of the United States recognizing the World's Congress Auxiliary as the proper agency to represent the Government of the United States in the conduct of a series of international congresses. Henry Edward Manning, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, one of the foremost religious leaders of his time, had promised a paper for the Labor Congress, and another for the Congress of the Catholic Church. Alfred Lord Tennyson, most illustrious of the laurel-crowned poets, had sent his special greetings and sympathy, with the hope that, though an old man, he might send a song for the Authors' Congress. John Greenleaf Whittier, poet of freedom and every virtue, also stood in closest sympathy with the World's Congress work, and, had death spared him, would no doubt have given us a hymn worthy of the occasion and of himself. Prof. Émile de

Laveleye, of Belgium, had promised his active aid in the Congresses of Social and Economic Science. From George William Curtis, Bishop Phillips Brooks, and others who have answered the summons to a higher service we also expected important co-operation and aid.

“To each and all of them we waft on the wings of faith the homage of our hearts. Living, they would have done what they could for the success of the World’s Congresses of 1893; dead, their influence and example cheer and encourage us, like friendly voices heard from unseen friends.

“With the active co-operation and aid of the general officers of the World’s Congress Auxiliary, more than two hundred committees have made arrangements for congresses, conducting the necessary correspondence, making the proper engagements, and forming the required programmes. To state the simple truth that, with exceptions too few and small to deserve remembrance, this great work has been accomplished with wonderful energy, patience, good sense, harmony, and subordination to the supreme purposes in view; and that, while in a few cases adverse circumstances have prevented the organization of a proposed congress, not one has failed from a more ignoble cause, is to leave no occasion for any further resort to the vocabulary of praise. Yet the divine and eternal law of ever-recurring seedtime and harvest applies here as elsewhere to human affairs. We can not have in this first harvest the full fruition of the World’s Congress scheme. Only the coming generations will witness the full realization of its ideals, and enjoy in complete measure its manifold results.

“To each week of the World’s Congress season a group of congresses has been assigned. From day to day, till the close of October, the General Sessions of these Congresses will be held in this Hall of Columbus, and in the corresponding Hall of Washington; while the Special Sessions and Conferences will be held in the more than twenty smaller halls of the Memorial Art Palace at disposal, after ample provision for offices and other incidental uses. As far as practicable, all these meetings will be open, without charge, to the interested public. This privilege can be granted without harm, because participation in the proceedings will be strictly regulated by programme; and of course participants and delegates will first be provided with seats. In some cases societies have arranged for a registration fee for a special publication fund; but this is a voluntary contribution, not a compulsory fee for admission.

“For all forms of public press report the best facilities at command will be given. Any participating society or institution may freely print so much of the proceedings of any Congress as relates to its own work, to take the place of its usual annual publication. In special cases popular publications in book form may be authorized.

“The last official roster of the Foreign Commissions now in attendance on the World’s Columbian Exposition bears, in alphabetical order, the names of the Argentine Republic, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, British Guiana, Bulgaria, Canada, Cape Colony, Ceylon, Colombia, Costa Rica, Curaçoa, Den-

mark, Ecuador, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hayti, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Johore, Korea, Liberia, Mexico, the Netherlands, New South Wales, Nicaragua, Norway, Orange Free State, Paraguay, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela, as represented by several hundreds of commissioners appointed by the respective governments. The emblems of their sovereignty blend with each other and with our own in the decoration of the halls in which the World's Congresses will conduct their deliberations. Their commissioners will meet in friendly intercourse in these Congresses. We would extend and strengthen these fraternal relations to the utmost of our power.

"Henceforth, the 'decisive battles of the world' will be fought on moral fields and on intellectual heights. The artillery of argument will take the place of the shot and shell hurled by the mighty guns of modern war. The piercing bayonet of perception and the conquering sword of truth will take the place of the weapons of steel which soldier and captain bear. The fame of a great general will become less attractive than that of a great statesman, or orator, or poet, or artist, or scientist, or teacher. The laboratory of the chemist, the workshop of the architect, the field of the engineer or scientific investigator, the study of the author, and the institution of learning, will more and more attract the rising genius of mankind.

"The original proposal of the Parliament of Religions was received with much incredulity and many expressions of fear for its success; but the responses which have come from every part of the world have long since made it clear that a new religious era of more living and exalted faith, of firmer convictions and larger charity, is not merely close at hand, but has actually dawned; and that in the coming September its sunrise glories will shine along the horizon of the morn.

"A single week of years stands between us and the twentieth century. If the causes now in operation shall go on unchecked, the world will witness in these seven years the crowning glories of more than seven centuries of human progress. With this hope, I proclaim the formal opening of the World's Congresses of 1893—

"To make the whole world one in sympathy;
To make the whole world one in mental aim;
To make the whole world one in moral power;
Learning and Virtue passports to all lands!"

The Congresses were formally closed on October 28. On the morning of this date a final meeting was held at the Chicago Art Institute, attended by members of the various Committees of Organization, and presided over by President Charles C. Bonney. A report by the Secretary of the Auxiliary, C. E. Young, was read, and brief addresses were made by eminent speakers. President Bonney, whose nearly four years' untiring labor as the originator and active head of the Auxiliary had been crowned with suc-

cess, gave, in his farewell address, an elaborate review of its history and of the work accomplished, of which the more significant passages are here quoted :

"That these Congresses have been successful far beyond anticipation ; that they have transformed into enduring realities the hopes of those who organized and conducted them, and that they will exercise a benign and potent influence on the welfare of mankind through the coming centuries, has been so often, so emphatically, and so eloquently declared by eminent representatives of different countries and peoples, that these statements may be accepted as established facts. That the material exhibit of the World's Columbian Exposition in Jackson Park is the most complete and magnificent ever presented to human view, is generally agreed ; but a multitude of eminent witnesses have declared, after attendance on both, that the intellectual and moral exposition of the progress of mankind presented in the World's Congresses of 1893 is greater and more imposing still. Thus the work of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition takes its enduring place in human history.

"There has been little need for the enforcement of rules and regulations. Few speakers have given occasion for a call to order. The spirit of order, decorum, dignity, and peace has been sovereign during the sessions of these Congresses. This ruling spirit has so promptly rebuked any attempt to overstep the limits of propriety as to leave little occasion for presiding officers to exercise their authority ; little occasion to guard seats reserved for delegates, or to insist upon tickets or badges of admission. The machinery of organization and the general regulations adopted for the government of the Congresses have proved remarkably satisfactory.

"The time now at my command will not permit me even to name the many Committees of Organization by which the various Congresses were arranged. It is, however, both my duty and my pleasure to say of them that the fidelity, the patience and the zeal, the ability, the discrimination and the executive skill with which the chairmen and members of the more than two hundred Committees of Organization have conducted the correspondence, made the arrangements, and formed the programmes for the more than two hundred Congresses which have been held in the twenty departments of the



MRS. CHARLES HENROTIN,
Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of
the World's Congress Auxiliary.

Auxiliary, constitute one of the marvels of the World's Congress work. The discipline and subordination which have attended the execution of the great and complicated scheme would do honor to the best organized department of any government. So efficiently and so silently have these committees done their work that the great public they have served needs to be reminded of their part in the splendid results achieved."

Of the vast number of addresses delivered at these Congresses, many were of permanent value—so many that the four volumes of this history could not contain them all. The whole contained matter enough to fill fifty octavo volumes of a thousand pages each. We have been obliged to make a selection, and in the choice have been guided by the considerations of fitness, novelty, and probability of general interest. Some of these dissertations here appear in print for the first time; others are reprinted from technical or special publications. For the papers that we have selected from the World's Parliament of Religions—which, probably, of all the Congresses commanded the widest attention and the deepest interest—we are indebted to the excellent work, in two large illustrated volumes, edited by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., and issued by the Parliament Publishing Company. For those read at the Congress of Representative Women we are indebted to the work on that subject edited by Mrs. May Wright Sewall and published by Messrs. Rand, McNally & Co. (Chicago, 1894); and for others, though to a much more limited extent, to various publications that were devoted to the separate Congresses.

Though we have to regret that limits of space forbid a presentation of all the papers read at the Congresses, and though we are aware that the selection made by any editor would not be the same as that by any other editor, yet we believe that what we have given, besides having a permanent intrinsic value, will convey to the reader a fair idea of the vast research and profound scholarship represented in those assemblages.

The total attendance at the Congresses Auxiliary was estimated at 700,000.



Looking southwest, from the roof of the Manufactures Building.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

Its inception—Appointment of officers—Promotion—Extent of the correspondence—Construction of the programme—President Bonney's opening address—Mrs. Sewall's address—Statistics—Extracts from some of the papers and speeches. Addresses by Modjeska, Clara Morris, Georgia Cayvan, Julia Marlowe, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, Rev. Florence E. Kollock, Rev. Mary A. Safford, Ursula W. Gestefeld, Jane Bancroft

Robinson, Mrs. Hugh Price, Maud Ballington Booth, Prof. Ellen Hayes, and others—Mrs. Burke's report for the National Indian Association—Papers in the section of Industries and Occupations—Woman's progress in various parts of the world—A speech by Frederick Douglass—Papers on orders.



MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Chairman of the
Committee on Organization.

THE inception of the World's Congress of Representative Women may be traced to February, 1891, when the National Council of Women of the United States, in session in Washington, D. C., decided to recommend to the officers of the International Council of Women that the first quinquennial session of the International Council should be held in Chicago in the summer of 1893, instead of in London, as originally intended.

The American officers of the International Council obtained the consent of the

foreign officers to the proposed change from London to Chicago, and the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States pledged that Council to entertain free of expense all foreign delegates in attendance upon the proposed meeting of the International Council.

The call for the meeting of the International Council in Chicago was issued promptly, and both call and pledge were given wide publicity in the early summer of 1891.

In due time, as the plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary developed, the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States entered into correspondence with the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women should be adopted as one of the series of Congresses, with the understanding that its scope should be enlarged to the greatest possible extent ; that it should take the name of "The World's Congress of Representative Women" ; and that it should be subject to the same rules and enjoy the same privileges as the other Congresses in the series. The application was allowed, the week beginning May 15, 1893, was assigned for the proposed Congress, and Mr. Bonney, at the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, at once appointed Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, chairman of the committee in charge of the preparations for this Congress. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary of the National and International Councils of Women, was made secretary of the committee, and to these two ladies was committed the task of laying the plans, shaping the programme, and corresponding with organizations and individuals in all countries. The committee was completed by the addition of Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. John C. Coonley, Miss Frances E. Willard, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, and Mrs. William Thayer Brown, all of Chicago. All the work of this committee was subject to the approval of the head of the Congress Auxiliary, and also to that of the President and Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary.

The Executive Committee of the National Council of Women, at a meeting in Chicago on May 9 and 10, had authorized the President of the Council to represent the interests of the Council in Europe during the summer of 1892. After this proposed meeting of the International Council of Women had been merged into the greater project of a World's Congress of Representative Women, Mrs. Sewall naturally devoted herself during the three months in Germany, Belgium, and France in the ensuing summer to awakening an interest in the Congress. While invested with no official authority to represent the Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall was greatly aided in her efforts by her office as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements and by her connection with the National and International Councils of Women, the essential features of which were already well known abroad and served to divest the idea of a

World's Congress of Women of much of the strangeness it would otherwise have assumed in the minds of foreign women.

Meanwhile Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, in her office at Somerton, Pa., was carrying on a voluminous correspondence with individuals in this and other countries, and especially with the executive officers of every national body of women at home and abroad, preparing the way for the appointment of women from every nation on the Advisory Councils, for the selection of persons to prepare papers for the General Congress and reports for the Report Congresses, and for the formal enrollment of all national organizations of women as members of the World's Congress of Representative Women, entitled to send delegates thereto and to hold Department Congresses in connection therewith. The responses were so prompt and so generally sympathetic that it became immediately evident that a widespread interest was aroused and the success of the Congress was assured.

In September, 1892, a preliminary address was issued by the committee, in which the history of the movement was outlined, its condition at that date made known, and the committee's plans for the final development and execution were set forth. While in the separate Congresses to convene in Chicago in the summer of 1893 women would participate in the degree in which they had taken part in the interest indicated by the title of the Congress, it was emphasized in the preliminary address that in the Congress of Representative Women the subjects under consideration would be viewed from a different standpoint, the object of the Congress being to discuss not the subject *per se*, but the relation of the women of the world to the subject. For example, in the papers and addresses to be presented in the World's Congress of Representative Women on themes that would come under the general subject of education, it was not desired that pedagogy as a science should be discussed, but papers of two kinds upon this general theme would be demanded by the character and objects of this particular Congress. First, papers that might with propriety be called reports from each country represented in the Congress, showing the history of woman's progress in that country in respect to education, and setting forth her present educational opportunities and the agencies through which these opportunities had been received. The object of these reports, which was to ascertain the historical progress and the present status of woman's education in each country, would determine the character of the reports, in which accuracy and statistical detail would be required—qualities that would make these reports invaluable to the student of pedagogics and of sociology, but would in a large degree deprive them of that warmth and eloquence required in addresses that please the ear and stimulate the enthusiasm of such large popular audiences as it was hoped the Congress of Representative Women would convene. Hence the necessity for papers of the second kind—namely, addresses on themes bearing upon the general subject of women in education, under which title many topics could be suggested that would give free play for wit, pathos, illustra-

tion, and all the elements of oratory. Every one to whom the preliminary address was sent was solicited to make suggestions as to subjects, titles of papers, etc., suitable for the programme of the Congress.

Of all the documents issued by the committee this was the most important. It was distributed in French and in English versions by tens of thousands—not at random, but to carefully selected addresses in every civilized country. It was reprinted from time to time, substantially without change, either alone or as a part of more comprehensive statements, as the needs of the work required, the latest edition bearing date April 12, 1893.

Mrs. Sewall returned to this country early in September, 1892, and from that time until the opening of the Congress, May 15, 1893, an uninterrupted correspondence was carried on between the chairman of the committee in Indianapolis and the secretary of the committee in Philadelphia, and between these

officers and the executive officers and the auxiliary in Chicago. This summarized and tabulated time, and the results of the Committee of Arrangements held meetings in Philadelphia of the Woman's Auxiliary. The reports of these meetings by the secretary show that alone were issued several hundred and ninety-eight and foreign, and fifty documents. The records of the Auxiliary show these totals. This considerable portion of which, in English, occupied the



MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Secretary of the
Committee on Organization.

chairman of the committee and her secretary, and of the secretary of the committee, with two to eight clerks in her office, for the nine months ending May 15, 1893, at which time a complete programme was produced, of which seven editions of ten thousand copies each were distributed among the audiences that thronged the Art Institute during the memorable week ending May 22. Every name appearing on this programme was placed there by formal consent of its owner. Each address, discussion, or report for the multitudinous meetings of the Congress was pledged in advance. The programme was carried out almost intact, and this fact, combined with careful attention to detail in all matters devolving upon the Committee of Arrangements, contributed very largely to the unprecedented success of

tive officers of the Auxiliary correspondence was tabulated from time to time and submitted to the Arrangements, which was done in Chicago on the call of the Branch of the Auxiliary. Submitted to these chairman and the secretary from their offices were ten thousand one hundred and fifty sealed letters, home and foreign, five thousand printed orders of the Chicago Auxiliary would largely increase the correspondence, a considerable amount was in foreign languages, and the entire time of the

the Congress, in spite of the many serious inconveniences arising from the use of a temporary structure in which the workmen were still busy.

Immediately after the opening session of the World's Congress Auxiliary the Department of Woman's Progress was formally opened. Mr. Bonney spoke in part as follows :

"To you has been allotted the high honor of leading the way in the great series of presentations to be made in this Memorial Art Palace during the six months of the Exposition season. This is peculiarly appropriate in view of the fact that the nineteenth century will be known in history as the century of woman's progress. It is in this age that woman has become distinguished along the higher lines of human progress, carrying with her wherever she has gone a higher civilization, greater refinement and culture, and, as might have been expected, a beneficent influence on every interest with which she has come in contact. In the deeper philosophic sense the distinguishing developments of the nineteenth century along the line of what is known as woman's progress, represent the substitution of the law of love for the law of force. Woman holds in her hand no agency of force by which she can compel a compliance with her desires and accomplish the objects which she has in view. She must attain her ends solely by the exercise of the spiritual graces and refinements, the moral beauties and powers, of which she has always been the supreme mistress.

"It was for reasons such as are indicated in these remarks that a distinct organization was created, called the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, to represent the interests of women in the World's Congresses of 1893. It was deemed important that this should be done for a double purpose—to give woman's work in this connection such distinctness and comparative independence that it should be seen and judged by itself, and to secure to woman that power and independence of action which would be impossible in case mixed committees of men and women had been appointed. The higher work of women in the world is so new and so important that it is due to her that the distinctions indicated should be preserved.

"Working side by side with the corresponding committees of men, the committees of women for the organization of their part of the several Congresses, acting under their own general officers, have pursued their work with such fidelity and zeal, and such subordination to the general plans and purposes of the work, and such ready conformity to the rules of the various Congresses, that no words of mine can exceed the praise which is their due.

"With incomparable ability, energy, and devotion to the undertaking, the Committee of Organization for this Woman's Congress formed their plans and purposes, and published them throughout the civilized world in the form of the customary preliminary address issued by the various Committees of Organization, and soon aroused an intense interest in the proposed Congress."

Addresses of welcome were delivered by Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, after which an ode, Columbia's Emblem, by Edna Dean

Proctor, was recited by Mrs. Albert Barker, of England. The following is the full text of the poem :



EDNA DEAN PROCTOR,
Author of "Columbia's Emblem."

Blazon Columbia's emblem,
The bounteous, golden Corn !
Eons ago, of the great sun's glow
And the joy of the earth, 'twas born.
From Superior's shore to Chili,
From the ocean of dawn to the west,
With its banners of green and silken sheen,
It sprang at the sun's behest ;
And by dew and shower, from its natal hour,
With honey and wine 'twas fed,
Till the gods were fain to share with men
The perfect feast outspread.
For the rarest boon to the land they loved
Was the Corn so rich and fair,
Nor star nor breeze o'er the farthest seas
Could find its like elsewhere.

In their holiest temples the Incas
Offered the heaven-sent Maize—
Grains wrought of gold, in-a silver fold,
For the sun's enraptured gaze ;
And its harvest came to the wandering tribes
As the gods' own gift and seal ;
And Montezuma's festal bread
Was made of its sacred meal.
Narrow their cherished fields ; but ours

Are broad as the continent's breast,
And, lavish as leaves, the rustling sheaves
Bring plenty and joy and rest.
For they strew the plains and crowd the wains
When the reapers meet at morn,
Till blithe cheers ring and west winds sing
A song for the garnered Corn.

The rose may bloom for England,
The lily for France unfold ;
Ireland may honor the shamrock,
Scotland her thistle bold ;
But the shield of the great Republic,
The glory of the West,
Shall bear a stalk of the tasseled Corn,
Of all our wealth the best !
The arbutus and the golden-rod
The heart of the North may cheer,
And the mountain laurel for Maryland
Its royal clusters rear ;
And jasmine and magnolia
The crest of the South adorn ;
But the wide Republic's emblem
Is the bounteous, golden Corn !

Mrs. Sewall, Chairman of the Committee of Organization, then delivered an address, in which she said in part :

"From the outset of this great work, every member of the committee charged with the organization of the World's Congress of Representative

Women has felt her strength to be the strength of ten, not through any self-confidence, but through confidence in those allied with us. Though the confidence of the committee is justified by its indorsers, the committee knows that its work will be judged only by its success. Hence, before the World's Congress shall have passed into history, it avails itself of this opportunity to make a brief statement of the motives and methods of its work.

"The committee has from the beginning consciously and persistently excluded from its purpose the promulgation of any one cause, the exploitation of any single society, the exaltation or promotion of any one woman. Excluding all these fractional considerations, it has as persistently endeavored to promote that whole cause which is as yet lacking in the feminine correspondent of the masculine name 'fraternity'; to uplift that whole society to which we might and to which we do all belong, which we name humanity; to exalt that perfect woman, who, uniting in her own person the characteristics of Eve, Venus, and the Virgin, is the ideal that can be conceived only by the high-hearted man, the lofty-minded woman; that ideal which, taking a different name in every country, is Hera in Greece, Minerva in Rome, and in America the Goddess of Liberty. The exaltation of this universal womanhood it is which the Committee of Arrangements seeks.

"Recognizing that organization is the tendency of the age, it was to organizations of women that our committee made its first appeal. It was our first necessity to find a roster of these organizations. Adding to *bona fide* national organizations the beginnings of such formed in the capitals of countries wherein national organizations in the full sense of the term are not yet effected, we made a list of one hundred and twenty-six. Each of these organizations was regarded by our committee as a constituency, and was invited to name its representative on the Advisory Council and on the list of speakers. It was optional with each one of these independent constituencies to decide whether the same person should serve in both capacities or not.

"Glad as we are to unite in this Congress mistresses of the different arts, we feel it a gladder if a humbler duty to unite in it the races that are at work together within our own land for liberty. It is a wonderful truth that the capability for forgiveness, that divinest of attributes, is a human inheritance. You will find upon the list of our speakers a descendant of the last hereditary chief of the Cherokees, and also some descendants of that other more greatly outraged race, imported only to be reduced to servitude, who come to us but one remove from the generation of their own blood which was sold from the block. Is not this a magnificent proof of the capacity for forgiveness possessed by these two races?

"In our own country, where all races are mingling, difference of race has never made so deep a chasm as religious difference makes, especially when the latter is intensified through its being a racial inheritance. Therefore it is with peculiar joy that we read upon our lists, side by side with the names of representatives of the mother Church, the great Catholic Church, in Europe

and in the United States, names of women representing all the leading sects of that great subdivision of religious faith named Protestantism. It is with a still keener pleasure that the committee welcomes to this Congress a representative of a still older faith, the Hebraism out of which Christianity evolved. The preparations for the Parliament of Religions have so emphasized the fraternity of faiths that the propriety of emphasizing the mingling of the adherents of different religions in this Woman's Congress may be questioned. But more is implied by this meeting of women of different creeds of the same general faith than would be indicated by the meeting of men of entirely different faiths; for however men may have led religious struggles by virtue of simply external forces, such struggles have always drawn their inspiration from the woman heart; from the heart to which reverence is a native principle; from that heart which cherishes its religion, by whatever name, as its first and final love."

Mrs. Sewall's address was followed by the introduction of foreign representatives and responses in behalf of their respective countries. This ceremony was continued throughout the day and evening sessions on Monday, and on Tuesday morning, June 16, the work of the week began with the General, Report, and Department Congresses held in the various halls.

During the week 81 meetings were held, and from Tuesday to Friday inclusive 330 women contributed addresses or joined in the discussions. Twenty-seven countries were represented in the Advisory Council by 528 women from 126 organized bodies of women. According to their nationality, these organizations may be classified thus: The United States, 56; Belgium, 1; Canada, 6; Denmark, 2; England, 30; Finland, 2; France, 7; Germany, 9; Ireland, 1; Italy, 1; New South Wales, 1; Norway, 2; Scotland, 3; South America, 1; Sweden, 3; and Switzerland, 1. According to their respective purposes or objects, the organizations may be grouped in the following divisional sections: Education, literature, and the dramatic art; science, religion, philanthropy, and charity; moral and social reform; civil law and government; industries and occupations.

The plan of work in these divisional sections embraced the presentation of papers on the general subject, followed by discussions from varied points of view by women, most of whom were specialists. In the subordinate Congresses reports and addresses were delivered under the same general divisions as those of the General Congress. In fact, without them the General Congress was to a degree unintelligible, for in these smaller Congresses were found the springs from which the General Congress was fed.

In the section devoted to the general subject of education a paper was read by Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper on The Kindergarten as an Educational Agency, and the Relation of the Kindergarten to Manual Training, in which she contended that the kindergarten is the only true foundation for industrial education, and in the course of her remarks gave the following brief outline for the education of the child from its earliest years:



THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

"Take the very little child into the kindergarten and there begin the work of physical, mental, and moral training. Put the child in possession of his powers; develop his faculties; unfold his moral nature; cultivate mechanical skill in the use of his hands; give him a sense of symmetry and harmony, a quick judgment of number, measure, and size; stimulate his inventive faculties; make him familiar with the customs and usages of well-ordered lives; teach him to be kind, courteous, helpful, and unselfish; inspire him to love whatsoever things are true, and pure, and right, and kind, and noble; and thus equipped, physically, mentally, and morally, send him forth to the wider range of study, which should include within its scope some sort of industrial training. This training should put the boy or girl into the possession of the tools for technical employment or for the cultivation of the arts of drawing and kindred employments; still further on, the boy and girl should have a completed trade. Thus will they be prepared to solve the rugged problem of existence by earning their own living through honest, faithful work."

Mrs. Cooper was of the opinion that too little thought is given to boys and girls who, on leaving school, will enter industrial ranks; that too large a share of training is given to intellectual development, too little to practical morality and manual training, and in support of this opinion she referred to the suggestive fact that seven tenths of the convicted criminals of the United States are persons who never have learned a trade or followed any industrial pursuit. In closing, she said:

"Throw open the kindergarten and the schools for industrial and art training to every child, and, with the heart pure, the head clear, the hand skillful and ready, we shall hear no more of the mutterings of mob violence and internecine strife. Our fair land shall take its place in the very front rank of nations distinguished for their industrial achievements. There must be more of genuine human sympathy between the top and the bottom of society. The prosperous and the happy must join hand and heart with the toilers and strugglers. The living, loving self is wanted. The heart must be the missionary. The life must be the sermon. All mankind must be brethren. The children must be taught these great principles, and aided in putting them into practice."

Mrs. Cooper's paper was followed by an interesting discussion of the subject by Mrs. Caroline M. Severance and Rev. Mila Frances Tupper, after which a paper on The Kindergarten and the Primary School was presented by Miss N. Cropsey. In a paper on The Ethical Influence of Woman in Education, by Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin, of California, the great responsibility attendant upon a work in which, as in almost no other profession, opportunity for influence is given, was ably set forth, and attention was called to the grave need for the most careful training, the broadest culture, and development of the complete womanhood of those into whose hands the State intrusts its children. In the discussion follow-

ing Mrs. Galpin's paper, Mrs. W. D. Cabell, of Washington, D. C., spoke as follows :

"Without change in her relations to man and to society, woman's work partakes of the general extension and evolution in which she has taken part. She needs, in my opinion, no additional powers or privileges—simply the opportunity, daily widening, to exert her manifold endowments. However great her intellectual gifts, however broad her culture, her supreme function, now as ever, is to bring forth children ; her overwhelming responsibility is to bring them up. Maternity is her mission, education her work, the home is at once her kingdom and her sphere.

"Society is based upon the assumption that men and women come together in congeniality and love, that they work together for the progeny they are responsible for bringing into the world, and that their highest duty, their best service, is to make these children happier and better than themselves.

"It is with the woman's share of this labor that we are dealing to-day. Upon the vantage ground of her motherhood she stands, clasping to her bosom the tiny creature to which she has given life, and upon whose soft and complex soul she must stamp an image for good or evil to endure throughout eternity. Who dares say, in contemplating a marvel like this, that woman occupies or has ever occupied a subordinate position to man, that her powers are withered for want of use, that her scope is small, and that she needs for her full development to share more of the prerogatives of man? If it be true that education is the mighty interest of mankind, the Archimedean lever by which the world must be moved ; if preachers and public-school teachers are right in proclaiming that before a child can read the essential qualities of its character are formed, then is woman the arbiter of the world ; her physical soundness, her mental strength, her moral perfection, are more important elements in the salvation of the race than any of the boasted attributes of man. And these great claims the poets and philosophers concede. 'Earth's noblest thing,' they write, 'is woman perfected.' Even in the darkest hour of moral degradation in France, the greatest mocking skeptics could proclaim, 'All the reasonings of men are not worth one sentiment of women.'

"If she is true to her responsibilities and equal to her opportunities, woman in the holy empire of the home begins the great work of education and anticipates the ethics of the schools. No easy task is hers to rear the brood which nestle under her protecting love ; to provide for physical wants and secure the full development of limbs and muscles, of nerves and brain, to make her little animals sound and strong and pure, that they may become the founders and directors of a still better generation. Nor is the further work of training the young minds and guiding the strong wills an easier one, for these beings bring with them potent and inherited individuality, with which she must grapple, while it is yet unrevealed and unconscious, if it is to receive any permanent impressions whatever.

“Woman’s ethical influence in the great scheme of education is based, therefore, upon the grand central truth of love. Her work is pre-eminently great in that it is concerned with the beginnings of things, in that she lays the foundation upon which the whole superstructure rests. When the boy or girl enters the mimic world of the schoolroom the character should be essentially formed. The experience, often painful, of teachers testifies that it is formed. We are prone to underestimate the intelligence, or at least the apprehension, of a child. Wise people are misled by the unformed manners, the babyish voice, the delicate beauty of a little boy or girl whose bright intelligence grasps a situation at once and appreciates perfectly the difference between right and wrong, the proper and the unseemly, truth and falsehood. These perceptive and discriminating faculties of the child must be early trained to grasp the good and reject the evil, if the fruits of subsequent instruction are to be other than ashes and bitterness, apples of Sodom.

“While woman has this early training of the child, and does it with her might, she is a queen. She has scope in it for the employment of every conceivable faculty of the mind and soul. Education can not set her above this work. Talents of the loftiest order can not exempt her from it, if she has assumed the duties of maternity. Anything else she attempts or performs must be subsidiary to it. Awful would be any changes in her social status compelling or permitting her to delegate her high office to any other hands. No conceivable advantage to woman can compensate her for the loss of the inner life of that holiest of holies—her home. It would profit her little, although she gained the whole world of fortune and fame, if she could not reply worthily, with the approval of her soul, to the searching summons, ‘Where is the flock that I have given thee, the beautiful flock?’”

The discussion was also participated in by Mrs. Anna Byford Leonard, of Illinois, and Frances Stewart Mosher.

The development of individual thrift through the school savings bank was set forth by Sara Louise Vickers Oberholtzer, of Pennsylvania, in an address on *The Popular Inculcation of Economy*, in which she said :

“This method of inculcating thrift is not wholly new. It was in use in a single school in France in 1834. In 1866 it had sectional establishment in Belgium. Prof. Laurent, of the University of Ghent, took up the idea and introduced it into several institutions. The teaching met much favor and has been quietly working its way over Europe since. The school children of France have now over 12,000,000 francs to their credit in the banks of the republic. Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Russia, Holland, and England have this teaching in some schools, sometimes administered by private associations or individuals, often through the postal savings bank, which is less satisfactory as an instructor.

“When the system is to be instituted the teacher explains to the scholars the end and aim of the school savings bank ; that it is to teach them the

practical value of money, how it grows by attention, the benefits of industry, the delight of giving and spending wisely, and the advantages of thrift.

"The roll is called every Monday morning for the collection of the children's savings. This occupies a very short time, even on the morning when the work is instituted. Each child who is a depositor has the little copy-right savings-bank card, on the face of which is his name, with that of the school and that of the teacher. On the back are the regulations. The card is folded, and on the inside is the date for each Monday in the school year, with space opposite for amount of deposit. When the names are called by the teacher, each pupil who desires to deposit steps up with his card and money, handing them quickly to the teacher, saying, 'Yes, five cents,' or whatever sum it may be. She, with a figure, credits the amount on the child's card and on her roll book, passing the card back to the child, who keeps it as a memorandum and receipt. The first collection in the school is deposited in the bank as a general school fund. When a scholar has deposited fifty cents or a dollar, as the bank authorities may agree, he is given a bank book and the money is placed to his personal credit by the bank; when he has three dollars an interest of three per cent is allowed him by the bank, and he has the privileges of an adult depositor acting through school facilities. A special teacher's roll book is arranged with spaces to record most conveniently weekly deposits. The other forms used in connection with the system are simple and calculated to minimize the work. The money collected by each teacher is placed in an envelope, which is so printed as to require at her hand but the number of the school or class and the amount of contents. A deposit slip is used in forwarding all collections by the teacher to the principal, and by the principal to the bank. The envelopes in which teachers send the collection to the principal are sealed, and the total amount is recorded on the deposit slip, previously mentioned, which accompanies the envelope. The envelopes are sent together, thus labeled, to the bank, where the bank authorities open, count, verify, and credit at leisure. With the last collection of each month a monthly record of the scholar's individual deposits is sent by each teacher to the principal of the school, and by him to the bank with the children's bank books, that credits may be properly made. These lists are returned by the bank to the principal with the scholars' bank books during the week. The bank books are given to the children to take to their homes the last Friday of each month, to be returned with the following Monday morning deposits. The principal keeps a record of the weekly collections of the teachers. A check with which pupils withdraw their money requires the signature of parent, or guardian, and principal. The principal uses the general-fund bank book, received when the first school deposit is made. It is always sent with the weekly deposits and returned to him by messenger, with full amount of credit. This frees him from responsibility, and the arrangement is such that any error can be at once traced to its source.

"The bank books taken into the homes once a month arouse family interest, and parents have been often induced to curtail needless expenses by the practical lesson in the accumulation of small savings thus given them. The teachers become much interested in the growing amounts of their pupils' deposits. In some instances those who have not before had bank deposits have themselves opened accounts and felt the reflex benefit of their own teaching. The practical acquaintance this exercise gives both pupils and teachers with the initial forms of business law—familiarity with the check, deposit slip, and bank book—is in itself of value."

Of the adoption of the system in this country, Miss Oberholtzer said it appeared first in a public school in Beloit, Wis., where from 1876 to 1881 it was used with much local approval. In 1885 Mr. J. H. Thiry, with a simple system adapted from the French, had the work taken up in Long Island City, N. Y., where it continues to operate acceptably. School savings banks are in acceptable use in one hundred and fourteen schools of Pennsylvania, while about two hundred schools in thirteen other States have adopted this teaching, fifty of them in New York. The work has been taken up also by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, while a helpful hand has been extended by the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the Grangers, the American bankers, and several educational associations have adopted resolutions approving of this practical teaching of economy.

Other addresses in this division were on Educational Training in its Bearing upon the Promotion of Social Purity, by Jennie de la M. Lozier, M. D., of New York city; The Highest Education, by Mrs. Charles Kendall Adams, of Wisconsin; and The Catholic Woman as an Educator, by Mary A. B. Maher.

Among the papers in the subordinate Congress, The International Kindergarten was the topic of an address by Sarah A. Stewart, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the International Kindergarten Union, while the opportunities for higher education, the degree to which such opportunities are used, the conscientious application by college women of their developed power to practical problems, and the sense of responsibility resulting from college training were admirably demonstrated by the address of Miss Marion Talbot, on The History, Aims, and Methods of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. That the intellectual aspiration which characterizes young women of the higher



MRS. MYRA BRADWELL,
Chairman of the Woman's Committee
on Government.

circles in the United States to-day is by no means limited to any class or any country was shown in admirable papers relating to the education of women in Sweden, Germany, and New South Wales, which were read in the Congress. The Education of the Swedish Woman was set forth by Laura Kieler. The club, popularly known as a post-graduate school, was classified with other educational forces, and an address was delivered by Lucilia W. Learned, of Missouri, on the Results of Club Life among Women upon the Home; and as the press is merely the platform from which public teachers can address the largest number of pupils and students, the report of The New England Woman's Press Association, by Belle Grant Armstrong, of Massachusetts, found also here its proper place. An address on Western Women Authors and Journalists was delivered by Emmeline B. Wells, of Utah, and The Writers' Club was the topic of a report by John Strange Winter.

In that part of the section of Literature and Dramatic Art devoted to the consideration of literary topics the aim was to present an historical summary of woman's actual contribution to the literature of the world and a philosophical consideration of her probable contribution. Among the reports of woman's literary work in various countries a paper was presented on The Polish Woman in Literature, by T. E. C., M. D. This report was particularly interesting, inasmuch as the literature of Poland is less widely known than that of most countries, and conditions in that country for the past two centuries have been quite the reverse of those generally considered favorable to literary activity. This report, therefore, had more than a national value, and as it revealed fertility where barrenness had been presupposed, it suggested the probability of a corresponding literary activity among the women of other countries whose language and literature are unfamiliar. The question whether woman has something specific, something *sui generis*, to contribute to literature, was discussed in an address on Woman's Place in the Republic of Letters, by Annie Nathan Meyer, of New York. From an address by Mrs. Alice Wellington Rollins, of New York, on the same topic, the following quotations are made:

"The place of woman anywhere has rightly been called a sphere. You can not escape from her. The farther you walk away from her, the nearer you are to meeting her on the other side. Leave her side, she will confront you in the first novel you take up to divert your mind from her.

"There can be no intellectual republic where women are concerned; they are always tyrants. Yet those who have been most tyrannical over the passions, the emotions, the love, the thoughts of men have not been stabbed in literature by their victims, but immortalized. Is it not curious that while Cæsar has a Brutus, Charles I a Cromwell, and George III a Washington, Laura should have a Petrarch, Beatrice a Dante, and Shakespeare's *inconnue* his magnificent sonnets?

"'Know thyself'; it is a great and wise command; but do not hope to know yourself by looking into your own heart. Some one must look for

you ; nay, not for you, because an outsider, however clear-sighted, is liable to mistakes, but with you, that the point of view may be neither his nor yours alone. Columbus did more than discover America to Spain ; he discovered her to herself. She would never have known what she was, what she was capable of, had she not come in contact with the resources of the Old World. Equally in literature, woman has never shown that she understands herself ; she has never attempted to analyze her own nature. Some Columbus has always done that for her ; always revealed her not only to the world but to herself. Homer rose in reverence as she passed, humbled by a sense of her power even when she used it willfully ; Petrarch exalted her, Dante adored her, Shakespeare loved her ; Henry James studies her, Maupassant thought her wicked but interesting ; Tennyson tolerated her ; Thackeray graciously refused to look beneath the surface of her gentle little heart when it seemed to be gentle ; Scott heroined her, Wordsworth commended her, Byron hated her ; Hawthorne admired her, Crawford pities her, Howells photographs her ; Goëthe was sorry for her, Punch caricatures her ; Burns smiled at her, Moore succumbed to her, Dickens laughed at her, Heine married her at last ; Tolstoi plants her in sunshine and waters her with his tears, only to tear her up by the roots in the end ; Victor Hugo idealized her ; Bourget dissects her ; Balzac understood her ; but in literature as in life no man has ever ignored her, and in literature as in life I seek in vain for any man whose opinion of her could be characterized by saying simply he 'liked her.' There are no Platonic friendships in books, as there are none but dangerous ones in life.

"Oddly enough, woman has never tried to exalt, or excuse, or wonder at, or caricature, or hate, or photograph, or study, or dissect herself. Even when she tries to paint an ideal woman she fails lamentably ; her Romolas, and Dinahs, and Dorotheas are horribly cold, and fall infinitely below the incomparable pictures men have drawn of idealized or idolized women. She excels in philanthropic theories when she cares to espouse the cause of an 'Uncle Tom' ; she writes graceful verses, charming letters, beautiful descriptions, admirable essays, very clever criticism ; but when it comes to novel writing we find a curious psychological problem—as men have understood women better than women understand themselves, so women have understood men, not better than men understand themselves, but better than women understand women. Charlotte Brontë is not half so clever in trying to make us admire her poor and homely Jane as in winning our interest, without trying to, for Rochester ; George Eliot's large, calm, generous portrait of the beautiful Romola pales before her minute drawing of the degenerate Tito. This is less in quantity than the success of men in delineating women, because woman has not been permitted until lately to know one tenth part as much of the masculine mind as men know of the feminine heart. But that their power of observing and understanding men is constantly increasing, that they will eventually excel in drawing men as men excel in drawing women, is

shown by the marvelous cleverness of many recent novels, notably those of Mrs. Clifford and the lady who calls herself John Oliver Hobbes.

"True, the method will probably always differ; the man dissects, the woman evolves. Tolstoi takes Anna Karénina at her zenith and traces her degradation; George Eliot takes Tito as a seedling and develops him in a baleful atmosphere, until the crisis is his fall; Thackeray takes Becky Sharp at her best and lets her degenerate; Charlotte Brontë takes Rochester at his worst and permits him to improve. And what is the comparative result? The man's portraiture of woman is finer than the woman's portraiture of man. An artist said recently of the scenery in Alaska and Norway: 'You like Norway best, because there you sail *into* the scenery, while in Alaska you only sail *along* it.' So we may say that men have sailed into women's hearts from time immemorial, while women have only sailed along men's minds, on the very outermost edge. Yet assuredly the time will come when, understanding each other better, they will not like each other less; and woman's place in literature may yet come to be that of a superlatively correct observer of the folly, the chivalry, the weakness, the nobleness of men, as man's place has so long been that of the cleverest, most subtle, most keen, most generous observer of the woman herself."

Among other papers presented in this section were: Organization as a Means of Culture, prepared by Charlotte Emerson Brown, of New Jersey, and read by Julia Pauline Leavens, and an address on Literature, delivered by Josephine Bates, of Illinois. Mrs. Volmar, of Utah, in an address before the Conference Congress on Literature, presented a report of the literary and artistic work of the women of her State, and the question of copyright was discussed in an address on Insurance against Piracy of Brains, by Kate Brownlee Sherwood.

Probably no other session of the Congress was anticipated with a more universal interest than that in which a galaxy of stars were to discuss woman and the drama. All the distinguished women that were invited expressed in response the most cordial interest in the Congress and its objects; and while the professional engagements of some of them rendered acceptance impossible, six of them consented to take part. The committee desired, so far as possible, to secure representatives of different nationalities and of differing degrees of professional experience, as well as of different schools of acting, in the proposed programme, as follows:

Mme. Janauschek, Bohemian; Mme. Modjeska, Polish; Clara Morris, American; Mlle. Rhéa, French; Georgia Cayvan, American; Julia Marlowe, English. While only four appeared, the absence of Mme. Janauschek and Mlle. Rhéa was due to circumstances beyond their control.

The audience assembled at this session was in such excess of the seating capacity of the Hall of Washington that the overflow filled the Hall of Columbus, and left the aisles of both halls, the anterooms, and the corridors still crowded. The audience in the Hall of Columbus, where simultaneously a

large and important meeting had been held, waited in the hope that the actresses would repeat their addresses there; and this was amiably done by Clara Morris, Georgia Cayvan, and Julia Marlowe. Mme. Modjeska, in her address on Woman and the Drama, said:

"There is a general impression that the connection of woman with the stage does not date farther back than the seventeenth, and in a few countries the sixteenth century. This impression is erroneous. Woman is not a new arrival in the history of the drama. Her influence on its development, and I may say more truly on its very origin, has been traced to the second half of the tenth century. We all know that the ancient theater had a theocratic origin; it is therefore not strange that the Christian theater also had its cradle in religion. But nowhere did woman appear on the ancient stage, if we except her participation in the Greek mysteries and occasional exhibitions of physical display; it is only due to the higher level upon which Christianity has placed woman that she has obtained the opportunity to figure as an important and beneficent factor in the development of dramatic art.

"There is a theory, almost generally accepted, that there is no direct connection between the new Christian theater and the old one, and that the former one was born long after the death of the latter. This theory is not exact. The vitality of the dramatic spirit was never entirely extinct. One can trace its continuity through ages, but unquestionably the most important link of the chain is the so-called comedy of the tenth century, the work of a Christian woman. The very name of comedy in the tenth century seems an anachronism. It was a time of concentration of religious thought and of political upheaval and anarchy caused by the disintegration of the work of Charles the Great. By far the greater part of the Christian community expected the end of the world would come with the approaching millennium of the Christian era. Certainly it does not appear a favorable epoch for an artistic or literary revival. One would think it scarce possible to find then for the drama a poet, a stage, or a public. And yet it was then that from the recess of a monastery hidden in the dark forests of Germany, on the banks of the river Ganda, resounded the first note of dramatic renaissance. This note was uttered by a woman's voice.

"The convent of Gandersheim was founded by Lutolf, Duke of Saxony, grandson of a celebrated Saxon chief, Wittikind, who was conquered and converted by Charlemagne. During the first years of its foundation most of its abbesses were members of the ducal family. One of these abbesses is supposed by some historians to have been a Greek princess, daughter of the Emperor of the Orient, and to have brought from Constantinople elements of higher culture to this remote corner of Germany.

"Whatever may be the case, it is certain that the convent of Gandersheim became an intellectual oasis among the deserts of barbarism. There lived and died a modest nun, Hrosvitha, known even to-day more generally as the "Nun of Gandersheim"; there she wrote in Latin her legends, her

historical poems, and, what interests us most, her six or seven comedies. About her life we know almost nothing, except the very few personal allusions contained in her works. Thus she informs us that to the Princess Gerberg, an imperial niece and abbess of the convent, and to Riccardi, she owes most of her classical knowledge and her literary attainments.

"Hrosvitha wrote in Latin. Her legends are in either hexameters or elegiac verse; her plays, the so-called comedies, are in prose. Her Latin is correct, far above the so-called 'Kitchen' Latin of the Middle Ages. She was evidently well versed in the knowledge of the old classic authors, and equally well acquainted with the rich lore of Christian legends and with the theological philosophy of the fathers of the Church. Of the dramatic writers of Greece and Rome she seems to have known only Terence. It was her admiration for his genius and style, combined with abhorrence for his lack of morality, that seems to have inspired Hrosvitha to write her dramas. She states her object in the following words: 'I intend to substitute for the picture of the dissipation of pagan women edifying stories of pure virgins. so far as the means talent allowed, to tries of chastity, es- woman's weakness brutality.' The val- dramas is mostly in richness and subtlety of genuine poetry, as life and of womanhood been treated in the an- the most important tween the two eras, be- upon and inspired by



HELENA MODJESKA,
a speaker at the Congress.

to bring forth new elements and new forms, on which developed later the drama of the Christian era. To-day the name of the modest nun of Gandersheim is very little known, though students of the drama and a few learned archæologists and professors in Germany and France have done their best to extol the significance and merits of that strange figure standing solitary between the ancient and the modern world. The publication of her manuscripts by Celtes, in 1501, created a sensation among the German and Italian humanists of the time, and it would not be strange to suppose that they were known, though probably in a transfigured shape, to some of the dramatists of the sixteenth century, and inspired their genius; and thus the influence of Hrosvitha upon the later drama may have been much greater than we can realize to-day.

I have endeavored, of my poor little celebrate the victo- pecially those where triumphs over man's ue of Hrosvitha's the dialogue, in the of thoughts, in a spirit well as in an aspect of to which we have not cient literature. It is work of transition be- cause, though modeled the classics, it is the first

“Another point almost as important as the authorship of the first modern plays is their performance. There have been long discussions upon this point, but it can be accepted as a fact, based on the authority of the German and French *savants*, that all the plays of Hrosvitha were performed in the convent of Gandersheim by young nuns, in the presence of the Bishop of Hildesheim and several high officials of the empire, probably even before the members of the imperial family. How strange, how hardly conceivable is the fact of such an origin for the modern theater in the presence of the unreasonable antagonism between Church and stage which has been fostered by narrow-minded people on both sides! Yet it is only natural when we remember the whole history of ancient and modern drama, and keep in mind that for long centuries after Hrosvitha the only manifestations of the dramatic spirit were confined to the so-called mysteries, ‘miracles,’ and ‘moralities,’ performances where religion and scenic display were combined in a curious fashion, much less legitimately than in Hrosvitha’s plays.

“I do not intend to dwell upon them except to mention that generally women were excluded from such performances. There is known only one instance of woman’s participation in a so-called mystery. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the city of Metz, three women personated in public the three Marys in the representation of our Lord’s passion. In the female convents, however, the custom of private theatricals seems to have persisted from the time of Hrosvitha during the Middle Ages. They were often forbidden by the bishops, but we know that as late as the sixteenth century, in some of the Spanish convents, they were customary, as Friar Juan Mariana testifies.

“In the first half of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Charles V, woman appears on the professional stage in Spain. A Spanish writer, Augustin de Rojas, says that in the times of Lope de Vega there were a great many organizations of strolling players through the country. He enumerates six different kinds of such organizations. In the lower organizations women’s parts were played by men, in the middle ones by women or boys, but in *The Farandula* and *Compania* all the female parts were personated by women. Cervantes, in his *Don Quixote*, speaks of a company of actors that included one woman, who was the wife of the author and played the part of a queen.

“Another interesting detail in the history of the beginning of the theater in Spain is an attempt made in 1586 to give separate performances for men and for women. The time selected for the latter was immediately after noon—a regular *matinée*. It seems that the ladies of Madrid in those times were very fond of *matinées*, because seven hundred and sixty tickets were disposed of at one real apiece to so many ladies. For some reason or other, however, the performance was forbidden by the authorities, the money was refunded, and the custom of almost exclusive *matinées* for ladies was not renewed until the present days in America. Italy was the next country

after Spain where women appeared on the stage, about the middle of the sixteenth century, but, following in the footsteps of Philip II, the Pope, Innocent IX, forbade their appearance. Notwithstanding the Pope's decree, the substitution of woman for man in female parts became a feature of the Italian theater, as it did of the Spanish, and the Spanish and Italian companies appeared even abroad with woman actors.

"In September, 1548, the Cardinal of Ferrara, Archbishop of Lyons, was entertaining the King of France, Henry II, and his wife, Catherine de' Medici. The entertainment was exceedingly sumptuous, and its principal feature was a tragic comedy performed by Italian actors and actresses. This was the first time woman was seen on the stage in France, but it was only fifty years later that a French woman appeared before the public. Her name was Marie Vernier, and her appearance is a very important event in the annals of the French stage, because it was followed immediately by the establishment of a regular theater, the first one in France, managed by her husband and herself.

"The formal entrance of women on the stage in England is usually credited to the epoch of the Restoration. It seems, however, that already under Cromwell, when the fervor of the Puritans against the stage had somewhat abated and Davenant was allowed to give performances at the Rutland House, there was produced the *Siege of Rhodes*, a play with music, wherein the part of Ianthé was personated by a woman, Mrs. Coleman.

"Under the reign of Charles II the custom of women's performing on the regular stage was regulated by royal rescript, and a memorable date is the 8th of December, 1680, when the play of *Othello* was given with a special prologue written by one S. Jordan, in order, as he says, to introduce the first woman that ever acted on the stage. Jordan, evidently, could not have been aware of the earlier performance of the *Siege of Rhodes* with Mrs. Coleman, or must have intentionally omitted to refer to it. The woman he alludes to in his prologue was Mrs. Ann Marshall. He curiously insists on the fact that she was married.

"In Poland, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Italian troupes of actors and actresses appeared on the private royal stage or in the public squares. A Polish woman is already seen at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when she appears occasionally in translated and original drama.

"The country in which woman appears latest on the stage, but where she has contributed to its development more than anywhere else, is Germany. About 1678 there was formed a company of actors from the students of Leipsic University, under the leadership of Magister Johann Velthen. This company received permission for a permanent organization from the Duke of Saxony, and established the first German court theater. Mrs. Velthen, the wife of the manager, was the first German actress. After the death of Johann Velthen the management of the company passed into the hands of



THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

his widow, and so the first German actress was also the first woman who was a theatrical manager.

“ Frederica Caroline Neuber or, as she has usually been called, the Neuberin, was the founder of the Leipsic school of acting. She did more than any one else to build up a higher dramatic *repertoire*, as well as to promote a loftier standard of dramatic art, in Germany. As a German historian says, she closed the gap existing between the German stage and poetry. The life of the Neuberin was a continual struggle against the low prevailing forms of burlesque and harlequinades, and she died poor and solitary, with a broken heart, in a little hamlet near Dresden. The epitaph on her tombstone, erected long afterward, calls her the creator of artistic taste on the German stage, a title which she certainly deserves.

“ The woman who had the most pronounced influence upon the German stage was Sophie Schroeder. At the beginning of the present century there were two tendencies in the dramatic art of Germany opposed to each other. The Hamburg school, under the influence of the great actor Louis Schroeder, was tending toward realism ; the school of Weimar, created by the great poets Goethe and Schiller, tended toward idealism. The object of the first was to preserve strong characteristics and to avoid pathos ; the object of the latter was to keep up the standard of the ideal of poetry, which might be lowered, they feared, in the narrow limits of everyday surroundings and commonplace treatment. Both were right to some extent, and the solution of the struggle lay in the union of the two tendencies. This work of unification was done by a woman. Antoinette Sophie Schroeder was an eminently poetic nature. She could not resist the influence of Goethe and Schiller, and became a genuine idealist in the conception of her parts ; but, on the other side, brought up under the influence of her cousin in the Hamburg theater, she remained a realist in execution.

“ The influence of women may not have acted in such a direct way upon the development of the theater in other countries, but whoever is familiar with the history of the theater will acknowledge with me that at every new phase of development, at every new step of progress, actresses have marked their way as prominently as actors.

“ If the influence of our sex upon the theater is beneficent, can we say the same of the influence of the theater upon the woman herself ? In other words, does the life of an actress tend to develop her better qualities, or does it do the contrary ? I should not like to give a decisive reply to the question. I may, however, say that, while the life that we lead exposes us to many temptations, stimulates our vanity too much, and takes us sometimes too far from our family duties, it has some advantages which may compensate for the losses. It certainly must develop in us a sense of independence, and therefore of responsibility. On the other side, it brings us into contact with the highest creations of the master minds, and is bound to open both our hearts and our minds to the generous impulses and higher problems which they lay

before humanity. The good that woman can do on the stage for humanity can be summed up in the good that the stage itself can do. We can not expect that only the work of great masters shall be produced in the numerous theaters. Very often the stage is used only for amusement, but even in that case it should not be detrimental to the better instincts of man. Lessing said : ' It is of the utmost importance that the amusements of the stage shall not be coarse and idiotic.' But he adds, and we all, I hope, believe with him : ' A good theater is more than an amusement, and can produce an effect second only to that of the pulpit. It helps to build up and to keep the purity of our language ; it impresses our morals and customs ; it ennobles both the performer and the public.'

" In the present days there has appeared in a new form the old struggle between idealism and realism, similar to the one I alluded to in mentioning Sophie Schroeder. Thoré, the great French critic, says, ' Art is the expression of the beautiful.' Nowadays, art is more often called the expression of the true, of Nature. But, whether it is the beautiful that brings to our hearts the love of truth and justice, or whether it is truth that teaches us how to find the beautiful in Nature and how to love it, in either case art does a noble work. It drags out the soul from its everyday shell, and brings it under the spell of its own mysterious and wonderful power, so that a memory of this experience stays with the people, sustains them in their daily labors, and refines their minds.

" Dramatic art has a more limited field than some of her sisters. While a painter or a sculptor can choose his own subjects, and only deal with Nature as it appears to his temperament, the actor has to follow the dramatic author. But the interpretation of the author's work depends upon the performer. By transferring his own soul into the character performed, the actor can either degrade or elevate the impersonation. There is no question that almost any part of the higher drama can be interpreted, without detriment to the author's object, so as to appeal to the lower instincts of the public or to its higher intellect or sentiment. In this direction I think woman's mission on the stage can be of great significance to her art, to her public, and to herself.

" There is, however, yet a third way in which stage and women react upon each other. It is the woman who goes to the theater. All of us have at heart the future of the American stage, and by this we mean the progress of dramatic art and dramatic literature. This future may, in some way, be made brighter by the combined efforts of the playwright and the performer, but in the present condition of affairs the improvement of the stage depends first of all upon the public. In these last years of the nineteenth century, when materialism, or at least a practical spirit, rules over everything, the theater has become principally a commercial enterprise. We may consider this a drawback, we may seek remedies for it, but in the meantime we have to look at facts as they are. Now we know that in all the economic questions the law

of supply and demand is the supreme master ; therefore the theater will produce what the public requires. The manager, the author, and the actor obey the public's dictation.

"Who can influence the public? I think only woman. She forms the larger half of it, and can to a great extent rule the other half. The American woman especially has always been an important factor in all the civilizing influences. Her position in this country is superior to that occupied by her sisters elsewhere, and is due to her intellectual qualities and to the high general level of her instruction. I am happy to say that there has always been a tendency on her part to protect and encourage true art. Hrosvitha's spirit of refinement and poetry is still living in women's hearts, and therefore I look with serenity and hope to the future, convinced, as I am, that the mighty power of American woman will create a new era in the history of the American stage."

The paper presented had journeyed across keep her pledge to as its theme Woman Drama, from which sages are quoted: in the history of woman's influence er, the writer of about her, to study and for her. Poor ankind! Many a time the regally repellent rid-easier to guess than any about him. He found scarcely capable of the dove, yet possessed the



CLARA MORRIS,
a speaker at the Congress.

of the bulldog ; women with ambition as high as men's, but purer ; nay, sometimes even a woman with passions strong enough to wreck Othello, but in her—so curbed, so coerced were they by her will—they paced primly quiet, to suit conventional demand, her whole life through.

"Finding this subject interesting himself, he doubtless argued that the public might find it interesting too ; and so one night in France the young son of a mighty father, in the face of all artistic Paris, cast his gauntlet down. Many, of course, there were who rushed to take it up, but paused amazed. That night a miracle was performed, for before their awed and startled eyes passed a fallen woman's soul. Marguerite Gautier, with laughing face and anguished heart, seemingly unconscious of observers, laid bare before them the bitter mockery of her mirth, her secret shame, her love, her hope, her torture and despair, until at last she bowed her weak shoulders beneath her

self-made cross and stumbled blindly to her grave. Surely that night was an epoch in play-making.

"Two lilies, broken both, I often dream of. One tall, and fair, and sweet, oh, heavenly sweet, with all its perfume still about it, broken by too strong a wind, lies all its fair length upon the grass, green and cool with sparkling dew—broken but pure—and that the Lily Maid of Astolat. The other, which had been a bud of equal promise, grown equal tall, and fair, and sweet, oh, honey sweet, is broken too—broken and cast by an evil hand upon the city street, where every passer-by may see ground into the sweet whiteness of its face the smirch and bruise of a man's boot heel—broken and soiled—and that is Marguerite Gautier, poor Queen of the Camellias.

"I am wandering too far afield. Oh, dear mistress of ceremonies, before I take my seat let me cast aside the limitations put upon me to speak only of the emotional drama, and say a word of my profession as a whole. Already you have been addressed upon this subject by those far better fitted for the task than I, but even so you will allow me to express my gratitude to the profession that has given me under God every good thing I ever had—the dear profession that has always been woman's friend. Hundreds of years ago, when every other profession was locked against her, and most of them had a man on guard outside that she might not learn too much about the size and shape of the keyhole, the doors of the theater stood wide, and to the woman who would enter two questions were put: 'Can you act?' 'Will you work?' for women must work. They may weep, too, if they want to, but they work on a perfect equality with man, and, what is more, are as well paid for their work. And, further still, has one been without previous education, what a teacher is this profession! It takes you by the hand and leads you by paths of romance and dramatic incident from land to land, from age to age, and, best of all, from poet to poet, till you reach the knees of Shakespeare's self. There our greatest and mightiest have stood with the humility of little children to learn the A B C of that great art we call acting. She acts best who is not held bound to one narrow school.

"Surely our profession is great and beautiful, a very temple of art. A temple with many courts, full crowded; and altars, some to art, some to Nature; but it is within the sevenfold sanctuary, before the grand high altar erected to art and Nature, that one finds the little band of mighty ones, who, having hearts to feel with, eyes to see with, brains to think with, have with loving, loyal labor won the right to enter there.

"Now, my last words I speak to those whose eyes my eyes have never met, whose hands my hands have never grasped—to the actresses of the future. Through a veil of to-morrow I see dim forms struggling forward; from them I would exact a promise that when they enter this profession which they have chosen above all other professions, when they stand upon the threshold of that great temple, they will take a solemn vow that whether they win name and fame within, or whether they pass their whole life in

some outer court, at the end, when all is done, they will leave upon its altar the pure white flower of a blameless life."

The address by Georgia Cayvan was in the form of a simple, earnest talk on *The Stage and its Women*, in which was set forth the usefulness of the stage in supplying for tired humanity that form of recreation which shall satisfy in the majority the intellectual craving at small expense of mental effort ; the value of the familiarity which the stage gives with great masterpieces of literature ; and the field of practical usefulness which the modern drama can give as a court of appeal in all that pertains to the accurate and cultured in manners, morals, and speech, according to the standard of the times. Of the women of the stage she said :

"In the rapid growth of this profession, in the increase of theatrical centers, in the multiplication of dramatic companies, and in the demand of the popular drama for women of gentle breeding and broad culture, as well as for those gifted with great histrionic talent, a new problem in sociology presents itself to the thoughtful. The women of the stage—what will you do with them? What is your duty toward them? You cultivate your flowers for the delight they give you—you do not step on them because they yield no useful fruit ; you do not criticise them except in tenderness to make them more beautiful. I am not speaking to people of my own profession to-day, but as a woman to women I would make my plea for a better understanding, a more sympathetic appreciation of the women of the stage. With the wise tolerance that knowledge and understanding always establish, you may learn to regard us, not as curious creatures to be looked down upon in Pharisaical pity, or goddesses to be looked up to with sentimental heroine worship, but simply as women of the same family, speaking a different language, governed by different standards, yet, in spite of tradition and environment, maintaining an integrity of principle which has given to the profession such womanly women as my colleagues of to-day, and many others of humbler gifts but equal worthiness.

"A serious obstacle to the development of the actress, and one which is peculiar to America, is this : The personality of the artist is ever made paramount to her art ; for the public is curious, and the press must perforce satisfy their curiosity. In this respect the press reflects the demands of its readers as the stage reflects the taste of its audiences. Perhaps the greatest injustice of the public toward this woman, to whom it looks for its happiest recreation, is this insatiable curiosity concerning the smallest details of her private life, which results in culpable carelessness in circulating sensational and unfounded rumors, and an equally culpable credence in accepting without investigation any extravaganza of the penny-a-liner's fancy. The player is accused of seeking notoriety, when it is notoriety that seeks the player. We receive letters of interrogation intended to fill out special newspaper articles—'When, where, and how do you sew?' 'Are you afraid of mice?' 'What do you want for Christmas?' 'What kind of dog do you pre-

fer?' etc.—as if private preference in such matters had any bearing on dramatic art.

“Still another demand, and one which affects all actresses more or less seriously, is the desire of the public to enjoy luxury and magnificence in dress. The price of perpetual daintiness on the stage is eternal vigilance and expense, and the cost of modish gowns, which can be worn but a season and require the skill of the fashionable dressmaker instead of the stage costumer in construction, taxes heavily the resources of small-salaried players. The love of money may be the root of all evil, but the lack of it is the bitter fruit which hangs thick upon the giant tree whose shadow falls across many a noble woman's life, wrecked in the struggle with poverty before talent is recognized? When I learned that it was at first intended to include the women of the pulpit and the women of the stage in this day's session, I remembered how, in the school for oratory where I studied, the future women ministers and players sat in their classes together and received the same instruction. Indeed, no profession requires dramatic instruction so much as that of the clergy, because the magnificent lines of Scripture need all the inspired expression that Nature and art can give, that they may be uttered as grandly as written. And this profession of ours, which the idle and frivolous plunge into from vanity, which disgraced women seek in their degradation to the insult of all sincere artists, into which so many tumble without any preparation, and with some degree of success, really demands as its foundation the broadest, most liberal education, and requires not only a knowledge of some of the arts, but an intelligent appreciation of all of them. It is really a lifelong study, in which success is never a satisfaction, but always a spur to a fresh endeavor, a goad to greater effort, while at the last it leaves nothing but a memory which dies with the last person who has witnessed one's success.

“There is among the actors in Japan a beautiful custom which gives to dramatic talent the value of inheritance, the certainty of perpetuity. Every great actor who has not a son of his own adopts a boy, to whom he gives his name; and this boy becomes to him a son and pupil, who will receive and hand down in time to a son and pupil the name and methods of the master. Thus their stage has an aristocracy of great family names and an inheritance of cumulative genius.

“I should like to make a special plea for the stock actresses, for I believe that the regeneration of the drama is in the hands of the stock company. By stock company I mean an organization of actors, each in himself an able actor, not supporting and assisting a name of greater magnitude, but each eminent, and capable of doing his part toward giving that harmony and symmetry to a performance which makes the good play seem a real transcript of life. The person who witnesses a performance once can not realize what it means to the actress to play the same part two, three, or four hundred times with the same degree of feeling, pathos, humor, and naturalness of charm

and manner at every performance. Horsemen tell us that a horse never makes his record more than once ; and some horses never make a record at all, because they are not brought on when all conditions are most favorable. An actress must make her record every night. She must not only act her best, but look her best at every performance, and under all circumstances, or be accused of retrograding.

"The inspiration necessary to keep one's self up to this plane of excellence must come from the public. Applause to the actress is the breath of life to her being ; it is the only recognition, the only approval, and the only indorsement which she can be assured of that makes her feel that her efforts are pleasing ; she submits herself with perturbation to the suffrages of that great and inexorable being, the public. Do you wonder, then, that we come before you with fear in our hearts, and with hope that you will be satisfied with our work, and that you will show it with discrimination and wholeheartedness? It is your applause that stimulates us, takes away the mechanical feeling caused by constant repetition of the same part, and wakes up the inspirational sources of our art.

"It might be pertinent to explain some of the influences that prevent an actress from being exactly like other women. Does it seem possible for a woman who has to simulate a varied assortment of feelings every night to be like a woman whose every emotion is sincere and natural? A woman of the stage must lay bare her heart and soul before the public in order to present in perfection some type of woman. The artificial is always dangerous to character, whether it is the artificial in society or the artificial on the stage. It is almost menacing to moral perception to bring the most sacred impulses of womanhood down to the level of the commonplace by constant draught upon them. In every other profession a woman may keep inviolate the holy of holies of her individuality. In this alone is the veil rent, and the sacrificial flame upon her altar is lighted for the entertainment of the public. They little realize what it costs her."

Julia Marlowe, in her address on Woman's Work upon the Stage, set forth, by a few historical examples and a brief discussion, not only woman's special fitness for dramatic expression, but also her right to the exalted position in this art which she has won by courage, industry, and perseverance. From her address the following quotation is made :



JULIA MARLOWE,
a speaker at the Congress.

“Woman’s work in literature has, with few exceptions, been denied any claim to greatness. In music and in other arts she is admitted not to have shown any particular creative power ; but her place upon the stage is as absolutely unquestioned as man’s. In having thus secured for herself an eminent position in the drama, the actress has advanced the whole cause of woman, since every individual triumph raises the estimation in which the intellectual achievements of a whole class are held. Woman is better understood because she has been faithfully portrayed ; she is more highly regarded because of her ability to make that portrayal ; and that faithful portrayal has, I feel, a powerful moral influence in an educational sense. I thoroughly believe it is the duty of mothers to foster in the hearts of their children, while at a tender age, a serious consideration for the better form of dramatic literature and dramatic representation, avoiding the unhappy tendency of the present age, which is to regard acting merely as a form of amusement rather than, as it should be regarded, an amusement combining a means for intellectual control and artistic suggestion, presented in an attractive and suggestive manner. That woman is capable of arduous effort and untiring devotion has been fully demonstrated upon the stage. She has helped to elevate the drama to its rightful place among the educational forces of life, and to make true what Morley says : ‘At the playhouse door we may say to the doubting, “Enter boldly, for here, too, there are gods.”’”

Among the papers in the sectional division Science, an address by Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, of New York, on Women in Science, afforded a general survey of the work of women in that direction, and thus properly introduced the more specific consideration of women as physicians. Her address was as follows :

“Those who interest themselves in the modern development of mental activity in women are liable to imagine that this has been aroused equally in all directions. This, however, is far from being the case. The two great activities of modern times are industry and science, and it is precisely in industry and science that women are least conspicuous. In all industrial occupations, it is true, women are largely engaged—they constitute more than two thirds of all the factory operatives of the world, they throng the workshops, they carry on the retail business of stores—but we rarely find them as yet among the captains of industry, among the leaders, projectors, or controllers of industrial enterprises on any large scale.

“Physical science at the present day has opened up a sphere of activity resembling that of industry in an enormous development of details, which can afford useful employment to multitudes of persons of moderate ability, if well trained in technical methods and possessed of patience and conscientiousness. Either original researches or the processes of applied science demand the co-operation of a great number of assistants to perform manipulations involving much labor and time, requiring intelligence and great accuracy, but not necessitating original mental power.

“ This is a most useful and important field of work for women. Should they enter largely upon it, they might still remain as far removed from the position of the scientific thinkers as is that of the factory operatives from that of the mill owner. But the work of laboratory assistant, though relatively inferior, is absolutely so important, dignified, difficult, and interesting that the women who should or do engage in it may be well satisfied, even when they do not advance to the dignity of original contributors to the science they serve.

“ Mathematical calculations are required for many branches, notably astronomy. The *Woman's Journal* of April 29 quotes from the *Transactions of the Astronomical Observatory of Yale College* a paper by Miss Margaretta Palmer, a graduate of Vassar College in 1887. This young lady is working as regular assistant in the Yale Observatory, under Dr. Elkin, and has been reinvestigating the orbit of the comet of 1847, which was discovered by Maria Mitchell. Maria Mitchell herself, after establishing her reputation by the discovery of this comet—for which she received a gold medal from the King of Denmark—was for years employed upon the Coast Survey and in the compilation of the *American Nautical Almanac*.

“ Some years ago Prof. Bowditch, of Harvard University, published some valuable researches on the growth of American school children. The result of these researches was summed up in tables based on mathematical calculations, and these were made chiefly by Miss Jacobs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At this institution, and also at the Stevens Institute, at Hoboken, ladies have worked as assistants in the chemical laboratories. One of these ladies, Miss Chevalier, has been for many years Professor of Chemistry at the Woman's Medical College of New York. She has performed difficult chemical researches on nerve tissue. At Ithaca, also, in the laboratory for comparative anatomy, the wife of Prof. Burt G. Wilder assists in her husband's work, and has illustrated his paper on brain anatomy, published in the reference handbook on medical sciences.

“ In the histological laboratory of the Woman's Medical College of New York excellent work is done by female assistants to the professor in the preparation of embryological and other specimens. Similar work is done at the Western colleges where co-education prevails, as at Ann Arbor.

“ These little glimpses are all I have been able to obtain of the work of women as laboratory assistants in this country. In Europe, however, and especially in the Swiss universities, women are constantly engaged in the laboratories, and from time to time their names become associated with those of a senior teacher in the publication of some original research. The ‘Kendall’ who, with Leuchsinger at Zurich, published an important essay on the innervation of the sweat glands, was an American girl and medical student.

“ It is easier for the moment to ascertain the names of the women who have done some independent work in different branches of science. Maria

Mitchell was the first American woman to be known in any science. She was educated in mathematics and astronomy by her father, and it is said that at the age of eleven she was able to assist him in his work. She was the first female member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

"It is an interesting fact that the *début* into science of American women should have been made in mathematics and astronomy, for these are the fundamental sciences of the entire hierarchy, and it is as logical that women should begin with them as it is contrary to much current opinion about women's faculties that they should show any capacity for mathematics at all. However, before Maria Mitchell became known in America, several women in Europe had achieved distinction in mathematical science. In a biographical dictionary which extends from Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus, to Juliet Adam of modern Paris, there are recorded relatively few names of women who have become known in connection with any branch of science; and ten of these were mathematicians. Of these, the earliest reported to us is Hypatia, the celebrated Neoplatonist philosopher, who lived and lectured at Alexandria in the latter part of the fourth century. She was murdered by fanatic monks in 415 A. D., and her books were burned with the Alexandrian library by equally fanatic Mohammedans. The titles of only three have been handed down to us—a commentary on Diophantus, an astronomical canon, and a commentary on conic sections.

"After Hypatia history is mute respecting scientific women for eleven centuries. In the seventeenth century the names of three are recorded. The wife of the astronomer Gottfried Kirch, in Upper Lusatia, assisted her husband and published almanacs. Maria Cunitz, a learned German lady of Silesia, edited in more convenient form the astronomical tables of Kepler, and in 1650 published others under the title of *Urania Propilia*. Finally a French lady, Jeanne Dumée, published in Paris a *Discourse on the Opinion of Copernicus respecting the Mobility of the Earth*.

"The eighteenth century, so illustrious with famous men, gave birth also to six women all justly famous for mathematical talent and achievement. The first of these was the Marquise du Chatelet, born in 1706. English and German biographers declare that her writings are saved from oblivion only on account of her association with Voltaire, in whose companionship she pursued her studies. Yet it was no mean achievement to translate, as she did, Newton's *Principia* into French. She also published a work on physical philosophy entitled *Institution de Physique*. It is said that in experimental science Mme. du Chatelet proved to be considerably more of an adept than her illustrious companion, and that, when both competed anonymously for a prize offered for a scientific essay on the nature of fire, hers received an honorable mention, his none at all.

"Maria Agnesi, born at Milan in 1718, is said to have been a woman of wonderful intellectual powers. When only twenty years old she was able to discourse on abstruse questions of mathematics and philosophy in many

different languages. At the age of thirty she published in remarkably pure Latin a treatise on algebra, with the differential and integral calculus.

"Nicole Reine Lepante was born at Paris in 1723, and acquired distinction as an astronomer. She was a friend of Clairant Lelande, whom she assisted in the calculations of the return of Halley's comet in 1757.

"Caroline Herschel is more generally known to English-speaking people. She was the faithful and untiring assistant of her brother, the celebrated astronomer, Sir William Herschel, and in the course of eleven years she discovered five new comets. In 1798 she published a valuable catalogue of five hundred and sixteen stars, and later received a gold medal from the astronomical society.

"Sophie Germain is in many respects the most interesting of this group of eighteenth-century women. She was born at a notable epoch for us Americans—namely, in 1776. We are told that in 1789, when a girl of thirteen, being profoundly disturbed by the mutterings of the approaching French revolution, she sought in her father's library the means to distract her mind from the thought of impending disasters. Here she discovered the story of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, so engrossed with the problems of geometry that he remained deaf to the Roman soldiers invading his room. The child was seized with enthusiasm for a science so noble that it could absorb the mind to this extent, and immediately resolved to devote herself to the study of geometry. Self-educated, and in the teeth of the violent opposition of friends, she became the compeer and friend of the most noted mathematicians of an age noted for its great men. By correspondence on mathematical subjects she even conquered an intimacy with the great German mathematician, Gauss, writing to him, however, over a masculine signature. Her sex was revealed only when, during the campaign of Jena, Mlle. Germain interceded with the French general in behalf of her learned unknown friend, shut up like Archimedes in a beleaguered city, for whom, perhaps, she feared a similar fate. Mlle. Germain's important original contribution to science is contained in memoirs on the mathematical theory of elastic surfaces, a problem for the solution of which the Institute had offered a prize. The first memoir failed to receive a prize, which indeed was not awarded. 'The truth is,' observes her biographer, 'that Sophie Germain, working, so to speak, by instinct, and without having regularly studied analysis, did not completely solve the question; but her memoir opened the way so decidedly in the right direction that from it Lagrange drew the exact equation.' The competition for the prize was offered a second time. Mlle. Germain sent a second memoir, and this time received an honorable mention. Finally, in the third memoir the persevering young scientist was fortunate enough to receive the prize. This honor only stimulated her energies to continue working on the same subject. She discovered remarkable theorems which Legendre inserted in his treatise on the Theory of Numbers. In the *Annales de Physique et de Chimie*, Mlle.

Germain published researches on the laws of the equilibrium and of the movement of elastic solids, and in another scientific periodical a memoir on the curvature of surfaces. A philosophical essay written by her, entitled *Consideration on the State of the Sciences*, is remarkable for its breadth of thought, and for its anticipation of doctrines to be later enunciated by Auguste Comte.

"I have devoted so much of the brief time at my disposal to Mlle. Germain because she may, better than any other modern woman, serve as a model with whom to compare others who may claim, often too lightly, a rank in science.

"The last female mathematician of the eighteenth century is Mrs. Mary Somerville, who was born in Scotland in 1780. Mme. du Chatelet had translated Newton's *Principia* into French; Mrs. Somerville in turn gave to England a translation and analysis of the *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace. She also wrote a treatise in 1834 on the connection of the physical sciences, and her services to science were publicly acknowledged by her election to membership in the Royal Astronomical Society and by a yearly pension of \$1,500. Mrs. Somerville, living till 1872, was able to connect the traditions of the eighteenth century with the nineteenth, and thus belongs to our own time as well as to the brilliant epoch in which she was born. No Englishwoman has, as yet, succeeded her, but I think every one is familiar with the remarkable triumph of Philippa Fawcett at the Cambridge examinations, where she ranked four hundred marks above the senior wrangler. England literally rang with this triumph from sea to sea.

"Miss Fawcett seems to have inherited her exceptional capacity from her father, also a talented mathematician, whose power of abstraction had been trained and intensified by a lifelong habit of mental work under the terrible affliction of blindness.

"In America, Mrs. Franklin, while still Christine Ladd, so distinguished herself as a mathematical student that at the peremptory request of Prof. Sylvester she was made a fellow in the mathematical department of Johns Hopkins University, the only woman so far who has enjoyed this honor. Mrs. Franklin is the Sophie Germain of America. Her original work in pure mathematics, in logic, and in physics pre-eminently deserves commemoration on this occasion. She has published nine scientific essays.

"In Europe the young Russian, Songa Kowalewski, until her recent premature death, was the fitting colleague of our American mathematician. She was appointed to a full professorship at the University of Stockholm in 1884. Like Sophie Germain, at the age of thirteen Songa, starting from some elementary instruction in arithmetic, plunged all alone into mathematics and mastered trigonometry without a teacher. At sixteen she married a gifted scientist, who assisted her in her studies and secured her admission to the University of Heidelberg. She obtained the Doctor's degree from the University of Göttingen, without an oral examination, on account of three essays,

two in mathematical analysis, the third in mathematical physics, concerning the shape of Saturn's ring. Some years later she discovered the complete mathematical solution of the optical problem regarding the movement of light in a crystalline medium. At a spring semester in Stockholm, Songa Kowalewski delivered a course of lectures on the theory of partial differential equations, and this was so successful that the following year she was invited to a full professorship. But this gifted woman died prematurely, after a brief enjoyment of the arduous duties of the position.

"In comparison with the difficulties of the mathematical sciences all others appear easy. The natural sciences afford more scope for moderate abilities, and it is, indeed, surprising that, while so many women throng into literature, so few, as yet, have devoted themselves to these delightful pursuits.

"Mrs. Susanna Gage, wife of Prof. Gage, of Cornell University, is a microscopist of recognized ability. She has made valuable original researches upon muscular tissue, and has prepared the microphotographs for several scientific essays of her husband.

"Miss Julia Platt, a pupil of Prof. Wilder, of Cornell, has pursued morphological studies at both Cornell and Freiburg, and has published the results of original researches in the *Journal of Morphology* and in German anatomical journals.

"In England, Dr. Frances Hoggan has published, in association with her husband, a series of researches in microscopical anatomy, principally on the lymphatic system.

"In the eighteenth century Mme. Manzolini, in Italy, was made a member of the Institute of Bologna and Professor of Anatomy in the university of that city, and contemporaneously, at Paris, Marie Catherine Biberan was preparing an anatomical cabinet, which after her death was bought by Catherine of Russia. Mme. Lachapelle and Mme. Boivin in the same century made important contributions to pathological anatomy, as well as to clinical midwifery. Dr. Gregory, Professor of Botany at Barnard College, has given me the names of half a dozen ladies, besides herself, who have made original researches in this science, which for ages tradition has assigned to women. A homonym of our own Elizabeth Blackwell published in 1737 an herbal, with colored plates of the principal plants used in the practice of physic.

"A modern English botanist is Marianne North, who has especially devoted herself to painting in detail the flora of tropical countries. Her collections include upward of six hundred paintings, each panel including six or seven varieties of plants. According to Sir John Hooker, it is impossible to overrate the usefulness and scientific importance of this collection.

"In the adjacent branch of natural history we find the name of Miss Eleanor A. Ormerod as one of the eminent entomologists of the day. She is consulting entomologist of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. She has written a manual upon injurious insects and on methods of prevent-

ing their ravages, of which James Fletcher, Entomologist to the Government of Ontario, says: 'The advance made during the last decade in the art of reducing the injury done to crops by insects is in large measure due to the talented author of this book.'

"Miss Mary Muretfeld, of St. Louis, has been Vice-President of the Association of Economic Entomologists. Another female observer of note both in entomology and botany is Mrs. Mary Treat, of Vineland, N. J.

"In this connection should be mentioned Mme. Clemence Royer, of Paris, born in 1830. In 1862 she made the first French translation of Darwin's Origin of Species, accompanied by a preface and notes, which gave her an established reputation. Since this, however, Mme. Royer's work has been in the line of literature and economics, rather than in that of natural science.

One lady, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, has distinguished herself in a somewhat unexpected field as an ethnological student of our North American Indians. Her work has received practical recognition from the National Government in an appointment as Indian agent, especially charged with the assignment of lands in severalty.

"The longest list of feminine names must be culled from the medical sciences. Since 1872 in America one hundred and fifty written contributions to medicine have been made by thirty women physicians. Only a very few of these contributions, however, deserve to be called scientific, for they are chiefly records of cases or discussions on subjects from the purely clinical or empirical standpoint. The same remark applies, of course, to an immense amount of the medical literature written by men, only a small proportion of which is addressed to the solution of scientific problems, or is based upon scientific

methods. Indeed, the daily work of the physician is as yet far removed from that of the scientist in any department. Even biological sciences, upon which the art of medicine reposes, are most irregularly invoked in the actual practice of medicine, and really scientific habits of thought are foreign to the great mass of physicians.

"Women, who so largely enter medicine from the practical side, necessarily exhibit this empiricism to an even greater proportionate extent than men. Still, a few of the medical papers published are concerned with scientific problems rather than with purely practical questions. Among the one hun-



MRS. MINNIE D. LOUIS,
Honorary President of one session.

dred and fifty American contributions the following may be said to bear this character : An essay on basilar kypnosis in relation to certain cerebral deformities, and some studies in sphygmograms, by Dr. Sara Post ; a remarkable case of bilateral cerebral hæmorrhage in a newborn child, by Dr. Sara McNutt ; a study on myxoedema, by Dr. Elizabeth Cushier ; microscopical studies on hyaline placenta and on the uterine decidua, by Dr. Jeannette Greene ; an essay on blood, by Emily White ; studies in endometritis and a new theory of menstruation, by Mary Putnam Jacobi.

“The number of women engaged in literature contrasts strikingly with the short list of women engaged in science. A volume entitled *Women of the Day*, published in 1885, contains a total number of four hundred and twenty-six names. These include writers, painters, actresses, and singers, and women noted for work in philanthropic and public enterprises. Only nine among them seem to have even touched upon scientific work. This fact, however, is not at all surprising. Owing to the unequal rate of development which to the present day has been permitted to women, the standard of education accorded to them has always been about an epoch behind that prevailing for men. Up to the present day, indeed, there has been absolutely no superior or even common-sense education for women at all. The few women who have nevertheless achieved intellectual distinction have done so in virtue of immense native ability, which instinctively found its way, like Columbus, uninstructed, unpiloted, over unknown seas. At the most has been secured the aid of some relative or friend, and this as an offset to the violent opposition of other friends, or an entire family and social circle.

“Enough, however, has been done to show that there is no physiological impossibility in scientific work for women. It now remains to insist more and more strenuously that the doors of the laboratory, as of the library, shall be thrown open to them ; that early in childhood and during the formative stage of the brain's development a strenuous education shall be secured, scientifically planned to favor the maximum development of brain power ; finally, that the love of knowledge for its own sake shall begin to be diffused more widely among women. Hitherto the love of knowledge has either been forcibly discouraged in favor of every other conceivable motive, or encouraged only so far as it may be made useful for practical purposes.

“The latter, certainly, should not be neglected. But underneath all practical activities, even for such strenuous mental work as is needed for the practice of medicine, there should lie a broad and deep foundation of speculative work done by solitary students aiming at nothing but the discovery of truth. Until this becomes true for women as for men we can not expect from women the contributions to scientific thought of which they are intrinsically capable. Minds capable of constructive scientific thought are always in a very small minority—probably must always be so—and it is probably true that the proportion of speculative to practical capabilities is still smaller in women than in men. The immense middle ground, however, of observation

and experiment, of work upon details destined to be used scientifically by some mind of superior scope—this sphere is already perfectly accessible to women, may be occupied by them most profitably, and they should by every means be encouraged to enter in and take possession.”

The discussion following Dr. Jacobi's article was introduced briefly by Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, who, in the course of her remarks, referred to the work of Emily Nunn, wife of Prof. Whitman, of Chicago University, whose researches in biology are well known. Mrs. Leander Stone, continuing the discussion, dwelt upon the difficulties encountered by scientists because of a lack of mechanical appliances, and by biographical references sustained the view that the advancement of the mechanic arts will facilitate the scientific researches of women to a proportionately larger degree than it will those of men. Dr. Mary A. Dixon Jones, succeeding Mrs. Stone, dwelt chiefly upon the adaptation of women, by both her delicate physical organization and her patience, to the minute and long-continued observation necessary to original research. She reported two discoveries made by microscopical studies in relation to cancerous diseases; she also discussed two diseases—endothelioma and gyroma—discovered in the course of her microscopical researches, and closed her remarks by describing certain improved methods in uterine surgery. The Medical Woman's Movement in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to January, 1893, was the subject of a report by Dr. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, of England, while The Medical Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland was reported by Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake, of Scotland. Dr. Ellis R. Shipp, of Utah, discussing the same topic, opened with a tribute to women in the medical profession, her peculiar fitness to the work because of the gentleness, sympathy, and patience of her nature. She referred to the recognition of woman physicians not only in enlightened countries but in far-off climes, in China and Japan, where skillful surgery had secured to some in the profession world-wide fame.

In the discussion on the subject of women as ministers, in the sectional division Religion, their struggle to gain access to the pulpit, their contribution to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and their peculiar adaptation to pastoral service, the subject was considered from the standpoints of history, philosophy, fancy, and biography, by ordained clergymen of the Universalist, Unitarian, Methodist-Protestant, and Congregational denominations. A summary of woman's work in the pulpit was presented by the Rev. Florence E. Kollock, of California, a Universalist minister, who said:

“From the dawn of the Christian era to the present day woman has been one of the most potent factors in the presentation, growth, and spread of the new religion. The tenderest acts of service on the part of Christ were bestowed upon women—the unfortunate, the sorrowing, and serving. Through woman's wrongs, her loyalty, her sorrows, he taught the world the sublimest lesson of unselfishness, sympathy, and charity that the ages have ever witnessed. Only through a woman's nature could these new principles of con-

duct be proclaimed to the world. The twelve were not more clearly called to preach the Gospel than the 'last at the cross and the first at the tomb' were ordained to speak—not merely of his Gospel, but rather of Him—of his power and compassion, of his wondrous love and illumined life. As example is more valuable than precept, the testimony of these women concerning Christ has been more valuable than all the recorded miracles of his ministry—aye, even than his Sermon on the Mount. Other prophets and inspired teachers the world had known before Christ's voice was heard in exhortation and prayer. But the world passed their words of wisdom by, and turned a deaf ear to their exhortation. But when the life illumined the word, and the spirit gave the letter its own invincible power, the teacher became greater than his lessons, and his simplest precept took a new significance. Men were sent forth to preach his Gospel. Women just as truly were given the higher, more valuable, more delicate mission of proclaiming him—his sermon to the woman at the well, his sympathy at the grave with the mothers and their children—to the unfortunate, the betrayed, the afflicted. And when the hour of agony had passed and the victory had come, it was faithful, loyal, and believing woman whom the angel met at the empty sepulcher, and commanded, authorized, ordained to 'go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, assuring them that he goeth before you.' Later, while Paul was yet the fierce Saul of Tarsus, 'persecuting the Christians even unto death,' the Marys and Marthas were loyal to the teachings of the Master, and faithful, tender, and reverent to his memory; never betrayers of Christ, but always his friends; never among his persecutors, but always with the persecuted. Gifted with that fine spiritual insight that made it possible to recognize the authority of Christ, it is not strange that the records of the Christian Church, from the earliest down to the latest, should be illumined with the deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice so freely performed by women 'in his name.' To a nature capable of this loyalty and imbued with this faith it was but in keeping with the inward impulse to impart it to others.

"To every careful reader of the Bible it is a profound mystery from whence came that morbid and unholy sentiment that seeks refuge behind St. Paul and interprets his 'Women, keep silent in Church,' to mean 'Keep out of the pulpit only.' Sing in the church, pray without ceasing in it and for it, teach the young, form their theological opinions, awaken their spiritual nature; expound to them the doctrines of prayer, of repentance, of forgiveness; form their immortal minds for immortality—do all this and more; build churches, pay debts, educate young men for the ministry; turn, if need be, the church into a concert hall, a sewing room, a salesroom, a restaurant, a bake shop; do all this, if need be, to raise money for church extension, for the Bible and tract society, for home and foreign missions; but do not preach for a salary, do not desecrate holy services by administering the sacraments of the church; for Paul said, 'Let women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak.' Higher biblical criticism and the bet-

ter judgment of thoughtful men and women took this question under serious consideration, with such results as I am glad to place before you at this time in reference to the position of the various religious bodies in regard to the indorsement of women for the work of the Church.

"In 1856 the Universalist denomination at Canton, N. Y., founded a college of letters and arts, in connection with a divinity school, known as St. Lawrence University, and threw open the doors of this institution to both men and women on equal terms. The first woman who entered the theological department of St. Lawrence University was Olympia Brown, who entered in 1861, was graduated in 1863, and was regularly ordained to the Christian ministry. Since the founding of St. Lawrence University eight women have been regularly graduated after pursuing the full course of study, six more have pursued special courses, and four are at present studying there. In 1881 the Ryder Divinity School, at Galesburg, Ill., in connection with Lombard University, was opened to men and women on equal terms, and it has had from one to three women students every year. A third divinity school of the same denomination opened its doors to women last September—that of Tufts College, Boston. Three young women immediately entered it. As a result of this policy, the Universalist Register for 1893 contains the names of thirty-six women, twenty-seven of whom are regularly ordained to the Christian ministry, while the remaining nine are licensed to preach.

"Women were admitted as students to the Meadville (Unitarian) school in 1868. The present year three are in attendance. Up to the present time the whole number admitted is twenty-one. Of this number, six were graduated in the full course, the others taking special work. The number of young men in this divinity school who have taken but a partial course of study is proportionately as large as the number of women who have done so. Manchester New College, Oxford, England, is open to women, and in the first year has received three American women to its lectures—two Unitarians and one Universalist. The yearbook of the Unitarian Church contains the names of nineteen clergywomen. The demand for them in both the Universalist and the Unitarian denominations far exceeds the supply.

"The well-known college of the Freewill Baptists, at Hillsdale, Mich., was founded in 1855. Its charter provides that 'all persons, regardless of sex, color, or nationality, shall be entitled to all its advantages.' The theological department was opened in 1878, admitting women on equal terms with men. During the last fifteen years twenty women have taken a partial course of study in this department. In addition to this number, six women have taken the full course and received the degree of B. D. The theological seminary at Lewiston, Me., in connection with Bates College, is also open to women. In the Freewill Baptist denomination twelve women are in full ordination, and fourteen are licensed as lay preachers.

"The dean of the divinity school of the University of Chicago, in answer to a letter of inquiry concerning the status of women in the ministry of the



THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT BUILDING.



THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

Baptist denomination, writes: 'The divinity school, which is a part of the university, is under a special charter, obtained years ago. For the past twenty-five years we have been admitting women to all our classes.' They are not there by sufferance. The paragraph in the calendar on this subject is as follows: 'Women are admitted on equal terms with men. They receive no encouragement to enter upon the work of public preaching, but on the contrary are distinctly taught that the New Testament nowhere recognizes the ordination of women to the Christian pastorate.' I may say that seven or eight women are now regularly matriculated in this divinity school, preparing themselves, doubtless, for pagan pastorates, as it is the denominational policy of this Church to recognize and encourage women as foreign missionaries.

"As the name implies, the Congregational denomination is self-governing; therefore it has, in the question of the ordination of women, no fixed policy, but each church exercises such liberty in the matter as the majority of its individual body may choose. Hence we find some churches freely granting ordination to women. There are at least twelve women in this body enjoying the full ecclesiastical rights and privileges of ordination. Three years ago the great theological seminary of Hartford was thrown open to women students, and a number availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. At present four women are pursuing a course of theological study there. Oberlin College, in compliance with the terms of its charter, opened all its departments to men and women on equal terms. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was an early graduate of this worthy institution, and received ordination from the Congregational Church in 1853.

"The Presbyterian body ordains no women to the ministry, and has, since the day that Sarah Smiley preached from the Rev. Dr. Cuyler's pulpit, inserted a clause in its blue book prohibiting the ministers of that body from inviting women into the pulpit.

"In October, 1891, the Wesleyan Methodists in council struck out from the discipline of the Church the clause prohibiting women from receiving ordination in that body. Protestant and Primitive Methodists also have ordained women.

"The Methodist Episcopal Church has not yet accorded to its women the justice that many foremost in its ranks are demanding. For years their theological schools have been educating women, accepting their money and time, but the General Conference has steadily refused to equip them thoroughly for the very work for which their theological schools were encouraging them to educate themselves. As missionaries, home and foreign, as thoughtful and scholarly preachers, as earnest and convincing exhorters, they have proved—until proof is no longer necessary—their perfect fitness for the work of the ministry; and they and the world are waiting for the General Conference to acknowledge the fact.

"The Secretary of the Women's Ministerial Conference reports the interesting fact that to the United Brethren belongs the honor of having ordained

the first woman to the Christian ministry. The Rev. Lydia Sexton, of Seattle, Wash., now ninety-three years old, was ordained by the United Brethren in 1851. The Rev. Mrs. Sexton has been in active service in her denomination until within a few years, when failing eyesight compelled her to withdraw from active work. Among the Friends, women have from the first taken the same rank as the men of that body. It is computed that more than two hundred and fifty women are to-day enrolled among the accredited speakers of this sect. The universities of Switzerland admit women to lectures on theology, though not to examination.

“That women are in the pulpit, and in large numbers are going to it, is a fact. Women alone can account for the fact. They do account for it as follows: First, moral influence has superseded physical force; we need not theology, but ministry. Second, the right to do a work is now determined by the disposition and the ability of the individual. Third, woman possesses powers, moral and spiritual, that make her a competent minister.”

The Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, of Michigan, a Unitarian minister, in an address on Woman's Call to the Ministry, argued that humanity, being made up of two diverse halves, needs to draw its interpreters, its teachers, its ministers from both men and women, else the interpretation, the teaching, and the religion must be warped, incomplete, ineffective, and not roundly human. The Rev. Eugenia St. John, in discussing the same subject, maintained the opinion that woman's native intuition is as necessary in the pulpit as man's logical, reasoning power. The Rev. Mary L. Moreland, of Illinois, continued the discussion, after which an address was delivered by the Rev. Mary J. Safford, of Iowa, a Unitarian minister, on the topic Woman as a Minister of Religion, in which she said:

“The eternal sanction for entering upon any good work is the ability to perform it. The questions, ‘Can woman preach?’ ‘May woman preach?’ which some well-meaning people are still debating with ludicrous solemnity, have been answered affirmatively, in the most convincing way, according to the scientific method, by actual experiment.

“In the face of deep-seated prejudice and bitter, persistent opposition, she has shown beyond question that she is not only able to preach, but is also able to do far more—to endure the strain of long city pastorates and build up strong, growing churches. The place she holds to-day as a minister of religion has not been given to her; she has won it for herself, and holds it by right divine.

“While ministering most helpfully to the deep needs of human souls, so far as her influence reaches, it tends in a special way to make religion less one-sided, less masculine in some departments, less feminine in others, more human and divine in all. While interested in theology as the thought side of religion, women do not emphasize it at the expense of right feeling and right action, but find God in all that liberates and lifts, in all that humbles and sweetens and consoles. To them the life is more than the creed; hence

their presence in the pulpit tends to soften theological animosities and promote religious unity. Woman's fanaticism in the past has been largely due to her blind belief in the teachings of the Church, which has presented religion from the masculine standpoint only, making it largely consist of intense devotion to certain theological beliefs."

This subject was discussed also by Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, of Pennsylvania. Woman's Place in Hebrew Thought was presented by Minnie D. Louis, of New York, the representative of the Hebrew women of America; and an address on Woman as a Religious Teacher was delivered by Ursula W. Gestefeld, of New York, from which the following quotation is made:

"The ideal religious teacher will be the woman who can unite the ideal and the practical; who can find the essence in every aspect of truth offered by the scientific, the philosophic, and the religious world, and, inspecting it in the light of the never-dying flame upon the altar of her own soul, bring it forth again with the divine seal upon it. She will teach principles more than personal views, insist upon deeds rather than theories, proclaim right thinking the basis for Godlike living. She will be the woman whose intellectuality does not stifle her emotions, whose feelings do not dwarf her intellect; one in whom both sides of her nature are well developed and held in equilibrium; strong, courageous, with fine moral sensibilities, unselfish, neither seeking commendation nor fearing condemnation; a new humanity will be born of her labors, composed not of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Catholics, but of those who, conceiving the Christ ideal the divine pattern to which all mankind is to conform, press forward as one body to actualize it. Charity for every form of belief, loving kindness for every traveler in this King's highway, whatever gates he elects to pass through on his journey, will characterize the members of this body."

The presentation of this address was followed by a long discussion of the subject, which was participated in by Alice May Scudder, of New Jersey, representative of the United Society of Christian Endeavor; Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, of California, President of the International Kindergarten Union; Lois A. White, representative of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions; Zina D. H. Young, of Utah, President of the National Woman's Relief Society; and Elizabeth B. Grannis, of New York, President of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; and was concluded by Fanny M. Harley, of Illinois. The Light in the East, an address by Eliza Anne Thayer, of New York, founder of the Order of Melchizedek, was followed by an address on the same subject by Ella Dietz Clymer, of New York. Organization among Women as an Instrument in promoting Religion was the theme of a paper by Mary Lowe Dickinson, of New York. An address on the same subject by the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, of Illinois, followed, and the Elevation of Womanhood wrought through the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin was the topic of an address by Emma F. Cary. In the subordinate Congress on Religion, The Young Women's

Christian Association, its Aims and Methods, was reported fully by Mrs. William Boyd, of Missouri, and The Young Woman's Christian Association in Sweden was presented by Sigrid Storckenfeldt. Other papers were Post-Office Missions, by Mrs. Jenkin Lloyd Jones; The Relation of Young Women to Church Missions, by the Rev. Lorenza Haynes; Christ on the Avenue, by Marion E. Isaacs; The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, by Mrs. E. S. Strachan; The Organization and Work of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions, by Mrs. O. A. Burgess; Woman's Work in the Society of Christian Endeavor, by Alice May Scudder; and The Order of King's Daughters and Sons of Canada, by Elizabeth M. Tilley.



MRS. MARY LOWE DICKINSON,
a speaker at the Congress.

The results of the higher education and of the spirit of progress are nowhere more clearly visible than in the modern methods of philanthropy, and the general tone of the addresses in the section Philanthropy and Charity was significant. Among the papers presented in this section was a comprehensive address on The Modern Deaconess Movement, by Jane Bancroft Robinson, Ph. D., of Michigan. In 1836 a pastor in the village of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, Theodore Fliedner, who had devoted much of his life to philanthropic work, determined to form a society of deaconesses. From a humble beginning the work grew until, instead of the hired house that gave shelter to the

deaconesses in the early days, a fine building of vast proportions, the Mother House of Kaiserswerth, affords to more than seven hundred deaconesses, scattered throughout the world, a veritable home. Connected with this is a building called the "Feierabend Haus," or "House of Evening Rest," for those who have become infirm or aged in their self-denying toil. The deaconesses are given practice in teaching in various schools; an infant school or kindergarten is maintained, and a normal school, where deaconesses are prepared for all grades of teaching. In an orphan asylum children of the educated middle class, whose fathers were pastors or professors, are received, while an insane asylum, built with every regard to modern scientific equipments, crowns an eminence just outside the village. A publishing house is also connected with the institution. Deaconess institutions now exist in Switzerland, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Austria, England, and Germany, while the countries in which these homes have stations are literally too numerous to mention.

Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the countries of northern Africa and of Asia Minor, as well as isolated mission stations throughout the world, are now served by deaconesses. In England the deaconess cause is making notable extension. It has now a place of its own within the Anglican Church, and outside of the London institutions has homes in the dioceses of Canterbury, Chester, Ely, Salisbury, and Winchester. From England the deaconess idea extended to Scotland, where it has found secure lodgment in the old historic church of John Knox. The German Lutheran Church, influenced by the example of the mother Church in Germany, was the first to endeavor to introduce into America, in 1849, the beneficent services of woman deacons, but the work progressed but slowly. Recently, however, the erection of the Mary J. Drexel Home and Philadelphia Mother House of Deaconesses has given a new impetus to the movement among Lutherans. In the Protestant Episcopal Church of America the deaconess work was initiated at Baltimore. There are now two orders of deaconesses, and also different stations of work, although in the United States, as in England, within the Episcopal Church sisterhoods are more influential and more rapid in their growth than are deaconess institutions. In the Presbyterian Church the question of the revival of the office of deaconess has claimed some attention, while the Methodist Episcopal Church has taken action that places it first among the evangelical denominations in America, and second only to the Church of Scotland, in according to the deaconess a distinct status in the organization of the Church. The full and complete recognition accorded by the highest authority of the Church commended it to the people, who have shown a remarkable readiness to accept its provisions. Deaconess houses have been founded or projected in Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Detroit, and many earnest Christian women have presented themselves as candidates. The following quotation from Mrs. Robinson's address gives an insight into the spirit of the movement, and records a prophecy of its coming usefulness :

"The deaconess performs her duties without fee or reward. This is a main feature of the system. She is not free even to accept personal presents, for in that case unworthy motives might creep in. The deaconess at Kaiserswerth receives from the institution her modest wardrobe, consisting of a Sunday suit of dark blue, a working dress, blue apron, white caps, and collars. She has also a small allowance of pocket money. In case of sickness she is tenderly cared for, and when she becomes infirm or aged in the discharge of her holy duties she knows there is waiting for her a room in the House of Evening Rest. A deaconess attired in her garb, with the peaceful gentle countenance that seems distinctively to belong to her, is a pleasant sight constantly seen on the streets of German cities. Her attire is not only a protection, assuring her chivalrous treatment from all classes of men, but it is a personal commendation that serves her well as an introduction to opening doors that would otherwise remain closed to her. There are two

classes of deaconesses formally recognized—teachers and nurses. The training given to nurses at Kaiserswerth may be said to have transformed the hospital wards of Europe. It was at Kaiserswerth that Florence Nightingale received the preparation that enabled her to render such wise and valuable ministrations in the Crimean War, and to render like service to the hospitals of England on her return. On the battlefields of all the more recent European wars the deaconesses have been found caring for the wounded, ministering to the dying, and taking messages for home friends.

“Some of these women have charge of refuges for Magdalens; others serve in penitentiaries and prisons, performing distasteful and difficult duties with patience and devotion, and they do not shrink from positions of positive danger. The Kaiserswerth deaconesses have a right to be consulted before being assigned to cases of contagious diseases, but no instance of refusal has ever occurred. An important part of the deaconess's work is to serve congregations under pastoral direction. Those who perform this service are known as parish deaconesses, and their work is held to be the consummate flower of the service of the diaconate, as it approaches most nearly to that of the deaconesses of the early Church.

“The movement has a future; we may be sure of that. Firmly fixed in the working forces of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and protected by its highest dignitaries; cared for by the German Lutherans in America with a generosity and magnificence that its fatherland can not equal; become a working power in the Methodist denomination, and recognized officially by the highest authority of the Church; adopted already by the Presbyterians of Scotland and England, and favored by men of influence in American Presbyterianism—the diaconate of women is bound in the near future to become a factor of Church life in America.”

In an address on Organization among Women, considered with Respect to Philanthropy, by Mary E. Richmond, of Maryland, the value of co-operation and organization in philanthropic work was briefly considered, and the opinion was maintained that the broadening of woman's charitable activities is due to the new classification of charities. Within the present century the criminal, the prostitute, the insane, the vagrant, the idiot, and all other defective classes have become objects of care and solicitude not only to the individual philanthropist, but, through him, to the State. The increasing complexity of the charitable system brought about an artificial division of labor. Men monopolized official and impersonal service, women cared for the private and more personal side of the work. Advancing civilization demands that official charity shall become more and more personal, and the increasing responsibilities placed upon them require, on the part of private charities, more practical and businesslike methods. Individual women like Dorothea Dix, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Katie Fay, who concerned themselves with the larger issues of official relief, proved, with single-hearted devotion, their ability to administer public charitable trusts. Such examples

were instructive, and as other women showed a devoted interest in the work, they were appointed in a number of States to official places that gave them a voice in the management of public institutions for women and children. Of the part the higher education of women is destined to play in the future of public and private charities, Miss Richmond said: "Charitable work in the future will demand a trained mind and an intimate knowledge of social science and economics. Good intentions are no longer the only essential of philanthropic leadership; in this, as in all departments of serious work, the best of good intentions will not be good enough until we have patiently learned before we attempt to teach. The social-science departments of our universities offer to women the best possible training for a useful and honorable career."

In reply to letters of inquiry sent to all the States and Territories about the philanthropic work of women, the following facts were gathered: In six States women serve with men as members of State boards of charities, having supervision of State charitable institutions; in eleven States women have a semiofficial recognition, being appointed by the legislatures or the courts to visit and report upon certain institutions; in fifteen other States women are reported as taking a very prominent part in the administration of private charities; in eleven States their administrative functions, both private and public, were reported to be very limited. In referring to these reports Miss Richmond said: "The line of probable development is indicated by these returns. It must be a question of only a little time when women will be actively engaged in every department of charitable activity, and the division of labor will no longer be a question of sex, but of capacity. All the wisdom of men and women both is needed to cope with the difficulties of institutional life and management."

Following this paper, an address on the same subject was delivered by Clara C. Hoffman, of Missouri.

The Organized Work of Catholic Women, in respect to religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform, and political liberty, was considered in a paper by Alice Timmons Toomy, of California. In the early ages of the Church there were no public or State institutions of charity, such as almshouses, hospitals, orphan asylums; all these were the work of the Church and of religious houses. Throughout all the centuries until our own almost all the work of women in organizations was carried on in cloisters. Of the order of the Sisters of Charity, an organization which is to-day one of the most widely known among societies of Catholic women, Miss Toomy said: "In this, as in all Catholic sisterhoods, the members voluntarily bind themselves to their order by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, either made for life or renewed at intervals. By these vows these women give up all that, from our worldly standard of the independence of the individual, we call happiness in this life. They voluntarily renounce wealth, home, position, friends, and family, all to serve God and his needy suffering children. Perhaps the

hardest thing in the life of the religious orders is the complete surrender of the will in obedience to those placed in authority. In each country, State, or province there is a head, or mother house, whence are sent out missions or colonies of sisters to establish branch houses wherever necessity calls them. The government of these sisterhoods is that of a republic, the superior, or mother general, being elected for a term of years by the whole community. Implicit and prompt obedience to the superior, as to the voice of God, is the magic power that controls these vast organizations of women. Every hour of the daily life of the average religious sisterhood, from half past four or five in the morning until eight or nine in the evening, is spent in continuous hard work, lightened by an hour's recreation after the midday meal and another hour's recreation in the evening. We in the world can form no idea of the heroism of these sisters who for the love of God give their whole life to this service."

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MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE,
a speaker at the Congress.

tle Sisters of the Poor in their homes for the aged shelter and care for all who come to them, regardless of nationality, creed, or color. Besides the special organization of woman for the care of the aged, the Gray Nuns, the Sisters of Mercy, and many other associations support the aged poor. Notable among organizations of Catholic women who devote themselves to the care of the blind and deaf-mutes, is a society of lay women known as the Nardins, so called from their founder, Ernestine Nardin. In the United States there are more than fifty orders of Catholic women that are devoted to education, and the women enrolled in these orders may be counted by tens of thousands.

The history, aim, and methods of a newly established order, The Sisters of the People, was presented by Mrs. Hugh Price, of London. Mrs. Price,

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with her husband, had long felt the want of organized work for women in connection with the Christian Church, and accordingly interested herself in the formation of this order, composed of members of all Churches, who, without vows and under no system of discipline, have for more than five years carried on their work. This was begun with four sisters, including Mrs. Price, and now about thirty-four sisters are actively engaged. The work of the sisters, which begins with visiting in the districts surrounding the various mission centers, is carried on in many different branches, and to a large extent is determined by the special capabilities that a sister may show. Besides their work among the poor and sick and in connection with the temperance movement, numerous clubs and social entertainments are provided, both for children and for their elders, thrift societies are encouraged, assistance in the formation of women's trade unions is rendered, and interest is aroused in social and political questions that specially affect the position of women and helpless children. The following quotation from Mrs. Price's address gives many interesting details of the order :

"Every candidate for the sisterhood comes at first on probation, which lasts for at least three months. At the end of that time, if everything is satisfactory, she is formally received, wears our uniform, and enjoys all the privileges accorded to members of the sisterhood. The greater number of our sisters live together in one large house in Fitzroy Square, though we have two or three other branch establishments where one or two reside. The community life is as simple and homelike as it can possibly be. We have no rules except such as would be maintained in any well-ordered house, and every sister is trusted implicitly and absolutely. Our idea is that we must share all we have and are with those among whom we work, and that those very privileges of education and refinement are given us in order that we may employ them in shedding sweetness and light upon other lives.

"The cost of the sisterhood has been partly met by the general funds of the West London Mission. In addition to this, we have a special sisterhood fund, which is maintained by small annual subscriptions from those who sympathize with us in the work we are doing. This is gradually increasing, so that we hope in a short time the sisterhood will pay its own way, and will be quite independent of the general fund of the mission.

"We do not allow any difference to be made between rich and poor sisters. All are treated alike. No one is allowed to pay for board and lodging, although if she has the means and chooses to do so she can give whatever subscriptions she thinks fit to the sisterhood fund ; and to a sister who has no private resources we give a small sum, just to cover necessary personal expenses. We admit members of all churches so long as they are in sympathy with the objects and aims of our mission, and they are perfectly free to attend the services of their own churches when not on duty in our mission."

In the subordinate Congress an address was delivered on The Catholic Women's Part in Philanthropy, by Mary Josephine Onahan.

In the section Moral and Social Reform, various movements were discussed, and chief among them the temperance organizations. The Origin, History, and Development of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was set forth in a paper by Elizabeth Wheeler Andrews, of Illinois, and the Origin and Early History of the British Women's Temperance Association was the topic of a paper by Lady Henry Somerset, of England, while Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, of Massachusetts, head of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction for the World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, discussed Temperance Education. In the course of her address she said : " In October, 1882, I pleaded with the Vermont Legislature for a law that should require all pupils in all schools to study the subject of physiology and hygiene, including special reference to the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics. The first temperance-education law was there passed. Michigan and New Hampshire followed the same year ; New York in 1884 ; Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and eight other States in 1885 ; the National Congress, for all schools under Federal control, in 1886 ; and thus on, until to-day, forty-two States and Territories have enacted temperance-education laws. There are only five more States to win before this education will be required for all pupils in all the public schools of this land. When the first law was enacted, twelve years ago, there was not such a text-book in the world as the law demanded. To-day there is a large variety of good school literature on the subject, beautifully graded to the capacities of all classes of pupils, issued by many different publishers. There were no school methods for teaching this branch ; that is now remedied, and every year is showing better and more intelligent work done in this study in the schools."

Helen Taylor, of England, described the work of The Moral Reform Union, founded in 1881. This paper was read by Marie Fischer-Lette, of Germany, and the work done by women in the ranks of the Salvation Army was touched upon in a paper by Maud Ballington Booth on Organization as an Instrument in promoting Moral Reform. From her address the following quotations are made :

" Ever since its inception the Salvation Army has been known as an organization which upholds to the fullest extent the rights and privileges of women as reformers and apostles in Christ's name to the world. Through the dark days of persecution, when woman's ministry and public work of any kind were so much opposed, the battle was fought with dauntless courage ; and in many of the countries in which our flag is planted it is a recognized fact that the Salvation Army has been of good service to all women workers, as an advance guard who have fought their way through the tangles and difficulties of an untrodden path, and left behind them tracks for the following hosts. Though the very name of our organization is indicative of the fact that we are a spiritual army, and that our main object is to bring the Christ light and message of glad tidings to the hearts of those sitting in darkness,

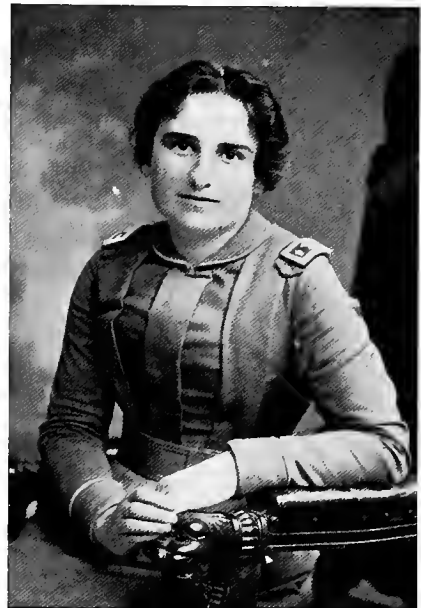
yet in this very mission we can not be other than social and moral reformers. She who brings righteous, holy inspiration and goodness to the heart and home must bring also reformation into all those social and moral relations which through sin have become so chaotic and perverted.

"Here, in this our dear country, during the last six years, the Army has forced itself into recognition by the public; and even those who care little for religion, or who dissent from our doctrines and object to our measures, have learned to hail us as a powerful social factor in the upraising of the criminal and almost hopeless classes. Among our officers we have a larger number of women than men.

"That woman is especially fitted by God for this work through the gifts of tenderness, affection, and persistency, is becoming more and more a recognized fact. We make no difference in our work between the man and the woman. We do not give her a separate sphere of the work or organize her efforts as though she were in any way disqualified for standing shoulder to shoulder with man at the battle's front. Every position that can be held by man—every office and duty that can be performed by him—we throw open to her; and we have but one gauge by which to test the qualifications for responsibility—namely, success.

"I have watched the field of labor, and I have seen much energy, much good talent thrown away—much good desire expended without result—until organization has put each worker into her right place and brought to all the one aim and object. Our women are organized for war. In the hardness of the struggle the devotion and self-sacrifice needed can be understood only by those who have looked face to face with the great social and moral questions, and have wrestled hand to hand with the vice and sin which are our enemies and the enemies of our King. Daily are coming to my ears tributes of praise and admiration to the noble way our women, in the slums or on the street, in the saloons or in their ordinary corps work, are carrying this war—this battle—to the gates, and gaining the laurels of well-earned victory.

"In connection with our slum and rescue work, we have found that it can be accomplished far more effectually by women than would ever be possible to the men of our organization. The very fact that women courageously and lovingly enter these strongholds of vice and iniquity unprotected,



MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH,
a speaker at the Congress.

so far as the human eye can see—are fearless in the face of what many might consider danger—arouses in the hearts of these criminal and outcast men the little spark of chivalry and honor which lies dormant in their depraved nature. It is women who must be organized into battalions to seek out the women whose honor and purity have been trampled in the dust, for in their pure faces and loving words alone can the outcast woman read that there is hope for her; and they alone are qualified to kneel at the side of the abandoned one and plead with her whose life has been so imbittered by wrong and shame. We have proved that women are not only capable of being organized to lead, but also capable of being controlled and united to follow.”

Heredity in its Relation to a Double Standard of Morals was the subject of a paper by Helen H. Gardener, of New York, and Mrs. Florence Collins Porter, of Maine, spoke upon *The Power of Womanliness* in dealing with Stern Problems.

Among the other topics discussed in this section were *The Moral Initiative* as related to Woman, introduced by an address by Julia Ward Howe. The Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, of New Jersey, began the discussion of this topic, and was followed by Mrs. John F. Unger, of Pennsylvania, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church in the United States, and by Josephine C. Locke, of Illinois. An address prepared by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of New York, on *The Civil and Social Evolution of Women*, was read by Susan B. Anthony. The discussion that followed was introduced by Margaret Parker, of Scotland; following whom, M. Louise Thomas, of New York, representative of the Woman's Centenary Association, spoke; a brief address prepared by Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, President of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of Canada, was read by Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen. The discussion was concluded by Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier. *Woman as a Social Leader* was the topic of an address by Josefa Humpal-Zeman.

The participation of woman in all outdoor sports, her present industrial freedom, and her active engagement in those moral reforms which demand personal acquaintance with the slums, suggest reasons for the serious consideration of the question of suitability of dress, a subject that received much attention in this section. *The Ethics of Dress* was presented in an address by Alice Timmons Toomy, of California, under the heads of comfort, suitability, and beauty. In introducing the discussion of this subject, Miss Margaret Windeyer, of Australia, brought to notice three points—vanity, economy, and construction—arguing that a greater simplicity in the dress of gentlewomen would lead to a decrease in wrongdoing. The discussion was continued by the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and Laura Ormiston Chant, of England, dwelt upon the thoughtlessness of dress that leads to the wearing of things the securing of which has given unnecessary pain. Following Mrs. Chant, Elizabeth Kreckler, of Pennsylvania, spoke briefly, and the discussion was concluded by Octavia William Bates, of Michigan.

Prof. Ellen Hayes, of Wellesley College, delivered an address on Woman's Dress from the Standpoint of Sociology, in which she said :

"No one will claim that the dress of man is yet perfect ; but it is not easy to see how any marked improvement could be made, for there is, from top to toe, a correlation between the clothing and the needs of the body to be clothed. Consider the dress of woman. Assuming ourselves to be ignorant of the habits and pursuits of the wearer, what might we infer from the conventional dress? We notice that utility is much subordinated to ornament. The motive may not appear, but the fact is obvious. The head covering gives rise to doubt whether the wearer ever goes out in it, for it does not protect from heat or cold, from rain or sunshine. Moreover, it indicates that the female head is very different from the male head as to both shape and dimensions. The principal body covering is seen to consist of a tight-fitting garment, confining the muscles on the outside of the bony framework and repressing the action of vital organs within ; this is assuming that the wearer has lungs and a heart and a stomach, as man has. Auxiliary to this fitted body covering is another contrivance designed to act with the outer one in securing a general smoothness and immobility. Following this is the masterpiece of the entire apparel, a garment not bifurcated, and hence best adapted to a creature with but one leg. It is composed of voluminous folds, more or less ornamented, and of considerable weight. It appears also that this weight is sometimes suspended from that part of the body that probably contains the most delicate and most easily displaced of all the organs. Looking at the entire article, it seems most reasonable to suppose that, whether the wearer has one or two legs, she is not expected to walk much. This hypothesis gains further support when the length of this leg covering is considered. It reaches practically to the ground. Indeed, it has been known to lie several inches upon the ground. The term 'ground' is used figuratively, for it is not to be supposed that the wearer goes outside of the house in this raiment. The dust of the street is known to contain disease germs, and surely no intelligent person would consent to trail about after her a garment that could gather up such dust in addition to the filth that is visible to the naked eye. The foot and hand coverings are corollaries to the expression of the other portions of the attire. Last of all, that most insignificant sociologic feature of man's dress, the pocket, is rudimentary or lacking. The dress thus described admits of but one theoretical interpretation. The wearer of these garments can not be a person of much activity, either physical or mental. Surely, she can not travel, making either long or short journeys, because the prevailing systems of transit are not adapted to any one so tied up and helpless. Of course field sports are not for her ; she could not be expected to run, or row, or throw. The street, the garden, the market place are obviously to be avoided. Housework, such as sweeping and cooking, could be done only with much difficulty and fatigue. Going up and down stairs would be dangerous, especially if she were to attempt to carry an im-

portant burden, such as a baby or a lamp. How limited must be the employment, how restricted the pleasures of one who wears this modern costume! So far astray does one go who relies on the scientific principle of agreement between structure and function. Before passing to the sequel and comparing the real case with our theoretical solution, we shall do well to remind ourselves that there is one human body. From the point of view of mechanics, it consists of a central trunk, mounted on two upright jointed supports, and furnished with other jointed members. The general anatomical and physiological characteristics are alike in the male and the female. They are nourished by the same food and destroyed by the same poisons. They both require pure air and regular exercise. If man's feet are adapted for walking, so also are woman's. If the mechanism of his arms requires freedom in order that he may work, it is the same with her. In so far as their bodies are differentiated, the argument is wholly on the side of furnishing the female body with a more favorable dress than that designed for the male body, rather than with a less favorable one. These things being so, what kind of dress should we expect, *a priori*, to find on woman? There can be but one answer. Since she is anatomically and physiologically like man, if she lives under the same domestic and climatic conditions that he does, whatever, broadly speaking, is most suitable and convenient for him will be found to be most suitable and convenient for her, and a high state of civilization may reasonably be expected to exhibit conformity to this principle. The incongruity is not in wearing the dress she does, but in wearing it and at the same time attempting to be a sharer in modern life. Where man travels woman travels, and by the same means. She wears that costume on Piccadilly and Broadway. She gets into an electric car with her arms full of bundles; she goes up and down stairs with the lamp and the baby. She appears on horseback, on the bicycle, in the tennis court, everywhere, in that long-skirted, tight-waisted dress, attempting to do what one would pronounce in advance to be unsuitable if not impossible; and custom closes her eyes and the eyes of spectators to the incongruity involved. Nor is this all. In a still more important sense does woman propose to share in modern life. She expects to take the same course of study that a man does; to hold her own in a profession; to assume a business rôle. These things she attempts while handicapped by a dress imposed upon her during the dark ages. Costly gems, rare laces, exquisite fabrics can not cover up the fact that this dress, in its fundamental ideas, is the dress of the half-civilized, and not that of one who is master of herself and of the world. In domestic seclusion, removed from every kind of competition with man, believing that her empire was to please, woman has had neither occasion nor encouragement to improve her dress. The explanation of the delay in the evolution of female dress is thus threefold. First, it has been assumed, though never proved, that a simpler, more convenient costume would not be pretty and graceful; hence it could not be pleasing; hence on no account could it be adopted. Second, simple



THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

convenient garments would suggest equality of the sexes, and this would not be pleasing ; hence they should not be adopted. Third, all influences have fostered a timid, conservative spirit in woman, so that she is the obedient follower of fashion rather than the independent beginner of rational customs.

“Men and women alike desire respect, admiration, and approval ; but man long ago learned to scorn personal adornment as a basis of claim to favorable opinion. The decadence of this as a basis has been accompanied by a corresponding growth of appeal to the product of his brain and the work of his hands. It is his book, or discovery, or business enterprise that a man expects you to admire him for, not his coat. What is the sociological meaning of the modern movement on the part of woman for industrial recognition, for legal and political equality with man ? It means largely that an additional basis of claim to approbation and honor is now proposed over and above pleasing ornamentation. In this movement woman breaks with the traditions of the past, and declares herself not content with the status assigned her by primitive man. Around the world she is beginning to want education, and a less humiliating position in the church and the state. She is beginning to grope for her share, as half of the race. She is beginning to want a pocket. Pockets mean power and independence, because they mean possessions.

“The question of immense practical importance now is, Will women recognize that the race is to the unimpeded ? Let no one suppose that the woman who wastes her physical strength and nervous force, who squanders her time and dissipates her attention, is going to stand as good a chance as the one who treasures her strength and concentrates her attention. Nature is merciless to the ignorant and the willful. Premiums are for those who utilize every favorable factor and discard every unfavorable one. The women who see this principle most clearly, and who have the greatest wisdom in taking advantage of it, are the ones who in the long run are going to win.”

Dr. Lelia A. Davis, of Canada, introduced the discussion that followed, and it was joined in by Prof. Helen L. Webster, of Wellesley College. In a paper by Viscountess F. W. Harberton, of England, Dress Reform and its Necessity was discussed.

In the subordinate Congress, under the head Industrial, Social, and Moral Reform, the following-named papers were presented : Organizations of Working Women, by Mary E. Kenney ; A Bird's-eye View of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, by Clara C. Hoffman ; Physical Education for Women, by Frances W. Leiter ; The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, by Elizabeth B. Grannis ; The Columbian Association of Housekeepers and Bureau of Information, with Plans for the Work outlined in the National Columbian Household Economic Association, by Laura S. Wilkinson ; A Statement of Facts, by Grace Greenwood ; The Needlework Guild of America, by Mrs. John Wood Stewart ; The Anti-Vivisection Society, by Mrs. Fairchild-Allen ; Die Jugend-

schutz, by Hanna Bieber-Boehm; and The Royal British Nurses' Association, by Mrs. Bedford Fenwick.

In the section Civil Law and Government, devoted to the consideration of women's public interests, their civil rights and corresponding obligations, their political privileges and consequent duties, representatives from countries as remote and as different from one another as Sweden and the United States, Scotland and Australia, Finland and England, told, with variations but slightly accentuated by nationality and form of government, the story of the development in women of a consciousness of responsibility for the weal of that public of which they are a part.

The Origin and Objects of the Women's Franchise League of Great Britain and Ireland were set forth in an address prepared by Mrs. Jacob Bright, of England, to whom it was owing almost entirely that the Married Women's Property Act was passed. This address was read in the General Congress by Mrs. Cobden Unwin, of England.

Mrs. Bright's paper was followed by an address on the Work of the Franchise League, by Florence Fenwick Miller, of England, after which the Countess of Aberdeen, representative of the Women's Liberal Federation of England, presented a paper on Woman as an Actual Force in Politics.

At the conclusion of this address Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, of New York, spoke on the same subject, while Woman's Political Future was the theme of a paper by Frances E. W. Harper, of Virginia, followed by a discussion of the subject by Margaret Windeyer, of Australia, representative of the Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales. Woman as a Political Leader was presented by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Washington, D. C., President of the Woman's Republican Association of the United States. The Rev. Eugenia T. St. John, of Kansas, introduced the discussion of this address, and the discussion was concluded by Mary Frost Ormsby, of New York, President of the Democratic Influence Clubs. All these papers and addresses consisted mainly of arguments and pleas for woman suffrage.

Women in Municipal Government was the topic of a paper by Ida W. Harper, of Virginia, in which the opinion was maintained that not until the women of the country are allowed to participate in municipal affairs will it be possible to judge of the merits of a government by the people. In an address by Lillian Davis Duncanson, of Illinois, on One Phase of Woman's Work for the Municipality, the influence that can be exerted upon municipal affairs through the home was dwelt upon, and Woman's Participation in Municipal Government, by Laura M. Johns, was followed by discussion by Dr. Sarah C. Hall. Organization among Women as an Instrument in promoting the Interests of Political Liberty was considered in addresses by Susan B. Anthony, of New York, and Lillie Devereux Blake, while Woman's Position and Influence in the Civil Law was the theme of an address by Martha Strickland, of Michigan.

Among the addresses in the subordinate Congresses, a paper was pre-

sented in the Department Congress of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of New York, on the Ethics of Suffrage, while in the same Congress Helen H. Gardener, of New York, spoke on Women as an Annex. The Relation of Woman to our Present Political Problems was the topic of a paper by Abbie A. C. Peaslie, and The Legal and Political Status of Women in Utah was presented by Emily S. Richards. Other papers were The Woman's Liberal Federation of Scotland, by the Countess of Aberdeen; The Association for Married Women's Property Rights, by Baroness Thorborg-Rappe; and a report of the movement for woman suffrage in Finland, one of civilization's northern



THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN,
a speaker at the Congress.

outposts, was prepared for the Report Congress of the section Civil Law and Government by Baroness Gripenberg, of Finland, under the title *Finsk Qvinnoforening*—the Finnish Women's Association. The name of this organization in the Finnish language is *Suomen Neisyhdistys*. The association was organized in May, 1884, with a platform almost literally the same as that accepted by the first women's rights meeting in Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, although this was not known by the founders.

An address of great interest in this section was the report of the Women's National Indian Association, prepared by Mrs. William E. Burke, of New York, for the Department Congress of this organization, which presented a comprehensive history of the movement and the work accomplished by it. The sole object of the originators

of this work was to obtain more just legislation regarding Indians. For five years no other labor in behalf of the Indians was done by them or those whose help they obtained. The first method adopted was that of popular appeal. A petition was formulated entreating the Government to observe its covenants with the Indians, to prevent encroachments upon their territory, and to guard all the rights guaranteed to them by treaty. This petition was signed by thousands of citizens in fifteen States, and was presented to Congress in February, 1880. The memorial presented in January, 1881, went further, and added to its expressions regarding treaty keeping the prayer that all obligations might be observed "until changed by the mutual and free consent of both parties," while the memorial circulated in the closing months of 1881 distinctly asked for universal Indian education, for land in severalty, and for the "recognition of Indian personality and rights under the law." Almost wholly by the work of wom-

en, this petition, representing more than a hundred thousand citizens from all the States in the Union, was brought to Congress. Respectful attention was given to it, and still another memorial was circulated in the closing months of 1882, which was successful. From the beginning the women who were striving for a reform in Indian legislation received the most cordial sympathy and support from the Hon. Henry L. Dawes, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. After the petition for lands in severalty had been presented twice to Congress by the Women's National Indian Association, a plan of work involving the same methods was adopted by the Indian Rights Association, then just organized. This organization proved an able ally in the great reform, and the combined work of the two, with the help of missionary societies and individual friends of the Indian, successfully carried on the movement to its final victory in March, 1887, when, by the passage of the Dawes Severalty Bill, native Indians were granted the status of citizens. Of what has been accomplished by the society since this date, and what yet remains to be done, Mrs. Burke said :

"The legislative work of the Women's National Indian Association did not end with the passage of the Dawes bill, nor has it been lessened by the adoption since that date of missionary, home-building, and eight other lines of work. This growing society has continued its appeals to the Christian Church and ministry and to the public press, and, with increasing effect, to Congress. Prayers for the many things which justice still demands for Indians have constantly been addressed personally to our lawmakers and executive officers, but the form of the work has changed. Pleas, personal and direct, have proved to be more effective than the great rolls of formal petitions previously sent to Government. The laws and policy of a nation will not rise above the level of public sentiment, and only by educating the popular conscience can any lasting reform be accomplished. The wider appeal to the people through the public press has been most efficacious, for, after all, that is the final and sure resort. Many tribal wrongs have been righted, many acts of governmental justice have been done since 1887, and in all the women of this association have been an influential, if not always a visible, factor. Many proofs could be adduced that their prayers, though not always audible to the public, have reached the ears of those who control the affairs of the nation, and that their high purpose and thought have helped to mold the laws.

"All thoughtful women, and notably the active members of this association, realize that just legislation for the Indian, abolishing the paradox of remaining legal wrongs, legislation which shall practically place him upon an equal footing with men of every race upon our soil, is the immediate and paramount work to be done for the Indian within these United States ; and these workers clearly appreciate the fact that the most difficult and the most important legislative work of the Women's National Indian Association is yet before them."

The papers prepared for the section Industries and Occupations included many involving statements from which may be inferred the degree to which women actually contribute to carrying on the labor and business of the world. In these papers were exhibited a nearly universal consciousness in women of their right to do any work they can do, and a growing inclination to demand that pay shall be determined by the quantity and quality of the work, independent of the sex of the worker. Woman the New Factor in Economics was considered in a paper by Augusta Cooper Bristol, of New Jersey. The discussion that followed was introduced by the reading of a paper sent by Lina Morgenstern, of Germany, who for some time had been engaged in compiling a work that should give a complete survey of the position and activity of women in all departments of domestic and social life, and of the institutions in Germany for the education and training of women. From this paper the following quotations are made :

“Aside from the fact that there are in Germany 2,700,000 more women than men who are unmarried, and who thus do not come to fill the office of housewife, statistics show that at least ten per cent of the married women are compelled to work outside of the home in order to support their families. There are in all 2,534,909 women who work outside of their homes, as opposed to 5,701,587 men workers, and each year shows an increase in the number of women engaged in business of thirty-five per cent, against an increase in the number of men of sixty-one per cent ; 2,164,204 self-sustaining women are engaged in domestic service, as against 175,440 men. According to the statistics of 1882, 276,817 women are engaged in independent farming. There are 2,248,909 women working as farm helpers, of whom 922,838 are members of the family, while 619,858 are servants, and 706,213 laborers. In all the industries are found 1,509,167 woman workers.

“Married women employed in all factories, excepting the spinning and brick-making industries, are as follows : In Prussia, 42,761 ; in Saxony, 21,900 ; in the remaining of the states of Germany, 39,139 ; in Baden fifty per cent of the workers are married women, and we find a still greater number of married women, and especially widows, engaged in housework and farming. In the last mentioned there are 2,728,830 women to 3,427,825 men engaged. One tenth of the entire number of women in Germany are domestics. In the liberal or higher callings 247,078 women earn a livelihood.

“The work of women is paid from one half to two thirds less than the work of men ; in the lowest class two marks a week, and in the highest ten marks. Pay differs in the different German states, as the statistics of West Prussia and Silesia show. In Berlin the highest wages are paid, but house rent, taxes, and living expenses are dearer. In the individual callings women receive monthly salaries as high as one hundred and fifty marks—for instance, as directors in laundries and confectionery establishments, as book-keepers, cashiers, and photographers. According to the province the pay

differs, for grown women, from seventy-five pfennig to two marks; for girls under sixteen years, forty to eighty pfennig—also one mark."

At the conclusion of this paper Elizabet Kaselowsky, of Germany, gave a very interesting history of the Lette-Verein, one of the oldest associations of German women established for the promotion of higher education of women and of women's earning a livelihood. From an address on The Bohemian Woman as a Factor in Industry and Economy, by Karla Machova, of Bohemia, much interesting information was gained as to the employments of women in that country. Regarding the engagement of women in commerce and manufactures, she said:



MRS. LAURA ORMISTON CHANT,
a speaker at the Congress.

"A woman working twelve hours in the field earns thirty-five kreutzers a day, if Providence be kind and the day pleasant, for every rainy hour is deducted from her small earnings. These women are employed only five or six months of the year. Glove makers are paid sixty kreutzers a dozen, and they must furnish their own silk and machine. Women are paid fifteen kreutzers for thirty-six buttonholes; thirty-six, forty, or at most sixty kreutzers for making a dozen shirts. Women occupy a very unfortunate position in manufactures, for more than seventy per cent are paid wretchedly. They are so easily imposed upon that manufacturers prefer to employ them. A further reason for the increase of woman's labor is the system of competition existing among manufacturers.

Women are accustomed to doing their housework after working hours, and they are prevented, not only in Bohemia but in all Europe, from taking an active part in public affairs, and for that reason they lack organizing ability, and unorganized they are defenseless, and employers can treat and pay them as they choose.

"Women employed as field laborers merit special attention; their condition is deplorable. These women wander about from place to place in search of employment. From spring until autumn they must do without the comforts of a home, the pleasures of home ties. The wealthy landowners impose upon these poor unfortunates, let them do thirteen or fourteen hours of hard work gathering sugar beets, pay them from two to three gulden a week, and lodge them in so-called barracks.

"A pitiful life is led by women in restaurants and *cafés*, where they often receive no remuneration whatever for twelve or fifteen hours of work.

and are dependent entirely upon the fees of the guests. In the world-famed Karlsbad and Franzenbad, waitresses must pay hotel keepers, who are millionaires, one gulden and twenty kreutzers for the probability of breaking dishes.

"Women are ruining themselves physically, especially mothers deprived of the necessities of life. According to statistics in Bohemia, one child out of thirty-six is stillborn. Woman can reach a higher social status only when she ceases to be an automaton. When her labor in the home is justly valued and paid, only then will she cease to be man's competitor and become his companion."

In an address on A New Avenue of Employment and Investment for Business Women, Juana A. Neal, of California, considered the opportunities afforded in the life-insurance business, and presented some interesting statistics. The Bohemian Woman as a Factor in Industry and Economy was presented by Karla Machova. The results achieved by American women in the applied arts were summed up in an article on The Contribution of Women to the Applied Arts, by Florence Elizabeth Cory, of New York, and Miss Cory's paper was followed by a discussion of the subject, introduced by Emily Sartain, of Philadelphia. A paper on the Influence of Women in Ceramic Art, prepared by M. B. Alling, was read, and the discussion was concluded by Luetta E. Braumuller, of New York, who read a paper on Art in Ceramics. Pottery in the Home, a paper touching on the same subject, was prepared by M. Louise McLaughlin, of Ohio, and read by Katherine Westendorf.

An extremely interesting account of the efforts of women to encourage home industries in Ireland formed the topic of a paper by Alice M. Hart, of Ireland, entitled The Trades and Professions underlying the Home. In what are known as the congested or the poor districts of Ireland, as a rule, the farm is too small to give the means of support to the whole family, and home industries become of inestimable value. While the length of the hours of labor and the smallness of the earnings must be counted among the disadvantages of these industries, the preservation of the family life and the healthful country life do much to overbalance them. It may seem that one or two dollars a week earned at lace making or knitting is a miserable pittance, and that it would be far better to gather these workers into factories, to multiply their power of production a hundredfold by machinery, and increase their wages perhaps to ten dollars a week; but such a policy would leave the agricultural populations without the means of supplementary earnings, agriculture would become a forsaken industry, and the country districts would be depopulated. The history of the Carrickmacross, Limerick, Youghal, Ennismacsaint and crochet lace industries, each one of which was either founded or revived by a woman's pity, was briefly sketched by Mrs. Hart, and the following account of her own ten years' work for the encouragement of home industries in Ireland was added:

“Ten years ago my attention was attracted to the congested districts of County Donegal by the stories of distress and destitution there, and I urged my husband to go with me on a tour of inquiry into the causes of the people's poverty. We went, and found a population numbering no less than 100,000 living along the creeks and bays of a wild coast, or squatting on the bogs, striving to cultivate a barren soil and separated from the rest of the world by thirty miles of uninhabited bog; a population living always on the verge of famine and whom a misfortune such as a failure of the potato harvest would plunge into the depths of distress. I came to the conclusion that the question here was not agricultural but industrial, and that these people require not charity, which was ruining them, but the cultivation among them of industries such as were of so great benefit to the people of Bohemia and the Tyrol, and which were so large and well organized in other and more prosperous parts of Ireland.

“For ten years I have labored incessantly for the cause. That we have succeeded in teaching them to produce marketable wares is proved by the fact that some of the leading houses in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago have placed orders for our hand-made stuffs, our embroideries and homespun linens. I consider this the best test of success. The next test of success, and of permanent benefit to the people, is to make these industries thoroughly self-supporting as commercial undertakings. The collapse of many of the lace industries of Ireland is due to the fact that, though founded in enthusiasm, they have not been related to commerce, and have often, after the first outpourings of generosity, languished and died from inanition. Now the organized cottage industries of Ireland, which have been founded by the great firms of Belfast and Derry, have been established and are conducted on commercial lines, and are hence of permanent benefit to thousands of homes. You will be surprised to learn how large and extensive are these cottage industries. In the great industry of Belfast, the products of which are the embroidered handkerchiefs and household linen so much liked by American ladies, there are at least 20,000 girls all employed in their own homes in embroidery alone. One large Belfast firm which furnished me with returns for an article on this subject stated that they employed 6,500 sewing girls, and turned out 1,255,000 dozen handkerchiefs a year, mainly for the American market. This industry was severely curtailed by the McKinley tariff. In the shirt-making and under-linen industries of Derry numbers of women are employed in their own homes, either sewing by hand or by machine, and it is estimated that at least 7,000 women are employed in their own homes by the Derry houses.

“Pondering all these facts, I determined to found my work for the poor of the congested districts of Donegal on two broad principles, which are, that all public industries to be successful must be based on practical technical teaching, and that they must be carried on on sound financial and commercial principles. I first demonstrated seven years ago that the native homespun

industry of the people of County Donegal could be immensely improved by the practical technical teaching we had given in dyeing, spinning, and weaving, and on bringing the subject before the Government I received a vote in Parliament to enable me to carry out a scheme of training technical teachers in villages and sending them on itinerant tours through the country. This was done by us in 1888 and 1889, with the result that the old and nearly defunct industry of making homespun received such an impetus that it now brings \$75,000 to \$100,000 a year into this poor district. A technical school has also been established in Gweedore, with a congeries of workshops, where the village boys and girls are taught wood carving, carpentry, wheelwright work, tailoring, sewing, and lace making. The cottage industries of knitting and homespun have been most carefully and laboriously taught and directed, and made a means of earning to large numbers of households.

“The benefit to this desperately poor district of the revival and encouragement of these simple home industries has been incalculable; but more than the money that they have brought into the district—and I have paid more than \$300,000 into Ireland for work and wages—is the revival of hope and the preservation of self-reliance among this worthy peasantry. In other parts of Ireland also are organizations, one of which is known as the Donegal Industrial Fund, which has its headquarters at Donegal House; another, the Depot for Irish Industries, 43 Wigmore Street, London, has established a new cottage industry of the Kells embroideries, of which the linens are woven in hand looms in the cottages, and the embroidery is done by poor ladies at home. The making also of under linen, of lace and sprigging, has been taught and encouraged, and members of convent schools and small organizations have received from us direction and suggestion.”

Mrs. Hart's paper was followed by an address on the same subject by Helena T. Goessmann, of Massachusetts. The Effect of Modern Changes in Industrial and Social Life on Woman's Marriage Prospects was considered by Kaethe Schirmacher, of Germany, and a discussion of this subject followed, in which Alice Timmons Toomy, of California, the Rev. Anna H. Shaw, of Michigan, and Emily Marshall Wadsworth, of New York, took part. The subject of Organization among Women as an Instrument in promoting the Interests of Industry received careful consideration in addresses by Kate Bond and Harriette A. Keyser, both of New York. E. E. Anderson, of Scotland, presented a paper on The Women's Protective and Provident League of Glasgow, an address on Co-operative Housekeeping was delivered by Mary Coleman Stuckert, of Illinois, and Domestic Service and the Family Claim received the attention of Jane Addams, of Illinois.

The progress of women in different parts of the world was set forth in papers by representatives of the various countries. These papers were classified by Mrs. Sewall, Secretary of the Congress, under the heading Solidarity of Human Interests. Callirrhoe Parren, of Athens, Greece, and Isabelle Bogelot, of Paris, delivered addresses with that title. The Progress of

Women in England was reported by Helen Blackburn, of England, and Women in Spain for the Last Four Hundred Years was the topic of a paper by Catalina D'Alcala, of Spain. Fanny Zampini Salazar, of Naples, Italy, presented an address on Woman in Italy, and the same subject was discussed by Sofia Bompiani, while Helena Modjeska, of Poland, set forth the Organized Development of Polish Women. The Position of Women in Iceland and The Position of Women in Syria were the topics of papers by Sigrid E. Magnússon, of Iceland, and Hanna K. Korany, of Syria, while Women in Agriculture in Siam was presented by Lady Linchee Suriya, representative of Siam. An address was delivered by C. C. Montefiore, of Sydney, on The Progress of Women in New South Wales, and Woman's Position in South

American States was defined by Matilde G. De Miro Que-

sada, of Lima, Peru. Martha Sesselberg, of Brazil, presented a report on The Women of Brazil, and Isabel King, of the Argentine Republic, one on The Women of South America. A

Century of Progress for Women in Canada was the subject of papers by Mary McDonnell and A. M. Blakely, of Canada, and the same subject was discussed by Mrs. John Harvie and Emily Cummings, also of Canada. Prof. Helen D. Webster, of Wellesley College, spoke on Our Debt to Zurich, as did also Kristine Frederiksen, of Denmark. Wom-

an's War for Peace was presented by Nico Beckmeyer, of Denmark, and the Rev. Amanda Deyo, of Pennsylvania, while the same subject was discussed by Lizzie Kirkpatrick, and Woman as an Explorer was the subject of an address by May French-Sheldon, of Pennsylvania.



MRS. L. A. COONLEY (WARD),
member of the Congress.

While all these papers contained many important facts and were of the greatest interest, perhaps those that related to the progress made by the colored woman since the gaining of her freedom were the most significant. Two papers were presented, both followed by discussion of some length. The first of these was that on The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation, by Fannie Barrier Williams, of Illinois. Referring to their progress in religion and education, she said :

"In their religious life our women show a progressiveness parallel in every important particular to that of white women in all Christian churches. Instead of finding witchcraft, sensual fetiches, and the coarse superstitions of savagery possessing our women, Christianity found them with hearts singularly tender, sympathetic, and fit for the reception of its doctrines. Their superstitions were not deeply ingrained, but were of the same sort and nature

that characterize the devotees of the Christian faith everywhere. While there has been but little progress toward the growing rationalism in the Christian creeds there has been a marked advance toward a greater refinement of conception, good taste, and the proprieties. It is our young women coming out of the schools and academies that have been insisting upon a more godly and cultivated ministry. It is the young women of a new generation and new inspirations that are making tramps of the ministers who once dominated the colored church, and whose intelligence and piety were mostly in their lungs. In this new and growing religious life the colored people have laid hold of those sweeter influences of the King's Daughters, of the Christian Endeavor and Helping Hand Societies, which are doing much to elevate the tone of worship and to magnify all that is blessed in religion.

"Another evidence of growing intelligence is a sense of religious discrimination among our women. Like the nineteenth-century woman generally, our women find congeniality in all the creeds, from the Catholic creed to the no-creed of Emerson. There is a constant increase of this interesting variety in the religious life of our women. Closely allied to this religious development is their progress in the work of education in schools and colleges. For thirty years education has been the magic word among the colored people of this country. That their greatest need was education in its broadest sense was understood by these people more strongly than it could be taught to them. It is the unvarying testimony of every teacher in the South that the mental development of the colored women as well as men has been little less than phenomenal. In twenty-five years, and under conditions discouraging in the extreme, thousands of our women have been educated as teachers; and these women have also so fired the hearts of the race for education that colleges, normal schools, industrial schools, and universities have been reared by a generous public to meet the requirements of these eager students of intelligent citizenship."

In discussing the address from which these quotations are made, Mrs. A. J. Cooper, of Washington, D. C., said :

"The higher fruits of civilization can not be extemporized, neither can they be developed normally in the brief space of thirty years. It requires the long and painful growth of generations. Yet all through the darkest period of the colored woman's oppression in this country her unwritten history is full of heroic struggle, a struggle against fearful and overwhelming odds, that often ended in a horrible death, to maintain and protect that which woman holds dearer than life. The painful, patient, and silent toil of mothers to gain a fee-simple title to the bodies of their daughters, the despairing fight, as of an entrapped tigress, to keep hallowed their own persons, would furnish material for epics. That more went down under the flood than stemmed the current is not extraordinary. The majority of our women are not heroines; but I do not know that a majority of any race of women are heroines. It is enough for me to know that while in the eyes of the highest tribunal in

America she was deemed no more than a chattel, an irresponsible thing, a dull block, to be drawn hither or thither at the volition of an owner, the Afro-American woman maintained ideals of womanhood unshamed by any ever conceived. Resting in untutored minds, such ideals could not claim a hearing at the bar of the nation. The white woman could at least plead for her own emancipation; the black woman, doubly enslaved, could but suffer and struggle and be silent. I speak for the colored women of the South, because it is there that the millions of blacks in this country have watered the soil with blood and tears, and it is there, too, that the colored woman of America has made her characteristic history, and there her destiny is evolving. Since emancipation, the movement has been at times confused and stormy, so that we could not always tell whether we were going forward or groping in a circle. We hardly knew what we ought to emphasize, whether education or wealth, or civil freedom and recognition. We were utterly destitute. Possessing no homes nor the knowledge of how to make them, no money nor the habit of acquiring it, no education, no political status, no influence, what could we do? But, as has been said, 'One with God is a majority,' and our ignorance had hedged us in from the fine-spun theories of agnostics. We had remaining at least a simple faith that a just God is on the throne of the universe, and that somehow—we could not see, nor did we bother our heads to try to tell how—he would in his own good time make all right that seemed most wrong.

"Schools were established, not merely public day schools, but home-training and industrial schools, at Hampton, at Fiske, Atlanta, Raleigh, and other central stations, and later, through the energy of the colored people themselves, such schools as the Wilberforce, the Livingstone, the Allen, and the Paul Quinn were opened. These schools were almost without exception coeducational. Funds were too limited to be divided on sex lines, even had it been ideally desirable; but our girls as well as our boys flocked in and battled for an education. Not even then was that patient, untrumpeted heroine, the slave mother, released from self-sacrifice, and many an unbuttered crust was eaten in silent content that she might eke out enough from her poverty to send her young folks off to school. She 'never had the chance,' she would tell you, with tears on her withered cheek, so she wanted them to get all they could. The work in these schools, and in such as these, has been like the little leaven hid in the measure of meal, permeating life throughout the length and breadth of the Southland, lifting up ideals of home and of womanhood; diffusing a contagious longing for higher living and purer thinking, inspiring woman herself with a new sense of her dignity in the eternal purposes of Nature. To-day there are 25,530 colored schools in the United States, with 1,353,352 pupils of both sexes. This is not quite the thirtieth year since their emancipation, and the colored people hold in landed property for churches and schools \$25,000,000. Two and one half million colored children have learned to read and write, and 22,956 colored men and

women (mostly women) are teaching in these schools. According to Dr. Rankin, President of Howard University, there are two hundred and forty-seven colored students (a large percentage of whom are women) now preparing themselves in the universities of Europe. Of other colleges which give the B. A. course to women, and are broad enough not to erect barriers against colored applicants, Oberlin, the first to open its doors to both woman and the negro, has given classical degrees to six colored women; Ann Arbor and Wellesley have each graduated three of our women; Cornell University one, who is now Professor of Sciences in a Washington high school. A former pupil of my own from the Washington High School, who was snubbed by Vassar, has since carried off honors in a competitive examination in the Chicago University. There sailed to Africa last month a demure little brown woman who had just outstripped a whole class of men in a medical college in Tennessee.

"In organized efforts for self-help and benevolence also our women have been active. The Colored Women's League has active, energetic branches in the South and West. The branch in Kansas City, with a membership of upward of one hundred and fifty, has begun the erection of a building for friendless girls. The women of the Washington branch of the league have subscribed to a fund of about \$5,000 to erect a woman's building for educational and industrial work, which is also to serve as headquarters for gathering and disseminating general information relating to the efforts of our women. This is just a glimpse of what we are doing.

"The colored woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that not till the image of God, whether in Parian or ebony, is sacred and inviolable; not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as the accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won—not the white woman's, nor the black woman's, nor the red woman's, but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong."

The discussion was continued by Fannie Jackson Coppin, of Pennsylvania, who, herself born a slave, discussed with temperance and without bitterness the social, intellectual, and industrial status of her race. At the close of her remarks the audience insisted upon hearing from the Hon. Frederick Douglass, who was on the platform. Mr. Douglass responded in a brief speech, in which he said:

"I have heard to-night what I hardly expected ever to live to hear. I have heard refined, educated colored ladies addressing, and addressing successfully, one of the most intelligent white audiences that I ever looked upon. It is the new thing under the sun, and my heart is too full to speak; my mind is too much illuminated with hope and with expectation for the race in seeing this sign. Fifty years ago and more I was alone in the wilderness, telling my story of the wrongs of slavery, and imploring the justice,

the humanity, the sympathy, the patriotism, and every other good quality of the American heart, to do away with slavery ; and you can easily see that when I hear such speeches as I have heard this evening from our women—our women—I feel a sense of gratitude to Almighty God that I have lived to see what I now see. It seems to me that we are not living in the old world I was born into, but in the one seen by John in the apocalyptic vision. A new heaven is dawning upon us, and a new earth is ours, in which all discriminations against men and women on account of color and sex is passing away, and will pass away.”

Following Mr. Douglass's address, a paper was presented by Sarah J. Early, of Tennessee, on *The Organized Efforts of the Colored Women of the South to improve their Condition*, which was discussed by Hallie Q. Brown, of Alabama.

Among the papers that would come under the head of “Orders” were *The Eastern Star, its Origin, Progress, and Development*, by Mary C. Snedden, of Missouri, and *The Past, Present, and Future of the Woman's Relief Corps*, by Kate Brownlee Sherwood, of Ohio.

The closing sessions of the Congress, held on Saturday evening, May 20, were addressed by the chairman and secretary of the committee that brought it together. The audience in the Hall of Washington was addressed by Rachel Foster Avery, on *Organization and its Relation to the International and National Councils of Women*, and that in the Hall of Columbus by May Wright Sewall on *The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization*.

On Sunday morning, May 21, religious services were held, conducted entirely by women ordained as ministers, every denomination that has admitted women to the ministry being represented. The sermon was written by the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, of Michigan, and was read by the Rev. Mary L. Moreland. On Sunday evening, in the Hall of Columbus, an elaborate musical programme was presented. This programme, which was under the charge of Mrs. Lydia A. Coonley (Ward), of Chicago, included selections by a harp orchestra led by Mme. Josephine Chatterton, of Chicago, and a chorus under the supervision of Miss Helen Root.



Drill of West Point Cadets on the Government Plaza.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONGRESS OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Congress of Dentists—President Bonney's opening address—Dr. Shepard's address—The divisional sections—Dr. Rockwood on the study of chemistry in dentistry—Dr. Whitney on dental irregularity—Congress of Homœopathic Physicians and Surgeons—Dr. Mitchell's inaugural address—Congress of Eclectic Physicians and Surgeons—Dr. Wilder's inaugural address—Other addresses.



L. D. SHEPARD, M. D.,
President of the Dental Congress.

THE Congress of the Department of Medicine and Surgery, assigned to the week of May 22 to 29, embraced the following general divisions: Dentistry, Elective Medicine and Surgery, Homœopathic Medicine and Surgery, Medico-Climatology, and Medical Jurisprudence. With the exception of the Congress on Dentistry, all the division congresses were held according to the assignment on the printed programme. The Congress on Dentistry was held during the week of August 14 to 19. It was a Congress of dentists and for dentists, universal in scope. No such organization had heretofore existed, and no such opportunity had ever been afforded for the discussion of those questions that are of vital importance to the autonomy of the profession.

The Congress was opened on Monday, August 14, by President Bonney, who spoke as follows :

"The science and practice of the art of dentistry most conspicuously represents one of the most important movements of the age—the specialization of scientific pursuits. The old fields of research and application were so narrow that they were readily mastered by the learner and practitioner, who scarcely realized the importance and the magnitude of the different branches to which, as occasion required, he turned his half-trained hand. All this has been changed by the marvelous development of modern civilization. The horizon of scientific attainment has been lifted and extended, until only a powerful glass can trace its outlines. In the swiftly developing evolution of arts and sciences, the great work of logical and orderly differentiation has gone forward, subdividing the professional and other pursuits, until now he who would command the confidence of his brethren and the public must have more than a general knowledge of the department in which he is engaged. That, indeed, is indispensable, but it is not enough. The general physician and surgeon can not be trusted to deal with the exact mechanism of the eye or ear, or with the important and delicate relations of the teeth. A lifetime may be spent and the highest abilities and attainments be exercised in their field. The old-fashioned tooth carpenter, with his entirely appropriate name, has, like the Dodo, become an extinct species, and in his place we find the modern doctor of dental surgery, accomplished, learned, and skilled, familiar with anatomy, histology, etiology, pathology and bacteriology, chemistry and metallurgy, as well as with the practical operations of the art. Germany, Austria, Scotland, Armenia, Greece, Finland, Norway, England, and other countries unite with the American states in this Congress."

Mr. Bonney's address was followed by an address of welcome by Dr. Walker, Chairman of the Executive Committee having the Congress in charge, and the introduction of Dr. L. D. Shepard, of Boston, Mass., President of the World's Columbian Dental Congress, who briefly outlined the evolution of the profession, calling attention to the salient points that mark its progress. He said, in part :

"Perhaps of no other profession of equal altitude and amplitude can it be said, as of dentistry, that its evolution is embraced within the span of one human life. There are men living to-day, still active and officers of this Congress, who were in practice in the day of small things of our profession. They are with us, witnesses of the marvelous march of progress ; veteran survivors of the noble army of investigators, inventors, authors, teachers, and honorable workers who, in various spheres, with diversified talents, with patient toil, with fidelity to present duties, and with hope and faith, were achieving the victory which we celebrate to-day.

"That dentistry to some extent is an ancient art can not be questioned, but so meager are the references to it in what remains that is authentic that

we may dismiss it from consideration at this time with the remark that nothing of value has come down to us from antiquity. The same is true of all the past up to the century preceding this. In fact, even as an art we may consider dentistry as modern, while as a science it is altogether modern.

"There are no sharp lines of demarcation in evolutionary processes, and in their review we find the changes to be so gradual and long-continued that it is difficult to fix upon a time which is so distinctively marked as to be called a natal day. We have been accustomed to date the birth of a man from his advent upon the visible stage, and yet that day witnesses but a change of environment, and, as a large proportion of humanity believe, the birth of the soul dating months before. So dentistry had its embryonal stage; its inception is shadowed by the mists of antiquity. Through ages it slowly gained, and we can not describe its progress. During the last century and in the early part of this century there were signs of life and movement, the quickening had taken place, the world was expectant, and the joyful consummation, by the birth of a new profession, freighted with beneficence to suffering humanity, occurred in 1839, in the city of Baltimore, by the organization of the first dental college in the world. As a scientific profession that is its natal day. There had been life before, but the environment had so changed that now there was a new air to breathe, new sources of nutrition, the barrier of the previous restricted environment was removed, and there was free chance for growth to the stature of the full typical ideal. Let us not forget to hold in the highest honor the devoted men who assisted at this birth. They are not the fathers of scientific dentistry—the primal causes date farther back—but their care, their oversight and efficient ministrations, in guiding and assisting in the culmination of evolutionary changes at its critical period, were most creditable. The dental aspirant before that time found every avenue to knowledge carefully defended. Knowledge could only be obtained in the private office of a dentist, and the ambitious student was obliged to buy it, frequently at fabulous prices prohibitive to the majority. The dentist who had obtained reputation thus received considerable revenue from such seekers—and in time exacted a promise of the student to guard the information imparted.

"Let us bear in mind that the prominence given to the establishment of the first professional school, as marking a natal period, is not primarily because it was the first professional school. Here was the beginning of a change of *spirit* as well as of method. Before this it was a trade, ever mindful of self, accumulative, afraid of competition, exclusive, faithful to the immediate patient and anxious to do him good, but regardless of the rest of the world, dominated by selfish interests, carefully hoarding knowledge, with no broad professional spirit—no brotherhood feeling. With similar prophetic vision and patriotic motives in this same year, the great handmaid and colaborer of the college was established by the publication of the first dental periodical in the world, the American Journal of

Dental Science. The same few pioneers of progress who started the college and the magazine in 1839, in association with others of like spirit and motive on August 18, 1840, met in New York and organized the American Society of Dental Surgeons. There are no authentic records of any previous dental society.

“Dr. C. W. Ballard, of New York, in an essay describing the profession at this period, says it might be divided into three classes: The first class, embracing about half of all in practice, ‘consisted of those whose ignorance was their only excuse for the injuries they inflicted upon their patients, and ultimately their profession, as also of those who, having purchased or traded for a secret or two, depended upon bold-faced and unblushing impudence for their success. Such men could only stand high in their own estimation by dragging the profession down to their level. Dentists of this class knew little, and cared less, about the duties devolving upon them, and yet they were always ready to receive pupils and instruct them in the secrets and mysteries of dental science, provided they were well paid for it. The fees exacted in these cases varied from five dollars to one thousand.’ The second class, embracing about three eighths of the whole number, ‘may be considered as consisting of those dentists who, having obtained as great a knowledge of the principles and practice of dental surgery as their time, means, or opportunities would allow, came at once to the conclusion that so long as they did the best they knew how for their patients, and comported themselves in other respects as became good citizens, they had done their whole duty. With these may be included those who began practice with little or no education, and were compelled, in order to compete with those around them, to add, by every means in their power, to the knowledge and experience that their practice was daily giving them. Many of these men eventually became, to a certain extent, good practitioners; but of the best of them it would be difficult to say whether the good or the evil which they had done in their day preponderated. Dentists of the second class were much better acquainted with their professional duties than those first described, and very many of them excelled in that branch of the practice known as mechanical dentistry; and, in justice to them, it must be borne in mind that at the time of which we are writing mechanical dentistry was considered, by a majority of the profession, to be by far the most important part of dental practice.’ Those of the third class, about one eighth of all, a good proportion of whom were medically educated, ‘had, as a result of their course of practice and deportment generally, acquired far more reputation and influence. These few men seemed, from the outset, to have been impressed with the belief that the resources of the science were by no means developed; that dental surgery held a position far beneath that to which it was entitled; and that, as all these evils could and should be remedied, it was their duty to devote a portion of their time and energies to the work.’ It will be found that this latter class, numerically so small, was the leaven that was to redeem the whole mass. The



THE MIDWAY PLAISANCE, LOOKING EAST FROM THE FERRIS WHEEL.

same law held here, as in material things, that the quality of the leaven was more important than the quantity.

"In 1841 was enacted the first State law in regard to dentistry. The Alabama law stood alone in this country for over twenty-five years, the next law to be passed being that of New York, in 1868. The English law was enacted in 1878, and in other countries about that date or later. The struggle to secure these laws has been long and hard; but opposition has been overcome until at the present day nearly every State and country has such laws identical in object and essential features, and varying only in what might be called minor details. In securing their enactment the profession has generally taken a leading part, and the motive has not been selfish but philanthropic.

"The next event in dental history was so brilliant as to be worthy of being called the most notable and beneficent discovery of the century or of all centuries—anæsthesia. What discovery or invention is comparable to this, by which 'the knife of the surgeon is steeped in the waters of forgetfulness and the deepest furrow in the knotted brow of agony is forever smoothed away,' to quote the poetic words of the venerable but still youthful author of the term anæsthesia, Oliver Wendell Holmes. While there has been an ether controversy, there can not be an anæsthesia controversy. The ether controversy was waged with great earnestness and bitterness, but with the lapse of time and the removal of those directly interested, the credit is now generally given to the late Dr. William T. G. Morton, a dentist of Boston. He it was who took his life in his hands, and, with sublime courage or audacity, put in jeopardy human life to solve the problem of anæsthesia with ether. Without detracting from the great honor due to Dr. Morton, greater honor is due to another dentist. For it is true, and is now being admitted, that Dr. Morton but traveled in another path, though farther than had been traveled two years before to his own knowledge, by the true and original discoverer of anæsthesia, from whom he derived his incentive, the late able, but less persevering and obstacle-overcoming dentist of Hartford, Dr. Horace Wells.

"The discovery of the efficacy of chloroform in 1847, and its rapid spread over Europe, to the almost total exclusion of ether, gave such fame to its discoverer, Dr. Simpson (afterward Sir James Y. Simpson), that for many years in Europe he was generally reputed to be the discoverer of anæsthesia. These two anæsthetic agents had the field almost exclusively for about fifteen years until the revival of nitrous oxide in 1862, so that most naturally the agent used and the resulting anæsthesia became synonymous terms in the general understanding. However we may view the question as to the right of first place of honor for Wells or Morton, we can congratulate the profession that both were dentists, and that this greatest boon of the ages came from our ranks. So great an authority as Lecky says, in his *History of European Morals*, 'it is probable that the American inventor of the first anæ-

thetic has done more for the real happiness of mankind than all the philosophers from Socrates to Mill.'

"While in the following decade, 1850 to 1860, colleges, magazines, and associations multiplied and jointly contributed to bring the profession more into touch with progressive thoughts and truths, the most distinctive discovery and most momentous in its influences was that property of gold which, previously considered detrimental, was now to be welcomed as its most valuable characteristic—cohesion. The introduction of crystal gold and the discovery of the cohesiveness of freshly annealed foil laid the foundation for the new era in operative dentistry. Let us never forget that while others claimed the latter discovery and doubtless had known of it and availed themselves of it for some time, Dr. Robert Arthur lost no time in freely sharing his discovery, as soon as made, with the whole profession. The descriptions and illustrations of operations with crystal gold in the essay of that venerable and respected Nestor still with us, Dr. W. H. Dwinelle, published in 1855, might still answer for an essay of to-day.

"While most of the appliances just mentioned came in during the decade 1860 to 1870, they do not constitute, it seems to me, the distinctive advance of that decade. There had been a disease of the mouth, which up to this time had been either unrecognized or regarded universally as incurable. It had from a remote period been described in the books as scurvy of the gums, and had been treated only by washes or medication. It was considered inevitable and irremediable that sound teeth should be lost, self-extracted. A prophet arose who taught that such deplorable conditions were always preventable if taken in time, and frequently remediable by surgical treatment when the disease had made extensive inroads. As a result of his efforts, a dire disease has been robbed of its terrors, the profession has been stimulated throughout the world to study its etiology and progress, and the premature loss of teeth from this disease is no longer considered providential or respectable.

"In plate work the culmination of prosthetic skill and artistic production came with the invention and perfection of porcelain or continuous gum. After the introduction of vulcanite, the general disuse of metals made laboratory skill of little value, and hence it was neglected or ignored in the preparatory training of the student. The ease and facility of working of vulcanite not only called for little ingenuity and skill, but so obliterated the distinctions that the novice, after a few weeks of instruction and practice, could compete with the most experienced, and this important and most beneficial branch became the refuge and ally of incompetence and quackery. But the reaction happily came, the tide turned, and we can congratulate ourselves and the world that the danger is fast disappearing. But the cause more important than any or perhaps all of the foregoing for the increase of laboratory skill and the retention of teeth and roots, is to be found in the invention of the modern artificial crown and its corollary, the bridge. This is the distinc-

tive improvement of the past twenty years. Within that period more than one hundred different crowns and bridges have been invented and published. The result has been twofold: It has made laboratory skill of more importance and value to the dentist than ever before, and it has arrested the great 'slaughter of the innocents' by making the retention of the roots of teeth in the mouth obligatory. At various periods the separation of the two branches of practice has been urged by prominent men of each branch, but by these inventions the two branches have been bound together in bonds which seem indissoluble.

"How crude and speculative seem the theories of dental caries which obtained less than a score of years ago, when contrasted with the brilliant demonstrations of the renowned American professor of Berlin, founded upon patient and protracted investigation after the most approved modern scientific methods! Though detained at home, he has shown his interest and co-operation by forwarding a paper.

"Joy and comfort have been brought to many repulsive or speechless sufferers by the improved appliances for the restoration of feature or of function resulting from malformation or disease. Orthodontia might be called a new art, from the great advance in knowledge of it and of the methods and appliances for correction, and recovery of usefulness and beauty.

"But the most prominent of the prodigal topics which I have ignored is probably plastics, the increasing use of which has wrought a great change in practice. From the time of the memorable controversy which caused the disruption of the first dental society to the present period, this subject has engrossed much time and talent in our societies and literature. The so-called new departure arrested the attention of every reader from its novelty and from its claim to be founded upon strict scientific experimentation. I do not attempt to discuss the subject, but only refer to it as one which has had a great influence in stimulating thought.

"We are now assembled and organized as a World's Dental Congress, to advance the interests of dentistry throughout the world. Science and art, twin outgrowths of mentality, should know no boundaries, nor should there be any schools of thought, treasure houses of knowledge, or gymnasias for training to usefulness, with barriers founded upon race, creed, or nationality, where the health of humanity is involved."

The meetings of the Congress were held daily at twelve o'clock, and the reading of the papers on assigned topics was followed by general discussion. The divisional sections of the Congress were: Anatomy and Histology, Etiology, Pathology and Bacteriology, Chemistry and Metallurgy, Therapeutics and Materia Medica, Dental Surgery, Operative Dentistry, Prosthesis and Orthodontia, Education, Legislation and Literature. The meetings of these sections were held at half past two o'clock in the afternoon.

Among the many important questions that were considered by the Congress was the education and training of the dental student, to the end that,

after a comparison of the views of dental educators from all countries, a basis might be established for an improved curriculum, whereby the graduate should be accorded unquestioned recognition elsewhere than within certain territorial limits. Touching this subject, an article on *The Study of Chemistry in Dentistry* was read by Dr. E. W. Rockwood, of Iowa City, Iowa, who said in part :

“The statistician who included dentistry in the mechanical trades called forth a storm of dissenting opinions from those who were laboring to advance this department of medicine ; but as we consider its present status, we

may ask ourselves whether there may not have been, after all, some reason for the prevalence of this view of the profession. The question, how dentistry may be brought to and kept upon the same plane as medicine or law, is of evident importance. The difficulties are, in many cases, enhanced by the dental student's lack of preparation. He frequently comes to the professional school with only a common-school education. A trade may often be learned with little cultivation of the perceptive faculties or powers of reasoning. A profession can never be mastered without the highest exercise of both. The study of chemistry leads a student to observe carefully, and then to draw conclusions from such observations. Of late years more importance is placed, and rightly, upon the practical or laboratory courses. It is not now deemed sufficient for a professor to describe and experiment—the student must perform it for himself. It is true that the dentist can not usually



SARAH H. STEVENSON, M. D.,
member of the Congress.

hope to become a trained chemist ; but that is no more reason for his neglecting chemistry than for not studying the nerves and arteries of the head because he does not expect to be an anatomist. The beginner is apt to think, after a few months' study of the subject, that he can never obtain satisfactory results from his labors, because of the vastness of the field. He must be made to see that, having mastered the fundamentals, he will be in a position to apply them intelligently in his work, and that the liability to failure is greatest when the principles are least understood.

“An understanding of the manufacture of alloys, such as are used for solders or amalgams, and of amalgams themselves, is necessary, and in this connection, if not in the chemical laboratory, not only the chemical, but also the physical properties should be studied. The changes in the properties of a metal by impurities, or of an alloy by varying the proportions of its constituents, may be demonstrated here. Unless there is a separate course of instruction in physics, some regard should be paid to electricity and the elec-

trical effects produced by the contact of different metals. The subject of fermentation should be of interest to the dentist; and laboratory experiments will illustrate some of the most common forms. In connection with these simpler forms of fermentation, the putrefactive changes can be shown, with the action of different antiseptics and their comparative powers of checking the growth of organisms which are the cause of putrefaction. The chemical action of each of these antiseptics must be clearly held in mind, that we may be able to judge their suitability in particular cases. The same might be said of deodorizers and disinfectants. A thorough course should be taken in salivary analysis. The dentist should be able to determine whether a case of ptyalism is caused by the iodide of potassium or by some compound of arsenic or mercury. Some work in quantitative analysis will greatly aid in the comprehension of chemical principles.

"But after all this, which we may term the foundation of his chemical education, the dentist needs something more. He must not only be able to progress in the deeply worn ruts of his predecessors, but, if need be, to hew a new path, if he can shorten or make easier the way. If old methods are faulty, they should be supplanted by better; if they are insufficient, they should be improved. This can often be done only by an understanding of the principles of chemistry. The professional chemist might furnish this, but he is ignorant of the needs of the dentist. The dental chemist who is thoroughly acquainted with both professions is rarely met with. Improvements must come largely either from the dental profession or from the manufacturer; the former is often unable to furnish them, and if they come from the latter they are immediately covered with patents. One aim, then, to be attained by a dental education, as in others which fit men for practical life, is to give such training as will enable a man to improve existing methods and invent new ones.

"Questions are arising daily which need to be answered by research. It is needless to refer to more than a few of them. New remedies are being continually recommended. What is their composition? Is their action chemical? Will it probably be beneficial or injurious? The decay of the teeth should be better understood. What is the action of the many disinfectants in use? and when should the different ones be employed? Do the sulphides or oxides of the metals which may be formed on amalgam fillings influence the decay? The perfect filling is yet to be discovered. There is also much to be learned of the alloys. The influence of small quantities of a metal upon alloys needs investigation. There is a field for observation, too, in the action of the mercury contained in amalgam fillings and in the coloring matter of plates."

The question of dental irregularity as due to the changed conditions attendant upon the progress of civilization was considered in a paper by J. M. Whitney, of Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, entitled *Among the Ancient Hawaiians*. From this paper the following extracts are taken :

“Is dental irregularity due, as some claim, to the mixture of races? and if we could find a people homogeneous and simple, would these conditions exist? Is it true that as mankind advances in the stage of being, the third molar is to become gradually eliminated? What is the normal position of adjacent teeth in relation to each other? What relation has the kind of food we use to the building up of dental structure? We all know the difficulty, amid the complications of modern hygienic conditions, of answering these important questions to our own satisfaction. If we can obtain the crania especially of people who, living ages ago when wants were few and means of supplying them were correspondingly limited, our study of their dental conditions will certainly be interesting and ought to be instructive. The native Hawaiian people, until within a hundred years, lived isolated and unknown to the great world, therefore their habits were simple and their wants and opportunities were few; and their modes of burial were such that it is possible with comparative ease to obtain some knowledge of their primitive conditions.

“About the year 500 of the Christian era a boat load of men and women drifted to those shores, either from the Malay Archipelago or from one of the southern islands which had previously been settled by Malays. Except a short period of intercourse between the Pacific islands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these islands were scarcely known to the world until their discovery by Captain Cook about a hundred years ago. Even the slight intercourse that may have existed during these twelve centuries must have been among kindred races on the Tahitian and Marquesan Islands, so that practically this people had not changed their race characteristics nor their habits of life during the twelve hundred years of their existence. Fortunately, enough of their history and customs have been preserved to give us a good idea of many of their characteristics, their food, etc. They were of medium height, rarely reaching six feet, with heavy, strong bones, their crania large and thick. Their employments were tilling the soil, fishing, and warring. Their games were hurling the spear, riding the surf board, boxing, wrestling, and other exercises requiring great bodily strength and courage. The climate at the seashore averages 75° , not varying more than 30° during the year, while as one ascends the lofty mountains with which the country abounds any climate may be found to one of perpetual snow. Thus excessive heat is never found, and vigor of body can be maintained. Their animal food consisted mainly of fish. Domestic fowls were common, with dogs and swine, both of which were choice articles of food. Of vegetable foods the principal then as now was the *taro*, which is the Hawaiian ‘staff of life.’ From it is made the *poi*, an acid paste without which a meal is never quite satisfying. They also had yams, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. Their common fruits were cocoanuts, bananas, breadfruit, and *ohia* or mountain apple. Their habits of eating were most irregular, often neglecting to supply themselves with food for several days, and then gorging themselves at any hour

of the day or night. With the incoming of civilization, of course many of these conditions have changed.

“The second peculiarity of this people, rendering a knowledge of their early physical conditions possible, is their modes of burying their dead. The most ancient and favorite of these places of interment were in the old lava caves with which the island of Hawaii abounds. A lava stream flowing from some opening on the mountain side would cool first on the surface, leaving the still flowing lava within to empty itself on the country below, and thus a long, irregular cave would be formed. The ancient Hawaiians were very superstitious; the ghost of the dead was supposed to haunt the body long after death, and the friends sought the most remote and inaccessible places for depositing the bodies. Some of these caves are piled many feet deep with bones of the ancient dead. No wind or moisture ever reaches them, and the bones are as perfectly preserved as in our most carefully kept cabinets. The other mode of burial was in the sand of the seashore. Until within a few years specimens of crania and other bones from these burying grounds could be obtained readily. Six or eight miles from Honolulu there was such a place, twenty years ago, where for several miles on the seashore these human remains lay bleaching in hundreds under the tropical sun. In some places the natives, jealous of their removal, have taken care to break or demolish the skulls, thus rendering them useless. And the South Sea Island laborers have sought everywhere for the skulls and removed the teeth for making necklaces.

“We have been taught that primitive peoples, living in simple conditions, were in a great measure free from dental caries as we see it in the mouths of our patients, and that many of the forms of dental disease with which we have to contend were with them wholly unknown. This seems to me a mistaken teaching, as far as may be learned from these records. An exceptional opportunity of becoming acquainted with the crania of the ancient people of these islands during the twenty-four years of my residence here has convinced me that both in the case of those buried in the caves and of those more recent in the sand, not more than twenty-five per cent have been free from caries, irregularity, or disease. Indeed, I think I have discovered every form of dental disease known to our practice. Here was a well-developed osseous system; the individual was trained to exercise of the kind that would develop every part of the structure. Living upon an abundance of the simplest yet the most nutritious and bone-developing foods that would not cling to the teeth, but would exercise and clean them, with not an element lacking required by our present knowledge, and yet the same dental disease which we suffer burdened the lives of the ancient Hawaiians. While this is true, the teeth of those who died before civilization had introduced peculiar constitutional diseases, acid fruits and vegetables, fine flour, and varied foods, were much less seriously attacked by disease than afterward.

“We have often accounted for the irregularity of teeth found so com-

monly among Americans by the mixture of races of which our nation is composed. We say that the wide teeth of the large jaw of one race, being crowded into the narrow jaw of another race with which it has mingled, would of necessity produce an irregular arch. But here is a people, isolated from all others for at least fourteen hundred years, with no admixture of races, yet irregularity of the teeth of both maxillaries was almost as common as it is among the mixed races of to-day.

"Perhaps next to dental caries, the greatest source of oral disorders among these people was the irregularity of the third molar, often producing in them as serious consequences as with us of the present time; while its failure to erupt was nearly or quite as common as we find it in our daily practice. So that we can not argue from these remains, at least, that the coming man is to be deprived of this useful organ.

"The relation of food and disease to the health of the dental organs is strongly brought out as we study the changes shown in the teeth of those buried in the oldest caves, and down through the more recent burials in the sand; then of those who were the old people a quarter of a century ago, whose childhood was passed before civilization had touched their life habits, and their grandchildren who are now in our schools. These children have but little better teeth than their white schoolfellows. Their fathers and mothers may have better teeth than the children, but it would be an exception if they had not been to the Government physician and had one or more teeth removed for relief from odontalgia, while the grandparents, the old men and women whom I found when I first went to the islands, had teeth approximating those found in the old caves, though not as good. I lay much of this very great change to the many forms of disease that have weakened their constitution; to fine flour that has become a part of their diet, and, eaten in the form of crackers or hard bread, clings to the teeth; to the many acid fruits, such as tamarinds, guavas, limes, etc., to which they have constant access, and to spending their childhood and youth in the schoolroom instead of wading and swimming in the warm sea, eating raw the fish and shellfish which they have caught, chewing sugar cane, and stripping off with their teeth the fibrous covering of the cocoanut."

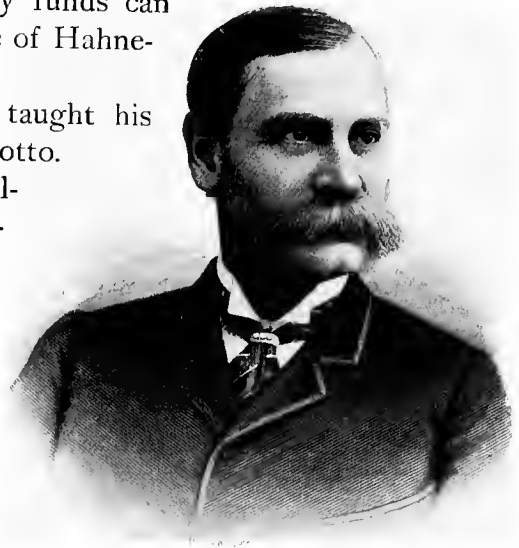
The World's Congress of Homœopathic Physicians and Surgeons assembled in the Hall of Washington, in the Art Institute, at 8 P. M., Monday, May 29. The large auditorium was well filled by physicians and their friends. The meeting was called to order by the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, who delivered the opening address. The Vice-President of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Mrs. Charles Henrotin, then addressed the assembly. Mrs. Henrotin's address was followed by the introduction of Dr. J. S. Mitchell, Chairman of the General Committee of Organization of the Congress, who in turn introduced Dr. James H. McClelland, of Pittsburg, Pa., President of the American Institute of Homœopathy, the oldest national medical associa-

tion in the United States. Dr. McClelland addressed the Congress briefly, and was followed by Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Chairman of the Woman's Congress. Representatives from England, Russia, and India were introduced, and after this ceremony the inaugural address was delivered by Dr. Mitchell. It was in part as follows:

"At the time of the Convention in 1876, the venerable widow of the illustrious founder of our school, then residing in Paris, sent to the homœopaths of the world, with her greeting, a bronze bust of Hahnemann, cast from the marble one by David d'Anger, which was affirmed to be a perfect likeness of that distinguished man. To-night we have on this platform a model for a heroic statue of Hahnemann, to be erected in Washington, D. C., as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained, sent also from Paris, the scene of Hahnemann's latest triumphs.

"Medicine is as old as man. Charon taught his pupils in the recesses of a Thessalian grotto. To-day every civilized land has its medical colleges, and some of them are palaces of science. The school of medicine which is represented here has only eighty-three years of existence. During this brief period it has a history whose page is more attractive than any other in the development of medicine; whether we take the personal career of its illustrious founder, the records of the labors of his disciples (which were often conducted under disadvantages and trials that would have appalled the stoutest hearts), or the results that have accrued to humanity in many lands through his teachings.

"The reform in medical practice inaugurated by Hahnemann, which his followers have so successfully carried out to a fruition acknowledged even by the testimony of opponents, constitutes one of the world's epochs. The first complete promulgation of homœopathy by the Organon, which has been termed the Bible of Medicine, was in 1810. Hahnemann, after his conception of its main truth, had devoted a number of years to patient study. He did not promulgate his law of cure until it had been tested by experiment and deduction to such an extent that his admirers have always been amazed at his research. During fifteen years he proved on his own person more than sixty drugs, collated all the data concerning them, and then presented his views, deduced from this long experience, tersely, logically, and in harmony with true scientific methods. The persecution of Hahnemann is one of those records of human experience we would gladly blot from the page of history.



JOSEPH S. MITCHELL, M. D.,
Chairman of Committee of Organization.

The early progress of homœopathy was slow. Like all great reforms, it had to encounter opposition, ridicule, and derision. Its inherent strength enabled it to survive all these, and its growth was steady during the first years of its experience. No great idea was ever held by its adherents alone. The unconscious influence of homœopathy pervades many medical minds that would scorn to give it right expression. Since its firm establishment in America its progress has been in an ever-increasing ratio.

"In 1876 the first World's Convention was held in Philadelphia at the time of the Centennial Exposition. In his inaugural address, the President stated that there were then five thousand physicians in the United States. At this assembling we are able to assert that there are twelve thousand. In many other countries the growth of homœopathy has been remarkable, but in this land, where freedom of thought and political action is most pronounced, its adherents are most numerous. The papers to be read at this Congress from Australia and the Sandwich Islands are by graduates of American colleges. We are recognized by the Government of a great nation in the various departments of this great Exposition. We have homœopathic headquarters on the Exposition grounds, on land assigned us by the Directory. We have a collective exhibit of our colleges and hospitals in the Government Building; a special college exhibit in the Department of Liberal Arts; in the Woman's Building an exhibit from the London Homœopathic Hospital, of the work of trained nurses, and a hospital under the charge of medical women of our faith; and last, the recognition of our school by the World's Congress Auxiliary.

"Homœopathy has passed the stage of controversy; it is now a firmly established science. Do not confound it with arts, and judge it by their standard of progress. It is a long period since the centennial in art, but in science scarcely a day. Centuries of use of such familiar drugs as quinine and morphine develop the fact that our opponents still differ as to their application. It is proof that our science is not perfect that we are here to-night in grand convention assembled to testify to this fact and to take measures for its further development. Those who grow impatient and think our pace too slow should meditate on the rules that govern progress in all departments of human thought. Instead of being behind in the march of civilization, we are continually at the fore. No charge that it is a laggard can be truthfully directed against homœopathy. It has grown from a little band of students of therapeutics to a great school of medicine. In our deliberations this week we shall convene in nine sections, embracing all the main divisions of medical science and art. At our first World's Congress, in 1876, few papers on surgery were presented; but they were of high order and indicated that our school was progressive. We shall now, in the different sections, have nearly the whole range of surgery covered. The success of our school in the State Insane Asylum at Middletown, N. Y.; at Westboro, Mass.; at Ionia, Mich.; at Fergus Falls,

Minn., has induced California to place one in charge of a homœopathic physician.

"We are obliged to cling with tenacity to our organization, both to maintain our existence and to extend our views among people of every land. Our position as a sect was forced upon us by our opponents. We are only battling for the enthronement of the principles of our own faith. Medical liberty is as sacred as political or religious liberty."

The Congress then adjourned till ten o'clock Tuesday morning, when the actual work of the Congress began with an address by William Todd Hel-muth, M. D., of New York, on Surgery in the Homœopathic School. The meetings continued through the week ending on Saturday, June 3, and during that time sixteen addresses were delivered in the General Congress, many of them followed by discussion. Several were on the history or progress of homœopathy in different countries—notably Germany, Great Britain, India, Australia, and Ontario. One of the sixteen papers was prepared by a woman physician, Martha A. Canfield, on The Development of Medical Science through Homœopathy. Sectional meetings were held in Surgery, Ophthalmology and Otology, Gynæcology, Materia Medica, Obstetrics, Clinical Medicine, Mental and Nervous Diseases, Rhinology and Laryngology, and Pædology.

The Surgical Section convened in the Hall of Washington on Tuesday, May 30, and was called to order by Dr. J. S. Mitchell, President of the Congress. Eight addresses were presented, and many of them were followed by long discussion. The sectional address on surgery was presented by Dr. W. B. Van Lennep, chairman of the section.

The Section of Ophthalmology and Otology assembled in Hall No. VIII of the Art Building, on Wednesday, May 31. The section was called to order by Dr. A. B. Norton, of New York city, chairman, by whom the address was delivered. During the meetings nine addresses were presented.

The Section in Gynæcology was called to order Wednesday, May 31, in the Hall of Washington. Dr. O. S. Runnels, of Indianapolis, Ind., presided, and delivered the inaugural address, entitled *The Sine Qua Non*. Eight addresses were delivered before the section, all of which were followed by discussion, in which several woman physicians participated.

The Section of Materia Medica convened on Thursday, June 1, in the Hall of Washington. Dr. A. C. Cowperthwaite, of Chicago, Ill., chairman, delivered the inaugural address, taking as his theme *The Present Condition of the Homœopathic Materia Medica*. Six addresses were presented, all of them followed by discussion.

The Section in Obstetrics convened in Room VII of the Art Building, Thursday, June 1, and was called to order by Dr. T. Griswold Comstock, of St. Louis, Mo., chairman, who delivered the sectional address. Ten addresses were presented during the session.

The Section in Clinical Medicine assembled in the Hall of Washington, on Friday, June 2, and was called to order by the chairman, Dr. Charles Gatchell, of Ann Arbor, Mich., who delivered the sectional address, entitled *Recent Discoveries in the Treatment of Disease by the Use of Disease Products, and their Relation to Homœopathy*. Of the eleven addresses presented, three were by visitors from abroad: *The Prophylaxis of Cholera*, by Dr. B. N. Banerjee, of Calcutta, India; *Cholera: Its Curative Treatment*, by Dr. P. C. Majumdar, of Calcutta, India; and *The Homœopathic Treatment of Tabes and Pseudo-Tabes*, by Alexander Villers, of Dresden, Saxony.

The Section in Pædology held its meeting in Hall XXIX of the Art Building, June 3, and was presided over by Dr. Emily V. Pardee, of South Norwalk, Conn., chairman, who opened the proceedings by delivering her sectional address. Eight papers were presented, two of which were by woman physicians.

The World's Medical Congress of Eclectic Physicians and Surgeons assembled in the Memorial Art Palace on Monday, May 29, at ten o'clock in the morning. President Bonney formally opened the Congress, and addresses were delivered by Mrs. Henrotin, Vice-President of the Woman's Board of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and by Dr. Milton Jay, Chairman of the Committee on Organization of the Eclectic Medical Congress. Dr. Marie E. Reasner, Chairman of the Woman's Committee, then spoke, and the inaugural address, upon *Eclectic Medicine: Its History and Scientific Basis*, was delivered by its author, Dr. Alexander Wilder. The speaker traced the development of the reformed practice from its rudimentary beginnings and the efforts of different leaders and teachers to its present point as a school of medicine, setting forth its claims as a scientific as well as superior form of the healing art. In the course of his remarks, biographical sketches were given of Rafinesque, Samuel Thomson, Elisha Smith, and others. He said in part:

"Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Dr. Wistar, declared that he had seen the various schools and theories of medicine, 'the disciples of Hoffmann, Boerhaave, Ståhl, Cullen, and Brown succeed one another like the shifting figures of the magic lantern; and their fancies, like the dresses of the annual doll babies from Paris, becoming, from their novelty, the vogue of the day and yielding to the next novelty their ephemeral favors. . . . The patient,' he significantly added, 'the patient treated on the fashionable theory sometimes gets well in spite of the medicine.' Then, writing with a mighty emphasis, he said: 'I believe we may safely affirm that the inexperienced and presumptuous herd of medical tyros let loose upon the world destroys more human life than all the Robin Hoods, Cartouches, and Macheaths do in a century.' He foreshadowed the new practice which should come into existence in our Western Hemisphere. 'I hope and believe,' said he, 'that it is from this side of the Atlantic that Europe, which has taught us so many other things, will be led into sound principles in this branch of science, the most important of



THE CASINO.

all being that to which we commit the care of health and life.' When the great Father of American Democracy was passing from this sphere of existence his prediction had begun to be verified.

"When any dogma, policy, or system has been weighed in the balance by the most eminent of its adherents, and has been by them found wanting, we are abundantly warranted in turning from it to seek a more excellent way. In the exercise of a natural right and in obedience to the call of duty the new American practice came into existence. The belief has been current everywhere that every country produced simple remedies for the prevalent diseases. This conviction led many individuals of an investigating turn of mind and gifted with superior faculties of observation to direct their attention to the indigenous medicinal plants of this country, as well as to various appliances in vogue here and there, for the treatment of the sick. It was by no means a passion for novelty that impelled them. They had no ambition to break violently with the past ; but, like heroic men, they refused to be in subjection to it. This action of theirs was imperatively required by the exigency of the times. The encyclopædias have generally, with supercilious arrogance, excluded any just or reasonable account of this matter. There were several in the new movement, however, who deserved an honorable rank among the scientists of their day, and many others who were less presuming but were equally meritorious as benefactors of the human race.

"On the first of January, 1846, Calvin Newton began the publication of the New England Medical Eclectic. In the first article he explained his position. He was pledged to sustain no class of physicians or mode of practice ; he belonged to the Massachusetts Medical Society, and was in fellowship with his medical brethren, but he did not believe medicine incapable of improvement. In furtherance of his plans, Dr. Newton immediately began a course of instruction to a class of students in his own office in all branches of medical knowledge. There was an enthusiasm for increased facilities of learning at this period all through the ranks of reform physicians. The Uxbridge Botanic Medical Society employed a teacher to deliver lectures on anatomy, surgery, and physiology. A convention was held in January which, at Dr. Newton's instance, resolved to establish a medical school at Worcester on the ensuing fourth of March. The movement was successful, but the unfriendly influence of the Massachusetts Medical Society was vigorously exerted against its incorporation, and for two years the students received their degrees from the college at Macon, Ga. About the same time the Scientific and Eclectic Institute received a charter from the General Assembly of Virginia. It was immediately organized, and continued in operation for several years. It seems, despite its name, to have been under the control largely of Thomsonians ; and, indeed, the name of eclectic was not at this period as well understood or regarded as it soon afterward became. Even Dr. Newton, who had been foremost to adopt it, now changed the name of his journal. He had never been, in its strict sense, a follower of Samuel

Thomson, and he regarded the method of Dr. Beach, in limiting investigations to symptoms, as inefficient and unduly restrictive.

"At this period the National Eclectic Medical Association was organized at Cincinnati. Dr. Thomas V. Morrow, having succeeded in establishing the Eclectic Medical Institute, now directed his efforts to the formation of a permanent alliance of reformed physicians. A convention was called for the purpose, to meet in May, 1848. Over this convocation Dr. Morrow presided and Dr. King was secretary. It adopted resolutions in favor of organizing State and local societies, the preserving of statistics of medical practice, and the forming of a national association. This was accomplished at an adjourned meeting the next year. The first auspices of this association can hardly be said to be propitious, and its second president,

Dr. Buchanan, actually recommended that no more meetings should be held. The general sentiment, however, was for continuing the organization. It had already diffused a beneficial influence over the country, and eclectic societies had sprung up here and there, having many members who were willing to lay aside their former affiliations and take part in the new movement.

"At the meeting in Rochester in 1852 Dr. Calvin Newton became a member and was elected president. There was formulated a comprehensive statement of the fundamental doctrines of the eclectic school, defining its purpose to be the cultivation of medical science in a liberal and benevolent spirit, and of the safest, speediest, and most efficient methods of treating diseases; to receive and teach eclecticism, not as an indiscriminate selection

of means supposed to be remedial, but a selection based upon the recognized nature of the disease to be treated, and the character of the agent or agents employed to remove the disease; to avoid all permanently depressing and disorganizing treatment, especially that of general depletion by the lancet; and to reject positively all medication which experience has shown to be of dangerous tendency—more particularly the mineral poisons, such as mercury, arsenic, and antimony, and all their various preparations, employing instead articles derived from the vegetable kingdom far more safe and salutary in their immediate and ultimate effects. This platform has been generally received by eclectics during the past forty years. The present organization of the National Eclectic Medical Association and its auxiliary societies is in close conformity with Dr. Newton's recommendations, and our



ROLAND G. CURTIN, M. D.,
member of the Congress.

principal medical colleges are to a considerable degree conducted in the way that he suggested.

“The National Association after this time seems to have made its home in the East. In 1855 Dr. Walter Burnham reported a series of resolutions, including one that declared : ‘We recommend to the trustees of the several medical colleges to admit to the general course of lectures such women as may desire to avail themselves of the advantages of a thorough medical education ; or to provide such private instruction, not connected with the regular course, as may be deemed best adapted to secure this end.’ The adoption of this resolution marks the first action of a medical organization recognizing women as suitable for students in medicine.

“The early eclectic colleges encountered many shoals and breakers. The college at Worcester, after some twelve years, found it necessary to close its doors. The Eclectic Medical College of Pennsylvania, of which Thomas Cooke was the principal founder, passed through a variety of experiences. It continued through the war, when it fell from its high estate and became notorious for loose practices. The earlier college of them all, the Eclectic Medical Institute, had a history more graphic than any. Finally, in 1859, it came under the management of Dr. J. M. Scudder, who was able to relieve it from debt, extend its facilities, and carry it through successfully to the present time.

“The later years of our history have been less eventful. With the return of peace came the work of restoration and revival. A great change had taken place, hardly to be appreciated or comprehended. There were now in existence none of those enemies against justice and freedom, oppressive statutes to arrest and punish medical enterprise. Some of the medical societies of the reform schools had continued their existence, but others had perished and been forgotten. The rivalries and animosities which had formerly been so bitter and apparently irreconcilable had in a very large degree passed away. The passion for organization was revived in the eclectic ranks, and eclectic medical societies were formed in States where formerly there had been none. New colleges were also established in New York and Chicago, to be followed in succeeding decades by others in St. Louis, California, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, and Iowa. With this renaissance of eclecticism was widely felt the importance of a central organization, and a convention was called to meet in Chicago in September, 1870, to form an organization which should comprise all physicians of the new school on the Western Continent. This assemblage voted to organize anew under the former name of the National Eclectic Medical Association. Both men and women who were graduates in medicine or reputable practitioners were affiliated as members. The National Association has held its annual meetings regularly since that time. It has quadrupled its membership, encouraged organized effort, both in the establishing of State societies and local associations, and exercised a wholesome supervision over the eclectic medical colleges. It is estimated

to represent a constituency of fifteen thousand physicians, and it has published twenty volumes of its Transactions.

"Eclectic medicine owes its existence and present form to the demand of intelligent men in this country for a mode of medication that should be at once safe and efficient. It had no one great founder or apostle; nor has it any pope, umpire, or superior authority to-day. It came not into existence from any university or school of higher learning. It is therefore, in the fullest and most just sense of the expression, 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.'

"As a school of medicine, we hold our future in our own hands. We shall continue to exist as long as we shall really deserve to exist. We are not craftsmen and mechanicals following a calling for the mere pecuniary emolument, nor are we a combination of medical politicians with personal ends to advance at the hazard of every pledge to the public and every honest principle. We do not beleaguer legislatures for protective statutes against others. In medicine, as in the highest ethics, he only is great who serves; the greatest among us is the servant of us all."

Dr. Wilder's address was followed by addresses by Dr. B. L. Yeagley, President of the National Eclectic Medical Association, the Rev. Jesse H. James, on the Character and Services of Prof. William Byrd Powell, and Dr. J. R. Hughes, of Oldham, England, on Eclectic Medicine in the United Kingdom.

The work of the Congress was arranged according to separate divisions, each having its own work and its own set of officers.

Division A, The Practice of Medicine, was presided over by Dr. John M. Scudder, of Cincinnati, by whose proposition short papers, well condensed, were submitted, with the idea of working them up eventually into a volume. During the session of this division thirty-two addresses were presented, five of which were prepared by woman physicians.

Division B, Gynæcology and Obstetrics, was presided over by Dr. Henrietta K. Morris, in place of the president of the division, Elizabeth G. Smith, of Connecticut, who was unable to be present. Eighteen addresses were presented, three of them by women.

Division C, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, was presided over by Dr. Wilson H. Davis, of Chicago, in the absence of the president of the section, Dr. Albert Merrell, of St. Louis, who was unable to be present. Dr. Wilson outlined the work of the division in a short address, in which he announced that the papers to be read and submitted had been accumulated largely by the effort of Dr. Merrell, and that the themes as expressed by their titles embraced the following topics: Physiological Therapeutics, Entomological Materia Medica, Therapeutic Progress, Therapeutics of Certain Remedies, Distinctive Features of Eclectic Therapeutics, Thoughts on Therapeutics, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, Therapeutics of the Gravel Plant, Therapeutics of Eucalyptus, Therapeutics of Gelsemium, Therapeutic Study

of Belladonna, Specific Remedies, Our Eclectic Materia Medica, Distinctive Features of Eclectic Therapeutics, *Cereus Bonplandii*, *Atropa*, *Eucalyptus*, *Aconitum*, *Dynamyn*, Remedy for Malarial Diseases, Emetics, Ozone, and three indigenous plants—*Gelsemium*, *Viburnum*, and *Aletris parinosa*. During the session of the division, which was opened with a short treatise on medical study, twenty-nine papers were presented, three of them by woman physicians.

Division D, General Pathology, was presided over by Dr. William F. Curryer, president of the division, who opened the meeting with an address on the province of the division. Twenty-three addresses were delivered before the session, one of them by a woman physician.

Division E was devoted to Diseases of the Nervous System. In the absence of the president of the division, Dr. Herbert T. Webster, of Oakland, Cal., the chair was taken by Dr. E. H. Stevenson, Vice-President; and, in the absence of the secretary, Hannah S. Turner, of Oakland, Cal., Dr. Phebe Low, of New York, was appointed secretary *pro tempore*. On taking the chair, the acting president briefly addressed the members in attendance, and proceeded to read a paper, sent by Dr. Webster, on San Francisco Bay; Climate of California, and Certain Nervous Affections. Ten addresses were delivered during the session of the division, one of them by a woman physician.

Division F, General Surgery, was presided over by Dr. Robert A. Gunn, of New York city, president of the section, whose address was on The Evolution of Surgery. Fourteen addresses were delivered before the division.

At the conclusion of the session of Division F, the World's Congress of Eclectic Physicians and Surgeons was called to order, and Dr. Joseph R. Hughes, of England, addressed the Congress on the Status and Operations of Eclectic Physicians in Great Britain. On motion of Dr. J. V. Stevens, the thanks of the Congress were given to Dr. Finley Ellingwood, editor of the Chicago Medical Times, for having furnished members in attendance a synoptic account of the proceedings from day to day for their use and convenience.



The Terminal Station, southwest corner of Grounds.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TEMPERANCE CONGRESSES.

Scope of the Department of Temperance—President Bonney's address of welcome—Archbishop Ireland's inaugural address—Joseph Bentley on temperance restaurants and coffee houses in Great Britain—Theodore L. Cuyler's address—The Educational Section—Mr. Wakely's address—The Catholic Total Abstinence Union—The Royal Templars of Temperance—The Order of Good Templars—The American Medical Temperance Association—Results.



MOST REV. JOHN IRELAND,
Chairman of
Committee on Temperance Congresses.

THE organization of the Temperance Congresses, held during the week beginning Monday, June 5, was in charge of a General Committee appointed by the Congress Auxiliary, under the chairmanship of Archbishop John Ireland, of St. Paul, Minn., and a committee of the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, under the chairmanship of Miss Frances E. Willard. Before the World's Congress Auxiliary was formed, steps had been taken by the National Temperance Society looking toward a Temperance Congress to meet during the period of the World's Exposition, which should bring together the friends of the movement and present the results of their work. As early as September 24, 1889, at a meeting of the Board of Managers of that organiza-

tion, a resolution was adopted recommending the appointment of a committee with power to call such a Congress, and to make all necessary arrangements. Later, when the World's Congress Auxiliary was organized, the committee of the National Temperance Society promptly fell into line, arranging their own meetings and speakers as at first intended under a committee appointed in consultation and co-operation with the World's Congress Auxiliary, of which the Rev. Albert G. Lawson, of New Jersey, served as chairman. And accordingly the proceedings of the National Temperance Society were adopted by the General Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary, with high appreciation of the co-operation, and aid secured thereby.

The scope of the Department of Temperance was made known in a preliminary publication sent out by the General Committee, in which themes were suggested for papers and addresses. All organizations for the restriction or prevention of the evils of intemperance were included, and it was announced that these organizations should select topics and speakers, and conduct their own special congresses, subject only to such general regulations as were necessary to secure the success of the whole series.

The plan of work for the National Temperance Society, with the three-day session of which the Congresses opened, provided for the presentation of the various topics in four sections : The scientific and medical, the educational and economical, the legislative and political, and the religious and miscellaneous. The plan of work included, also, the presentation of a series of papers, by writers from various countries, embracing a condensed history of the various temperance organizations and orders and the present conditions and needs of the temperance reform in the different nationalities. At the request of the committee, the State Department at Washington consented to have addressed to its consular officers requests for statistics as to the quantity and kinds of intoxicating liquors produced ; as to governmental methods of dealing with the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors ; as to intemperance as related to poverty, immorality, and crime ; and as to what efforts are being made to discourage the use, manufacture, and sale of intoxicants. These statistics, which were printed in advance and presented to the Congress when assembled, were from sixty great national organizations and nearly thirty-five different countries, and together with official reports from nearly forty American consuls from various countries of the globe, they formed a collection of most important facts and statistics.

The Congresses were called together and formally opened on Monday, June 5, by the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, President of the Congress Auxiliary. From his address of welcome the following quotations are made :

"The temperance movement as it exists in the world to-day is of a twofold character : It is a moral movement, advancing by moral means ; and a legal movement, proceeding against admitted evils by the enforcement of coercive legislation.

"The temperance reform, properly understood, does not unduly interfere

with personal liberty, but arises from the instinct of self-preservation, by which society, which is only a larger man, endowed with all the human attributes, seeks to protect itself against drunkenness, insanity, and crime.

“Human progress is, for the most part, the result of rational experiment. Any measure which promises good results may properly be put to the test of experience. If it realizes just expectations, it will naturally be continued; if not, it may be modified or abandoned.

“The supreme effort of every just temperance reform should be the saving of the rising generation. If the boys can be kept from forming habits of dissipation and vice, there will be little danger that they will be led astray after they reach mature years. If the great army of drunkards can be deprived of its recruits, its members will rapidly decrease, and soon a better day will come.

“The economic aspect of the temperance question is quite too important to be overlooked. If the people of the world could save the money now wasted in strong drink, they could almost banish poverty, and substitute for the hovel the comfortable shelter; for rags, a suitable raiment; and transform the great river of intemperance, woe, and death that runs through human society, into a great stream of plenty, happiness, and peace.”

Archbishop Ireland was then introduced, and delivered the inaugural address. He said, in part:

“From whatever standpoint we look upon this evil of intemperance, we are amazed at its hideousness. Consider simply the economical aspect of it. We meet in congresses of labor, and the labor question has become a great question of the day; we hear it said that the millions of toilers demand that they have some part in the privileges and happiness of this world. The labor question is a great and a mighty one. Because we need to give to every child of God some rays of the sunshine which is intended for all, and we need to give to every child of God a sufficiency of the fruits of the earth which the Creator gave to the children of men at large, and not to the few. But at the very threshold of this very great labor question comes the temperance question. It is fearful to think of it, but in this nation of the United States over a billion dollars are annually spent in the direct traffic of intoxicating liquors, the liquor being the direct cause which makes the individual unable to work and the waste of much money because of the injury to the body by drink. Time is absorbed in drinking; the country's resources are scattered to the winds. Much better if this money that were given were taken and cast into the lake, for at least it would leave behind it no harm.


“If we take up the higher aspect of the question and speak in the name of religion, still there will be another story. We ask in amazement, How is it that we are satisfied, the good religious people of the land, who go on Sunday morning to church and pray, and go home and thank God that they are not as the publican and Pharisee—that they are the just, and they know that Christ died for all; they know that they are all in a manner ministers

and priests of Christ, and in duty bound, as far as they can, to bring salvation to all. And they know that hundreds of thousands and millions are constantly breaking the laws of God and society; are constantly casting away from their souls the divine beauty and exposing themselves to the wrath to come because no one is around to counsel them of intemperance, no one is around to ward off from them the agents of the liquor traffic who seek to rob them of the last penny and are willing, in order to get that penny, to rob them of their health, their beauty, and their salvation.

"We are satisfied to be religious in our conduct without thinking of others. The greatest enemy to-day which religion has is intemperance. Not by any means that it is the sole evil, but it is at the root of so many other sins and evils. Sometimes I am asked, What can temperance do? For my part I always answer, What can I do? That is not the question. What ought I to do? That is the question. For myself I answer: If during my life I have spoken as God wishes me to speak and extended the arm in defense of virtue and sobriety as God wishes me to do, to God I leave the responsibility of the results. Let each one do the good within his own reach and he has done his full duty. If we all do what we can—if we all do our whole duty, immense good shall be done.

"I am delighted that we have the representatives here of all our temperance associations to meet together this week, and let us all in the directions which we think best deal the heaviest blows and not mind so much the directions that the others may be following. My theory about the different methods of temperance is largely this: There is the enemy before us, menacing to our homes, to our souls, to society and religion, and I say to the friends of temperance, go at the enemy with a cannon, or any way you like, but meet him. Now it may be that I handle with preference one arm rather than another, but if I feel for the time being that you are hitting pretty well, I am not going to analyze too much your methods or your instruments. I may have myself my own special idea, my own methods, but I have made this rule in my temperance work, never to speak an unkind word of other methods. As a matter of fact we need all those methods. We need moral suasion, of course, for without moral suasion laws are of no account. Men make laws and observe laws and enforce laws when they are themselves convinced; hence we must spread abroad instruction on the dangers of intemperance. We must speak to the feelings and to the reason of men. We need moral suasion, we need religion, we need that moral strength which comes only from the skies to build up the poor, wrecked, trembling victim of intemperance. We need laws, because they are the expression of the moral and intellectual convictions of our soul, and when there are no laws against evil there is the danger that we do not comprehend the evil; and we need laws, not that laws can create virtue of themselves, but we need laws to ward off the fatal hand of the enemy from individual and social virtue. We need laws as a protest against iniquity. We need the laws to defend the bulwarks of

society. We need laws against the traitor who will take his musket on his shoulder and go out in the field to insult the flag of the country, and we need laws, surely, against a liquor interest that will meet in secret conclave for the purpose of corrupting our legislation, and when legislation has been passed will meet together and say, These laws shall not be observed. Now, can this legislation be obtained and indorsed? It can for us. One man says, 'I can clear my own little village, but I can not affect the nation.' God bless you. If one village is cleared after another, the whole nation soon shall be cleared. When a man says, 'I don't know if I can get rid of a thousand saloons, but I will try and reduce them to four or five hundred,' so many fewer devils will there be to roam over the earth. Another man says: 'I am in a position to do away with all temptations, and my fellow-citizens are with me; we have no trouble.' Oh, you are happy indeed. We will all hope that some day or other the millennium will come, and meanwhile we will do what we can. Now if we are united and go forth from these Temperance Congresses with the resolve to live in cordial amiability as well as we can, and to deal, each and every one, the heaviest blows we can against alcohol, immense results shall have been obtained from these Congresses." The remainder of the morning was spent in listening to brief responses by representatives of the different countries. In the afternoon a reception of foreign delegates was held, at which a paper was presented from Joseph Bentley, of England, entitled Temperance Restaurants and Coffee Houses in Great Britain, from which the following quotations are made:



MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD,
Chairman of the
Committee of the Woman's Branch.

"Twenty years ago an earnest philanthropist of Bristol, Mr. Simon Short, goaded by the refusal of a publican to supply tea and cocoa to the navvies employed in the construction of a new railway, opened a wooden erection for the sale of temperance beverages and refreshments. This was really the seed from which has sprung the mighty growth of the coffee-tavern movement in Great Britain. Success was marked and immediate, and the good work extended in Bristol. The next development was at Liverpool, where, at the close of one of Messrs. Moody and Sankey's great missions, Rev. Charles Garrett proposed as one means of conserving results that something should be done to keep the army of dock laborers out of the public houses, to which they were driven for food and shelter. Mr. Short's successful experi-

ment was remembered ; he was sent for, and commenced the work in Liverpool, first on the dock sides for the laborers, then in the city for clerks and others, till at the present time it is carried on by the Liverpool Company in sixty-four houses, having an annual turnover of £80,000.

“The rapid growth of the movement may be judged by the amount of capital which it is estimated is invested in coffee houses, temperance restaurants and hotels in Great Britain and Ireland. The sum probably exceeds two million pounds sterling, the number of establishments 7,000, and the persons directly employed 56,000. The work is mainly carried on by joint-stock companies incorporated on the limited liability principle, and managed by directors of high character, representing all sections of society, politics, and religion. Most of these companies pay a uniform dividend of ten per cent per annum on the invested capital, besides making ample provision for repairs, renewals, and depreciation, in many cases also setting apart a substantial sum out of the profits to be divided among the employees as bonus. The average dividend paid, as far as can be ascertained, has been about eight per cent. The financial position of most of the larger companies is regarded as solid as that of banks ; their shares rank with railway stock, and often fetch abnormal premiums. The principal companies, together with many private owners of coffee taverns, are united in an organization under the title of the National Coffee Tavern Association, which meets annually in a Movable Conference, its business being managed in the interim by a representative executive.

“Let us examine some of the main principles on which the movement is based. First of all, its promoters recognize the public house as a necessity of civilization, but they reject the intoxicating liquor with which it has become identified as an unnecessary accompaniment. In the ideal coffee tavern all that is good in the best public house is retained ; it is simply minus the pernicious drink and its evil associations. The aim is not simply to provide temperance eating houses, places where meals can be had without intoxicants, but public houses ministering to all the legitimate social needs of the community ; not confining its provisions to one sex only, for in every well-arranged coffee tavern accommodation is set apart for the exclusive use of ladies. Evening attractions are made a special study. Newspapers and periodicals are on the tables, a piano is a requisite piece of furniture, in some cases concerts, entertainments, and debates are arranged. Games of skill, such as chess, draughts, and billiards, are provided and encouraged, for here they can be practiced apart from drink, gambling, profanity, and bad company, with which they are too often associated elsewhere.

“One of the main and distinguishing features of this enterprise is that it aims at commercial success. In no other way can it hope to secure permanency for itself or maintain the proper spirit of independence on the part of those whom it serves. The double axiom on which the business is worked is that the customer must pay for what he gets and get what he pays for. An-

other working principle is that the coffee tavern must make it as easy and as cheap to get a cup of tea or other temperance beverage as it is to get a glass of beer, and it must be served as well and as quickly. In carrying out this principle it necessarily involves the selection of convenient positions for the temperance tavern. A good rule for guidance was early found to be that wherever a position would be regarded as a capital site for a dramshop it would be a first-class stand for a coffee tavern.

"It has been found well to aim high as well as low—that is, to provide for the merchant, the clerk, the artisan, and the shoeblack—not usually, however, in the same building. Some of the most notable successes have been achieved in places where all classes have thus been catered for. While that course appears to be most commendable, it must be understood that its exponents have found that higher-class catering involves greater risk, often less profit, and needs a more varied experience and watchful management.

"In the earlier days of the movement it was thought undesirable to supply anything except temperance beverages and light refreshments, but it was soon discovered, in the more populous places where many people live outside the busy towns in which they do business, that they required substantial food during the day; hence the necessity was soon demonstrated that coffee taverns should be also temperance restaurants. Experience soon showed that variety in the bill of fare was in many instances a condition of success. Customers naturally got weary of the same little round of dishes, therefore wise management has sought to provide variety and occasional novelty—in fact, to enable those who prefer to lunch and dine without intoxicants to have as great a variety of food, as well cooked and served, as it would be possible to get in the other kind of establishment. Many of the new restaurants make a specialty of providing various kinds of vegetables and stewed fruits for the particular requirements of vegetarians.

"The workingman has not been left out in coffee-tavern dining arrangements. In most of the large towns a substantial and wholesome three-course dinner, consisting of soup, meat pie or pudding, and sweet pudding, is supplied for 5*d.* What is called 'out-door' trade is encouraged; customers bringing their own vessels get tea, coffee, cocoa, or soup at 1*d.* per pint. A large trade is often done in poor districts.

"The publican's monopoly of supplying refreshments at galas and other outside gatherings, ball parties, etc., is not left unchallenged. A number of coffee-tavern companies and proprietors do a considerable business in this direction, thus carrying the battle directly into the opposite camp. A fair proportion of those engaged in directing the movement now provide sleeping accommodation in connection with their taverns. Some of these hotels rank among the best in the country, the 'Cobden,' at Birmingham, with its world-wide reputation, standing at the head of the list.

"Seeing that a large proportion of the customers are non-abstainers, it would simply drive them away and defeat the object to make the coffee

tavern the medium for propagating the temperance and religious views of the proprietors. The movement has not been identified directly with any temperance organization. At the same time a vast amount of unobtrusive temperance work is done in the taverns. It is usual to secure employees who are themselves total abstainers, especially the house manager, who has abundant opportunity of quietly speaking a seasonable word as occasion offers. It is generally understood, without being ostentatiously advertised, that a coffee tavern is a place where a pledge form may be had and a word of sympathy got with it.

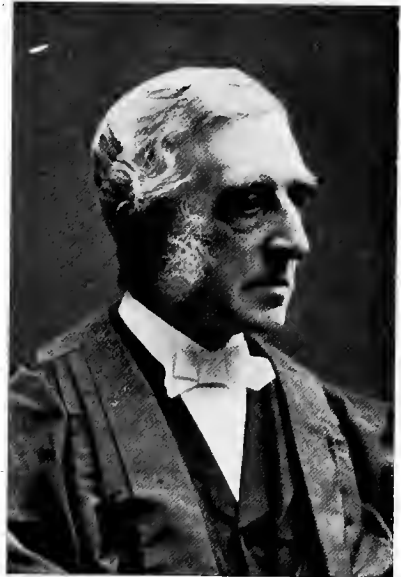
"The coffee-tavern organization is a direct aid to the temperance cause, because it provides a refuge for the reformed drunkard, and is a tower of safety to the young of both sexes. It is not only the public house of the ever-growing army of temperance, but it furnishes an alternative to the drink shop for the vast mass of people who claim to be strictly moderate in the use of alcohol, which class was formerly thrust into the beer shop for its social pleasures and business gatherings. Coffee taverns are largely used by friendly societies, clubs, committees, cyclists, etc., who can now hold their meetings apart from the seductive influence of alcoholic liquors."

"The coincidence at least is very remarkable that drunkenness reached its maximum about the time when coffee taverns were introduced, and the decline of drunkenness throughout the entire country has been steady, continuous, and considerable year by year since."

The evening meeting of the Congress was addressed by the President of the National Temperance Organization, the Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, D. D., of New York, who said :

"Forty years ago I took part in the first World's Temperance Congress, held in Trippler Hall, New York city. The central figure in that great convocation was the gallant little Mayor of Portland, who came there wearing in his belt the scalps of the liquor sellers of Portland, every one of whom had suffered the just penalty of their sins under his newly passed Maine prohibitory law. That glorious man is living now at the ripe age of ninety, and he is nearly the last survivor of all those who took part in the initial world's temperance convention."

"The most notable thing in that convention was a very hot battle. We had more than a skirmish, something of a field fight, on the question of whether women should be allowed to take part in that world's convention."



REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D. D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

Wendell Phillips brandished his scimiter for half a day and fought for the rights of women to stand on the platform of a World's Temperance Congress. Forty years are past, and where are we now? Where are the women now on this question? What would we do without the women now on this platform? At this very hour my honored and beloved friend, if I may say so, that honored woman, Lady Henry Somerset, is taking so noble a part in the movement on the other side of the sea. And here in this city we have the lofty temperance structure reaching toward the sky, and bearing on one of its walls the well-known name of Frances Willard. Well, I do not know but it is true that we men hold the reins, but we must all the time understand that the women must tell us where to drive.

"What have we learned in forty years? We are all the time working on experimental lines in our moral reform, aye, in ecclesiastical movements. Churches are all the time working on experimental lines. A country like ours may be said to be working experimentally. I discovered one thing some time ago, and that is, that the license system as a system after a fair trial for several generations, for all practical purposes of destroying the traffic or saving the community from the crime and misery connected with it, has proved itself to be a ghastly farce, an utter failure. It really does nothing to stop the sale. It really puts a legal sanction on the stupendous and awful crime. It does no good. It is useful as a handle for the politician in some places, puts a tremendous power in his hands for mischief, but does nothing to stay the awful tide of misery, drunkenness, devastation, and ruin. It is about time that it was abandoned as a failure. I challenge any man to come on this platform during this Congress and prove to us that in the long run the license system, call it high or low, or what you will, has materially diminished drunkenness and the miseries produced thereby.

"In the next place, if we are to have a law at all, let us have a law founded on common sense and common weal. A law so thoroughly republican or democratic—for the word means the same to us to-night—that shall allow the people of every community to decide for itself whether they shall have the open saloon, the sale of intoxicating poisons or not. There is no trouble this year about quarantine for the cholera. If it should set its face against America, Chicago would rise up as one man and say, 'Quarantine New York and every port on the Atlantic: our lives depend on it.' Now, shall we not have the right to quarantine the curse of the rum shop and the saloon? Shall we not on the principle of self-preservation have the right to say that this shall not go on? We exercise the right to say there shall not be sold rotten meat in your markets, or a powder mill set up in the center of Chicago. Why, then, should not the people of any community deliberately vote that they will not have the traffic at all, and in that community let it be put thoroughly under the ban. I do not care whether you make the penalty a tremendous tax or whether you make it arrest or imprisonment; I do not care in what shape the penalty is, only let it be understood

that it is the right of the people in any community to veto and suppress the liquor traffic. I think that point has been gained in the past few years, and that wherever it has been tried it works well. I could take you over on the other side of the ocean and show you to-night a town with a population of 4,500 people, and there is not a dramshop within the whole town. Bessbrook is the town, and you will find on your bills and your receipts for the purchase of goods of merchants in that town the words, 'No public house'—'No police'—'No prisons'—'No paupers.' Every year the people of Bessbrook try the question, and the saloon does not get more than 100 or 200 votes; every year there is an overwhelming vote against it, and that has been the case in that town for twenty years.

What that town has done in Ireland may be done in thousands of places in our own America. So much for the whole question. There is but one common-sense way to deal with it, and that is, if it is an evil don't sanction it. Does it breathe crime and misery? Then give the people the right to suppress it. Is the wolf mischievous? Then take off the tail of the animal right behind the ears; that is the only way to dispose of it.

"The third thing that we have to come to is, that we have got to meet the dramshop, as far as we can, by providing better places for the working people. We make a great mistake when we say that every man who goes to the dramshop goes there to drink. No, no. Thousands of young men enter saloons and drinking clubs and places where drink is exposed, not for the purpose of drinking. They go there for sociability, and before they know it they are becoming drunkards. I believe in temperance coffee houses, and I believe to-day that if the rich philanthropists would spend some of their money in providing cheerful, well-lighted, attractive, and comfortably arranged places for people to go at night, where they could get coffee, lemonade, chocolate, and other drinks not alcoholic, it would be a tremendous gain and result in a tremendous benefit to the masses.

"Now, having said all this with regard to the traffic, I am going to say something about as strong on the other side. I insist that a man that buys is a partner with the traffic. I would strike both sides of the counter. I would say that the buyers sustain the sellers, and that the buyers are partners with the sellers. When the celebrated Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive bill was pending, some of the members who had a pretty good stock of wine



LADY HENRY SOMERSET,
Delegate from England.

down in their cellars thought it didn't mean them ; that it only meant to shut up the gin rooms. I gave it to those members of Parliament with all the fervor I could, striking right between the eyes. I said : ' You gentlemen believe you can fill your wine cellars and then persuade the masses of London to do without their beer ! No, no. Aren't you consumers ? aren't you purchasers ? aren't you partners ? ' I believe it is right to punish drunkenness. I am not ready to say that every drunkard is a hapless, helpless victim ; it is no such thing. They know what they are about when they take it, and knew what they were about when they begun it, and know what they are doing all through. I believe in the same ratio of punishment to the supporters of the rum traffic. I believe in other things : I believe in the right of every man and child to prosecute to the last degree and punish the robbers of their lives, their persons, and their character. The wives should be able to punish those who sell their husbands drink. It is all in the line of Christian legislation. But what I am driving at is, if we fight only the traffic and do not fight the drinking usages, we are opposing Niagara at the verge and not farther up the rapids. And therefore I insist to-night that temperance men must make their rallying cry in the next ten years for *total abstinence*. Forty years ago at that convention in New York the watch-word was Prohibition, and we haven't lowered that banner.

"The first temperance speech I ever made in my life was fifty-one years ago. I had just left college, and I went to Glasgow with a host of great Christian reformers. Father Mathew was there. When I was introduced to him as a young American, the great man put his arm on my shoulder and said : ' My son, I am very glad to see you, and may God give you my blessing. ' I did not tell him I was about studying for the Presbyterian pulpit, but I do not think that would have troubled him. He put his hand on my head and gave me a fatherly kiss, and I am glad to tell you that I started with that sort of ordination in the total-abstinence work. I am for total abstinence. I would have a pledge in every Sunday school, and I would have every Christian Endeavor Society working in that line. I would have every minister preach total abstinence and practice it."

At the conclusion of Dr. Cuyler's address Mrs. Mary A. Livermore spoke, and the session closed with an address by the Rev. O. P. Gifford, D. D., of Boston.

On Tuesday morning, June 6, the Congress met in two sections ; the Legislative and Political Section assembled in the Hall of Columbus, and the Educational Section met in the Hall of Washington. Preceding the opening of the Legislative and Political Section four papers were presented from the Scientific Section. They were one by Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, on the Results of Scientific Investigations concerning the Effect of Alcohol on the Human System ; one by Dr. A. Forel, of Zurich, Switzerland, on the Effect of Alcoholic Intoxication upon the Brain ; one by Dr. Richardson, of London, England, on The Physical Benefits of Total Abstinence ; and one

prepared by the Rev. J. B. Dunn, of Boston, entitled *Are Beer and Light Wines to be encouraged as against the Stronger Distilled Liquors?* The Legislative and Political Section was opened with an address by the Rev. Dr. Herrick, of Chicago, upon *Principle and Method in Temperance Reform*. This was followed by an address by Mrs. Mary A. Livermore on the subject *Should Woman have a Vote on the Liquor Traffic?* Papers were then submitted by the Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston, on *The Duty of Church Members in the Temperance Reform*, and by the Rev. Dr. D. C. Eddy, of Brooklyn, on *The Sovereignty of Saloons in Cities*. At the afternoon session of the section synopses were read of papers entitled *Local Option*, by Rev. Dr. Heman L. Wayland, of Philadelphia, and on *State Management of the Liquor Traffic*, by Edward Bellamy, of Massachusetts. These papers were followed by five-minute discussions, in which several ladies joined. A paper read by Rev. Dr. A. J. Kynett, of Philadelphia, entitled *Christian Temperance Leagues and Alliances*, and one by the Rev. Dr. A. G. Lawson, of New Jersey, on *The License Problem in Theory and Fact*, concluded the session.

The meeting of the Educational Section was presided over by Mr. Charles Wakely, of England, Secretary of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, who said, in part :

“In England our greatest statesman has said that the evils resulting from the drink traffic are greater than the combined evils of war, pestilence, and famine. The greatest lawyer in Great Britain tells us that nine tenths of the crime of the country comes from the use and abuse of intoxicating drinks, and one of our greatest physicians, Sir Andrew Clark, avers that seven tenths of the disease of the country comes from the use of these intoxicating drinks. This being the case, how important it is that we should deal with the young, and especially with those young people who are suffering through the drunkenness of their parents, from the terrible fact of heredity !

“We want, if we can, to improve the conditions that obtain in our own country in respect to this matter, but I should like to tell you what we are doing in connection with the organization that I represent—namely, the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. Besides having nineteen thousand societies, juvenile temperance societies, and some two million six hundred thousand members, we are doing our very utmost to get the schools of the land to give the children thorough temperance teaching, and I have these figures before me : The schools addressed since the origin of what is denominated our school scheme in England, the schools addressed during four years by competent lecturers, who are continually going into these schools, have been 10,644. The children present at these schools and listening to these lectures have been 1,119,990, and the children who have written essays or reports of these scientific lectures have been no less than 453,674. Our plan in connection with this teaching is to give certificates and prizes to the children, and a very large number have been awarded.

"If we could only show our teachers throughout the country how much depends upon them, and if they would only take up this work in real earnest, we should soon have the saloons cleared from our midst. Prof. Drummond, I think it was, said that the teacher is the most important factor in the nation's life, and we all, I am sure, remember how at school we looked up to our teachers almost as much as we did to our parents. The teacher's example in matters such as this was unhesitatingly to be followed. The teacher was a paragon of perfection for some of us. His dictum was final and unanswerable."



GEORGE W. ROSS,
Minister of Education in Ontario.

Although many papers were prepared for this section, none of the writers were present. Extracts were read from a paper by the Hon. George W. Ross, Minister of Education of the Province of Ontario, on Scientific Temperance in Schools, and brief synopses of the following papers were read: How to create a Right Sentiment, by Julia Colman, of New York; Need and Methods of Temperance Work in Sabbath Schools, by Julia McNair Wright; The Work among the Young, by Mrs. Nellie H. Bradley; The Present Needs of the Colored People in Relation to Temperance, by the Right Rev. Wesley J. Gaines; The Dissemination of Temperance Literature, by Rev. James C. Fernald; and The Work among the Colored People of the South, by J. C. Price, D. D. After the reading of the papers the question of temperance teaching was discussed by many temperance workers, both men and women.

On the evening of Tuesday, June 6, a public meeting of the Sons of Temperance was held in the Hall of Columbus, which was presided over by C. A. Everett, of Canada, Most Worthy Patriarch, who delivered the opening address, in which he stated the objects of the Order. The meeting was addressed also by representatives from Nova Scotia, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

The meeting of the Section of Total Abstinence and Enforcement of Law was called to order Wednesday morning, June 7. The meeting was opened by the reading of a paper on Total Abstinence, prepared by Archbishop Ireland, and in his absence read by Mr. W. J. Onahan. A paper on the Mortality of Total Abstainers in British Insurance Societies, prepared by Dr. Charles R. Drysdale, was read in part, after which the discussion of the enforcement of law was taken up. Four papers were presented, the first of which, prepared by Mr. W. B. Hill, of Macon, Ga., on The Enforcement of Law, was read by Mr. J. N. Stearns. Mr. James A. Troutmann, of Topeka, Kan., then addressed the meeting on the Result of State Prohibition, after which Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Washington, was introduced and

spoke on Constitutional Prohibition, State and National, and the Rev. Dr. George F. Magoun, of Iowa, read a paper entitled *The Relation of the United States Government to the Liquor Traffic*. After an address by Mr. W. H. Armstrong, of New York, one of the original pioneers of constitutional prohibition, the meeting was adjourned. At the opening of the afternoon session a paper was read on *Church Temperance Work*, by the Rev. Dr. Thomas L. Poulson, after which Miss Charlotte A. Gray, of Switzerland, spoke of the temperance work in that country. Other foreign delegates addressed the meeting. A paper prepared by the Rev. J. Grant Mills, of England, on *The Prevention of the Demoralization of the Native Races by the Liquor Traffic*, was presented, and one by Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, of Illinois, on *Gospel Temperance and Rescue Mission*.

The closing session of the Congress was held at eight o'clock Wednesday evening. Addresses were made by Colonel George W. Bain, of Kentucky, and the Rev. J. M. Cleary, who said, in closing :

"For many years the majority of the temperance workers here present to-night from this and other countries have been engaged in this noble cause for the uplifting of their fellow-men, and not one among you but has witnessed wonderful progress in this great work. One element of progress has cropped out, and that is a most hopeful sign for the greater success of our labors, and that is this, that all classes and all creeds and all colors stand in this movement shoulder to shoulder, and with this kind of an organization in the cause of virtue combined against vice such a thing as failure is entirely unknown."

The session of the National Temperance Congress was followed on Thursday, June 8, by a day and evening meeting of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. The Right Rev. J. B. Cotter, of Winona, Minn., presided over the sessions of the morning and afternoon, and the evening meeting was presided over by the Rev. P. J. Muldoon, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago. The Congress assembled again Friday morning in Room T of the Art Institute, James J. Kelly, of Buenos Ayres, presiding.

The members of the Non-Partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union were assembled on the morning of Thursday, June 8. Mrs. Ellen J. Phinney, of Cleveland, Ohio, presided, and delivered the opening address. In the afternoon a fraternal delegation from the Non-Partisan Union was cordially received by the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. An evening session was held, at which addresses were delivered by Mrs. T. B. Walker, Minneapolis, Minn. ; Francis Murphy, Esq., of Pittsburg, Pa. ; ex-Governor Larrabee, of Iowa ; and Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Washington, D. C.

The Order of Royal Templars of Temperance held their Congress in the Hall of Washington on the afternoon of June 8. The Hon. L. R. Sanborn, of Sanborn, N. Y., Supreme Councilor, presided. Several addresses were delivered, and music was furnished by the Emerald Trio, Canada, W. H. Crampton, of New York, and others. A reception was given to the visiting

members of the Order in one of the rooms of the Art Palace by Cyrus K. Porter Council, of Chicago, Royal Templars.

On Friday, June 9, a World's Temperance Congress, under the auspices of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was held in the Hall of Washington. Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, of Chicago, presided. Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens read the Crusade Psalm, and Mrs. Mary T. Lathrop offered prayer. Mrs. Henrotin, Vice-President of the Woman's Branch World's Congress Auxiliary, delivered an address of welcome. Addresses



REV. ALBERT G. LAWSON, D.D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

were made by Mrs. M. A. Woodbridge, of Ohio; Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, of Maine; Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant, of England; Miss Ruth Shaffner, of China; Mrs. Louisa S. Rounds, of Illinois; Miss Susan B. Anthony, and Mrs. Mary H. Hunt. In the afternoon papers were presented by Mrs. A. V. Hutchins on A Free Cure for Inebriety, Mrs. Bessie V. Cushman on Chicago W. C. T. Unions, and Mrs. Helen M. Barker on the World's Fair Work for Temperance. Other addresses were made by Mrs. Judge Foster, of Montreal, Canada; Miss Belle Kearney, of Mississippi; Mrs. Emma Cranmer, of South Dakota; Mrs. Dr. Todd, of New Brunswick; Mrs. Mary Yates, of England; Mrs. Margaret Parker, of Scotland; and General James B. Weaver, of Iowa.

A large evening meeting was addressed by Mrs. Mary T. Lathrop, George W. Bain, Mrs. Clara Hoffman, Mrs. Lucia E. F. Kimball, Mrs. Frances Leiter, and Miss Clara Parrish.

The Independent Order of Good Templars assembled in Columbus Hall on June 10. Dr. Oronhyatekha, of Canada, Right Worthy Grand Templar, called the meeting to order, and after an opening address introduced the Hon. S. D. Hastings, of Wisconsin, to preside over the morning session. The afternoon session was presided over by Joseph Malins, of England. The Hon. S. B. Chase, of Pennsylvania, Chancellor of the Good Templar Course of Study, delivered an exhaustive address, and the remainder of the session was devoted to the interests of the Juvenile Temple Department, Mrs. M. B. O'Donnell, of New York, presiding. In the evening a large public meeting was held.

The Congress of the American Medical Temperance Association, held in Washington Hall on June 10, was presided over by Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, President of the American Medical Temperance Association. An

elaborate paper on the drink problem was presented by Dr. T. D. Cruthers, of Connecticut, under the head A Scientific Study of Causes absolutely Essential. Dr. I. N. Quimby, of New Jersey, then addressed the meeting, after which Dr. J. H. Kellogg, of Battle Creek, Mich., read an able and exhaustive paper on Experimental Researches and Statistics relating to the Physiological Effects and Medical Uses of Alcohol, presenting a summary of the results of a series of researches in the Sanitary Laboratory of Hygiene for the purpose of determining the effects of alcohol upon the human body, and a collection of statistics relating to the medical uses of alcohol.

June 11 was observed as Temperance Sunday in the churches, and many of the congregations were addressed by active temperance workers.

That this first great Congress of Temperance Workers was truly representative and influential is shown from the following record of attendance: The delegates to the Congress of the National Temperance Organization whose credentials were received as elected numbered seven hundred, while over four hundred registered their names as present, and other hundreds were in attendance who did not register, representing over thirty international and eighty State organizations and many local societies. Carefully prepared papers were presented by about forty well-known and able leaders in the reform, and about seventy addresses were presented by men and women prominently connected with the movement.

Among the results of the Congress—as summed up by Mr. J. N. Stearns, who, as Secretary of the National Temperance Organization and secretary of the committee in charge of the organization of their Congress, was intimately connected with the work from its inception—attention was called to the fact that the Congress revealed in clearer light than ever before the universality of the drink habit, and to the conclusive testimony presented that it curses all nations alike. As to legislative methods concerning the drink traffic, it was stated that absolute and entire prohibition of the manufacture and sale was almost universally accepted as the ultimate end and aim, while local option, restriction, heavy penalties, and laws to circumscribe and limit the evil, were favored as temporary measures; great importance was attached to educational methods and the absolute necessity of showing and teaching the true nature and effects of alcohol upon the human system. Mr. Stearns stated that a most encouraging feature of the Congress was the interest it took in the work among the children and youth. In this department Great Britain leads the world. Her systematic efforts and magnificent organization were duly presented in such a way as to be not only an object lesson, but an incentive to active work among all the nations of the earth. The reports from Great Britain, also, on the establishment of coffee houses brought out an interesting discussion. Another encouraging result of the Congress was the new interest manifested in the medical aspect of the question, the interest in the able scientific papers presented, and the work of the American Medical Temperance Association showing a new awakening in this direction.



The western entrance to the Manufactures Building.

CHAPTER V.

CONGRESS ON COMMERCE AND FINANCE.

The general divisions—President Bonney's address—Opening of the Congress—Chairman Gage's address of welcome—Charles Parsons made permanent chairman—Bradford Rhodes on The World's Experience in Banking—Mrs. Henrotin on Woman as an Investor—Horace White on The Gold Standard—A symposium on the financial situation—Other subjects discussed.



HORACE WHITE,
a speaker at the Congress.

THE Congress of the Department of Commerce and Finance, held during the week beginning Monday, June 19, included the following general divisions: Banking and Finance, Boards of Trade, Railway Commerce, Water Commerce, Insurance, Building and Loan Associations, and Mercantile Credits. All these Congresses were held as assigned, with the exception of the Water Commerce, which, because of its intimate relation with the subject of the enlargement or construction of water ways, was transferred to July 31, to be held in connection with the Engineering Congresses. The organization of these Congresses was in charge of a General Committee, of which Lyman J. Gage, ex-President of the Columbian Exposition and President of the First National Bank of Chicago, served as chairman. The Department of Commerce and Finance was opened formally on Monday, June 19. President Bonney, of the World's Con-

gress Auxiliary, delivered the opening address, in which he said: "The greatest idea in the business world to-day is the idea of fraternity and co-operation. We have reached a stage in the evolution of the business world in which the fierce and deadly strife for supremacy, called competition, in which the stronger build up prosperity on the ruins of the weaker, and that next natural development, the substitution of gigantic combinations for competitive strife, are giving place to a third advance, the one of all destined to be enduring, the stage of co-operation. I am well aware that at first glance it would not be supposed that banks, and insurance companies, and railway corporations stand as representatives of co-operation; but I trust it will be shown in the Congresses now about to be held that this is strictly true. Of all the institutions of co-operation yet invented, the ordinary banking institution stands pre-eminently the first; for what is a bank but a co-operation on the part of its customers in contributing their respective deposits into the hands of the managers and directors of the bank, in order that the funds so contributed may be advanced to the deserving manufacturer or merchant or carrier to facilitate the transaction of his business? And, curiously enough, that one class in which perhaps the most prejudice, if not hostility, exists in relation to financial institutions, the agricultural class, is the one which most needs the aid of monetary institutions. The farmer is able to obtain the means from his country storekeeper to plant and sow his crops, to clothe and feed his hands, and wait till the sale of the products enables him to make payment, because the country merchant is given a corresponding credit by the country banker, who in turn is aided by some bank of one of the great financial centers of the country.

"I trust that this Congress on Commerce and Finance will aid in bringing financial institutions into closer sympathy with the people of the world and in dispelling unfounded prejudices in regard to their relations.

"But is the grain exchange entitled to a place in the list of co-operative institutions? Put the grain exchange out of existence and there would be no means by which the producer in Illinois, or Alabama, or Austria, or any other country could ascertain the current range of prices, the state of the demand, and the sources and abundance of the supply. In the great grain centers of the world alone is the business conducted with such general publicity that all changes in prices are instantly known, and instantly telegraphed all over the world. Into these great markets the producers of the world may bring or send their products, to meet the buyers of the world, either in person or through their representatives. The grain exchange therefore stands as that means by which, better than any other yet devised, the producer and the consumer may be brought together in the best relation for fair dealing with each other.

"But the railway corporation of the present age—is not this surely a 'giant oppressor'? Without the railroads of the world it would have taken more than ten centuries to reach the present condition of mankind. To take

away railways would be practically to bind men to the localities in which they were born, and where most of them would die without ever having seen any considerable part of the world. Take the railways out of existence and this vast territory that is called the garden of the world would not be crowded with a thriving population as it is to-day. This is not saying that every banker, or grain exchanger, or railway manager, or merchant has always conducted his business according to angelic principles; for if he had he would find himself in a world to which he would not be altogether well adapted. It is enough to say that, as a rule, they have averaged well in the service of the general welfare. But insurance companies—what relation have they to the great currents of the business of the world? Here, also, the supreme principle of co-operation has asserted its sway. The insurance company is a device by which many contribute small sums of money for the purpose of paying the losses which the few will suffer. In this way alone can the risks incident to modern commercial and financial operations be adequately met. In this way alone can the many practically contribute to reimburse the losses which otherwise would crush and destroy the few on whom they fall. Transportation could not be conducted on its present great scale, either by water or by land, if this mode of protecting the property in transit and of distributing the losses in case of damage or destruction were not in operation.

“One of the latest devices brought into this field of co-operation is the building association, in which precisely the same principles that have been described are applied to the procuring of homes for the customers of these institutions. In this way, again, the earnings of the many are brought together into a common fund for use by those who need them. Those who have funds to advance contribute them in order that others may borrow, and apply their earnings to repayment in place of rent, until they become homeowners instead of home-renters.

“Here we again recur to the supreme and all-controlling principle which sooner or later will bring the whole business world into a condition not only of thorough organization, but of thorough and friendly relations, and of genuine co-operation. No bank can long thrive except its customers themselves be prosperous. The banker can not take the substance of his patron, beyond the proper measure, without becoming the foe instead of the friend of the customer, and the ruin of the latter means in the end the injury of the former. No railway line can long thrive unless it be at peace with those who desire to have their property and persons transported along its lines. And the same principle applies to the merchant, the building association, and the insurer. There can be permanent success only when the principles of candor, fair dealing, and honest compensation prevail between those who administer these great agencies of modern civilization and those who serve or patronize them.

“As a concluding thought I will offer you the suggestion, or reminder, that these great agencies of modern commerce and finance largely hold in their hands the peace of the world. No nation can make war against the

will of the men who hold the money of the world, and when the great powers of commerce and finance take their stand on the side of peace they can do as much to command the peace of the world and stay the havoc of war as any other human agencies. And when these powers are united with moral, social, and religious influences working in this direction, there can be little cause for fear."

At the close of Mr. Bonney's address Mr. Gage was introduced, and in behalf of the Bankers' Congress delivered an informal address of welcome, requesting that all should come together with a spirit of freedom and frankness to take part in the series of meetings, after which responses to the addresses of welcome were made by representatives of the divisional Congresses.

The Congress of Banking and Finance opened Tuesday morning, June 20, and adjourned on Saturday, June 24. Two sessions were held each day, with the exception of Thursday and Saturday, when there was but one. The organization of this Congress, which was in charge of a committee of six, of which Lyman J. Gage served as chairman, had been carried out on the same broad lines laid down by Mr. Bonney in his proposition for the assembling of the World's Congresses. Invitations in English, French, German, and Spanish were sent to bankers and banking houses throughout the world. The governments of foreign countries and of the several States of the United States were invited to send delegates. Subjects covering the field of banking and finance were marked out, and sent to all those who had made the subjects a study, inviting them to prepare papers or addresses, or to suggest additional topics for the consideration of the Congress. The year 1893 in the United States was very exceptional in financial matters. From the beginning there was great uneasiness, culminating in many failures of banks and private firms. The gradual loss of confidence in the power of the United States Government to maintain its currency at par with gold unsettled the public mind, and sharpened the scrutiny into the fidelity of the execution of all trusts. Wherever weakness, real or fancied, in a bank or private firm attracted attention, there the depositor, or *cestui que* trust, did not hesitate to demand a settlement, with disastrous results in no insignificant number of cases. The banks and bankers of the world in times like those which prevailed during that year, even the most solvent, are obliged to exercise persistent vigilance to protect their own interests and those of others, and in such times the attendance at congresses of the greatest interest and importance necessarily must be small. The same cause that reduced the expected attendance at the World's Congress of Bankers and Financiers also reduced the number of addresses and papers, and consequently the range of subjects treated. Under all the circumstances, it is remarkable that the attendance proved so great as it did, and that so many papers containing information upon so many financial topics were presented to the Congress. Nearly every State and Territory in the United States was represented, and many representatives of foreign banks and countries were present at the sessions and

manifested a great degree of interest. The circumstances of the times were naturally reflected in the ideas of those who appeared before the Congress. The subjects of banking, abroad and at home, and the standard of value, were discussed, and every shade of reasonable opinion was represented.

The Congress was opened by Mr. Gage, chairman of the committee, from whose address the following quotations are made :

“ Human society has now reached a point from which it may be seen that no exposition of mere material products of industry, art, or science, nor of all these combined, can adequately show forth the achievements of man, the present status of the race, nor its reasonable expectations of future progress. There is a field, a very large one—perhaps the most important of all—affecting deeply the welfare of man, which is not illustrated in created form, but finds its expression in law, literature, and philosophy. We are now beginning to comprehend that behind every physical creation there are hidden laws, rules, or principles—unwritten, but all-powerful ; that usefulness, beauty, and perfection in physical things are realized in the degree that the true nature of these governing principles are recognized and obeyed. The same truth exists in equal power when we regard man not in his relation to physical facts, but in his relations to his fellows, in all the multiplied ways in which those relations exist. How to act, how to use, how to perpetuate and enjoy are questions not less important than how to create and how to have.

“ We find ourselves in a world of duties and responsibilities, of blessings and of penalties. We act and react upon society, and society reacts upon each and every one of us. In every department, however obscure, where a group of men find themselves, there exists, whether discovered or not, a true, an ideal, system of relationships. After a somewhat blind fashion, this has long been recognized. The governors of the earth, kings, rulers, and parliaments have uttered decrees, and endeavored to enforce by authoritative edicts their arbitrary, but often unscientific, conceptions. So far they have made comparatively bad work of it. Nature will not permit her own wise councils to be set at naught at the mere behest of any human power. Prisons, poverty, intemperance, crime, injustice, fear, mutual distrust, and hatred are the most striking and painful phenomena of the closing years of the nineteenth century, as they were of the so-called Dark Ages. Nature will not suffer herself to be coerced, but she willingly yields her most valuable secrets to the patient solicitation of those who diligently inquire. After many generations she told the engineer that one ounce of coal could be made to carry two tons of merchandise one mile, and then, to make the gift perfect, she furnished the coal. To the bewildered mariner she finally revealed this formula : Balance upon a delicate point a narrow, thin strip of magnetic iron—it will always seek a northern and southern pointing ; by its aid find your way across the trackless seas. In a like liberal spirit, she has whispered to the meek and patient student of the stars the secrets of the



THE TERRITORIAL BUILDING—ARIZONA, OKLAHOMA, AND NEW MEXICO.



THE ARKANSAS STATE BUILDING.

stellar universe. She has told the chemist how to make her deadly poisons alleviate pain and restore health to body and mind. And, lastly, she has taught us, through the aid of steam, how to transport food from regions of plenty to lands of want and famine. With these demonstrations of her generous disposition we can not doubt that, in the moral and social field, the rewards of a teachable and inquiring spirit will be equally beneficent.

"It is with supreme faith in this proposition that the World's Congresses of 1893 have been inaugurated. Covering nearly every phase of human thought and interest, it may be hoped that these will take their place in history as the most honorable and useful features of the great Exposition, which gratefully celebrates the triumphs of the world finder in his noble effort to wrest from Nature the then untold story of her mighty possessions beyond the seas.

"In the Section of Banking and Finance, to which your convocation the more immediately relates, we enter a department of the highest importance. Perhaps in the whole field of human relationships to which I have alluded none are more delicate than those which we occupy. I have said that behind every material creation there were the physical laws operating upon it, and that back of all relationships there was a true, or ideal, principle governing these relationships. What are these laws and principles as they affect and finally govern us? It is in the name of this inquiry that we meet.

"The main question is divisible into many subinquiries, and these truly answered, and then logically related as a whole, are the final answer to the first general question. These subdivisions have to do with money, its nature and functions, especially as to its influence upon labor, its power to exchange the products of industry; the effect of the rising or falling volume of the world's supply; the economical value of a single or double standard; the nature and value of paper money or credit money, as distinguished from real or metallic money, in its economic influence; the functions and office of credit, and the dangers, if any, to which its unwise use may lead; the duty and office of the banker as an intermediary in the fields of credit and industrial exchanges and the true laws which govern him in his action. But this list of subdivisions might be almost indefinitely extended.

"We have met at a time when a peculiar interest attaches to all these forms of inquiry. There has lately swept over the land—nay, over the whole world—one of those reactionary waves which bring painful anxiety to all, loss and ruin to many. This phenomena may be regarded as Nature's all-powerful protest against methods based not on her imperial wisdom, but on fallacious and vain imaginings. Under the rod of discipline, we do well to inquire as to the manner and extent of our transgressions, and to seek for the future ways of safety and peace.

"I can not attempt to make practical application of these remarks. It would hardly be proper that I should anticipate discussion. The whole field is before you, and we are gratified in believing that men of knowledge and

experience will here be found to give to us and to the world the benefit of their careful study and thought. I beg your indulgence, however, for the presentation of a practical idea or two, which may not be without some value in the present disturbed condition, so widely apparent.

“As an intermediary in the system of credits and industrial exchange the banker finds himself in a position where he can not suddenly and totally cease his vocation without violent shock to that system which his function is designed to serve. In times of fear and panic the temptation is strong for him to do this, however, even to the prejudice of his own interests, as well as to those of others.

“Some years since a banker in a prosperous community in western New York told me this story : ‘In the county where I lived,’ he said, ‘there came, at the most critical time of the year, a killing frost, which swept the values from every farm. The community was a prosperous one generally, owning their lands, and many of them having money in the bank, and quite free from debt. Discovering the loss which had fallen upon the community generally, it occurred to me that it was my duty to immediately proceed to collect all the claims I had, and refuse to lend to my clients, no matter how pressing their necessities nor how great their ultimate responsibility. Inaugurating this course with a good deal of vigor, I soon discovered that my deposits were rapidly falling. Being the only bank in the community, I soon found that all the claims that I held which were paid were paid by checks on myself, and gathered up by my debtors from members of the community who had funds at rest with me. In short, I discovered that I was putting my affairs into a course of rapid liquidation. I immediately reversed my line of action, things came to a rest, I won back the confidence of the community, and suffered no ultimate loss, and was able to make my usual semi-annual dividend.’

“I recently heard of a banker in Wisconsin who, moved by similar considerations—a banker of iron firmness—hearing of bank troubles in many localities, determined that he would not lend a dollar, but would collect every claim due him. He enjoyed the entire confidence and respect of the community, being a man of undoubted responsibility ; but soon after he reached this determination a man of substance applied to him for a small loan of one hundred dollars. He roughly refused, on the ground that he could not spare the money. The would-be borrower, from whose mind the illusion had not yet been dissipated that a bank was a fountain from which wealth flowed, was shocked, surprised, and pained. He went about among other members of the community expressing his grief that his banker was in such a distressed situation. Certain depositors put their own construction upon the meaning of all this, and within a week the banker himself was a humble borrower in Chicago, having paid in hard cash twenty-five per cent of his liabilities to the community, who had lost faith in him.

“An incident to the contrary, showing the power of a little money in

the work of liquidation, is in pleasant contrast. After the panic of 1873 I visited a not far distant town of moderate size, and from the most important merchant in the place I heard this story : ' For a week or ten days during the panic,' he said, ' business here came to a standstill. We did absolutely nothing. But one day we received a one-hundred-dollar bill by express from a distant town, with the direction to credit it upon the open account of the sender. We looked at the bill with interest and curiosity, and after conferring together, concluded to send it to Mr. A., to whom we owed a small account, knowing that he was in need. About three o'clock in the afternoon a wagon maker in the village came into our office with a broad smile upon his face, and said : " I am glad to pay you one hundred dollars on account. It is the first money I have seen in a good while." We took the money from his hand, and discovered it to be the same note we had received by express in the morning. We asked him where he got it, thinking he would reply that he received it from Mr. A., to whom we had paid it. He informed us that he had received it from Mr. E. We then followed the history of the note back, and found the facts to be that it had paid us one hundred dollars of debt in the morning, and had liquidated six other debts of one hundred dollars each during the day, and in the afternoon it had come back to us, liquidating another debt of one hundred dollars, and we still had the note on hand for fresh operations to-morrow.' These incidents carry their own suggestions, and need no enlargement."

At the close of his address, Mr. Gage introduced Mr. Charles Parsons, of St. Louis, who had consented to act as permanent chairman during the sessions of the Congress. Mr. Parsons delivered an address, in which he referred at length to the rapid growth of Chicago, and to the wonderful city that had sprung up in its midst to do honor to the discoverer of the country ; he called attention to the fact that the exposition of modern times was not for trade alone, but was for human elevation and cultivation as well, and declared the Congress in which his listeners were assembled to be in high accord with that idea. A graceful " Welcome to Chicago," by Mr. John J. P. Odell, President of the Union National Bank of Chicago and a director of the Exposition, followed, after which the work of the session was taken up.

Mr. Parsons, at the conclusion of Mr. Odell's address, announced that Mr. Bradford Rhodes, of New York city, would address the assembly. The subject of Mr. Rhodes's lecture was *The World's Experience in Banking*, and he spoke as follows :

" The business of banking in its simpler forms is of great antiquity, and was no doubt understood and practiced by the Assyrians and Babylonians, by the Greeks and the Romans. As the taking of interest for the use of money furnishes the chief motive and lies at the root of all banking wherever a people advances sufficiently in the arts of civilization to loan money for hire, there would naturally arise many of the practices and methods that still prevail among the bankers of the present day. Credit necessarily springs up

with the improvement of social conditions, and it is but a short step to the invention of devices for the transfer of credit.

“Among the ancients there were, perhaps, used instruments similar to modern checks and bills of exchange, but it is the tendency of enthusiastic antiquarian research to magnify the discoveries that seem to place the origin of modern inventions far back in the past. An English writer on the book of Daniel has described the great bank of Babylon, where the firm of Engibi had done business, fathers and sons, for more than two centuries; collecting taxes and tithes, lending money at exorbitant rates of interest, drawing up mortgages on fields, etc. The description of the business shows it to have been a combination of law, real estate, money lending, and brokerage, rather than a differentiated banking business. The specialization of occupations, professions, and employments had not advanced to the extent known to modern civilization. The wise man



BRADFORD RHODES,
a speaker at the Congress.

of Babylon, as we can see in the case of Daniel himself, was an all-round man—something of a lawyer, something of an administrator, considerable of a priest, an astrologer, mind reader, and interpreter of visions and hard sayings, as well as handwriting on the wall. A very small proportion of the population were freemen, and a still smaller proportion could freely choose their occupation. These conditions prevailed until comparatively modern times.

“Therefore, while it is possible to find the elemental transactions that distinguish banking, even among the earliest civilizations, it is safe to say that in those remote times there were no banks and bankers, in the modern sense, doing an exclusively banking business. There have always been money lenders, but they loaned their own money, and the modern bank is, on the contrary, an invention for loaning other people's money—a device for economizing the use of money for the benefit of all. The very high rates of interest in ancient Rome and still more ancient Babylon, lasting to comparatively recent times, show that no such invention as a modern bank could have existed as early as is claimed by some. Grass has undoubtedly been cut from the very earliest times, but it would be hard to predicate the ancient origin of the McCormick reaper because of this undisputed fact. The invention of the bank sounded the doom of the individual money lender, with his cent-per-cent rates, as the modern mowing machine has sounded the doom of the sickle, although people so disposed or forced by necessity can still use the sickle and the note shaver instead of the bank and the mowing machine.

“Great enterprises were no doubt carried on in the past without banks; but Shakespeare informs us to what straits an honest merchant might be put

the return of whose ships was delayed beyond the expected time. Incidentally he gives an object lesson to be approved by all bankers, proving the danger of accommodation paper. Antonio's peril must have occurred before the foundation of that great institution which did so much to strengthen the power of the state—the Bank of Venice. If this bank had been in existence we can not conceive of Antonio's stress for a few thousand ducats. The great merchants, the Doge, and the Council of Ten, who controlled the bank, could not have refused so necessary a loan, and Antonio himself would never have permitted his note to go to protest.

“The high interest prevailing before the formation of banks increased the dangers and risks of trade and kept the nations of Europe in a semi-barbarous state for centuries. The low rates consequent upon this invention have extended commerce, stimulated agriculture and manufactures, and have been a blessing to the nations of the earth.

“Whether it was advancing civilization that caused the invention of banks, or the invention of banks that has advanced civilization, a question that is sometimes discussed, reminds us of that still earlier puzzle—whether the owl produced the egg or the egg the owl ; but it is patent that the invention occurred among peoples where comparative immunity from foreign attack had encouraged the arts of peace.

“In Venice, impregnable on its islands, the first bank is heard of ; clearly not a bank in the full modern sense, yet containing the germ principle of one. The cities of Genoa and Amsterdam followed with institutions similar in kind. In the meantime, the goldsmiths of England had devised some methods of detail that simplified the handling of money, till at last in the private banks of England, the Bank of Sweden, and the Bank of England the full perfection and utility of the invention began to dawn upon the world of traders.

“A brief account of these various steps toward latter-day methods of banking will make clearer the nature and uses of the business, and how it multiplies and cheapens the currency of the world.

“Lord Overstone, the celebrated English banker, once remarked to a gentleman in his own countinghouse that his capital was his desks, ink, pens, and books. ‘That is all my capital,’ said he ; ‘the rest belongs to me ; it has nothing to do in my banking business.’ In other words, while banking capital is a certain security to depositors and customers, it is really the money of the latter, and not the banker's money, on which the business is done. The money of the public, distributed in the hands of the public, is of comparatively little use to the business world, but when gathered in a bank of collection and managed by an intelligent head, to which the public can make known its separate and collective requirements, then its usefulness is so increased that a thousandfold is an inexpressive term to convey the true idea.

“The Bank of Venice may be pronounced the forerunner of modern banking. It had its origin in the necessities of the state of Venice, in the

year 1171, as the national banking system had its origin in the necessities of the United States in 1863. A forced loan was demanded from the citizens of Venice—that is, each citizen having gold and silver money was required to bring it to the public treasury. The amounts contributed by each citizen were entered in a book instead of giving a bond, as would be done at the present day. The republic paid punctually an annual interest of four per cent to those who advanced the specie, but did not repay the principal. The rate of interest allowed was much less than the current rate, but to compensate other advantages, foreseen or not by the propounder of the plan, accrued to the citizens. Who it was that thought of this loan, what position he filled in the Government of Venice, and whether he did or did not build better than he knew, my research has not yet been able to discover. For any information on this subject from those who have investigated further than I the dark places of history I should be most thankful.

“The citizens of Venice, unable to recover the principal of their loans, began to use the indebtedness of the state to them as an asset. Here again the interesting owl-and-egg question arises: whether the state first extended facilities for the transfer of these credits, or the citizens first suggested the necessity of such facilities to the state. There may have been similar loans before paid off in due time when the state was richer, and there may have been practices of exchange of the indebtedness among private parties, before notaries, in the same way usual to other property. These things are usually a growth, until at last from an old confused practice a comparatively perfect system is evolved.

“The citizens transferred the credits due them from the state on the books of the bank in their current transactions. The method was recognized as superior to handling the multifarious coins of all nations which the trade with all the world brought to Venice. Every one then brought their coin to the bank in order to obtain this convenient bank credit. There were no bills issued or checks used; the transfers of the credits on the bank books, made with certain formalities, were the evidences of payment. This was banking on the security of a government loan, the prototype of the United States national banking system. The notes issued by the national banks are a convenient substitute for the transfer of the credits on the books of the bank. If the Bank of Venice had been founded on a diminishing loan, the useful credits would soon have been closed. On the contrary, however, the loan to the state of specie in exchange for bank credits was constantly increasing. The original subscription was 2,000,000 ducats, which increased to 14,000,000 or 15,000,000 ducats when the bank was closed in 1797 by Napoleon I. In fact, the tendency to deposit specie became so great that after 1423 interest was no longer paid on deposits by the Government. Bank funds were generally at a premium as compared with specie, and there was never difficulty in obtaining specie for them when needed.

“Florentine bankers flourished during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth

centuries, but their operations were always at excessively high interest, and their efforts were not in the direction of inventing machinery for cheapening money. They loaned a large sum to Edward III of England, who could not pay, and caused a financial panic in Florence in 1346. There were said to be eight firms of private bankers in that city in the twelfth century.

"The Bank of Genoa was founded about one hundred and fifty years after the Bank of Venice. Macaulay, in his *History of England*, has a picturesque description of the operations of this bank, which existed from 1320 to 1798. The basis of this bank, like that of Venice, was a loan to the Government. Its business was conducted upon similar principles. After the invention of bank notes the Bank of Genoa issued them.

"The Bank of Amsterdam came into existence in 1609. Its object was to obviate the difficulties arising from light-weight coin received in the extensive foreign trade of the city. Evidently, a bank as the remedy was suggested by the success of the Banks of Venice and Genoa in handling the same difficulty. The new bank received all coin, light and otherwise, by weight and fineness; in other words, at its real value in standard coin, practically as bullion, and gave in return a credit on its books. Standard coin was to be paid on surrender of the bank credit. It also received bullion and gave both a bank credit five per cent less than the value of the bullion and a receipt allowing the holder to take the bullion on surrendering bank credit. The depositor thus had his bank credit and his receipt, and could use both for what they were worth in the market.

"The city of Amsterdam guaranteed the bank credits, as the United States does the notes of national banks, but without a loan at first. The credit of the institution was immense. But alas! unknown to the public the specie and bullion deposits were loaned to the East India Company, to Holland, and the city of Amsterdam. The secret was not revealed until 1790, when the East India Company, Holland, and Amsterdam were all in financial difficulties together. The bank failed, turning over its unliquidated claims against the state to its depositors. A similar bank, to accomplish the same purpose as the Bank of Amsterdam, was established in Hamburg in 1619, which, although shaken at times by circumstances beyond its control, still flourishes as the Bank of Hamburg.

"The Bank of Sweden was founded by a Swede named Palmstruck, in 1656, forty years earlier than the Bank of England. It has been claimed that this bank was the inventor of the bank note in Europe. It may have been the first large bank established by a government issuing bank bills, but notes corresponding to bank notes were issued by the goldsmiths in England, and perhaps elsewhere, for some years at least prior to the establishment of the Bank of Sweden, which did not issue notes until 1658, while the goldsmiths in London used similar notes as early at least as 1650.

"The banks of Venice, Genoa, and Amsterdam represent the earliest efforts to establish machinery for the more effectual and economical use of

money. The so-called banking existing before had for its object the loaning of money merely, without endeavoring to multiply its effects. While the principles on which these banks were founded are the foundations of modern banking, the invention of details in the carrying out of these principles is largely due to the money dealers of England. The Jews were the first money dealers in England. They went to that country with William the Conqueror. They used, if they did not invent, bills of exchange, accumulated goodly stocks of coin, which they loaned at high rates of interest, although we are apt to forget these rates were usual whether money was loaned by Jew or Christian. These loans were made to the nobility on the security of their estates. Sir Walter Scott in his famous tale of *Ivanhoe* has given us a vivid picture of Isaac of York and the barbarous cruelties to which the wealthy Jews were not seldom subjected, and in *Ivanhoe's* case an instance of their gratitude and generosity. Edward I robbed fifteen thousand Jews of their wealth and banished them all. The business was then taken up by the Lombards, who, not subject to race prejudice, did business as money lenders, pawnbrokers, and goldsmiths.

"As early as 1566 there was a goldsmiths' company in London consisting of one hundred and seven members. About 1645 the goldsmiths first began to act as bankers, collecting rents for their customers, and receiving deposits on which they paid interest. These notes were at first receipts payable on demand. They were called "goldsmiths' notes." Checks also soon originated by the practice of customers giving orders on their goldsmiths.

"Nothing like these goldsmiths' notes and checks appears to have had currency on the Continent. Macaulay mentions Sir Dudley North, returning to England after many years' residence abroad, as finding that the new practice of depositing cash with the goldsmiths, drawing checks on them, and using their notes, had grown up in his absence. When one of his friends asked him where he kept his cash: 'Where should I keep it,' he asked, 'but in my own house?' The poet Pope relates that his father, having enough coin to pay his expenses for the rest of his life, as he calculated, kept it in a chest, from which he took the daily sum he needed.

"The great advantage to trade of the operations of these early private bankers led to the establishment of the Bank of England. This institution commenced with a loan of £1,200,000 advanced to the Government, the incorporation of the lenders taking place on July 27, 1694. The Government at first allowed eight per cent on the loan. The charter, at first granted for short periods, has been renewed from time to time until 1844, when the law under which the Bank of England now does business was formulated. The act of 1844 regulated the issue of bank notes, not only by the Bank of England, but also of all other banks in the kingdom. In addition to the great bank there were joint-stock and private banks, many of them the lineal descendants of firms of goldsmiths. The circulation to which each of these banks was entitled under the act was to be arrived at by taking the average

amount of circulation in each case for twelve weeks prior to 1844. The amount for all these banks was by this method found to be eight and three quarters million pounds sterling. The amount to be issued by the Bank of England was fixed at fourteen million pounds sterling through an issue department to which was to be transferred an equal amount of the interest-bearing securities representing loans of the bank to the Government. The joint-stock and private banks might cede their circulation privilege to the Bank of England for a consideration of one per cent per annum (this indicates what circulation was thought to be worth to the banks) up to August 1, 1856, and the privilege was forfeited by these banks in case of bankruptcy or of certain changes in the nature of their partnerships. The Bank of England was authorized to issue its own notes for the full amount of circulation ceded by the joint-stock and private banks, and by order of the Crown in Council had the further privilege of issuing notes to the extent of two thirds of the lapsed circulation—all in addition to the fourteen millions of notes first permitted. These further issues must, however, be secured by the deposit in the issue department of additional Government debt to an equal amount. The circulation of the bank since 1844 has been increased by nearly two million pounds sterling. The bank may also issue notes to any further extent, provided an equal amount of coin is deposited in the issue department. One quarter of this coin may be silver, but very little, if any, of the bank's outstanding circulation is now based on silver. The notes are a legal tender between all parties except in favor of the bank itself, and only so long as they are paid by the bank in coin on demand. The profits on the circulation are divided between the bank and the Government.

“The theory upon which the note issues of the Bank of England are based is that, as proved by experience, a certain amount of paper notes will at all times be kept in use by the public. The public is the air, in which the bank, the juggler, keeps several balls constantly flying, only one coming to hand at any time. This certain amount kept flying was determined, as has been stated, by actual experiment. The ultimate redemption is supposed to be secured by the Government debt deposited. The notes issued on gold constitute a method of using the gold without the danger of having it scattered beyond recovery. Practically, as there is no outward distinction in the notes in the hands of the public, whether based on securities or gold, all the gold in the issue department is a reserve for the prompt redemption of such portion of the whole issue as may be presented at any time. It gives the bank a chance to somewhat expand its issues in response to business demands, and serves as a reserve to protect those issues.

“The Scotch and Irish banks, like the joint-stock and private banks of England, have the right to issue a certain amount of permanent circulation, secured only by their general assets, and not, like the permanent circulation of the Bank of England, by Government debt specially deposited; but, like the Bank of England and unlike the joint-stock and private banks, the

Scotch and Irish banks have the right to issue additional notes, as many as they can secure pound for pound by a reserve of gold coin. The stockholders of these banks are liable each one to the extent of his private fortune for all the debts of the bank.

"The Bank of England controls the flow of specie and bullion in and out of the kingdom by changes in the rate of discount. It discounts the notes of merchants by giving its own notes in exchange, which are redeemable in gold. The raising the rate at once increases the difficulty of obtaining gold for export. No notes are issued by the banks of Great Britain in denominations of less than five pounds. This renders necessary the use of gold



GEORGE R. BLANCHARD,
Chairman of the Railway Commerce Congress.

sovereigns and silver in transactions of less than that amount. The same reason that keeps always in circulation a certain sum in bank notes to carry on transactions of five pounds and over also keeps in the country outside of the banks a certain stock of gold and silver coin to carry on transactions under five pounds; the gold for transactions under five pounds and not less than one pound, and the silver for those under one pound. This stock of gold has been estimated in 1892 by John Biddulph Martin and R. H. Inglis Palgrave at not more than £55,000,000 in sovereigns and half sovereigns, and not below £44,000,000. It acts an important part as a buffer in protecting the stock held by the banks.

"The celebrated Scotchman John Law was the originator of the first Bank of France. In 1716 he was authorized by the regent, Duke of Orleans, to establish a private bank of discount and deposit with the right to issue notes. It was to exist for twenty years, and its profits were to be free of taxes. The regent was its protector, and it was to be subject to examination by Government inspectors. Its capital was divided into twelve hundred shares of 5,000 livres each. By public ordinance its notes were made receivable for public dues, and were made payable at the revenue offices when specie was required. They thus secured wide acceptance throughout France. Specie poured into the coffers of the bank, and notes were issued to the extent of at least 50,000,000 livres and were in good credit. So great was the success of this private institution that in two years (1718) it was made the Bank of the Nation. The Government purchased all its shares and guaranteed its liabilities. The bank was well conceived and managed, and might

well have continued solvent had not two mercantile schemes been appended to it. These were the Company of the West and the Company of the Indies. The former was to develop the resources of Canada and Louisiana. Enormous speculation in the shares of these companies ruined the bank, and after an existence of four years only it collapsed. Everything good and bad in banking was developed in the history of this institution. John Law's ideas seem to have been based on studies of the Banks of Venice, Amsterdam, and England, with some further notions as to using the power of Government to give credit to paper money. It has always been questioned whether the extravagances of the later management of this bank were altogether his fault. In this institution the specie of the country was collected in one place to serve as a basis for a larger amount in paper. The notes were not at first a legal tender, but were made receivable for taxes. The very success experienced at first from sound methods caused the managers to think there could be no end to the exploits of credit.

"The wide ruin spread through France by this collapse, greater than that caused by the failure of the Panama Canal scheme in our day, inspired a wholesome distrust of all banking operations, and for fifty years no bank could be successfully started.

"In 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence by the thirteen colonies, a new Bank of France was started by Turgot, which issued notes to the amount of 12,000,000 livres, equal to its capital. This bank encouraged trade during the period of the American Revolution. It became embarrassed by the outbreak of the French Revolution, and was closed by a decree of the Convention in 1793.

"The present Bank of France was established in 1803, and its charter has been renewed from time to time. The shares are held by private individuals; the governor is appointed for life, and the bank is managed by the governor and a council of regents. The institution is national, and is under the fostering care of the administration for the time being, created both as a fiscal agent and to meet the demands of commerce. It has a monopoly of note issues, and can raise the rate of discount whenever circumstances seem to require it. The issue of notes is controlled by the council, who report to the Government. The notes are based upon the security of the general assets of the bank, no part of the assets being segregated for the special benefit of the notes. Sometimes the Government guarantees a temporary or excessive issue, and also sustains the bank generally, when necessary, with its own credit. There is no limit fixed on its circulation as long as the bank redeems its notes in specie on demand; but if specie payments are suspended and the Government permits the issue of inconvertible notes, a limit to such issues is always fixed, as was done during and after the Franco-Prussian War.

"The principle upon which the note issues of the Bank of France are conducted is that when trade is normal in ordinary times, when there is no disturbance on account of war or civil insurrection, the interchange of mate-

rials and products by and among citizens engaged in making their living requires greater aid to facilitate it than can be afforded by the stock of gold and silver coin. The bank is the machine for doing this. It takes the evidences of ownership of all these materials and products and opens accounts with the owners, who, by the transfer of these accounts among themselves, transfer the materials and products represented by the accounts, and also all expenses of the transfers. This may be done most conveniently by the checks of the owners or by bank notes, which are simply checks of the bank drawn on itself in convenient denominations. So long as the bank notes and checks do not exceed the evidences of ownership of property placed in the bank and made over to it by the owners in a fiduciary capacity, and the business is conducted with wisdom and honor, the notes and checks will be perfectly safe.

“This principle underlies all banking, and the further precautions adopted, as in the case of the Bank of France itself and the Bank of England and other institutions, are safeguards to insure proper and honest management. In the Bank of France no part of the property deposited with it is set apart for the special and particular security of the notes. In the Bank of England, Government securities and gold are segregated and devoted to the sole purpose of meeting the notes. The method of the Bank of England appears the safer; but the method of the Bank of France is, other things being equal, much the more economical. In the one case the Government stands more closely behind the bank than in the other. Thus the Bank of France can rely upon the credit of the Government to the full extent in case of necessity, but it must also submit to Government interference and direction. The Bank of England, however, can look for no Government support other than that it can pay for, but neither can the Government dictate its policy except by due enactment of law, as in the case of any other citizen. The English method and its modifications are better adapted to a people who are opposed to paternalism in government. The French system is best when it can be conducted by trained and responsible men under the safeguard and protection of the state. In the one case the Government restriction is imposed indirectly by a general law; in the other, directly by the executive branch of the Government, without necessity of legislation for each particular act.

“A brief *résumé* of banking in other countries will readily indicate how far and in what manner Government interference with banking machinery is applied so as to give to the public and the state the largest share of benefit with the smallest chance of loss from errors or dishonesty in running the machinery.

“The Scotch system of banking, heretofore described, is the model for banks in the English colonies generally, with such adaptations to the surroundings and circumstances as are necessary. The banks of the Australasian colonies are upon this model. They issue, however, one-pound notes, which form a large proportion of their whole circulation. This has the tendency to

drive gold out of ordinary use, and to require the banks to keep much larger reserves in coin than is the case with the banks of Scotland. The banks are required to issue quarterly statements of their condition. The notes issued are a lien upon all the assets, including the liability of stockholders. From recent advices from Australia it appears that bank credits have of late years been much extended there in promoting enterprises of various kinds that require a growth of population to insure their success. As emigration is not encouraged by legislatures controlled by labor organizations, the result has recently been disastrous to many of the banks and financial institutions of these colonies.

“The Imperial Bank of Germany, or Reichsbank, was founded in 1875 as the successor of the Bank of Prussia. The bank is governed by a council, of which the Chancellor of the Empire is president. The Banking Act of 1875, fixing the relations between the Imperial Bank and other existing banks as to circulation, was modeled on the English Bank Act of 1844. A fixed, permanent amount of circulation was assigned to each of these outside banks; besides this, they may issue notes secured mark for mark by gold coin, and further circulating notes may be issued subject to a tax of five per cent. At first the issue of notes by the Imperial Bank was limited only by the discretion of the controlling council, but in 1881 its notes over a certain amount were also subjected to a tax of five per cent. This tax has the effect of retiring surplus notes issued in times when there is extraordinary demand for money. A reserve must be kept on all bank notes equal to one third of their amount in gold coin, gold bullion, and legal-tender notes of the empire. The bank must hold discounted three-months' bills equal to the remaining two thirds. The Imperial Bank has branches in all parts of the empire. No notes are issued in denominations of less than an equivalent of twenty-five dollars. The German system embodies features of the English, Italian, and also of the national banking system of the United States.

“The Austro-Hungarian Bank has the exclusive right of issuing notes in Austro-Hungary. It is modeled very closely after the Bank of France. Its regular issues, over \$100,000,000, must be covered by a one-hundred-per-cent reserve of specie or bullion, a feature in which it resembles the Bank of England. The bank is allowed, however, to issue other notes upon the security of discounted paper, obligations of the Austrian Empire, etc., and with the consent of the Government without any security whatever. The notes, like our Treasury notes of 1890, are to be taken for all payments unless otherwise stated in the contract. The bank is governed by a board of directors presided over by a governor appointed by the Emperor. An Imperial Commission performs the functions of our bank examiner, watching for and preventing violations of law.

“There are in Switzerland two classes of banks: one the cantonal, where the capital has been furnished by the canton or township, and the other consisting of joint-stock banks. They appear to be under very little govern-

mental regulation—not more than State banks in the United States. The most important of all these banks, both cantonal and joint-stock, are united in an association similar to the associated banks of New York city—that is, they accept each other's notes and interchange and aid each other's business. Some weaker banks are not admitted to this private arrangement. The note issues are not restricted by any law; they are not a legal tender, nor are they specially secured. In some of the cantons a tax of one half to one per cent is imposed on the maximum issues. The notes of banks not in the association do not circulate except in the locality of their issues. The notes of the associated banks circulate throughout the country.

“The chief bank in Italy is the National Bank of Italy, founded in 1859, but it is not properly a Government bank. The law under which the banks now operate was passed in 1874 after a minute examination into the banking methods of other countries. This law restricted the issue of notes to six associated banks, which were permitted to issue paper to the extent of \$200,000,000 for the use of the Government. Upon this loan the state issued interest-bearing securities to be held by the banks. In addition, the associated banks are permitted to issue notes on their own account to the extent of forty per cent of their capital. The last notes are redeemable in coin or the notes first spoken of.

“The Imperial Bank of Russia was founded by the state in 1860, in imitation of the Banks of England and France. It is conducted under the supervision of the state. Its directors are a committee of the Treasury and its capital is subscribed by the Government. The circulation is practically unlimited, being increased whenever necessary to meet the exigencies of the Government. No other banks in Russia issue notes. The Imperial Bank is merely the Russian Government doing business for its own benefit.

“The National Bank of Belgium has practically the exclusive right of issuing notes, because its notes alone are legal tender to the Government, which controls its issues and business. Theoretically, there is no restriction upon the issue of notes by individuals or firms, except by corporations of limited liability. The small extent of the country does not allow any profit in the circulation of local notes in the face of the legal-tender quality and management of the National Bank. Reserves are usually kept in coin to the extent of one third of the circulation and deposits, but the Government may permit a reduction of twenty-five per cent of the liabilities.

“The Nederlandsche National Bank issues the only bank notes permitted in the Netherlands. This bank issues two kinds, like the associated banks of Italy—one sort, limited to a certain amount, based on Government securities, and the other notes of the bank proper, unlimited. But a reserve of forty per cent in gold coin or bullion is required on all liabilities, including circulating notes.

“The Bank of Copenhagen alone issues notes in Denmark. They are without limit, with no security other than the general assets of the bank.



THE CALIFORNIA STATE BUILDING.

For a certain fixed proportion of notes, say \$8,000,000, a reserve of good, convertible assets must be kept equal to fifty per cent of the amount. On all notes over this amount a reserve of gold coin equal to one third of this additional sum is required. The total gold reserve must never be less than three eighths of the total circulation.

“The Bank of Norway was chartered in 1816. It is practically a Government bank, in whose management the stockholders have no voice. Its right to issue notes is exclusive, and the issues are in proportion to its capital—viz., two and a half times the original capital, twice the amount of a first increase, and one and a half times a subsequent increase. Against its surplus fund it may issue one hundred and fifty per cent, and still further notes may be issued against gold. The notes are a legal tender, and though not guaranteed by the state, they are practically backed by it.

“The Bank of Sweden was founded in 1656. Its circulation is unlimited, except as secured by a gold-coin reserve of nearly fifty per cent. Other banks in Sweden are the Enskilda banks, like our private banks, that also are permitted to issue notes. The partners are of two classes, some whose liabilities are unlimited, the others whose liability is limited. Upon capital of the first class notes may be issued when twenty-five per cent of such capital is deposited in a public place of security. The capital of limited-liability partners must be deposited to the extent of seventy-five per cent before the note-issuing privilege is granted. These deposits must be in Government bonds or approved mortgages on real estate. Upon the paid-up capital an issue of notes to the extent of three fourths is permitted; also other notes to the extent of the cash in bank and the deposits with the Bank of Sweden. All of these additional notes must not, however, exceed fifty per cent of the capital. The notes are redeemable at the counters of the banks issuing them. The banks have a system of exchanges to facilitate redemption at Stockholm.

“The Bank of Spain holds the exclusive right of note issues in that country. Its notes are emitted and circulate solely on its credit to an amount of three times its capital. The bank is required to keep a thirty-three-per-cent reserve in gold coin.

“Bank notes are issued in Portugal by the Bank of Portugal. This bank claims the exclusive right to put out circulation, but banks in other places issue notes notwithstanding this claim. There is no special security for its notes, which, all except a small amount, are payable in gold coin on demand.

“Japan has a banking system modeled upon that of the United States. In addition there is a State Bank of Japan modeled on that of Belgium. The Government subscribes for one half the capital, and the Emperor appoints the president.

“From these illustrations it may be understood that the usefulness of banks consists not in creating, but in performing the exchange function of

money. Money not only effects exchanges, but it is also the standard of value. Banks and their devices, notes, checks, drafts, etc., effect exchanges without the use of money. When by laws or bad management banks seem to fix the standard of value they are outside of their province. On the other hand, it is a popular error that mistakes their instruments for money.

"In Venice we have seen how, by the establishment of a system of accounts, the value of a large mass of coin, previously used to effect exchanges among merchants, was at once added to the resources of the state, while the necessary exchanges were better effected by the bank machinery than by the coin itself. But Venice maintained and perfected the standard of value. This bank machinery of Venice was excellent in that it did not confuse the popular idea of real money value. The substitution of bank notes for one part of the Venetian method gave additional convenience. It gives to each individual the freer use of his bank credit in every place, not confining him to making transfers in the bank office. But its dangers are almost equal to its convenience, and it has been the aim of banking law and regulation to cull the utility of bank notes and avoid their dangers, to effect exchanges conveniently without overstimulating trade and without departure from a true standard of value.

"Banking methods and laws in each country, with this common aim, differ much with the custom and genius of the several nations. Whenever the maintenance of the true mean between utility and danger is lost sight of, or whenever false deductions from the facility in making exchanges lead to a departure from the standard of value, and a belief that the mere machinery of wealth is wealth itself, disaster inevitably follows.

"The banking methods of Europe have been perfected by centuries of experience, each among the people it serves. America has profited by them, although adapting them to her own conditions. Both in Europe and the United States sound finance and banking have as their steady company an evil shadow called irredeemable currency, legal tender, fiat money, etc., that sometimes in times of trouble hides the light of truth. These disastrous monetary fallacies secure acceptance with many honest-minded and intelligent people through the seriousness and false philanthropy of their promoters.

"The Simon Magus, or false apostle of finance, is usually a sincere and earnest man who believes in his theory, as the second-rate chess player confides in his infallible gambit. Disaster does not convince him, for do not the soundest plans go astray in the execution? He seems to have had his day in Europe, but he still flourishes in the United States. Reducing his fallacy to its lowest terms, it seems as follows: If payments are daily made in Chicago amounting to one hundred and sixty-six million dollars, and all but six millions are made in checks, drafts, etc., why, says Simon Magus, should the people pay the banks for doing the exchanges when, if only one hundred and sixty-six millions in money were furnished, no one need go to a bank or draw a check or a draft? Coin is too scarce; therefore let a paternal gov-

ernment furnish legal-tender dollars. He forgets that a government without banking machinery can not know rightly the extent of the exchanges with which the fiat money is to conform.

"Learning wisdom by experience is sometimes a severe process, but it is effectual. Just now the thinking people of this country have formed themselves into a school of finance, and they are learning a lesson from the book of experiment. Fortunately the country is rich enough and strong enough to endure the results without irreparable injury. But this immunity can not be expected to last forever. Financial sins eventually have to pay the natural penalty. Sooner or later the laws of finance will vindicate themselves. It is a hopeful fact, however, that the general intelligence of the people begets progress as well as thrift, and therefore added prosperity can safely be expected in the future.

"The banking system of the United States, although satisfactory as to the management of deposits and discounts, has yet to be perfected as the issuer of a currency which will supersede the present system of Government legal-tender notes. I do not advise an exact imitation of any of the particular methods of other countries differing so much among themselves. But our bankers and legislators should not forget the sound principles educed by the experience of the older countries, whose distinguished representatives are with us to-day.

"The peoples of the world are getting nearer each other year by year. The world's commerce produces the links which bind us together in the unbreakable chain of commercial unity. Let us try to solve the financial problems now demanding attention, and which affect the business interests of all lands, in that spirit of brotherhood which befits the advanced civilization of to-day, keeping in mind the truism that a question is never settled until it is settled right."

Banking in Canada was the topic of a paper prepared and presented by Mr. B. E. Walker, of Toronto. Other papers were: The Best Banking, by John M. C. Marble, of Los Angeles, Cal.; Banking and Currency, the Need of a Sound System of Both, by the Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Worcester, Mass.; Usury Laws, by W. A. Paulsen, of Chicago; and Measures of Municipal and Industrial Credits, by Hosea Starr Ballou, of Boston, Mass.

An interesting paper was read by Mrs. Charles Henrotin, of Chicago, on Woman as an Investor, in which she called attention to the investments of women in building and loan associations, real estate, insurance, railroads, and banks, presenting many interesting statistics gleaned from various sources. Mrs. Henrotin stated that the largest amount of money invested by women is in real estate and mortgages on real estate, and that the amount thus invested is in the hundred millions. The relative numerical position of men and women as investors in building and loan associations is as one to four—that is to say, twenty-five per cent of the building and loan shares of stock in the Eastern and Middle Western States are owned by women. Of the

\$960,000,000 representing the net assets of building and loan associations in the United States, \$92,000,000 worth is held by 2,400,000 women. As to the question of the source whence dues paid on shares held by women comes, Mrs. Henrotin said that from personal investigation she was convinced that less than fifty per cent of woman investors derive their money from their husbands, or that 1,350,000 women are investing in building-and-loan stock the money they earn themselves. Referring to another large class of investors—holders of bank stock—Mrs. Henrotin expressed the opinion that should the women of the country take a new stand in the financial world, and become informed as to the financial situation of the country, they would no longer be content with giving their proxy, and never voting themselves or attending a stockholders' meeting, but that a large number of intelligent women in the country owning great financial interests would themselves be eligible as bank directors. The statistics of women as bank employees show that but a small number have entered banking offices, though women are admirably fitted for such employment. The number of shares of national-bank stock owned by women in the States and Territories of the United States, April 15, 1893, was 1,703,759; the par value of these shares was \$130,681,485; the number of women employed in national banks was 383, and their salaries amounted to \$185,797.

Among the other papers presented were: The International Monetary Conference of 1892, by the Hon. Henry W. Cannon, of New York; Universal Bimetallism and an International Monetary Clearing House, by Richard P. Rothwell, of New York; and The Essential Elements of a Monetary System, by Judge R. M. Widney, of Los Angeles, Cal. The Necessity for the Use of Silver as Money in the United States was presented by the Hon. James H. Platt, and The Free Coinage of Silver was the topic of a paper by the Hon. Davis H. White, of Colorado, while The Gold Standard was presented by Horace White, of New York, who said:

"The most impressive fact in the world of finance is the dominance of the gold standard. A year or two ago Roumania passed under its sway; to-day it is Austria; next year, or soon, it will be Russia; by and by it will be India; and meanwhile it has lost no ground that it has ever held. Three international conferences have been assembled to stay this conquering march, while none has been called to promote or assist it. Yet the movement has been as little impeded as that of an ocean steamer would be by the action of a debating society in its own cabin. Is all this due to human perversity, or has it a rational cause founded in the needs of mankind?

"The first nation to adopt the single gold standard by law was England. This was really done in 1798, although the date usually assigned to it is 1816. The pound sterling was originally a pound weight of silver divided into twenty parts called shillings, and each of these into twelve parts called pennies or pennyweights. Gold made its first appearance in the coinage of England in the reign of Edward III (A. D. 1345). The ratio of gold to sil-

ver fixed by royal decree in this coinage was about twelve and one half to one. From this period to the forty-third year of the reign of Elizabeth there were nine debasements of the silver coinage accompanied by changes in the gold coinage, but, as these were arbitrary acts of the reigning sovereigns, they possess no scientific interest. In the forty-third of Elizabeth (1601) the last debasement was made. The pound weight of silver was then coined into sixty-two shillings and the pound of gold into thirty-three and one half sovereigns of seven pennyweights four grains each, the ratio of gold to silver being eleven to one. The silver coinage being henceforth unchanged, it becomes possible to trace the commercial variations of the two metals and to observe the ineffectual struggles of society and government to keep both of them in use as legal-tender money. Queen Elizabeth died two years later. Before her successor, James I, had been on the throne three years gold had risen in value as compared with silver, and the gold coins were exported to such an extent that it was necessary to diminish their weight about eleven per cent. The ratio now established was a little more than twelve to one. In the ninth year of the same reign the gold coin began to be exported again, so that it was necessary to make a new change of ratio. This time the ratio was fixed at thirteen to one. But this was too great an advance in the rating of gold. An exportation of silver set in which caused great inconvenience in the kingdom. Instead of readjusting the ratio, the king, in the year 1614, issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of the precious metals. The proclamation had no effect; so another one was issued in 1619 reaffirming the first one, and forbidding the melting of coin for the purpose of making plate, although a certain amount might be used for repairing old plate and keeping it up to its original standard. As the evil continued, a third proclamation was issued in 1622, and a fourth in 1624. None of these had any effect except to make an historical record of the futility of attempts to enforce a legal ratio which is different even in a slight degree from the market ratio. It was customary during this period to pay a premium of twopence for silver change to the amount of twenty shillings.

"Soon after Charles I began his reign he issued a proclamation on the same subject, reciting the previous ones of his father and acknowledging that they had been disregarded. In 1636 seven persons accused of melting and exporting coin were arrested and fined £8,500 and imprisoned till the fines



GEORGE F. STONE,
Secretary of the Board of Trade Congress.

were paid, but even this example did not put a stop to the practice. Silver was worth two or three pence per ounce more than the mint valuation, and this fact dominated society from the king on the throne to the beggar on the dunghill. But what could not be prevented by royal proclamation and star chamber was stopped by an unseen force. The price of gold was slowly rising, so that about the beginning of the Commonwealth the ratio that King James had established was identical, or nearly so, with the market ratio. The exportation of the precious metals ceased until the reign of Charles II.

"In 1633 gold had risen in value so that it was necessary to change the ratio to fourteen and one half to one. This was an advance of about eight per cent since James I. Each time that a change was made in the gold coinage a new name was given to the coin so produced, in order to distinguish it from its predecessors. The coin that Charles II now introduced was called the guinea. It was ordered that this coin should pass for twenty shillings, but it immediately became current in trade at a higher rate, passing for twenty-one to twenty-two shillings. No attempt was made to enforce the mint valuation or to prevent melting or exporting, consequently silver became in practice the only legal-tender money. Nobody would offer a guinea to pay a debt of twenty shillings when it was worth twenty-one shillings. The guineas passed for what they were worth as bullion. That was a time when the clipping of coin was much practiced, but it was no advantage to clip a gold coin, since it was taken only at its bullion value. The silver coins, however, passed by tale, consequently they alone were subjected to the clipping process. The evil became so great that a recoinage of silver was necessary, and was undertaken in the reign of William III. This was a celebrated event in many ways. Both Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke were concerned in it. In the year 1717 the guinea was made current by royal proclamation at twenty-one shillings in silver, at which figure the ratio was about fifteen and one seventh to one. This was in the third year of the reign of George I. It was about this time, says Lord Liverpool, that a marked preference was shown by the people for gold money rather than silver, on account of its convenience in making large payments. This he ascribes to the increase in the commerce of the country. As gold was slightly overrated at the ratio of fifteen and one seventh to one, there was a tendency to export silver. Only £584,000 sterling of the latter metal was brought to the mint for a period of eighty-three years, down to the end of the century, and most of this came from Spanish treasure ships captured in war. The only silver coin retained in circulation was that which had been much worn. As these lightweight pieces varied among themselves, the lightest ones were selected to make payment, a condition which became worse and worse until Parliament in 1774 passed an act limiting the legal tender of silver coins to twenty-five pounds in tale. For any sum above twenty-five pounds they could be paid by weight only. This act was to continue in force only two years, the expectation being that some other remedy for the evil would shortly be found.

It was re-enacted from time to time till 1798, when another clause was added providing that no more silver should be coined at the mint, nor should any be delivered that had been coined, but that the owners of such silver should be paid for it. In the following year (1799) a brief act was passed making the act of 1774 perpetual. In 1816 the character of the British monetary system was formulated by an act of Parliament on its present basis, the essential part of this act being in the following words :

“ XI. And whereas at various times heretofore the coins of this realm of gold and silver have been equally a legal tender for payments to any amount, and *great inconvenience has arisen from both those precious metals being concurrently the standard measure of value and equivalent for property*; and it is expedient that the gold coin made according to the indentures of the mint should henceforth be the sole standard measure of value and legal tender for payment, without any limitation of amount, and that the silver coin should be a legal tender to a limited amount only, for the facility of exchange and commerce ;

“ *Be it therefore enacted*, That from and after the passing of this act, the gold coin of this realm shall be, and shall be considered, and is hereby declared to be the only legal tender for payments, except as hereinafter provided, . . . and no tender of payment of money made in the silver coin of this realm of any sum exceeding the sum of forty shillings at any one time shall be reputed a tender in law, etc.

“ This is a brief *résumé* of the experience and legislation of Great Britain. It is important as showing that the single gold standard was adopted on account of the ‘great inconvenience’ of the double standard, which had been in vogue previously. Of course this ‘inconvenience’ had attracted the attention of learned men before 1798. John Locke had shown that a double standard composed of two things of varying value was an impossibility. He favored the single standard of silver, as did the learned men who considered the same question in France a century later.

“ It appears that the gold standard was adopted without any particular design on the part of those who brought it about. They found, as a matter of fact, that the monetary evils existing in 1774 could be cured most readily by limiting the legal tender of silver. So they did it for two years, and then for two years more, and so on till 1798-’99, when they had become satisfied by the experience of twenty-five years that the single gold standard was the right thing to put an end to the ‘inconvenience.’ Seventeen years later, the experiment having continued to be successful, they passed the law which I have quoted. That law in substance remains in force to the present time, and we may be sure that it would not have lasted so long if it were not a good thing *per se*.

“ We will next consider the experience of the United States. At the beginning of our career as a nation we adopted the double standard of gold and silver. This was in 1792. Our statesmen followed in this matter the example of the older countries of Europe. Alexander Hamilton was the Secretary of the Treasury and the ruling spirit. At his instance the ratio of fifteen was adopted, and there is no room to doubt that this was very close

to the true market ratio at the time. The English ratio of fifteen and one seventh ceased to be operative, as we have seen, because it was too high. France was at that time under the *régime* of irredeemable paper, consequently nothing could be learned from her. The discussions and writings of the period show that there was an honest and earnest effort to adopt the market ratio as the legal ratio, and that the result reached was as nearly true as possible. Nevertheless gold began to grow scarce in our circulation as early as 1810, and had wholly disappeared in 1817. One ounce of gold had come to be worth as metal something more than fifteen ounces of silver. It was worth while for bullion brokers to collect gold coins and export them. The testimony is emphatic, and is not disputed, that after 1817 and until 1834 our metallic money consisted of silver exclusively.

"In 1834 our people had become tired of lugging silver around. They had by this time found out what was the matter. They determined to have some gold in their pockets, but it can not be affirmed that Congress had reached a scientific conclusion in favor of the single gold standard. What is certain is that Congress adopted the ratio of sixteen to one in 1834 by very large majorities, in spite of proofs urgently presented that this ratio would drive silver out of circulation altogether, as it did. This bill was called the 'Gold Bill' in the discussions of the time. As reported by the special committee, it provided for a ratio of 15.60 to 1, but when it came up for discussion Mr. Campbell P. White, the chairman of the committee, who favored the single gold standard, moved to amend by making the ratio sixteen to one, and his amendment was adopted without a division. On the main question the debate was long and animated. An amendment to the amendment was offered making the ratio 15.625 to 1, and it was supported on the ground that this was the true market ratio, and that it would enable the country to keep both silver and gold in concurrent circulation. That was what the House did not want. This amendment was voted down: yeas 52, nays 127. The bill was then passed in the House by 145 to 36, and in the Senate by 35 to 7.

"There was a variety of motives leading to the passage of the gold bill, but among these the desire of having gold in place of silver was the most influential. Thomas H. Benton, one of the strongest advocates of the measure, declared that the object of his endeavors was—

to enable the friends of gold to go to work at the right place to effect the recovery of that precious metal *which their fathers once possessed*, which the subjects of European kings now possess, which the citizens of the young republics to the south all possess, which even the free negroes of San Domingo possess, but which the yeomanry of this America have been deprived of for more than twenty years and will be deprived of forever unless they discover the cause of the evil and apply the remedy to its root. (Speech of Senator Benton, of Missouri, quoted by Louis R. Ehrich in his *Question of Silver*.)

"The effect that was predicted was abundantly realized. Silver did go out of circulation. The minor coins, being of proportional weight and fine-

ness with the dollar, were melted and exported, and their place in the circulation was taken by light-weight foreign coins, principally Spanish and Mexican sixpences, shillings, quarters, and halves. Those coins, when of full weight, were almost identical with our own fractional coins. If our own would not circulate, the foreign ones, of course, would not. But if there was a certain proportion of these coins, whether foreign or domestic, that had been worn down by long use so that they really represented the market ratio or something less, such coins would circulate concurrently with gold. To illustrate: Two halves, four quarters, or ten dimes, if new and of full weight, were worth about one and one half cent more than a gold dollar, consequently they would be collected by brokers, melted, and exported; but two halves, four quarters, or ten dimes that had lost one and one half cent's worth of silver by abrasion would circulate, because there would be no motive to melt or export them. There would be no profit in it. When I was a boy the silver money of this country consisted exclusively of foreign coins, mostly Spanish and Mexican, but with a considerable sprinkling of English, French, German, and Scandinavian pieces. Every merchant kept a coin-chart manual for handy reference to determine the value of these pieces as they were offered in trade. I have also seen Spanish quarters cut in half, each piece circulating as a shilling. There was nothing remarkable about this, since all of these foreign coins were circulating at bullion value. The two halves of a Spanish quarter were therefore worth as much as they would have been if joined in a single piece.

"It became apparent to everybody that if full-weight silver coins would not circulate on the ratio of sixteen to one, while those of light weight would circulate, then it would be safe to *make* minor coins (halves, quarters, etc.), designedly of light weight, on Government account, of limited legal tender. There would be no profit in exporting such coins, because they would not sell as bullion for as much as it would cost to collect them. In 1853 an act of this kind was passed.

"From 1837 onward the country had gold money and the gold basis. Silver dollars were hardly ever seen. There was not an hour in the whole period of forty years to 1873 when the silver dollar was not worth more than the gold dollar. With the exception of a very few years, it was worth fully three cents more. Did any of you ever see a silver dollar in circulation prior to 1873? I never did.

"Under these circumstances, the gold standard existing *de facto*, and there being no silver except light-weight subsidiary coins, our mint authorities, the only people who took any interest in the subject, began, even before the war, to recommend that the single gold standard should be adopted in law as it has been adopted in fact. Ex-Governor Pollock, Director of the Mint, in his report for 1861, called attention to the incongruity of a silver dollar that was worth 3.98 cents more than the gold dollar and eight cents more than two half dollars. He recommended that it should either be dropped

from the list of coins or reduced in weight so as to correspond with the subsidiary coins. He considered that gold was *de facto* the standard of value, and he recommended that the law should conform to the fact. But the nation had more exciting topics to discuss in 1861 than those relating to coinage. In 1866, after the war, Mr. John Jay Knox, who then had charge of the mint and coinage matters in the Treasury Department, recommended a revision of all the laws relating to the mint. Secretary Boutwell approved of the suggestion. Mr. Knox and Dr. Linderman were appointed in 1869 a committee to make such revision. They presented their report with a draft of a bill in 1870. The report recommended the discontinuance of the silver dollar, this coin being obsolete. The bill and report were transmitted to the Finance Committee of the Senate on the 25th of April, 1870. The bill passed the Senate on the 10th of January, 1871. It made the gold dollar the unit of value, and it dropped the silver dollar from the list of coins. The bill failed in the House for want of time. The Forty-first Congress having expired without final action, it came up again in the Forty-second. It passed the House May 27, 1872, by yeas 110, nays 13. It passed the Senate January 17, 1873, without a dissenting vote. The metal in the silver dollar at that time was worth three cents more than the gold dollar. No objection to the bill was heard until the price of silver had fallen so that the silver dollar, if there had been any, would have been worth less than the gold dollar. Then it became fashionable to say that the bill was passed surreptitiously. The truth is that the bill was before Congress two years and ten months; that it was printed thirteen times by order of Congress; that the debates on it occupied sixty-six columns in the Senate proceedings and seventy-eight columns in the House proceedings, and that the discontinuance of the silver dollar was specially discussed in the House. Any candid person must see that the reason why the discontinuance of the silver dollar attracted so little notice was that this coin had been discontinued *de facto* in 1834, when the ratio of sixteen was adopted. I have given reasons for thinking that this ratio was adopted designedly to expel the silver dollar from circulation. At all events it did so, to the satisfaction of the people. It is a great pity that our ancestors in 1834 did not put their intentions into the form of law at that time. If they had done so they would have spared us a Pandora's box to be opened forty years later.

"Bimetallism was abolished in the United States by the act of 1873. It has not been re-established by any subsequent act. The purchase and coinage of a limited amount of silver by the Government is not bimetallism. Still less so is the purchase of bullion which is not coined. Any other metal would answer as well as silver as a backing for the issue of Treasury notes. Let us imagine for a moment that silver had not fallen in price after 1873. Would anybody ever have missed the silver dollar? Would anybody have doubted that the gold standard was brought about in this country by natural causes operating upon men's minds, in the same way as it was in England,

the action of Congress in 1873 merely giving the form of law to what had been done practically at an earlier period?

“Prior to 1871 Germany had the single silver standard, but, as she could not transact business with silver alone, she used for her international and wholesale trade a heterogeneous assortment of gold coins, partly domestic and partly foreign, including napoleons, pistoles, guineas, eagles, Russian imperials, Friedrichs d’or, ducats, crowns, etc., passing as commercial money. The question of a reform of the currency had been under discussion by the economists and publicists of Germany for nearly ten years, but until 1868 the question under debate was a question of uniformity of money rather than of the metallic standard. Dr. Soetbeer had indeed published two articles, in 1863 and 1864, in the *Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirtschaft* on the gold standard, but it was not until after the Paris monetary conference of 1867 that the commercial classes began to take an active interest in the question. This conference was held at the invitation of the French Government to consider the question of uniformity of coinage. Nearly all the governments of Europe were represented. The United States were represented also. One of the earliest questions to be decided was that of a standard. The first vote was on the question of adopting the single standard of silver. This was rejected unanimously. Then the single standard of gold was adopted with only one dissenting vote—that of Holland. Nobody proposed bimetallism. The action of this conference shows that even at a time when the two metals were at an equilibrium according to the French ratio, France and all her allies of the Latin Union were inclined to adopt the single gold standard, and also that Germany, Austria, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries, all of which at the time had the single silver standard, were of the same mind.

“After this event a great many publications appeared in Germany showing an unmistakable tendency in the public mind to the gold standard. The most important of these is the report which Soetbeer made at the ninth congress of German economists in the year 1868.

“On the 5th of November, 1871, the Finance Minister of the new German Empire, Herr Delbrück, presented to the Imperial Diet a brief report of the ‘motives’ which had led the Government to propose a measure for the unification of the German coinage. The measure provided for the coinage of gold pieces of ten and twenty marks, and it discontinued the coinage of large silver coins, but did not demonetize those that were in circulation. The report says, first of all, that it may be considered as beyond doubt that the existing silver standard can not be maintained. The only gold coins authorized by existing law were German crowns and half crowns, but these had no fixed relation to the standard silver coins of the nation nor to those of any other country, consequently they were not accepted in the domestic circulation. They had never been an integral part of it, nor had they acquired any standing in international commerce, being melted down as soon as they reached the frontier; consequently the internal commerce of Ger-

many was confined to the use of bulky and inconvenient silver coins. 'The inconvenience of silver coins,' says the report, 'led of necessity to a very considerable circulation of paper, which, in ordinary times, is taken as a welcome facility, but in critical times contains the germs of serious dangers. The artificial demand for paper created by the exclusive circulation of silver made it almost impossible to adopt any radical and rational regulation of the banking system through laws common to all Germany.' For these reasons—namely, that silver was bulky and inconvenient and that it brought about a forced circulation of paper and prevented any wise regulation of bank issues—the single gold standard was recommended, with a silver subsidiary coinage. The measure was supported by very strong speeches by Minister Delbrück and by Dr. Bamberger, and it passed on the 23d of November. This measure was provisional only, a second and more detailed one being enacted two years later.



SEYMOUR DEXTER,
Chairman of the Building Association
Congress.

"It is said by some that Germany, by demonetizing silver in 1871, and by selling it in 1873 and later, drove France and the Latin Union into a suspension of silver coinage, and caused the great decline in the price of that metal. If this were true it might possess an academic, but hardly a practical interest. Germany is not answerable to us for her tastes. We can not call her people to account for liking to have gold in their pockets or sauerkraut on their tables. We can not go back to 1871 or blot out the intervening years. Nor have we been able to persuade Germany that she has made any mistake in her new monetary system. She declined to take part in the

monetary conference of 1878. She came with reluctance to that of 1881, and announced at the outset that she could not join in any movement for the free coinage of silver. She repeated this declaration at an early stage of the recent Brussels Conference. So I feel warranted in saying that the question whether Germany has been guilty above others in oppressing or depressing silver is of no practical consequence.

"But such a charge can not be sustained. Germany had completed her new monetary system and stopped selling silver in 1879, and the Latin Union countries had closed their mints to silver three years earlier, whereas silver continued to decline all the same. The London price in 1879 (average) was fifty-one and one fourth pence per ounce. It is now thirty-eight pence. The decline has been greater since Germany stopped selling than it was before. From 1871 to 1879 the aggregate decline was nine pence; from 1879

to 1893 it has been thirteen pence. The simple truth is that Germany was driven to the gold standard just as Great Britain and the United States had been previously by the *inconveniences* of silver money. These inconveniences manifested themselves with some variations of detail in different countries, but all grew out of the ponderousness of silver, an evil which increased with the growth of commerce. Some persons habitually speak of silver as a twin sister to whom some grievous injustice has been done. All such must admit that she is a very corpulent one.

“We will now look at the course of events in France. Here the *livre* was originally a pound weight of silver. It was debased by royal authority from time to time as in England, but much more rapidly. M. Béranger, in his report on the French monetary system in 1802, says that the ratio of gold to silver was changed twenty-six times between 1602 and 1773, and that the *livre* at the time when he wrote had been reduced to the seventy-sixth part of its original weight. The *livre* is now called the franc. It is impossible to trace any scientific connection between these recoinages and the metal ratios, except that the divergences between the legal and market ratios, whenever they were discovered, were seized upon by the Government as an excuse for further debasement. They ‘fell back alternately from gold to silver and from silver to gold,’ says Béranger, making a profit to the royal treasury each time. M. Calonne, comptroller-general under Louis XVI, has given us a list of the principal recoinages prior to his time, of which there were four in the reign of Louis XIV and five in that of Louis XV. It would be a waste of time to recount them. The ratio existing when Louis XVI came to the throne was fourteen and five eighths to one. It had been adopted in 1726. The legal ratio in England at that time, as we have seen, was fifteen and one seventh. Both ratios were, or gradually became, divergent from the market ratio. Silver was exported from England and gold was exported from France. A recoinage in the latter country became necessary, and this was undertaken and executed by Calonne in good faith in the year 1785. Calonne chose the ratio of fifteen and one half. This ratio was in force when the celebrated law of 1803 was passed under the consulate. It was not exactly conformable to the market ratio at the time. It rated gold too highly, but Calonne said that he had observed that gold had an advancing tendency, and he believed that if fifteen and one half was not the true ratio then, it would become so before long. In this he was right, for when the law of 1803 was passed there was no observable tendency to export either metal, and the Hamburg market ratio, as tabulated by Soetbeer, was very close to fifteen and one half.

“I have in another place made a study of the documents and debates which preceded and led up to the French monetary law of 1803 (see *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1891). The substance is that these learned and patriotic men, without exception, considered a double standard impossible, and any attempt to establish it disastrous. They accordingly determined to

establish, and thought that they had established, the single silver standard by a law, the first paragraph of which reads as follows:

“GENERAL PROVISION.—Five grammes of silver, nine tenths fine, constitute the monetary unit, which retains the name of franc.

“But they were confronted by the fact that gold was an indispensable part of the monetary system. How to retain it in the circulation as a subordinate metal while making silver the sole standard was the great puzzle of the day. No less than eight important papers were drawn up from time to time on this question and no decision was ever reached except to allow gold to be coined at the French mint at the ratio of fifteen and one half to one, with the understanding that if the market ratio should change, the gold, but not the silver, should be recoined.

“Such was the law in 1803. Although it was the intention of the law-makers to establish the single silver standard, the clause which they introduced allowing the coinage of gold was the same thing in effect as re-enacting Calonne's law of 1785. It was in practice, though not in intention, a bimetallic law at the ratio of fifteen and one half to one. Almost immediately after its enactment France plunged into wars which lasted till 1815. Of course the nation had very little time to think about her coinage laws. Gradually the price of gold rose above the legal ratio, and that metal was exported to such an extent that Chevalier tells us that ‘twenty-five years after that date the circulation consisted of silver only.’ Abundant proofs can be adduced showing that bimetallism did not exist in practice in France between 1820 and 1847. Mr. Griffen has published a table showing the premium on gold in Paris during every month of that period. This premium was at times as high as two per cent. The contention of the bimetallists that the French law of 1803 kept the ratio steady at fifteen and one half till 1873 is not supported by facts.

“From 1850 to 1860 there was an enormous increase in the production of gold in Russia, California, and Australia, and scarcely any increase in that of silver. The market ratio declined to 15.46 in the year 1851, so, of course, gold could again circulate in France. The ratio continued to decline till 1857, when it reached its lowest point—viz., 15.19. It remained below fifteen and one half till 1867. During this interval of sixteen years France imported \$600,000,000 of gold and exported about half that amount of silver. Her circulation became saturated with the yellow metal, to the great delight of her people, who had become tired of carrying sacks of five-franc pieces to and fro in cabs and handcarts.

“The exportation of silver from France was so extensive at this time that the country was almost denuded of small money. It became necessary to coin gold pieces as small as five francs. In 1857 the scarcity of silver had become so great that the Government appointed a commission to investigate the subject. This commission was bent upon maintaining the silver stand-

ard ; so, instead of following the example of the United States and making silver coins of light weight and of limited legal tender, it recommended that an export duty be put on silver, that bullion brokers be prosecuted, and that assorting and trading in coins be prohibited by law. In other words, this sapient commission went back for inspiration to the times of Louis XIV, and of James I and Charles I of England. Some attempts were actually made to carry out these senseless recommendations, but they were soon abandoned. It was about this time that Chevalier, the French economist, who was a stout champion of the silver standard, proposed to solve the difficulty by providing that French gold coins should have a fixed weight but a variable value, and that the value should be announced by legislative decree at certain short intervals. M. Levasseur, another economist of renown, but with a keener vision, expressed the opinion that gold had made itself the standard in spite of the law, and he suggested that the wisest thing for France to do was to make the law conform to the fact.

“Nothing was done at that time. Events drifted till 1864, when the lack of small change had become so serious that the Government brought a bill before the Corps Legislatif authorizing the lowering of the fineness of all the silver coins less than five francs to 0.835 instead of 0.900. This was in effect the same thing that we had done in 1853 when we converted all our silver coins less than one dollar into token money. The proposal was more shocking to the French legislator than to the American, for the reason that the franc was the monetary unit sanctioned by the law of 1803, and this monetary unit was one of the very things to be lowered. The Legislature recoiled, but it sustained the lowering of the pieces smaller than one franc. The difficulty could not be removed by such homœopathic treatment, and, as the same difficulty existed in the neighboring countries of Belgium and Switzerland, a convention was called for the purpose of adopting some common steps for relief. Italy also was induced to join, and soon afterward Greece. France considered it admissible to do by treaty what she had not been willing to do by direct act. By treaty, dated December 23, 1865, these four countries adopted their present token coinage of silver and limited its legal-tender faculty to fifty francs. This was the origin of the so-called Latin Monetary Union.

“In 1867 the price of silver had again declined so that the French ratio of fifteen and one half was substantially identical with the market ratio. That was the year of the international monetary conference, of which mention has already been made, at which France voted in favor of the single gold standard. Nevertheless the French legislators abandoned the silver standard with extreme reluctance. They were attached to it by custom and tradition. They still desired, like their ancestors of the Revolution, to have the silver standard with gold as a subordinate metal. They allowed events to drift until 1873, when they were startled to find that 154,000,000 francs' worth of silver had been deposited at the mint for coinage in that year, against only

5,000,000 francs' worth in 1871-'72. The amount of silver so deposited was more than the mint could coin in a year and a half, if it did nothing else. The market ratio of gold had risen nearly to 15.75. There was a profit of one and one half per cent in sending silver bullion to the mint and using the resulting coin to buy gold for export. The delegates of the Latin Monetary Union were hastily assembled, and they determined to limit the coinage of silver to 120,000,000 francs per year for all the countries concerned. This was virtually the adoption of the gold standard.

"At the beginning of 1876 the market ratio had reached nearly seventeen to one. The crisis was becoming acute. Switzerland had ceased to coin her allotted share of silver. Belgium had passed a law authorizing the Government to stop coining that metal. M. Léon Say, the French Minister of Finance, sent to the Senate, March 21, 1876, a bill of only two lines in these words, viz.: 'The coinage of silver five-franc pieces may be limited or suspended by decree.' The Senate committee to which it was referred, under the lead of M. de Parieu, reported a more drastic measure, absolutely forbidding the coinage of any silver money of full legal tender. The legislative body again showed its aversion to change by rejecting the Senate report and adopting, on the 5th of August, the more moderate measure of the Minister of Finance. But it really made no difference which of the two was adopted. The door of the French mint was closed to silver on the following day, and has not been reopened. I think it has not been shown that the gold standard made its way in France, not only without any design on the part of individuals, but in spite of the strenuous resistance of almost all the men who busied themselves with the subject at all. I have given a good deal of space to the experience of France, because of the great importance which has always been assigned to that country by the advocates of bimetallism.

"It is unnecessary to go into details concerning the other members of the Latin Union, but one fact as regards Belgium deserves notice. This country was an integral part of France when the law of 1803 was passed. Her monetary system was accordingly identical with that of France until 1832, when she adopted the single silver standard, retaining the franc as the monetary unit. In 1861, when the great influx of gold from California and Australia had made such a change in the monetary conditions of France, the people of Belgium began to taste the luxury of gold in the form of French coins. There was straightway a popular demand that French gold should be made legal tender in Belgium. The Finance Minister, Frère-Orban, resisted it. He was impressed with the views of Chevalier in favor of silver, to which allusion has already been made. The popular demand grew apace, and Frère-Orban, rather than yield to it, resigned. Then the bill was passed and Belgium obtained what her people wanted—that is, the gold standard.

"The experience of Holland is no less instructive. Prior to 1847 this country had the double standard at the ratio of 15.60 to 1. She had become convinced, however, that a double standard was merely an alternate standard,



THE CONNECTICUT STATE BUILDING.



THE COLORADO STATE BUILDING.

first one thing and then the other ; so she decided to have a single standard, and adopted that of silver in 1847.

“ When Germany adopted the gold standard a commission was appointed by the King of the Netherlands to examine the monetary question. It recommended that the coinage of silver be suspended for six months, and a bill to that effect was passed in May, 1873. This law was renewed twice for periods of six months each. A second report of the commission was made recommending a bill for the adoption of the single gold standard, but this bill was rejected by the Second Chamber in March, 1874. When the law suspending the coinage of silver expired, in May, 1874, immense quantities of silver began to flow to the mint. Silver florins passed in trade at the old ratio of 15.60, because they were limited in quantity, but it was obvious that they would soon fall to the bullion value of silver. So in December, 1874, a new six-months' suspension of coinage was ordered by the legislative body—the same one that had refused to adopt the single gold standard. Before this period had elapsed the Minister of Finance proposed that the silver coinage be discontinued indefinitely and that gold coinage be allowed. This bill was passed in June, 1875. Here again the gold standard made its way over the heads of the wise men of the time.

“ The adoption of the gold standard by Austria is now in progress, and there is every assurance that it will be carried into effect. That country had had the single silver standard since 1857, but was under a suspension of specie payments. When it was ascertained, in 1879, that the decline in silver was likely to be permanent, the Government gave orders to the mints, in both Austria and Hungary, to receive no more of that metal from private individuals for coinage. The effect of this order was to make Government paper money the standard, and this paper varied from day to day in comparison with gold, as did our greenbacks before we resumed specie payments. Some silver was coined on Government account, but as a matter of fact that metal was discarded as a standard by the refusal to coin for private persons. Austria had a gold coinage, indeed, but the gold was commercial money only. It had no legal-tender faculty, but passed at its quoted value from day to day. Since 1879 the problem of finance in Austria has been twofold, namely, to resume specie payments (which must, under the circumstances, be gold payments) and to fix a ratio at which all paper money and paper obligations should be redeemable. The ratio decided upon was that of 119 paper to 100 gold, that being the average ratio prevailing in the market during the thirteen years from 1879 to 1892.

“ As the question of standard was really settled by Austria in 1879 when she closed her mints to silver, we are concerned to know how she came to take that step. The report of the special commission of the Upper House on this subject, submitted last year, says that it had become clear as long ago as the decade 1860-'70, when Europe was becoming saturated with gold, that this was the only metal fitted to be the standard of nations of advanced

civilization. 'Gold was dominant and the standard of value,' says this report, 'in all trade on a great scale as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even though silver was then the standard in all domestic exchanges. . . . *In every age there is some metal dominant in the industry of the world which forces its way with elemental strength in the face of any public regulation, and in our day gold is that metal.*'

"This is as good a statement as can be made of the reasons why not only Austria but all the other nations whose action we have examined, including the United States, have adopted the single gold standard. While Austria has been collecting her supply of the yellow metal we have heard a great deal about the 'scramble for gold.' Why is there a scramble for gold? Merely because gold is universally acceptable. All civilized people are willing to exchange their property for it to any extent, and this is the only thing they are willing to accept in that way without limit or reserve. That is a good and sufficient reason why there is a scramble for gold and why there is no similar scramble for silver.

"If we find a movement of civilized mankind going on steadily for a hundred years, working out in different countries uniform results which commend themselves to successive generations, the presumptions are all in favor of that movement being beneficial. At all events the burden of proof is upon those who think differently. I am so well convinced of the benefits of the single gold standard that if all power were placed in my hands I would not introduce anything different from it. I should consider it presumptuous to attempt to interfere with any obviously natural evolution in human affairs. I should know, moreover, that such an attempt would be futile, because the first step to be taken would be to alter the preferences and likings of individual men. Society consists of aggregations of individuals who in their private business prefer one ounce of gold to sixteen ounces of silver, or twenty-five ounces, as the case may be. Unless I can change this preference and liking, I can not alter the monetary standard of Christendom. It is this preference which paralyzes all the international monetary conferences. The secret thought of the delegates in the Brussels Conference was something like this: 'What would happen the day after the adoption of international bimetallism if the commercial classes should continue to prefer one ounce of gold to sixteen ounces of silver?' Any responsible minister of finance must recoil before that query.

"I think that the 'scramble for gold' would be worse the day after the bimetallic treaty than it was the day before, because everybody would suspect everybody else of gratifying his secret desires for gold at the expense of his neighbors. It should be remarked that the Brussels Conference as a body never touched the question of bimetallism, although some of the members improved the opportunity to make speeches on that subject. The conference went to pieces on a minor question—that of buying a little more silver. The proposal was that the nations should purchase a certain amount of an article

that none of them wanted. When the representatives of France and the Latin Union declared that they would not recommend that policy to their governments even if it should be adopted, the bottom dropped out of the conference altogether. Although Mr. Bland has given his attention to this matter as a humorist, in a magazine article, I think that he has come short of exhausting the subject.

"If the successive steps that we have described, whereby the nations have arrived one by one at the single gold standard, had been the result of a hundred years' conspiracy against the 'debtor class,' instead of being a natural evolution beneficial to all classes, I should still be unable to see any advantage in changing back. Whatever mischief appertains to this evolution has been done and now belongs to the remote past. Those books are closed. To retrace the steps would merely double the wrong, inflicting it upon a new lot. Those who, according to the hypothesis, suffered in the past are mostly dead. If there be any such victims living in France or Germany, in Holland or Belgium, or Scandinavia, they are very slow in disclosing themselves to the various international conferences held for their benefit. They are very backward in coming forward.

"What is meant by 'debtor class' in this discussion? All men who are not bankrupt are both creditors and debtors. The fact that they are not bankrupt implies that they have more due to them in one way and another than they owe. I am proud to believe that the vast majority of my countrymen are of this class—i. e., of the creditor class. I take it that we are not legislating specially for bankrupts. Certainly it would not be wise to change our standard of value for their accommodation. Such a change would produce a great many new bankrupts and would not save any old ones.

"What our country needs is more capital. This is especially true of the West and South. There is a great deal of foreign capital that would like to come here, but is deterred by apprehensions of a change in the standard of value. This is not conjecture on my part, but actual knowledge. I do not think there will be a change of standard. I believe in the persistence of gold both here and in Europe, but the belief is very strong in Europe that we shall slip off the gold standard if we do not go off intentionally. Consequently they keep their money at home, or invest it here only on call, and they withdraw it in cases where they can do so without loss. This rule operates with our own capitalists more or less. If money is tight it is because credit is paralyzed. Lenders are afraid lest the continued operation of the present silver law should bring about a change of the standard, so that they would get back less than they have put out. While this state of mind continues it is immaterial, so far as borrowers are concerned, whether the amount of cash in the country is large or small.

"We are told that there is not gold enough in the world to do the business of the world. I have been hearing this for seventeen years. How do you know there is not enough? If there was not enough seventeen years

ago there may be enough now, seeing that there has been an addition to it of \$1,500,000,000 during that interval, after making a liberal deduction for the amount used in the arts. The old stock does not disappear with use. I have a gold coin of the reign of Philip of Macedon, on which the name and face of that monarch are so well preserved as to possess artistic as well as archæological value. There is no ascertainable relation between the amount of gold in the world and the amount of business done or to be done. The function of gold *as a standard of value* is increasing, while its function *as a form of currency* is diminishing. The time is surely coming when its currency function in civilized countries will be limited to international payments and to the wants of travelers. That time has already been reached in the greater part of the United States and Canada.



MARTIN A. KNAPP,
a speaker at the Congress.

"We are told that the single gold standard has caused a disastrous fall in the prices of commodities; also that it has put an unjust burden upon those who have borrowed money on mortgage. I have seen no proof that the adoption of the gold standard by Europe and the United States has caused a decline in prices of commodities, nor can I admit that such a decline would be a bad thing. None of us, when we go to market, complain that prices of food, fuel, clothing, etc., are too low. Mr.

David A. Wells has written a book entitled *Recent Economic Changes*, which accounts for the fall in price of all the staple articles of commerce, which really have fallen during the past twenty years, accounts for it by the increased facilities for producing and transporting the same. He has not grouped them all together as our bimetallist friends commonly do, but has taken each one separately. I commend his example in this particular to their imitation.

"As to mortgage debts, I have learned by inquiry of the leading mortgage companies in New York that farm mortgages are generally made for the term of five years, and that about twenty-five per cent of them are paid at or before maturity. Consequently any wrong which mortgageors are now suffering in consequence of the gold standard must have accrued since 1888. To redress their supposed wrongs we are asked to turn the whole business of the country upside down and change the rating of all other contracts perhaps thirty-five per cent. But the average duration of mortgages is considerably less than five years. The Topeka Commonwealth newspaper a year or two ago made a special investigation of the records of a number of agricultural counties in Kansas, and found that more mortgages were paid off than were put on within the period covered by the investigation. Hence the presumption is that the average life of the farm mortgage in Kansas is not more than

two and one half years. I am aware that many mortgages are allowed to run for indefinite periods after they are due, but these, after they fall due, are call loans on real-estate security. I am not aware that borrowers on call are complaining of the gold standard. At all events, if they are oppressed by reason of that standard they can relieve themselves at any time by paying up. If they do not pay, and are solvent, it must be because they find it to their advantage to endure these so-called oppressions a while longer. It is safe to say that all these mortgages would be called in on the first sign of a change in the monetary standard. The tightness of money in such an event may be imagined, but can hardly be described.

"It is insisted that national and State debts are enhanced by the prevalence of the single gold standard. To prove this we are asked to compare the low prices of the present day with the prices of past times. Does not that prove that the bondholder gets more value now than he bargained for, and hence that the taxpayer pays more?

"No, it does not. Bondholders are entitled to share with others the advantages of low prices of manufactured goods resulting from new inventions and facilities for production and transportation. As to products of the farm, prices were much lower when I was a boy than they are now. Eggs sold then for four cents per dozen, butter for six to eight cents per pound, corn for fifteen cents per bushel, wood for one dollar per cord, etc. If the gold standard has had any lowering effect on prices it has not touched these articles. But why should we shed tears over national and State debts, seeing that our own are nearly all paid? Let the crocodiles of Europe weep over the enhanced burden of national debts, if there be any such enhancement due to the gold standard, which I take leave to deny.

"Suppose it were true that national and State debts were enhanced in the manner alleged, would that be a reason for changing the standard of value for the countless daily transactions of business? The bank clearings of seventy-nine cities in the United States for the week ending May 20 amounted to \$1,165,478,664, which is about double the interest-bearing debt of the nation. Add to this all the payments of wages and the retail transactions not embraced in clearing-house returns, and multiply the whole by the fifty-two weeks of the year, and you will see how large a cannon you are loading to kill a mosquito, and what a tremendous recoil it must have.

"Our present silver law, commonly called the Sherman law, is not bi-metallism. Anything which comes short of unlimited coinage and unlimited legal tender leaves the gold standard in force in this country. The present law is grounded for the most part upon the idea that the purchase of silver and the issue of Treasury notes against it increases the supply of money in the country, and this notion is based upon the erroneous conception that if the Government did not supply the people with money they would have none. I do not say that the congressmen who voted for this bill believed these things. Most of them knew better. They were engaged in political fen-

cing. They were putting themselves in position for the next election. But this law could not exist without a body of public opinion to support it, and that body of public opinion holds that the silver law increases the amount of money in the manner I have described, whereas in fact it diminishes the amount of money. It does so by displacing a superior kind of money (gold) and putting an inferior kind in its place, and by creating distrust among investors. So long as the gold standard continues in this country the Treasury notes issued against silver derive their value wholly from the Government credit, because not an ounce of that silver can be sold to obtain the means for gold redemption of them. It follows that the purchase of the silver, instead of being a help to the notes, is a damage to them, because the credit of the Government would be better if the Treasury were not required to make this monthly outlay. If the Government had the right to issue say \$4,000,000 of legal-tender notes per month and pay them to its creditors, on condition of redeeming them in gold demand (which is the present condition), its resources would be greater by reason of its *not* being obliged to pay out anything for silver, and hence its credit would be better."

At the close of this address the chairman announced that Mr. White had consented to answer one-minute questions bearing on the theme he had presented. This privilege was taken advantage of promptly, and a most interesting quarter of an hour followed.

The last meeting of the delegates of the World's Congress of Bankers and Financiers was in the form of a Symposium of Opinions on the Financial Situation. Mr. Parsons, who presided over this meeting, announced that there would be no special order of debate, but opportunity would be given to bring up any subject connected with the banking business or finance, and to speak ten minutes. The discussion was led by Mr. Logan C. Murray, of New York, formerly President of the Bankers' Association, after whom the following gentlemen spoke: David Wills, of Pennsylvania; the Hon. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska; the Hon. Lon V. Stephens, of Missouri; the Hon. Joseph H. Walker, of Massachusetts; J. W. Vernon, of Rhode Island; B. E. Walker, of Canada; E. J. Parker, of Illinois; the Hon. Henry Coffeen, of Wyoming; T. C. Sherwood, of Michigan; William Selbie, of South Dakota; Joseph Moore, of Pennsylvania; D. C. Mills, of Massachusetts; and Benjamin Mattice, of Colorado.

Particular attention should be called to that feature of the work of the Congress providing for the preparation by delegates from the several States and Territories of the United States, specially appointed by the Governors, of papers on State and Territorial banking and resources. Many of these papers contained historical facts never published before in regard to early banking in the States and Territories, and all of them gave information worthy of close attention in regard to the financial resources of the political divisions considered. The Banking and Resources of Arizona were presented by W. L. Van Horn, of Tempe; those of California, by Benjamin C.

Wright, of San Francisco ; of Colorado, by J. W. Breutlinger, of Denver ; Banking in the District of Columbia, by C. H. Bell, of Washington, D. C. ; Banking in Georgia, by George R. De Jaussure, of Atlanta ; Banking in Illinois, by Lyman J. Gage ; Banking and Resources of Indiana, by De-forest L. Skinner ; of Idaho, by R. F. Buller ; of Kansas, by M. W. Levy, of Wichita ; of Kentucky, by John H. Leathers, of Louisville ; of Maryland, by Douglas H. Thomas, of Baltimore ; of Michigan, by Hon. T. E. Sherwood, of Lansing ; of Mississippi, by Dr. P. W. Peeples, of Jackson ; of Missouri, by Hon. Lon V. Stephens, of Jefferson City ; of Nebraska, by H. W. Yates, of Omaha ; Banking in New Mexico, by Jefferson Reynolds, of Las Vegas ; Banking and Resources of Ohio, by Thomas H. Wilson, of Cleveland ; of Oklahoma, by James C. Post, of Kingfisher ; of Pennsylvania, by S. Davis Page, of Philadelphia ; Banking in Rhode Island, by Hon. J. W. Vernon, of Providence ; Banking and Resources of South Dakota, by Hon. Richard C. Lake, of Rapid City ; of Texas, by Hon. J. W. Blake, of Mexia ; and of Wyoming, by Hon. A. Coffeen, of Sheridan.



The India Building.



View on the lake shore, looking south.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONGRESS ON LITERATURE.

Addresses by Walter Besant, Charles Dudley Warner, George W. Cable, Richard Watson Gilder, and others on copyright, criticism, and kindred topics—Congress of Historians—Addresses by Ainsworth R. Spofford, James Schouler, James Phinney Baxter, Cora Start, and others—Congress of Philologists—Papers read by eminent scholars—Folklore Congress—Congress of Librarians.



WILLIAM F. POOLE,
Chairman of
the Committee on Literature.

THE general Department of Literature was made to include, besides literature proper, as represented by authors and their interests, sections devoted to philology, to folklore, to history, and to libraries. The work of the five sections was carried on at the same time, and throughout the greater part of the week ending July 15, but the programmes were arranged, as far as possible, with the view of bringing into session, at a given time, the interests least likely to conflict with one another, so that those in attendance upon the respective sections were not unduly disturbed by the promptings of a divided duty. The general committee having the Congress in charge was presided over by William F. Poole, LL. D., Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago, while Mrs. Ellen M. Hen-

rotin was chairman of the Woman's Committee. The Congresses were opened on Monday evening, July 10, by a general reception given to such

of the participants in the week's work as had reached the city. Remarks were made by President Bonney, Charles Dudley Warner, Richard Watson Gilder, George W. Cable, Walter Besant, and Dr. Max Richter. In the course of Mr. Warner's remarks a tribute was paid to the beauties of the World's Fair, and he concluded with these words:

"I fear all the time that the Fair will disappear, and I grudge every moment spent away from it, for it will go, like everything else that we have created by hand. And when it has gone these poor scribblers who have not money enough to create it, and many of them not imagination enough to put it into poetry or into romance even—because I don't know anybody, except St. John in the Apocalypse, who has hit it off at all so far—these poor scribblers will have to take up the task of perpetuating this creation of beauty and of splendor, and the next generation that wanders about Lake Michigan looking at the ruins of Chicago—the distant generation, of course—will have to depend upon some wandering bard, who even then won't be half paid, I dare say, for the remembrance, for the description of the great achievement of this city of Chicago in 1893."

Mr. Gilder contrasted the literary art with the arts of form and color, pointing out that the very subtlety of the former makes its discussion difficult. Hence the speaker concluded that a congress of authors must of necessity for the most part deal with the physical side of literature, with "the relation of that art to its presentation through books to the public." Mr. Gilder was interrupted with applause when he said: "I, for one, would not have the countenance to stand up before a World's Congress of Authors if within a short time we, as a nation, had not wiped out the unbearable disgrace of international piracy."

The Tuesday session of this Congress was devoted to the general subject of Copyright, and George E. Adams served as the presiding officer. The enactment of the Copyright Law of 1891 was largely due to the efforts of Mr. Adams, then a member of the House of Representatives. That the services of Mr. Adams had been appreciated, and were still remembered by those present, appeared in the applause that followed every allusion made to them. The discussion was opened by the presiding officer, who read a paper upon our copyright legislation, past and future. He took a practical view of the question, making clear the fundamental distinction between a copyright and a patent. "The question of the so-called moral right of an author in his book is not likely to arise in any future movement in this country for the enlargement of authors' rights by Congress. Such legislation will be supported on the ground of public policy rather than on the ground of just protection of property." Dr. S. S. Sprigge, late Secretary of the London Society of Authors, followed Mr. Adams with a brief paper on The International Copyright Union, sent to the Congress by Sir Henry Bergne, British Commissioner at the Berne Conference of 1886. Dr. Sprigge also read a paper of his own upon the complicated condition of copyright legislation, English

and international. The remainder of the session was devoted to an informal discussion, among the participants in which were Mr. Gilder, Mr. Cable, Mr. Warner, Prof. T. R. Lounsbury, of Yale, President Charles K. Adams, of the University of Wisconsin, and General A. C. McClurg. There was general agreement among the speakers in deprecating the necessity of the "manufacturing clause" of the act of 1891, but there was an equally general agreement in the admission that the law, with all its defects, is better than no law. The injury done to writers by the condition of simultaneous publication was also discussed, as well as the inadequacy of the term provided. "Nearly all our great American authors have outlived their copyrights, which is a ridiculous perversion of justice," said Mr. Gilder.

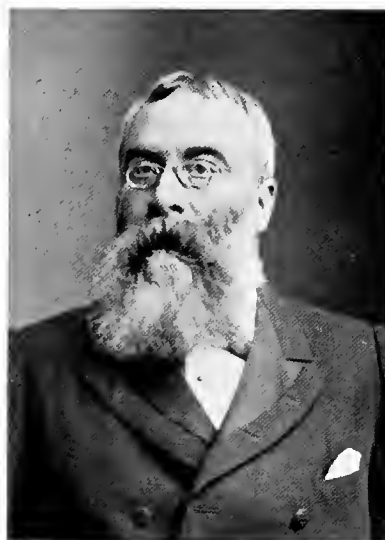
The copyright question was again brought forward at the Wednesday session by Richard R. Bowker, editor of *The Publishers' Weekly*, who read a paper upon *The Limitations of Copyright*. A representative of the French *Syndicat pour la Protection de la Propriété Littéraire et Artistique* placed in the hands of the committee, for distribution among the members of the Congress, a pamphlet, *Note sur l'Acte du 3 Mars 1891*, prepared and printed for the purpose. After congratulating the Copyright League upon the successful outcome of its labors, the pamphlet adds: "Il ne saurait se présenter une occasion plus favorable que celle de la réunion du Congrès de 1893 pour exprimer les remerciements des intéressés à tous ceux qui ont eu confiance en l'esprit de justice du peuple américain." The special subject of the Wednesday session, *The Rights and Interests of Authors*, was introduced by Walter Besant, who also presided over the session. Mr. Besant's paper summarized the history of the London Society of Authors, explaining the reasons for its existence and the difficulties with which it has had to contend. He said, in part:

"We have made a careful and prolonged inquiry into the very difficult subject of the present nature and extent of literary property. A writer of importance in our language may address an audience drawn from a hundred millions of English-speaking people. Remember that never before in the history of the world has there been such an audience. There were doubtless more than a hundred millions under the Roman rule around the shores of the Mediterranean, but they spoke many different languages. We have now this enormous multitude, all, with very few exceptions, able to read, and all reading. Twenty years ago they read the weekly paper; there are many who still read nothing more. Now that no longer satisfies the majority. Every day makes it plainer and clearer that we have arrived at a time when the whole of this multitude, which in fifty years' time will be two hundred millions, will very soon be reading books. What kind of books? All kinds, good and bad, but mostly good; we may be very sure that they will prefer good books to bad. Even now the direct road to popularity is by dramatic strength, clear vision, clear dialogue, whether a man write a play, a poem, a

history, or a novel. We see magazines suddenly achieving a circulation reckoned by hundreds of thousands, while our old magazines creep along with their old circulation of from two to ten thousand. Hundreds of thousands? How is this popularity achieved? Is it by pandering to the low, gross, coarse taste commonly attributed to the multitude? Not so. It is mainly accomplished by giving them dramatic work—stories which hold and interest them, essays which speak clearly—work that somehow seems to have a message. If we want a formula or golden rule for arriving at popularity, I should propose this: Let the work have a message. Let it have a thing to say, a story to tell, a living man or woman to present, a lesson to deliver, clear, strong, unmistakable.

“The demand for reading is enormous, and it increases every day. I see plainly, as plainly as eyes can see, a time, it is even now already upon us, when the popular writer—the novelist, the poet, the dramatist, the historian, the physicist, the essayist—will command such an audience, so vast an audience, as he has never yet even conceived as possible. Such a writer as Dickens, if he were living now, would command an audience—all of whom would buy his works—of twenty millions at least. The world has never yet witnessed such a popularity, so widespread, as awaits the successor of Dickens in the affections of the English-speaking races. The consideration must surely encourage us to persevere in our endeavors after the independence, and therefore the nobility of our calling, and therefore the nobility of our work. But you must not think that this enormous demand is for fiction alone. One of the things charged upon our society is that we exist for novelists alone. That is because literary property is not understood at all. As a fact, educational literature is a much larger and more valuable branch than fiction. But for science, history—everything, except, perhaps, poetry—the demand is leaping forward year after year in a most surprising manner. In order to meet this enormous demand, which has actually begun and will increase more and more—a demand which we alone can meet and satisfy—I say that we must claim and that we must have a readjustment of the old machinery, a reconsideration of the old methods, a new appeal to principles of fair play.”

The remainder of the session was taken up by a paper on Syndicate Publishing, sent by W. Morris Colles, of London; by Some Considerations on Publishing, a paper sent by Sir Frederick Pollock; and by a discussion in



SIR WALTER BESANT,
a speaker at the Congress.

which part was taken by Mr. Besant, Charles Carleton Coffin, Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, and Mrs. Daniel Lothrop.

The general subject of Criticism and Literature occupied the Thursday session of the Congress, over which Charles Dudley Warner presided, and he read the opening paper, his subject being *The Function of Literary Criticism in the United States*. Mr. Warner said in part :

"There seems to be a general impression that in a new country like the United States, where everything grows freely, almost spontaneously, as by a new creative impulse, literature had better be left to develop itself without criticism, as practically it has been left—every tree to get as high as it can without reference to shape or character. I say, as practically it has been left. For while there has been some good criticism in this country of other literatures, an application of sound scholarship and wide comparison, there has been very little of this applied to American literature. There has been some fault finding, some ridicule, a good deal of the slashing personality and the expression of individual prejudice and like or dislike, which characterized so much of the British review criticism of the beginning of this century—much of it utterly conventional and blind judgment—but almost no attempt to ascertain the essence and purport of our achievement and to arraign it at the bar of comparative excellence, both as to form and substance. I do not deny that there has been some ingenious and even just exploiting of our literature, with note of its defects and its excellences, but it will be scarcely claimed for even this that it is cosmopolitan. How little of the application of universal principles to specific productions ! We thought it bad taste when Matthew Arnold put his finger on Emerson as he would put his finger on Socrates or on Milton. His judgment may have been wrong, or it may have been right ; matter of individual taste we would have been indifferent to ; it seemed as if it were the universality of the test from which our national vanity shrank. We have our own standards ; if we choose, a dollar is sixty-five cents, and we resent the commercial assertion that a dollar is one hundred cents.

"It seems to me that the thing the American literature needs just now, and needs more than any other literature in the world, is criticism. In the essay by Matthew Arnold to which I have referred, and in which, as you remember, he defines criticism to be 'a disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world,' he would have had smooth sailing if he had not attempted to apply his principles of criticism to the current English literature. And this application made the essay largely an exposition of the British Philistine. The Philistine is, in his origin and character, a very respectable person, whether he is found in Parliament, or in Exeter Hall, or in a newspaper office ; he is incased in tradition. The epithet, borrowed from the German, would not have stung as it did if Arnold had not further defined the person to be, what Ruskin found him also in England and Wagner in Germany, one inaccessible to new ideas.

"Now, we have not in the United States the Philistine, or Philistinism,

at least not much of it, and for the reason that we have no tradition. We have thrown away, or tried to throw away, tradition. We are growing in the habit of being sufficient unto ourselves. We have not Philistinism, but we have something else. There has been no name for it yet invented. Some say it is satisfaction in superficiality, and they point to the common school and to Chautauqua; the French say that it is satisfaction in mediocrity. At any rate it is a satisfaction that has a large element of boastfulness in it, and boastfulness based upon a lack of enlightenment, in literature especially a want of discrimination, of fine discernment of quality. It is a habit of looking at literature as we look at other things. Literature in national life never stands alone. If we condone crookedness in politics and in business under the name of smartness, we apply the same sort of test—that is, the test of success—to literature. It is the test of the late Mr. Barnum. There is in it a disregard of moral as well as of artistic values and standards. You see it in the press, in sermons even, the effort to attract attention, the lack of moderation, the striving to be sensational in poetry, in the novel, to shock, to advertise the performance. Everything is on a strain. No, this is not Philistinism. I am sure, also, that it is not the final expression of the American spirit—that which will represent its life or its literature. I trust it is a transient disease, which we may perhaps call by a transient name—Barnumism.”

Mr. H. D. Traill, of Oxford, sent a paper on *The Relations of Literature and Journalism*, from which we quote the opening paragraph:

“There never was a more promising subject for people who are fond of a good discursive debate, not likely to be brought to an abrupt and disappointing close by a sudden agreement between the disputants, than the subject of the relations between Literature and Journalism. A discussion of it combines almost every possible attraction—ambiguity of terms, indefiniteness of area, uncertainty of aim—everything, in short, that the heart of the most ardent controversialist could desire. I have been privileged to hear many such discussions and to take part in some of them, and on no occasion can I remember to have met with any debater so pedantic as to ask for a definition either of literature or journalism, at any stage of the argument. A sound instinct seems to warn people that if they were to do that, the particular debate engaged in would immediately branch off either into a prolonged and probably technical inquiry into the precise meaning and limits of the term journalism or into an interminable and almost certainly violent dis-



CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER,
a speaker at the Congress.

pute as to what constitutes literature. The latter question in especial is full of 'excellent differences' for those who care to discuss it, because according to some theorists on the subject there would seem to be scarcely any written or printed matter—when once you have risen above the post-office Directory—which is not literature; while with the very superfine class of critics the difficulty is to find anything that is. Literature begins for the former almost where it began with Dogberry. Any one who could have 'pleaded his clergy' in the Middle Ages would, in their view, apparently have been a literary man. Between this estimate and that of the superfine critic who claims to confine the name of literature to some limited class of composition which he happens himself to admire, or perhaps affect, the gap yawns enormous, and I, for one, have no intention of attempting to bridge it. The true definition of literature no doubt lies somewhere between them, and will be fixed on that auspicious day when it is found possible to determine the exact proportions in which form and matter enter into the constitution of literary merit. In the meantime we must content ourselves with admitting that form is certainly, if in an undefined degree, the more important of the two. It would be dangerous to admit any more than this in a day when so many minor poets are abroad, for a considerable number of these, while particularly careful of form, have reduced the value of their matter to a vanishing-point, and any encouragement to them to carry the process yet further is to be deprecated. Still this much, as I have said, must be admitted: that it is primarily form rather than matter which constitutes literature."

Among other papers presented at the Thursday session was that sent by Henry Arthur Jones, who took for his subject *The Future of the English Drama*. While this session was in progress, the subject of *Literature for Children* was under consideration in another hall of the building, and papers were read by Mrs. Daniel Lothrop, Mrs. Elia W. Peattie, and Hezekiah Butterworth. In the afternoon a programme of authors' reading for children was carried out in the presence of a very large audience, composed mostly of young people.

Aspects of Modern Fiction was the general subject of the Friday session of the Congress, and George W. Cable was asked to preside. Mr. Cable read the opening paper, his subject being, *The Uses and Methods of Fiction*. We give a few passages:

"We live in a day unparalleled by any earlier time in its love and jealousy for truth. In no field of search after truth have we been more successful than in science. Our triumphs here have kindled in us such energy and earnest enthusiasm that we have been tempted, both readers and writers, to forget that facts are not the only vehicle of truth. In our almost daily triumphant search through the simple study of facts as they are for the human race's betterment we have learned to yield our imaginations too subserviently to the rule and discipline of the fact hunters, and a depiction of

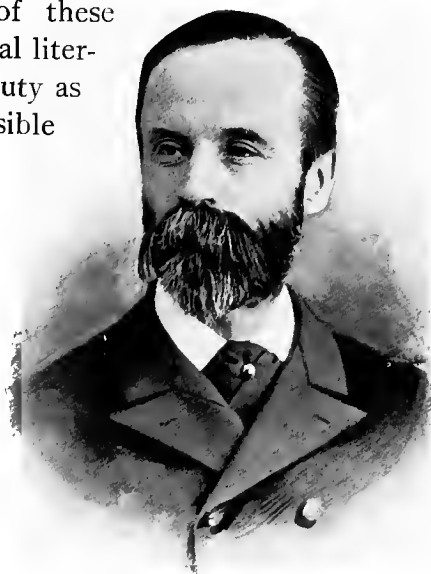
desirable but as yet unrealized conditions across a chasm of impracticability is often unduly and unwisely resented.

"The world will do well to let its story-tellers be, as at their best they have ever been, ambassadors of hope. The fealty they owe is not a scientific adherence and confinement to facts and their photographic display, however benevolently such an attitude may be inspired, save in so far as they may help them the more delightfully to reveal the divine perfections of eternal truth and beauty.

"Yet, if it is true that there is no more law to compel the fictionist to teach truth than there is to require the scientist to be a poët, there are reasons why, in more or less degree and in the great majority of cases, he will choose to teach. One of these reasons lies on the surface. It is that in fictional literature, at least, Truth, duly subordinated to Beauty as the queen of the realm, is her greatest possible auxiliary and ally. No page of fiction ought ever to contain a truth without which the page would be more beautiful than with it. As certainly when truth ignores beauty as when beauty ignores truth, a discount falls upon the value of both in the economy of the universe. Yet, on the other hand, beauty in the story-teller's art, while it may as really, can never so largely and nobly, minister to the soul's delight without the inculcation of truth as with it.

"Hence it is that fiction's peculiar ministry to the human soul is the prose depiction, through the lens of beauty, to the imagination and the emotions, of conflicts of human passions, wills, duties, and fates; a depiction unaccompanied by any tax of intellectual labor, but consistent with all known truth, though without any necessary intervention of actual facts. Or, more briefly, it is the contemplation of the *truths* of human life as it ought to be, compared with the facts as they are.

"If this is the fictionist's commission, is not his commission his passport also in the economist's world? It would be easy to follow out the radiations of this function and show their value by their simple enumeration. In the form of pure romance it fosters that spirit of adventure which seeks and finds new worlds, and which can not be lightly spoken of while we celebrate the discoveries of Columbus. In all its forms it helps to exercise, expand, and refresh those powers of the imagination whose decay is the hectic fever and night sweat of all search for truth and beauty; of science and invention, art, enterprise, and true religion. Often it gives to the soul, otherwise imprisoned by the cramped walls of the commonplace, spiritual experiences of life



GEORGE W. CABLE,
a speaker at the Congress.

refined from some of their deadliest risks, and cuts windows in the walls of cramped and commonplace environments. At its best it elevates our conceptions of the heroic and opens our eyes to the presence, actuality, and value of a world of romance that is, and ought to be, in our own lives and fates."

Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood followed Mr. Cable with a paper on Form and Condensation in the Novel. We give a portion of it :

"Whoever attempts a novel is supposed to have a story to tell ; and the manner of his telling it is almost as important as the story itself. It is always, whatever variations the theme may take, the story of a man and a woman—often a sad, often an absurd story, but one which is as fresh with every generation as new grass with the spring. The dear little maid whom you now call the light of your house will soon reach her version of it. She tells you in confidence, and with a stammer on the long word, that she has a prejudice against boys—and you know what that prejudice in a few years will do with the incipient men who are hanging May baskets or doing sums for her.

"It seems to me the best form for this story is the dramatic form. We want intensified life. 'It is the quality of the moment that imports,' says Emerson. Of what interest are our glacial periods, our slow transitions that change us we know not why? Every one can look back on many differing persons he has been in his time. And every one is conscious of undeveloped identities hampered yet within him. The sweetest and sincerest natures have repressions and concealments. It is the result of these things which makes the story of life. You may put a microscope over a man and follow his trail day by day ; but unless he reaches some stress of loving, suffering, doing, you soon lose interest in him. I delight in Jane Austen for the quality of her work. In the same way I enjoy the work of Mr. Howells. It is their dramatic grasp on the commonplace which makes these realists great.

"The most dramatic treatment can not wholly present the beauty of one human soul, and the sternest analysis can not reach all its convolutions of evil. Shakespeare knew his human soul. When we are very young we complain that he pictures us unfairly ; but when we are older we know. He took the great moments, that counted, and presented his men and women intensely alive.

"I have heard there are authors who do not rewrite and condense, who set down at the first stroke the word they want to use, the word which creates. But I never absolutely laid hands on one. The growth of a story is usually slow, like the growth of most plants. It is labor and delight, pain and pleasure, despair and hope. You can not escape a pang. You must absolutely live it through ; and then try it by the test of ridicule of common standards, by the gauge of human nature. I heard a judge say when he was a college student he kicked all the bark off a log in the campus and wore out the backs of a new pair of trousers trying to write a poem ; and he made up his mind he was no poet. If the spirit of art had really been in him he would have recognized these agonies. It is not easy to speak the word—except



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when it is easy ; when you have those moments of clear seeing and that condensing grasp of your material which pay for days of worthless labor."

The remaining papers of the session were : The Short Story, by Miss Alice French ; The New Motive in Fiction, by Mrs. Anna B. McMahan ; Local Color in Fiction, by Hamlin Garland ; and Ebb Tide in Realism, by Joseph Kirkland. The Friday session of the Congress commanded more general public interest than any of the others, and was distinguished from them by the fact that all the papers presented on this occasion were read by their authors.

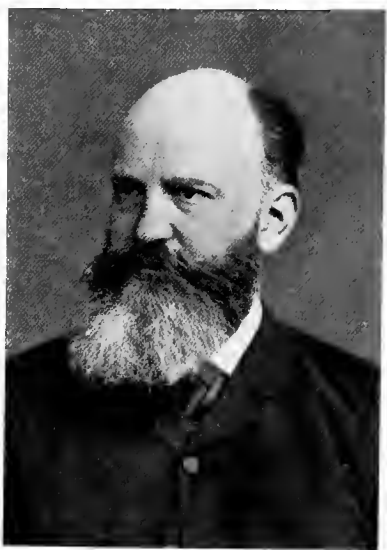
Notwithstanding the fact that this Congress was the first of the kind to be held by writers in the English language, and the fact that there was in this country no definite association of literary workers that would take charge of the arrangements, there is reason to congratulate the committees in charge upon the outcome of their enterprise. To the resident Committee of Organization, and especially to its chairman, Francis F. Browne, and to the non-resident Committee of Co-operation, and particularly to its secretary, Prof. George E. Woodberry, both of whom labored long and strenuously for the success of the work, a special and hearty word of recognition is due. Of this Committee of Co-operation, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was the chairman. It is true that there were disappointments, but, with allowance for all mishaps, the Congress achieved a distinct success ; its sessions were dignified and inspiring, it attracted the serious attention of a considerable and influential public, and it is to be hoped that it has paved the way for a better organization of authorship and a better understanding of literature both in its commercial and in its artistic aspects.

The World's Congress of Historians was called to order on Tuesday morning, July 11, by Dr. William F. Poole, of the Newberry Library, Chairman of the General Committee, to whose personal efforts the success of the meeting was largely due. The election of President James B. Angell, of Michigan University, as President, and Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, as Secretary of the Congress, followed immediately upon the opening of the session. These gentlemen held the same offices in the American Historical Association, whose ninth annual meeting was held in conjunction with the World's Historical Congress, with a programme practically identical. The sessions were continued morning and evening for three days, the afternoons being devoted to the Exposition at Jackson Park. Notwithstanding the fact that five congresses were in progress at the same time and under the same roof, the History sessions were attended by several hundred interested auditors, and the Congress was regarded as a complete success. The time during the six sessions of more than two hours each was occupied fully, and it was necessary to omit the reading of papers when their writers were not present. Universities and colleges were largely represented on the programme. Of the contributors of the thirty-three papers, three were presidents of universities and seventeen were professors, most of them

professors of history. Of the other contributors, ten were well-known historical writers, and four were ladies, whose papers were among the most interesting.

President Angell, in his inaugural address, on *The Inadequate Recognition of Diplomats by Historians*, set forth the eminent services of diplomatists whose names in connection with these services are rarely mentioned by English and American historians. French and Continental writers have a better appreciation of historical justice.

The discussion of *The Value of National Historical Archives*, by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, of Saratoga, was one of the ablest and most practical



GEORG EBERS,
a contributor to the Congress.

papers read at the Congress. It depicted in eloquent and forcible terms the need of such a department at Washington. All the other great nations of the world, and many of the smaller ones, have departments of archives, and the United States has none. The student of American history must go, or send, to Europe or to Canada (which has an excellent department of state papers) to find documents that should be in Washington. Mrs. Walworth concluded by offering a resolution to the effect that a committee be appointed to memorialize Congress to establish such a department. An earnest discussion followed, supporting the resolution, and it was passed unanimously.

A paper on American Historical Nomenclature, by the Honorable Ainsworth R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, was read at the

Tuesday morning session by the Secretary. This paper was an earnest plea for the retention of native American names for American places. Mr. Spofford gave an interesting statistical summary of the influence of Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and other foreign names upon American local nomenclature.

At the Tuesday evening session Dr. James Schouler, of Boston, read a paper on *Methods of Historical Investigation*. After alluding to the liberal fortune expended by Hubert H. Bancroft in his recent history of the Pacific States, and to the corps of literary assistants employed by him in examining the contents of his large library of 20,000 volumes, Dr. Schouler considered the value of such organized methods of historical research as compared with the efforts of an individual scholar, who conducts systematically his own studies into the period which he means to describe, and who uses an amanuensis only for strictly clerical work. His own personal experience favored the latter method, as capable, under suitable self-training, of very extensive and satisfactory results. The trained assistance which one employs with only

a mercenary interest in the study can accomplish little, after all, compared with one mind inspired for its task and concentrating its powers.

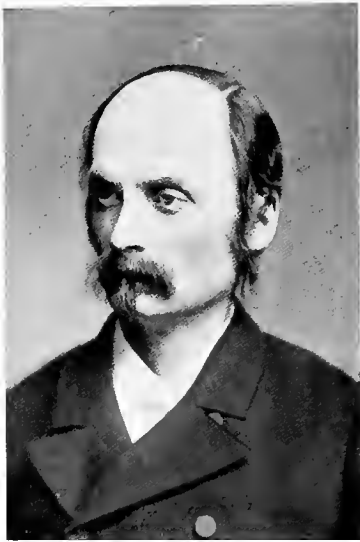
Prof. Charles J. Little, of Northwestern University, discussed the Historical Method of writing the History of Christian Doctrine. Prof. Ephraim Emerton, of Harvard University, contributed a paper on the Historical Doctorate in America, advocating higher standards of graduate work and academic requirement. William Henry Smith, of the Associated Press, spoke of the First Fugitive Slave Case in Ohio, and Dr. Frederic Bancroft, of Washington, presented an essay on Mr. Seward's Position toward the South at the Outbreak of the Civil War.

On Wednesday morning James Phinney Baxter, of Portland, Me., reviewed the Present Status of pre-Columbian Discovery, and Prof. Edward G. Bourne, of Adelbert College, emphasized the work of Prince Henry the Navigator in persistently and systematically promoting the exploration of the western coast of Africa for more than forty years (1416-'60). This work was of immense importance in preparing the way for Columbus, Diaz, Da Gama, and Magellan. The sailors of Prince Henry showed that the region about the equator was inhabitable and inhabited, and that the traditional terrors of the ocean had little reality. An examination of the contemporary accounts of Prince Henry's work, especially a series of documents recently published by the Portuguese Government and the papal bull of Nicholas V (1454), shows that it was carried on for four purposes—to explore unknown parts of the world, to spread Christianity, to reach the Indies by sailing around Africa, and to promote commerce. Much of his success was owing to his unfaltering persistence in spite of temporary failure, and to the enthusiastic devotion that he inspired in his followers. If Columbus had never lived, it seems inevitable that America would have been discovered by Portuguese seamen following out the work begun by Prince Henry.

Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California, discussed The Economic Conditions of Spain in the Sixteenth Century, and Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, of Vassar College, showed the historic importance of the Union of Utrecht. At the Tuesday evening session Dr. George Kriehn read a short paper on English Popular Uprisings of the Middle Ages. Prof. George P. Fisher, of Yale University, contributed a suggestive essay on The Social Compact, and Mr. Jefferson's Adoption of It. Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, presented a careful study of The Relation of History to Politics. Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, read a paper on Early Lead Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin, and Prof. F. J. Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, explained the Significance of the Frontier in American History. Up to our own day, he said, American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the great West. This ever-retreating frontier of unoccupied land is the key to our development. The settlement of the problems that arose at one frontier served as guides for the next frontier—for example, in matters relating to land policy

and the Indians. There are various kinds of frontiers which passed westward in successive waves—for example, the Indian's frontier, the trader's frontier, the miner's or rancher's frontier, and the farmer's frontier. The methods of advance and the characteristics of each were traced, showing how the Indian was pushed back and how each frontier affected its successor. It was found that the successive frontiers revealed the progress of society. At the same time the United States could show the hunting stage, the pastoral stage, the agricultural stage, and the manufacturing stage, as the traveler crossed the continent from west to east.

At the Thursday morning session Dr. Lewis H. Boutell, of Chicago, read a paper on Roger Sherman in the National Constitutional Convention. Prof. Charles H. Haskins, of the University of Wisconsin, discussed the Eleventh



ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE,
a contributor to the Congress.

Amendment of the Constitution. This amendment was introduced into Congress in 1794 and declared in force in 1798. It provides that the judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity begun or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state. Its judicial construction involves important and intricate questions of constitutional law, and earlier opinions have been somewhat modified in the recent cases, many of them arising from the repudiation of debts in the Southern States, which have been persistently forced on the courts. Thus, in 1890, in the case of *Hans vs. Louisiana*, the Supreme Court decided that a sovereign State could not be sued, even by her own citizens, and that the decision in *Chisholm vs.*

Georgia was incorrect. The term "sovereign State," as here used, denotes financial rather than political independence, and differs widely in meaning from the use of one hundred, or even fifty years ago. The free repudiation of public contracts in many States, and the impossibility of enforcing many of the constitutional restrictions upon States, have led some to propose a repeal of the eleventh amendment, though there has been no general movement in that direction.

Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana State University, described the Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise. Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, Va., presented a paper on the First Legislative Assembly in America. Although Virginia, the oldest English colony in America, was at first under military government, it was allowed the privilege of a Legislative Assembly in 1619 under the commission of Governor Yeardley.

This, the first Legislative Assembly in America, met at Jamestown, July 30, 1619, more than a year before the sailing of the Pilgrims. It was composed of the governor and his council and two representatives, chosen from each plantation, making twenty-two burgesses. The place of meeting was the Episcopal church at Jamestown. This building, the manner in which the Assembly was constituted, and its *personnel*, were sketched by Mr. Henry, and the proceedings of the legislative body were fully given. The Virginia Assembly as early as 1623, and continuously afterward, claimed the sole and exclusive right to tax the colony, and boldly took issue with Parliament in 1765 on the passage of the Stamp Act, declaring that, as it imposed the tax upon the colonies without their consent, it tended to destroy British as well as American freedom. This brought on the Revolution, which established the independence of the United States, with the grand results that have followed.

Miss Cora Start, of Worcester, Mass., read a valuable monograph on Naturalization in the English Colonies of America. Prof. Burke A. Hinsdale, of the University of Michigan, showed the importance of the Thirty-first Parallel in American history. At the Thursday evening and closing session Prof. Simeon E. Baldwin, of Yale University, described The Historic Policy of the United States as to Annexation. This paper is printed in full in the Yale Review, August, 1893. Prof. J. Franklin Jameson's paper on the Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies was read in part by the Secretary.

Prof. F. W. Blackmar, of the University of Kansas, read an interesting sketch of the Annals of an Historic Town. He showed that, by the passage of the Douglas bill, Congress removed the battlefield of slavery from congressional halls to the plains of Kansas. National issues were referred to a local community for final settlement. Lawrence was the first Free-State town of any importance, and it became the center of the Free-State movement in the Territory of Kansas. The municipal life of Lawrence is instructive as illustrating the development of free institutions. The town was settled by New Englanders, sent out by the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, and they brought with them New England institutions. They came to establish religious and political liberty in Kansas, and in this respect they partook of the spirit of the Puritans and Pilgrims of New England. But they sought the freedom of others as well as their own improvement, and were not obliged to leave their own country on account of oppression. The people who settled Lawrence were not abolitionists, but they intended to make Kansas a free State according to the legal act of Congress. They respected and obeyed Federal authority and desired to avoid open conflict. Their persistent determination to abide by Federal law, and at the same time to oppose false local legislation, made Kansas a free commonwealth.

The work of the Congress of Philologists was planned by a committee having as chairman Mr. W. M. Payne, with the co-operation of the Amer-

ican Philological Association, the Modern Language Association of America, and the American Dialect Society. These three societies held formal meetings, and their work was supplemented by papers obtained from outside sources, many of them relating to Oriental philology and archæology. About sixty papers were included in the work of the Philological Section, and it was necessary during the greater part of the week to hold two sessions at the same time. The Congress assembled, as a whole, what was probably the most important gathering of philologists that ever met in the United States. The American Philological Association usually devotes the first evening session of its annual meeting to an address, upon some subject of extra-philological interest, by the president for the year. Prof. William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago, occupied that office, and his address was given Tuesday evening, July 11, the sub-

ject being Democracy and Education. It was a scholarly exposition of the particular perils to which the higher education is exposed in a democratic environment, and, in the case of our own country, opened a fairly hopeful outlook upon the future. Among the papers read before the association at its subsequent sessions the following were of special value : The Language of the Law, by Mr. H. L. Baker ; Vedic Studies, by Prof. Maurice Bloomfield ; and The Remote Deliberative in Greek, by Prof. W. G. Hale. On Wednesday and Friday mornings two "general sessions" were devoted mainly to the papers offered by distinguished European guests of the association. These papers included The Connection between Indian and Greek Philosophy, by Prof. Richard Garbe, of Königsberg ; *Helles und Dunkles / im Lateinischen*, by Prof. Hermann

MRS. ELIZABETH A. REED,
Chairman of the Woman's Committee
on Philology.

Osthoff, of Heidelberg ; *Indogermanische Ablautprobleme*, by Prof. Wilhelm Streitberg, of Freiburg (Switzerland) ; and The Scientific Emendation of Classical Texts, by Prof. E. A. Sonnenschein, of Birmingham. Other papers read at these sessions were : Some Problems in Greek Syntax, by Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve ; The Relation of Philology to History, by Prof. M. Bloomfield ; and The Ethical and Psychological Implications of the Style of Thucydides, by Prof. Paul Shorey. A paper on Unpublished Manuscript Treasures, by Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, was presented at one of the sessions. Mr. Pinches had made his preparations to be present at the Congress, but was, at the last moment, detained in London by a vexatious lawsuit. A paper sent by Prof. Michel

Bréal, of the Collège de France, had for its subject Canons of Etymological Investigation, and was made the basis of an interesting discussion, opened by Prof. B. I. Wheeler. Another discussion, led by Prof. M. Bloomfield, had for its theme the Importance of Uniformity in the Transliteration of non-Roman Alphabets. The association, before adjourning, transacted its regular business, and elected Prof. James M. Garnett, of the University of Virginia, as president for the coming year.

The meeting of the Modern Language Association comprised two sessions, both on Thursday, July 13. Among the papers presented were: The Language of the Sciences and a Universal Language, by Prof. F. A. Marsh; German Philology in America, by Prof. M. D. Learned; and Training of College and University Professors, by Prof. A. Rambeau. The American Dialect Society and the Spelling Reform Association had one session each.

The sessions not held under the special auspices of the philological organizations were seven in number, and offered a preponderance of papers upon subjects in the department of Oriental archæology. These papers were collected by Mrs. Elizabeth A. Reed, and to this lady is due a special word of praise for her efforts in behalf of the Congress. Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, of Berlin, lectured upon Cypriote archæology; and Prof. W. H. Goodyear, of Brooklyn, summarized the line of argument, based upon a study of prehistoric ornament, that has made him a firm believer in the non-Asiatic origin of the Aryans. Both these lectures were illustrated with the lantern. Other speakers and papers comprised in the programmes of these miscellaneous sessions were: Old Testament History in the Light of Recent Discoveries, by Dr. William C. Winslow, who represents the Egypt Exploration Fund in this country, and Cleopatra, a lecture by Dr. Samuel A. Binion, of New York.

The following-named papers (the writers not being present) were among those sent to be read at the Congress: Greek Ceramography in Relation to Greek Mythology, by Miss Jane Harrison, of London; Schliemann's Excavations, by Mrs. Schliemann, of Athens; Assyrian and Babylonian Libraries, by Prof. A. H. Sayce, of Oxford; Babylonian and Assyrian Archæology, by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, of London; and Koptic Art and its Relation to Early Christian Ornament, by Dr. Georg Ebers, of Munich.

The Folklore Congress was planned and held in the face of opposition and discouragement from organized bodies in London and Boston—the American Folklore Society's secretary declaring that it would be impracticable to hold a World's Congress in the United States at this time. In view of the phenomenal success of the Congress, these elements of difficulty and discouragement should be noted, as well as the fact that the success was largely due to the labors and enthusiasm of Lieutenant F. S. Bassett, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. This was the third International Congress of Folklore, and really the first to which all nations were invited. More than thirty nationalities were represented, one hundred persons actively

participating in the literary exercises, and more than a hundred in the concert. Twelve sessions were held, at which sixty-eight papers and addresses were read and forty-seven songs were sung, in addition to the phonographic chants. The geographical range of the essays was unrestricted. The folklore of all lands was treated at the hands of those who were natives, or who had lived in the lands of which they spoke. Many distinguished folklore scholars from abroad assisted personally in this exposition of the folklore of Asia, Africa, Europe, and the two Americas. Among these were the Hon. John Abercromby, Vice-President of the English Folklore Society; Michel Smigrodzki, of Poland, a member of the Paris Société des Traditions Populaires; Mr. Vucasovic, of Dalmatia; Mr. Mihic, of Servia; Mr. Beers,

Secretary of the New Orleans Society; the Hon. Lorin Thurston, of Honolulu; Dr. V. I. Shopoff, of Bulgaria; Paul Groussac, of Buenos Ayres; and Ludwig Krwyzinski, of Poland.



FLETCHER S. BASSETT
Lieut. U. S. Navy,
Chairman of
Committee on Folklore Congress.

No branch of folklore was unrepresented. Myths, legends, customs, superstitions, religions, songs, all branches of folk speech, folk wont, and folk thought were dealt with. The legends and customs of the American aborigines were treated by such experts as Surgeon Matthews, Lieutenant Scott, Dr. Eastman, James Deans, Mr. Quelch, Lieutenant Welles, and Mr. Groussac. Dr. Matthews's wonderful collection of phonographed Navajo songs and Lieutenant Scott's exposition of the sign language were especially meritorious. Nor was the black man neglected. He carried off the honors at the concert, and his superstitions and customs and his strange literature

were ably represented by Miss Owen, Mrs. Watson, and Mrs. Sheldon. Many of these essays were made more popular by the objects used in illustrating them—as, for example, Dr. Matthews's Navajo rites, Mr. Stephen's Hopi pigments, Mrs. Sheldon's African charms, Mr. Smigrodzki's tablet of the Svastika, and Mr. Quelch's South American musical instruments.

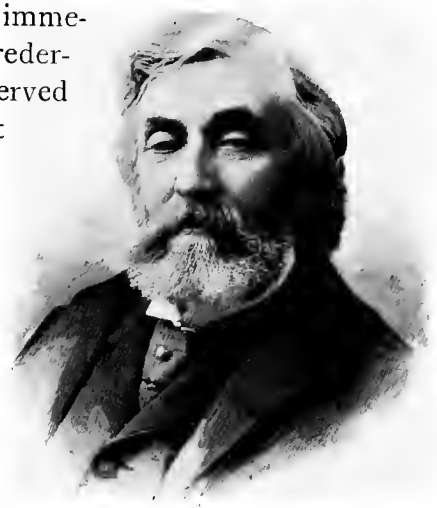
The bibliography of folklore never has received the attention that was here given to it. Signor Pitré for Italy, M. Sébillot for France and Creole literature, Señor Rodriguez for Venezuela, and the Rev. J. C. O'Hanlon for Ireland, presented the folklore bibliography of those lands. Literary folklore received excellent treatment in Dr. Prato's exhaustive article on The Symbolism of the Vase, Mr. Field's charming poem, Mrs. Catherwood's Loup-garou story, and Mr. Head's Taming of the Shrew, Dr. Carsten's anal-

ysis of Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, and the Hon. John Abercromby's magic Finnish poetry.

Besides the full collection of Navajo songs made by Dr. Matthews and the beautiful folk songs of Mr. Smigrodzki, Mr. Mihic, and Mr. Cable, a concert of more than forty solos and choruses, embracing folk music from Japan, India, Ceylon, Turkey, Africa, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, England, Italy, Scotland, Spain, France, Wales, and North and South America, was rendered by natives of those lands in the costumes and languages of the countries, accompanied frequently by their own strange instruments. This concert, made possible only by the presence of specially organized World's fair choruses and by the courtesy of various foreign commissioners, was given free to the public, in the two great halls of the Art Institute, to more than six thousand people, the numbers given in one hall being repeated to the audience in the other immediately after their performance in the first. Frederick W. Root, who arranged the concert, deserved great credit for accomplishing this task without a rehearsal.

Very much of the success of this Congress was due to the admirable tact, perseverance, and effort of the acting chairman of the Woman's Committee, Mrs. Fletcher S. Bassett. Eight essays were contributed by women, and much of the success of the concert was due to them.

The annual meeting of the American Library Association was merged this year into the Congress of Librarians, and the papers read and the subjects discussed took a somewhat wider range than is usual at the meetings of the association. The Congress was opened on Wednesday morning, July 12, by the chairman of the local committee, Mr. F. H. Hild. Melvil Dewey, President of the American Library Association, who was selected to preside at the first day's Congress, delivered the opening address, in which he comprehensively reviewed library progress in the United States during the present century. He was followed by Frederick M. Crunden, Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, who read an interesting paper on *The Librarian as Administrator*. The second session of the Congress, on Thursday morning, was presided over by Samuel S. Green, Librarian of the Worcester Public Library, who read a paper on *State Library Commissions*. Richard R. Bowker, of *The Library Journal*, followed with a paper on *National Bibliography*, and the session closed with a paper by Prof. R. C. Davis, Librarian of the University of Michigan, on *An Overuse of Books*. On Friday morning Frederick M. Crunden called the third session of the Congress to order.



CHARLES K. ADAMS,
a speaker at the Congress.

The first paper was by Charles A. Cutter, formerly Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, who spoke on *The Note of the American Library*. Mr. E. H. Woodruff, Librarian of the Leland Stanford University, read a paper on *Present Tendencies in University Libraries*, and he was followed by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, President of the Chicago Public Library Board, whose remarks on *The Public Library in its Relation to Education* were listened to with the greatest attention. Among other papers read at this session were one on *The International Mutual Relations of Libraries*, by Dr. Carl Dziatzko, of the University Library of Göttingen, and one on *The Direct*



FRANCIS F. BROWNE,
Chairman of Committee
on Congress of Literature.

Interchange of Manuscripts between Libraries, by Dr. O. Hartwig, of the Royal University Library of Halle. Both of these papers were read by Mr. E. F. L. Gauss, who had made excellent translations of the German originals. Two papers were presented by woman librarians—Miss C. M. Hewins, Librarian of the Hartford Library Association, on *The Pictorial Resources of a Small Library*, and Miss Jessie Allan, of the Omaha Public Library, on *The Library as a Teacher of Literature*. The closing session of the Congress, on Saturday morning, was presided over by Miss M. S. R. James, Librarian of the People's Palace, London, who read a paper on *The People's Palace and its Library*. Peter Cowell, Librarian of the Liverpool Public Libraries, addressed the Congress on the subject of *How to Popularize the Public Library*. Mr. E. C.

Richardson, Librarian of Princeton College, read a paper on *Library Science and Other Sciences*, and was followed by Miss Tessa Kelso, of the Los Angeles Public Library, who gave an animated address on *Some Economic Features of a Library*. William I. Fletcher, Librarian of Amherst College, spoke on *The Library Catalogue of the Twentieth Century*, and Miss Katherine L. Sharp, Librarian of the Armour Institute, read in conclusion an interesting paper on *The Library Exhibit at the World's Fair*. For want of time, six additional papers on the programme were read by title only before the Congress adjourned.



The Whaleback steamer at the Long Pier.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONGRESSES.

Organization of the work—President Bonney's opening address—Dr. Harris's report—The Congress on Kindergarten Education—Fräulein Schepel's address—Other speakers and their themes—The Congress on Representative Youth—The Congress on Psychology—Congresses on General and Higher Education—President Gilman's address—President Kellogg's address—Discussion of uniformity in universities—The question of studying Greek—Arguments by Prof. Hale and President Jordan—The Congress on Manual Education—Prof. Woodward's address—The Congress on University Extension—Prof. Stuart's history of the movement—The Congress of College Students—The Congress of College Fraternities.



RT. REV. SAMUEL FALLOWS,
Chairman of
Committee on Educational Congresses.

AMONG the many subjects proposed for consideration in the original announcement of the World's Congress Auxiliary was The Educational Systems, their Advantages and their Defects, and the Means by which they may best be adapted to the Recent Enormous Increase in all Departments of Knowledge. Accordingly, for the presentation of the great theme, Education, two weeks were assigned, beginning July 17, and a General Committee on Educational Congresses was appointed under the chairmanship of the Hon. and Right Rev. Samuel Fallows, D. D., LL. D., with a Woman's Committee on Educational Con-

gresses, of which Mrs. Henry M. Willmarth served as chairman. The work of the first week, which was organized in thirteen sections, embraced the general divisions of the Higher Institutions of Learning, University Extension, College Fraternities, University and College Students, Public-School Authorities and Administration, Kindergarten Education, Manual and Art Training, Business and Commercial Colleges, Education of the Deaf, Education of the Blind, Representative Youth of the Public Schools, Physical Culture, Agricultural Education, and Authors and Publishers. The congresses or conferences held in each of these divisions, for the consideration of the questions especially embraced in it, were known as the Special Educational Congresses, and they were followed during the second week by the World's General Educational Congress, under the charge of the National Educational Association of the United States. In response to the request of Mr. Bonney, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, the National Educational Association appointed a Committee of Arrangements, having as chairman the Hon. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education of the United States, to invite representatives from different parts of the United States and from foreign countries to participate in this, and to make up a programme. The importance of selecting questions that affect the management of schools in all parts of the world was appreciated, and the efforts of the committee in this regard were responded to in a hearty manner by the visiting delegates. Fifteen department congresses were planned for this week, but in many of them the work was simply a continuation of that of the first week, with additional speakers and new subjects for discussion. Of these departments, those for Higher Education, Secondary, Elementary, School Supervision, Professional Training of Teachers, Rational Psychology, Educational Publications, and Business Education represented what has long been established, and their discussions went largely to explaining and justifying work that is in process of accomplishment. On the other hand, the Departments of Kindergarten Education, Instruction in Art, Vocal Music, Technological Instruction, Industrial and Manual Instruction, Physical Education, and Experimental Psychology in Education, were devoted more especially to setting forth what is new and desirable in education, and urging its adoption into the school system. As a result, the educational problems were all discussed in the light of these two tendencies.

So far as known, this was the largest international educational congress that has yet been held. The civilized countries of the world were more generally and fully represented, and the total of attendance was larger, than at previous congresses.

From President Bonney's opening address the following extracts are made :

"Modern science is a new world, created within the memory of living man. In all the old branches of learning there has been a wonderful increase of knowledge. There is now more of language and literature, more of natu-

ral science, more of political and social science, more of moral and intellectual science, more of technological and constructive science, and more of other important branches of knowledge, than can be mastered during the school years. What can be done to meet this emergency? The cruelty of cramming has been tried and abandoned as worse than useless. The liberty of election has been enlarged and re-enlarged without fully satisfactory results. The difficulty not only remains, it increases. We can not meet it by suppressing knowledge; we must endeavor to do so by enlarging the means and improving the system of education. The old curriculum was a pamphlet; the new curriculum is a volume, growing larger from year to year.

"To some extent, the characteristics of the new education may already be discerned: While in the primary schools the kindergarten and the rudiments of manual and art training will lay the foundation for culture, the instruction will, for the most part, be limited to such knowledge as is universally necessary for intelligent human relations. In a word, the instruction imperatively demanded for the every-day needs of all classes will be the chief object of the primary schools. In the secondary schools will be given a knowledge of the existence and nature of all the sciences, arts, and callings, so far as may be necessary to enable the learner to select those in which he will be most likely to find his appropriate life work. The learner must know that there is such a science as chemistry, such an art as engineering, and their general nature and scope, to enable him to decide whether in either of them, or in some other pursuit, he will be likely to be most serviceable to himself and his fellow-men.

"In the higher institutions of learning will naturally be given that thorough and prolonged culture in a carefully selected course of study, chosen with reference to a proposed life occupation; that careful and efficient discipline which will qualify the student for the best discharge of the duties of that occupation. In the professional and technological schools will be given both a theoretical and a practical training for the particular requirements and duties of a selected calling, such as law, medicine, engineering, or agriculture.

"Thus may be secured in a rational order that general knowledge which intelligent persons in all countries should possess; that mental culture and discipline of the brain which corresponds to the skill and accuracy of the artisan's accomplished hand; and that special and adequate preparation required for the successful pursuit of a special calling.

"Of vast importance and significance is the new movement of colleges and universities, under the name of University Extension, to ally themselves with the people. That alliance will prove of inestimable value to both. In the highest sense, there is but one education, of which all schools and all instruction should form appropriate parts. If one can not be a master of philology, or astronomy, or geology, or architecture, or engineering, it should nevertheless be his privilege to know enough of each to follow with pleasure and with benefit the achievements of its leaders."

How well the efforts of the committee to prepare a programme that should be so wide in its scope as to include matters of importance to the educators of all countries were realized, may be known from the following paragraphs, taken from Dr. Harris's report submitted on the opening day of the Congress of the second week, in which a brief sketch of the points in the programme laid out was presented :

" In the Department of Higher Education the distinction between the college and the university is brought prominently forward, and the relation of a course of study such as the old college furnished—namely, for discipline and for giving the student a survey of the whole field of human learning—the relation of this to the specialization of the activities of the student in lines of original research. One party in higher education will contend that the old college course should be retained, and held to its purpose of giving unity and consistency to the knowledge of the student before he enters on his specialties, whether law, medicine, divinity, or some special branch of science or art ; the other party will contend for a policy that discounts the so-called liberal education and the boasted advantages of a prolonged study of the classical languages and pure mathematics, and contend for the earlier introduction of specialization.

" The Department Congress of Technology has prepared for itself a highly valuable series of discussions on the educational value of such branches as workshop practice, laboratory work in exact measurement, in chemistry, in electricity ; what the student gets from mechanical and architectural drawing and from pure and applied mathematics, what from natural science, and what from his training for an engineer. These studies in educational values have a direct bearing on the most fundamental question of higher education—the question whether the course of study in our colleges merits the high claims made for it as being one of a specially high educational value—as being, in fact, the course that enlightens the student and gives him balance of mind and a judicial habit of thought.

" To this great question in higher education also the Congress of Secondary Education contributes its quota by setting in the foreground questions of the practical value of science as an educative study as compared with language, and, furthermore, the value of the modern languages as compared with Latin and Greek.

" This question of the educational value of the classics and modern studies, of the languages *versus* the sciences and mathematics, is not a local one of interest only to our people, but a question more and more coming to the front in France and England, and even in Germany ; and we are fortunate in having with us distinguished delegates from all those countries who have weighty words to say in its discussion.

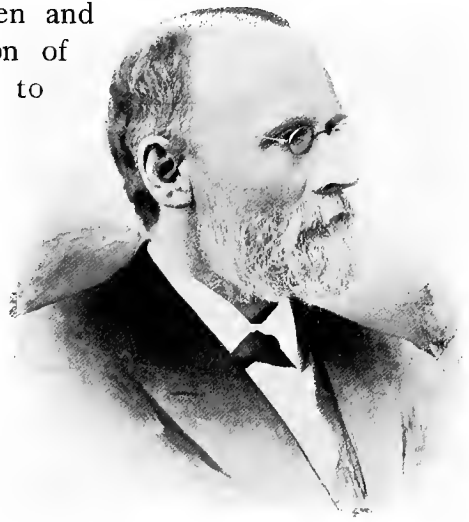
" A kindred question occupies a portion of the programme of the Congress of Elementary Education. What branches of science and what branches of industrial instruction should be introduced into the elementary schools,

and how far may the old course of study in language, numbers, geography, and history be made to recede to give room for the new branches? The Department Congresses of Industrial and Manual Instruction, together with the Congresses on Art Instruction and Music, emphasize this question in elementary education, and repeat in many new phases the demand for broadening the course of study in elementary schools.

"The National Geographical Society has been invited to occupy the programme of Thursday in the Elementary Department, and valuable discussions are provided to bring out the needs and defects of the present methods of instruction, together with the desired remedies.

"But the discussions of the third day in the Elementary Congress relate to the most important of all topics—that of Citizenship and Morals. Those familiar with the work of the directors of popular education abroad, especially in England, France, and Germany, know the stress that is laid on morals and citizenship, and the interest that is shown in questions of religious education as an essential item on the programmes of the schools. There are two parties of earnest men and women—the one holding that the separation of Church and state should be carried so far as to make the schools entirely secular, and the other holding that instruction in religion should be placed on the programme side by side with instruction in language and science.

"Somewhat related to this question of ethical and civic instruction are most of the questions taken up in the Kindergarten Congress. The kindergarten attempts to provide a course of instruction that is half school and half family nurture, in order that the rigid discipline in obedience to law and order which characterized, and, I may say, still characterizes, the old-time primary school, may not have the effect of chilling the enthusiasm of the young child and arresting his development along lines of growth that tend to a completer individuality and a higher type of manhood and womanhood. In the discussions of the week there is a large space given to the very important differences between the epochs of childhood, say from four to six years, and the epoch of youth, say from seven to fourteen years. The transition of the mind from the so-called symbolic stage of childhood to the stage in which the child can readily learn the conventional methods of representing language and numbers is the topic which needs most illumination in the study of methods of the primary school. The kindergarten, moreover, as containing the beginnings of all that is to be unfolded in the later schools, takes up again the question



WILLIAM T. HARRIS, LL. D.,
Chairman of
Committee of Arrangements.

of the educative value of hand occupations, so often discussed in other departments and found to be so attractive a topic in the educational conferences of all nations.

"The Congress on the Professional Training of Teachers has as its most important topic the difference between the normal school, which prepares teachers for the work of the elementary schools, and the college or university, which gives the degree of Doctor of Pedagogy. The course of study in the regular normal school, on the other hand, is defined by contrast with the ordinary high school or academy (secondary schools), and it is claimed that the normal school introduces comparative study—like the college, seeking to understand each branch in the light of the other branches of human learning—while secondary education usually teaches its branches as steps to higher studies, and not by a comparative method.

"The college or university course in pedagogy, it is contended, should make its degree stand for original work of investigation in the lines of the literature and history of education as well as in lines of investigation into the growth or development of the child physically and mentally.

"No more important topics than these are on the programme for the week as regards the improvement of our teachers. But there are two department congresses auxiliary to this department of professional training, the one on Rational Psychology, which considers the transient and permanent characteristics of mind, seeks to discover the fundamental characteristics which contradistinguish mind from mere biological phenomena—the mind as knowing primitive truth and as pure self-activity. The other Congress, that of Experimental Psychology, devotes all its discussions to questions of child study in physical, emotional, intellectual, and volitional aspects. The teacher, it is said, should understand psychology because he deals with the growth of the mind. It is quite recent that a great revival has begun in this country of the study of psychology.

"The supervision of schools, which becomes every day more important as people come to live more and more in cities and villages, discusses the questions relating to the organization of schools, especially such as relate to the examination of teachers and the improvement of their work.

"An interesting question, especially interesting in the presence of this great World's Exposition of the products of human industry, is that of the relation of technical skill and manual processes to the training of the æsthetic sense—the cultivation of the taste for the beautiful. This question is brought out in many of its phases in the Congress on Art Instruction, and still more of its phases are taken up in the Congress on Industrial and Manual Instruction. The difference between the great systems of training—those of the Swedish Slöjd, the Russian school shop, and the French system—will be better understood, it is believed, at the close of these discussions, and that this will lead to more profitable methods of preparation for our industries.

"The Department Congresses of Physical Education, of Educational

Publications, of Vocal Music, and of Business Education have prepared pointed questions relating to methods and modes of management, and their programmes will invite large audiences of interested teachers."

The work of the Congress on Kindergarten Education, carried on during the first week of the Educational Congress, was planned in eight sessions, with three joint sessions with the Congress of Manual and Art Education. The programme of the Congress, prepared by a Committee of Organization under the chairmanship of Mrs. E. W. Blatchford, of Chicago, was designed to bring to parents in all conditions of society, and to teachers of all grades, a presentation of those laws of harmonious development which are so uniquely and strongly declared in the life and theory of Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel; not only to study these principles in their inner connection, but to demonstrate their relation to other phases of truth; to convince those not yet familiar with the principles of their value at each stage of growth—infancy, youth, and manhood; to offer new views of the truths already apprehended, and thus to present an epitome of the progression of man toward freedom in the use of Nature's forces, in the action of mind, and in spiritual growth.

In the first session of the Congress, held July 17, Froebel and His Work was considered by Prof. William N. Hailmann, Superintendent of Schools, La Porte, Ind.; and in the evening session Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, of San Francisco, presented an address on Every Mother a Kindergartner, and an address was delivered by Miss Angeline Brooks, of New York, on Relation of Play and Work. In the third session of this Congress, held on Tuesday, July 18, addresses on Professional Training of the Kindergartner were delivered by several educators, and Music a Factor in Early Education was considered by Prof. William L. Tomlins, of Chicago, and Prof. Daniel Batchellor, of Philadelphia. In the following evening session a paper on Stories in the Kindergarten was presented by Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin, and one on Froebel's Religion by Miss Eleanor Heerwart, of Germany, following which was a discussion led by the Rev. L. P. Mercer.

Among the papers presented in the joint session of the Kindergarten Congress and Congress of Manual Art Education, held Wednesday, July 19, were Symbolism in Early Education, by Mrs. Marion Foster Washburne, of Illinois, and The Promotion of Child Activity, by Prof. Hannah Johnson Carter, of the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia. In the second joint session the subjects under consideration were the relation of the kindergarten to the primary schools and the relation of kindergarten to higher education, and among the speakers were the Hon. William T. Harris, Prof. Hailmann, Miss Constance Mackenzie, Dr. James MacAllister, Miss Sarah Arnold, and Colonel Francis W. Parker. Science Teaching in Elementary Education was the topic of papers presented by Mrs. Louisa Parsons Hopkins, of Boston, and Edward G. Howe, of Illinois, in the session of July 20, and by Mrs. Grace Call Kempton a paper on Physical Culture was read. The pa-

pers presented in the evening session on this date were Life Principles in the Kindergarten, Froebel in England, The Froebel Institute of Naples, and The Catholic Kindergartens, by Miss M. J. Garland, of Boston, Miss Emily Schireff, of London, Madame de Portugal, and Mrs. Emma White.

On Friday, July 21, a symposium was held in which the subject for consideration was the Function of Art in the Kindergarten, discussed by Mrs. Mary Dana Hicks, Mrs. Mary H. Peabody, and Prof. John Ward Stimson. In the afternoon session reports were presented from the International Kindergarten Union, and in the joint session held on the evening of the same day Education in its Relation to the Social and Economic Condition of the Times was the subject of a paper by Dr. James MacAllister, of Drexel Institute; addresses were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, President of Armour Institute, Chicago, and Prof. Levasseur, of Paris; and Beauty a Public Necessity was the subject of an address by Hamilton W. Mabie, of New York.



FRANCIS A. WALKER,
a speaker at the Congress.

The Cultivation of Aptitudes in Children, by Mrs. Alice Toomy, and Art Life of the Teacher, by Edmund Russell, of California, were the principal contributions to the Saturday session; and in the session on Sunday afternoon The Kindergarten in its Relation to Sunday-School Work, The Spiritual Life of the Child as developed through the Kindergarten, The Mission of the Kindergarten to the Very Poor, and The Kindergarten a Factor in Foreign Missions, were presented by Miss Lucy Wheelock, of Boston, Miss Anna Bryan, of Louisville, Prof. Felix Adler, of New York, and Miss Annie Howe, of Kobe, Japan.

The Congress of Kindergarten Instruction held during the second week, under the charge of the National Educational Association, met in three sessions, the first of which was opened on July 26 with the introductory address of Mrs. Ada M. Hughes, of Toronto, Ontario, Chairman of the Congress. Following this address, Mrs. Alice H. Putnam, of Chicago, presented a paper on the question Shall Reading and Writing be taught in the Kindergarten? while Changes in Kindergarten Plays and Games was the subject of a paper by Miss Sarah A. Stewart, of Philadelphia, and The Song in the Kindergarten: Its Place, Value, and Dramatic Element, and The Organic Union of Kindergarten and Primary School, were the topics of papers by Miss Constance Mackenzie, Supervisor of Public-School Kindergartens, Philadelphia, and Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, of San Francisco. With the presentation of a paper by Mr. B. Pickman Mann, of Washington, D. C., a discussion on Modifications in the Pri-



THE ILLINOIS STATE BUILDING.

mary School was opened, which was participated in by Miss Mary C. McCulloch, Supervisor of Public-School Kindergartens, of St. Louis, Mo. The subject How the Primary School may be connected with the Kindergarten was discussed by Prof. William N. Hailmann, of La Porte, who said in substance : "The only possibility of securing an organic connection between the kindergarten and the primary is by infusing into the latter the same spirit that distinguishes the former. The aim and purpose of the school is always the child and the child's living growth. Conventionalities of life belong no more to the primary than to the kindergarten. Right feeling must first be aroused, out of which conventionalities may grow. New wine must not be put into old bottles. The machine never can be infused with life. Whatever of the primary school is dead remains dead. We can not connect the living kindergarten with the mechanical school. The only organic connection is in giving the child opportunity to express himself all along the line of his development, and never to express the teacher. The primary school, like the kindergarten, must be a process of freeing the child." Several prominent educators occupied the platform during this opening session, and from Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin greetings were brought from well-known workers in London.

In the second session of this Congress, held on July 27, the kindergarten situation in Germany and America was reviewed by Prof. Hailmann, who reported upon the literature sent from abroad. The commission in charge of the German Educational Exhibit confessed that teachers and schoolmen are antagonistic to the work, stating that the necessity of handling large masses of children made it impracticable. The subject Preparation of the Kindergartner for Her Work was presented in a paper by Mrs. Louisa Parsons Hopkins, of the Boston Board of School Supervisors, and a discussion of this subject was opened by Mrs. J. N. Crouse, of Chicago, who made an urgent plea for longer, higher, and wider training. Miss Annie Laws, of Cincinnati, spoke from her personal experiences, recommending stronger measures and more adequate remuneration for work, and suggesting lines of broader experiences as tributary to a kindergartner's training, and the discussion was closed by Mr. Hailmann, who gave a comprehensive sketch of the characteristic mental and physical conditions of the first seven years of childhood, which determine the special educative value of hand work in the kindergarten. From the paper prepared by Fräulein Annetta Schepel, of Berlin, and read by her coworker, Frau Henrietta Schrader, in this session of the Congress, the following quotations are given :

"To my mind it is a vital mistake to consider the kindergarten as a preliminary step toward the school, and to see its plan of work, its methods of occupation and development, merely as a preparation for primary instruction. Too great importance has been put upon school training in our time, which has been given a prominence far out of proportion to that accredited to the home training and to the family influence in

public education, and this in spite of the unsatisfactory results that have been so far attained.

"Indeed, the whole scheme and character which is commonly understood to comprise the kindergarten does not seem to me to express Froebel's idea on this all-important subject of 'How shall we train little children?' However important Froebel considered the school in its totality and its influence upon the child, and although his sentiments in regard to education as expressed in the organized school and methods of teaching are most impressive and earnest, as embodied in his great work, *Education of Man*, he still gives the foremost place in his educational theory and practice to the family thought as expressed in his book, *Mutter und Koselieder*.

"The ever-increasing experience of Froebel taught him that parents are far from fulfilling their obligations, and in his deeply significant paper, dated 1836, called the *Renewing of Life*, he calls out, full of spirit: 'In the family environment alone, man reaches that point which causes his soul to radiate and his life to be fulfilled; but even then is this accomplished only as the family recognizes itself a medium of love, light, and life. The keynote for a higher plane of human development can only be sounded when man is seen as one member of an organized whole—a unity of many members.'

"Once more Froebel deliberated, looking back over his accumulated experience and asking himself seriously this question: 'Can family life, the home environment, satisfy the high demand of the present stage of human development, in order that it may reach unto and culminate in an ever renewing of life?' Answering himself earnestly and conclusively, he said, 'No.' He turned aside in 1836 from his previous efforts in connection with schools and the training of boys; he must search out new ways in order to reach a more certain and rational education. And now he comes upon his kindergarten. In a public call sent out in 1840, he by no means considered this merely as an institute of learning, but demanded a complete development, fitted for all life, for those who were to lead little children. He demanded a union of practical power to do, with scientific knowledge, for the true development of the child. He looked to the womanhood of Germany to found his ideal institute, but they did not yet understand him. The essential means with which to establish a training school for the guardians of children were not forthcoming, and he must needs be satisfied to open the work along its several lines rather than produce it at once as a complete organization. One of these lines was the kindergarten, and the training of worthy kindergartners to be worthy assistants to the mother, as well as prepared to be the future mothers of children; and in this way he determined, little by little, to elevate the entire family culture.

"Out of this struggle and ideal he produced the *Mutter und Koselieder*. He spoke the inclusive words: 'The family of the new time must behold itself a unit,' and this thought still overflows with meaning for us all. It is emphasized and enlarged upon in his *Mother Play songs*. The very

labor that provides physical comforts to the various members of the family, and which falls chiefly to the hand of woman, is constantly bringing about right relationships. Even though the family circle be limited, it is brought into contact with an ever-increasing larger circle by force of natural and mutual needs. Family consumption as well as production weaves many threads in and out between the various members and the head of the house, and again between the house-mother and the great outer world. Formerly it was customary to think of these relationships only from the standpoint of securing advantage to the family ; cheap labor for the home, close marketing, even though at the sacrifice or suffering of others, was still recognized a mark of good housewifery. In the case of man's choice of occupation, the important consideration was whether it would bring safe provision. High wages were desirable, even though others struggled and suffered because of the discrimination. In the training of children, the most conspicuous principle was to preserve them from mistakes and trials, and, as was said, 'care for them all as to their external needs.'

"As a consequence, the ego of the individuals reached no farther than the ego of the family ; and the latter entered into no living conscious interchange, such as giving and taking, with the other factors of humanity. The entire social structure supported the tendency of the ties ; many families there were who remained forever untouched by outer social or political relationships. A change came, however, and Froebel clearly foresaw the coming condition. He recognized that the ever-increasing conflicts between classes and stations of humanity could not be remedied through external law. He saw that the bonds

could only be released through spontaneous deeds of loving fellowship, to practice which the true family environment must be reinstated as a unity, serving best when seeing itself a member of a still larger circle. In the family relationship, with its varied and responsive duties, is found the embryo of all phases of later development. Wherefore it is a firm fact that all organic life, from the smallest beginning, unfolds itself to the greater, however magnificent it is to become ; and this law of Nature must be applied to the individual human life as well as to that of the whole human family.

"The training of the power of will rests upon a gradual exercise of it,



REV. JAMES McCOSH, D. D.,
Chairman of
Congress on Rational Psychology.

beginning with the young child. It is for this reason that efforts along intellectual and industrial lines, however progressive, have failed to bring the joy and satisfaction which they should, and which they do bring when knowledge and ability to execute are joined hand in hand with man's ethical inclinations.

"Individual development must always be joined to an activity the fruit of which is consecrated to others. In this way only can be preserved to child nature room for the interest of others. The child may begin early to mediate and bring together such warring factors as self-support, self-assertion, simultaneous with self-giving, and so establish a harmony and equality.

"This can only be brought about in the family environment, or in institutions where the home spirit prevails. The pivot of the family is nurture—the nurture which brings consideration to each individual member both for soul and body. There is no other condition than that of the well-ordered home center which makes this possible—a home center the soul and heart of which is the home-keeper, the mother. Her duties are by no means limited to housework, absorbing her full time and energy; and still it were unnatural if she did not thoroughly understand all those many practical things which become the essentials of a true home. She should know the ways and means in order to be free before her servants, in order to influence all her collaborators properly, and be able to satisfy fully the daily needs of her household. To fulfill properly every duty of a small home circle gives opportunity to each child to contribute in some degree to the real comfort and value of the home, and at the same time to supply scientific knowledge and engender ethical power. Here the child is brought close to Nature and true industry, not from the standpoint of intellectual gain, but through a spontaneous willing in accordance with ethical law.

"There is no more harmful movement in modern evolution than that socialism which demands the dissolution of the family, or which interferes with the organic necessity of man's truly living and expressing affection in the human family. By his so doing, the very foundation upon which rests a unified development of the child's soul and body is destroyed, as well as the only means by which his spiritual power may be completely unfolded, and also that environment which is its best nourishment, since it provides spontaneous instinctive moral action."

The third and closing session of the Congress was called to order on Friday, July 28, when papers were presented by Mary T. Hotchkiss, of Milwaukee, Wis., on Story-Telling in the Kindergarten, and by Prof. Earl Barnes, of Leland Stanford University, on the question To what Extent is Symbolism Justifiable in the Kindergarten? A paper was read by Mrs. Eudora L. Hailmann, of La Porte, Ind., on the same subject, and Miss Harrison, of Chicago, spoke of the parallelisms between race development and that of the child, and drew clear conclusions as to the methods of fitting the natural

symbols to the child's comprehension. The discussion was concluded by Miss Lucy Whitlock, of Boston, and Arnold H. Hinewah, of Chicago.

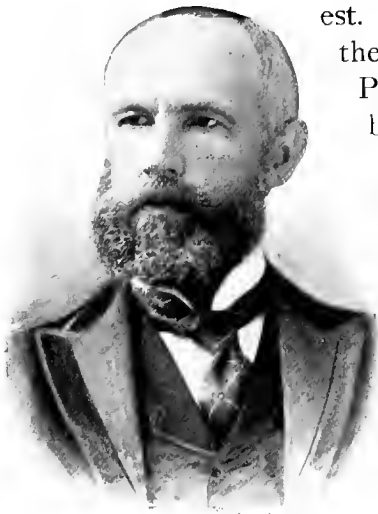
The underlying idea of the Congress of Representative Youth, which was to convene in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition, was that a comparatively small number of the brightest and most promising youth of all States and countries should be brought together, in order that they might witness for themselves and for the rising generation the events of the Exposition and bear testimony thereof. It was, of course, desirable that the delegates should be the best possible representatives of the present system of schools, and, as an appropriate method of securing this end, some convenient competitive tests were suggested in scholarship, essays, and declamation, the latter two relating to patriotic themes connected with the country to which the candidates belonged; but it was left to the State Superintendents of Education to adjust the conditions for the selection of delegates, and the selection of delegates from other countries was referred to their respective Ministers of Education. The delegates to the Congress were to be selected without regard to sex from the actual students in the schools, and were to include none under thirteen or over twenty years of age. Every county was entitled to one delegate, with an additional delegate for each eight thousand inhabitants, and the members of the Congress were to be drawn from the three following groups: Pupils in the last two years of the high-school course, pupils in the two lower years of the high-school course, and pupils in the two higher years of the grammar-school grades. It was suggested that a few of the best productions of the preliminary competitions should be presented at the Congress, as it was intended that the youth should not only be attendants and listeners, but also, to a reasonable extent, participants in the work of the occasion.

It was proposed, also, that men and women who had done notable work for the young as teachers, writers, or educational leaders, should be present at the Congress to preside over its meetings, to direct its work, and to address its members. This was the plan of work outlined by the Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary on a Youth's World's Congress. The chairman of this committee was A. F. Nightingale, who, with the assistance of his co-workers, was enabled to present a most acceptable programme. The principal address at this Congress was delivered by Rt. Rev. John L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria.

Two Congresses on the subject of psychology were included in the proceedings of the second week. One of them, having for its special subject Experimental Psychology in Education, was organized and presided over by President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, and held three sessions, devoting its entire time to the psychology of the child. The reasons for this limitation of field were thus set forth by Dr. Hall: "Within a very few years several societies have been formed for this purpose; several journals have been started; the school children in many cities of this country and Europe

have been measured or tested as to the rate of growth of body and muscular and mental power; various classes of defect of sense, limb, mind, character, and form of error in school work and of ignorance on entering school, have been tabulated. From these results a new body of literature is being developed, which throws much light upon the controllable causes, whether of excellence or defect, and contains many suggestions on the method and matter of teaching, and promises to show how instruction can be made more effective, as well as to point out the true beginnings of instruction, in the entire group of psychological subjects." Papers were presented by President Hall, Profs. G. T. W. Patrick, Earl Barnes, W. L. Bryan, and others.

Rational Psychology in Education was the subject of the other Congress of Psychologists, and was presided over by Dr. James McCosh, whose active participation in the proceedings gave them a peculiar interest.



G. STANLEY HALL,
Chairman of Congress
on Experimental Psychology.

Dr. McCosh read the opening paper at the first of the three sessions, taking for his subject, Reality: What Place has it in Philosophy? The second paper, sent by Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard, discussed the dependence of psychology upon physiology. The reading of this paper was followed by an interesting discussion, in which Dr. McCosh and Prof. Paul Shorey took leading parts. At the other sessions papers were read by President Schurman, of Cornell University; Dr. A. F. Hewitt, of the Catholic University of America; Prof. G. T. Ormond, of Princeton; and Prof. Titchener, of Cornell.

Among the Congresses that were continued through both weeks were those on the subject of General Education and those on Higher Education. Eleven sessions were held for the discussion of general education, eight of which were planned by committees under the chairmanship of Bishop Fallows and Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth. During the first week education in foreign countries was considered, among them Australia, Iceland, and Turkey. Other subjects under discussion were: Reforms now Practicable in Secondary Education, by Miss Mary A. Jordan, of Smith College; The Education of Girls, by Mrs. H. Thane Miller, of Cincinnati; Methods of teaching Ethics in Schools, by Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin, of California; and The Rhythmical Changes in the Minds of Children, by Miss Kirstine Fredriksen, of Denmark. On Monday, July 24, an interesting discussion took place on the subject What shall the Public School Teach? in which the Kindergarten was contended for by Mrs. Marion Foster Washburne, of Illinois, and Colonel Francis W. Parker defended scientific educational methods. Other speakers were Thomas Morgan, Dr. C. M. Woodward, who argued for manual train-

ing, Hamlin Garland, Thomas Davidson, and General Francis A. Walker, whose address was the feature of the occasion. The session of July 25 discussed Herbartian pedagogics from many points of view, the speakers including Dr. Levi Seeley, of Lake Forest University; Prof. Elmer E. Brown, of the University of California; President Charles De Garmo, of Swarthmore College; and Superintendent C. B. Gilbert, of St. Paul. The three closing sessions of this General Congress included addresses by Bishop Samuel Fallows, Dr. S. H. Peabody, Superintendent Albert G. Lane, President W. R. Harper, President James B. Angell, General John Eaton, Dr. William T. Harris, Minister of Education G. W. Ross, of Toronto, M. G. Compayré and Benjamin Buisson, Prof. Stephen Wätzoldt, Prince Wolkonsky, Prof. Dimscha and M. Kovalevsky, Russian delegates, and others.

The Congress on Higher Education held nine sessions during the two weeks, the first six of which sessions were organized by committees headed by President Henry Wade Rogers, of the Northwestern University, and Mrs. Harriet C. Brainard, of the University of Chicago. The first session of this Congress was opened, after the preliminary addresses of welcome, by President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, who read a paper on State Universities in the United States. Another paper of interest was by Miss Elizabeth P. Hughes, Principal of the Cambridge (England) Training College, on The Training of University Graduates for the Profession of Teaching. A paper was presented by Sir Henry Trueman Wood, Secretary of the Royal Commission of Great Britain, on Technological Education in England, and one by Emil G. Hirsch, Ph. D., on Methods of University Instruction. The proceedings of the day following were devoted to education in Germany. A paper presented by Fräulein Käthe Schirmacher, of Dantzic, gave reasons Why the German Universities are the Last to admit Women; Prof. Dittman Finkler, of the University of Bonn, read a paper on the general subject of The German University; a paper sent by Prof. Stephen Wätzoldt, of the University of Berlin, had for its title Schools and Universities in Germany; and an address by Dr. Isidor Singer, professor in the University of Vienna, had as its topic University Education in Vienna. The Essential Function of the Teacher was presented in this session also by Sophie Bryant, of London. On Saturday, July 22, the programme included the following-named speakers and papers: Latin and Greek as Elements of Secondary and Higher Education compared with Science and History, by Commissioner of Education William T. Harris; University Education for Women in Russia, by Prince Sergius Wolkonsky; Freedom to Teach, by Mrs. M. F. Crow, of the University of Chicago; Co-education: Its Advantages and its Dangers, by Mrs. A. A. F. Johnston, of Oberlin University; The Balance of Studies in the College Course, by Miss Sarah F. Whiting, of Wellesley College; The Distinction between College and University Training, by Miss Mary A. Jordan, of Smith College; The Relation of the Government of the United States to Higher Education, by the Hon. John

W. Hoyt ; The Excessive Tendency to Utilitarian Studies in Our Universities, by Prof. Charles J. Little, of Northwestern University ; The Failure—if such it be—of College Education, by the Hon. Rowland B. Mahany, United States Minister to Ecuador ; University Education in Russia, by Dr. L. de Dincha, Professor in the University of St. Petersburg ; and Progress in American Higher Education within the Past Thirty Years, by Henry M. McCracken, LL. D., Chancellor of the University of New York. On Monday, July 24, several papers of the highest importance were read. Those particularly deserving of mention are The Latest Revival of the Study of Politics, by Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California ; Graduate Work in America, by Prof. William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago ; University Education in France, by M. Gabriel Compayré, of the Academy of Poitiers ; The Study of Literature in French Universities, by M. André Chervillon, of the University of Lille ; The New Movement in the Italian Universities, by Signora Zampini-Salazar, of Naples ; The Value of a New University, by Prof. Earl Barnes, of the Stanford University ; The School at Athens, by Prof. F. E. Woodruff, of Bowdoin College ; and an address by Dr. Keane, Rector of the Catholic University of America.

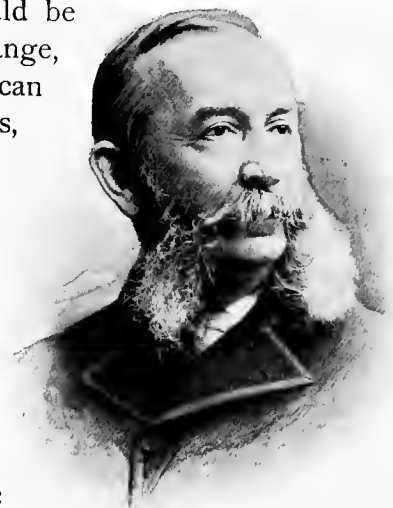
Under the auspices of the National Educational Association the discussion of this subject was continued during the second week in three sessions, the first of which was called to order by the chairman of the department, President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, from whose opening address the following paragraphs setting forth the functions of a university are quoted :

“The first function of a university is the education of youth who have been prepared for advanced work by previous discipline in certain branches of knowledge. Whatever else the university undertakes, it is a place where the choicest minds receive the best culture, are admitted to rare opportunities, and inspired by living examples of intellectual excellence. It is a society where thorough preparation for intellectual exertion is the condition of admission, and lofty devotion to ideals the condition of honor. The university to which no students resort, or in which the commonplaces alone are taught, is unworthy of the name. In the long run, the men who have been trained by a university are the tests of its excellence.

“University education as distinguished from collegiate implies that the student has formed already the habits of attention, memory, discrimination, classification, judgment. Maturity of mind is requisite for the freedom implied in advanced work. This training in our country has usually been acquired in college ; formerly it could only be there received. But high schools, academies, and private seminaries in many places are now so thorough that they have virtually taken the places which early in the century were held by the colleges, and the colleges, by raising their terms of admission, have occupied the years which might otherwise be given to university work. Consequently there is no agreement of opinion on the relative

spheres of the school, the college, and the university. It would be well if Americans could agree on the proper limitations of the school and the college. Doubtless when a report is received from the Committee of One Hundred, appointed by this association, under the head of President Eliot, we shall have a discussion as fruitful as it will be lively of this fundamental question.

"The second function of a university is the conservation of knowledge. This is accomplished by bringing together all the records of human experience, and by the engagement of scholars in the work of interpretation. The university should be in truth a seat of learning. Within its walls there should be comfortable stalls for those who are willing to devote their lives to the study of antiquity, whose pleasure it is to trace from their origin the language, the laws, the religions, the customs which we have inherited from our remote ancestry. There should be other chairs for those who are able to collect, arrange, describe, and interpret all natural objects which can be brought together in a museum. The fine arts, too, should have their votaries, and the best that the world has produced in architecture, sculpture, and the pictorial arts should be presented to the eyes of impressionable youth, with such instruction as will enable them to discover and appreciate the merits. Libraries and museums are the dwelling places of universities.



DANIEL C. GILMAN,
Chairman of Congress
on Higher Education.

"The third function of a university is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. Call it research, call it investigation, call it scientific inquiry, call it the seeking for truth—never has the obligation been so strong as it is now to penetrate the arcana of the world in which we dwell, to discover new facts, to measure old phenomena, and to educe principles and laws that were written in the beginning but have never yet been read by mortal eye. Instruments of accurate measurement and for close observation are now at command that were unthought of in the past generation. That protean agency, the lens, has been enlarged and supplemented so that its efficiency has increased simultaneously with its adaptation to new purposes. Measurements are applied to the depths of the sea, the distances of fixed stars, the velocity of light, the intensity of electric and magnetic currents, the reactions of the nervous system; and facts which were once vaguely known become clearly and accurately understood. To the progress of observation, measurement, and experiment, universities worthy of the name are bound to contribute.

"The fourth function of a university is to disseminate knowledge. The results of scholarly thought and acquisition are not to be treasured as secrets

of a craft ; they are not esoteric mysteries known only to the initiated ; they are not to be recorded in cryptograms or perpetuated in private notebooks. They are to be given to the world, by being imparted to colleagues and pupils, by being communicated in lectures, and especially by being put in print, and then subjected to the criticism, hospitable or inhospitable, of the entire world. That institution has a restricted sphere that is unknown beyond the circle of its own alumni. It should not claim to be a university. It is better to be the best of colleges than to be the worst of universities. Publication should not merely be in the form of learned works. The teachers of universities, at least in this country, by text-books, by lyceum lectures, by contributions to the magazines, by letters to the daily press, should diffuse the knowledge they possess. Thus are they sowers of seed which will bear fruit in future generations. One of the greatest of living naturalists has said that he was attracted to the study of natural science by the lectures of Silliman ; one of the most honored of university presidents has acknowledged that a speech of Francis Wayland's aroused him to a life of public service ; and the philosophical educator to whom this Congress owes so much has shown in a recent volume how much he was quickened by the conversation of a peripatetic from Concord. The widespread demand for university extension shows how intelligent persons who for one reason or another have never received the advantages of university residence are eager to get at the latest, the wisest, the most accurate instructions that can be brought within their reach. But learned publications, containing memoirs that are only meant for the scholar—positive contributions to knowledge—are the noblest fruits of academic culture."

This was followed by an address on the theme *How far should Universities be of One Type?* by President Martin Kellogg, of the University of California, who explained that there are two theories of university development : First, as rapidly as possible to occupy every province of knowledge and instruction ; second, to aim at special excellence in certain portions of the field ; and that the great majority of American universities seem to have adopted the first of these theories, which calls for practically unlimited expansion. In support of the second theory he said : " So long as a university insists on a full and symmetrical development, it will think more of strengthening its weak sides than of making its strong sides stronger. But when it accepts large limitations, it will give its chief energies to its most successful work. Any university not cosmopolitan in equipment can must enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, most increase the light of truth, by concentrating its energies on a few lines of investigation. So, for the sum total of beneficent results, it would be better that our universities should have each its peculiar aims, and that all should differ in their lines of excellence." In closing his address, President Kellogg said : " It is desirable that our universities should be so far of one type that in any one of them the ordinary student will find his needs fully met. In them all, the various branches of

knowledge should be understood in their most modern phases. All the most important of these branches should be taught, and well taught, in every university. Or, again, we may say our universities should be in one spirit rather than of one type. A common spirit will stimulate them all to do new and valuable work. A common type is to be avoided, such as must result from the attempt of all to do the same things by trying to do everything. And, finally, every university may most wisely have a type of its own. On its own proper lines of development, it should seek the highest attainable character, imparting freshness and individuality, and giving it a place of distinct, perhaps distinguished, honor in the galaxy of American institutions of learning."

In the discussion of this subject that followed, Prof. David Fiske, of the University of Chicago, favored the view that universities should not be of one type, inasmuch as the circle of knowledge is now so vast that it is utterly impossible for any one faculty to encompass it, and that there was no reason why we should not have differentiation in universities as well as special professors in the departments of knowledge.

President Canfield, of the State University of Nebraska, thought American institutions had not suffered by following pretty closely after one another, and cited the example of one university that had remodeled and improved its school of history and political science because it was followed up by the pressure of other institutions in the same field; and thus, instead of being let alone, had been forced to develop by the course pursued by other schools of history and political science.

Prof. Sproull, Dean of the University of Cincinnati, said he was inclined to have institutions specialized. All who had gone through universities in Germany know that students stick to those institutions where the professors are prominent in certain lines. The students accordingly freely change their university from time to time in order to get under the best professor. If there were one institution where the best special training in one subject could be acquired, it would save time and expense. Prof. Sproull, while inclined to favor specializing of universities, was opposed to specializing of colleges.

Prof. H. C. Cameron, of Princeton, spoke on the difference between the English and the German universities, expressing his preference for the German university of four faculties, and his conviction that the older American institutions are working toward the German conception.



WILLIAM R. HARPER, LL. D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

Melvil Dewey, Secretary of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, thought there was need of clear agreement as to what a university was before the question could be satisfactorily discussed, and that a university properly meant an institution for research or special study in any line of human knowledge for those who have completed preliminary work in the elementary schools—that is to say, a four-years' course in the academy and a four-years' course in the college.

Other themes presented at this session were: How should we cope with the Problem of Excessive Specialization in University Studies? considered in a paper by Prof. Giuseppe Allievo, of the University of Turin, Italy, a translation of which was read, and Should an Antecedent Liberal Education be required of Students of Law, Medicine, and Theology? Prof. Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton, read a letter from Prof. James Barr Ames, of Harvard, on this subject, and then presented his paper treating the theme at length. The subject was further discussed by President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University; Melvil Dewey, of Albany, N. Y.; President Baker, of the University of Colorado; Dr. Imelmann, of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, Berlin; and President H. T. Eddy, of the Polytechnic Institute, Terre Haute, Ind.

The special question for discussion at the second session of this Congress was the use to be made by colleges of the arts degree—whether it should continue to stand, as heretofore, for the distinct type of humanistic culture produced by the study of Greek and Latin, or whether it should be converted into an “omnibus” degree to be conferred upon graduates in all departments. The discussion was opened by an address by Prof. W. G. Hale, of the University of Chicago, who traced the origin and later history of the degree of Bachelor of Arts, noted briefly the several arguments against the requirement of Greek, and presented the following considerations for its retention:

“First, there is the old argument of *meum* and *tuum*. On this argument the whole question really turns. People must not be impatient with us of the older faith. Hackneyed as the argument is, we can not turn aside from it. The Decalogue is not novel, but we have not outgrown the need of it, and we certainly are by no means yet in a condition to dispense with that particular article which deals with the question of the rights of property. The degree of Bachelor of Arts has for certainly four centuries carried with it certain associations. It has meant an education essentially founded upon the conception of humanistic culture—of a knowledge of the best that has been thought and said in the world upon the subject of the most interesting of the world's products, man himself. If there are people like myself who, though not conscious of a conservative turn of mind, believed that this humanistic training—enriched, as I have shown it to have been, by the addition of some training in natural science—is, for a good many persons, the best training, then, no matter how old-fashioned and simple-minded we

may be, our degree, with the associations which centuries of our way of thinking have woven around it, should be left to us. If a foundation which omits that which is most characteristic of our degree, and replaces it by some of the new studies, is better than the foundation which we believe in, then its advocates should be proud that it should bear the name of these new studies. Not to do this—to demand the use of a degree because of its associations, when, in the very nature of things, the new course would inevitably create different associations—seems to me not merely a plain invasion of vested rights, but a palpable confusion of logic. If the case were reversed, if the dominant studies had for centuries been in natural science, with a corresponding degree of Bachelor of Science, I can hardly imagine that, upon the rise of a demand for a training with a foundation primarily humanistic, people of my way of thinking would insist that we be allowed to use the degree of Bachelor of Science, because of its centuries of associations of a different kind. And this I say, even though there would be some justification of such a demand in the fact that all work in language, so far as it falls within the domain of science, is carried on by scientific methods, and that too large a proportion of us professors of languages are, in our own investigation and publication, men of science, and not men of the humanistics.

“The granting of the degree of Bachelor of Arts without Greek leads to a very serious injury to many men. Harvard and Johns Hopkins, in giving up the requirement of Greek for that degree, did not intend that men should be forced not to take Greek, but only that men should not be forced to take it. Yet the inevitable, no matter how illogical, result of this action has been, for young men in countless high schools in this country, precisely this, that, under the conditions of their life, they can not get Greek at all. Greek has gone out of many schools, on the ground that it was useless to continue to provide instruction in a subject which two great universities no longer regarded as necessary for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and it has also, for the same reason, stayed out of many schools into which it would otherwise in time have entered. Far better would it be, to my mind, to run the risk that some men who might afterward prove to have no natural aptitude for Greek should spend a part of their time for two or three years upon a subject which, at the worst, would necessarily give them help in the use of their own tongue and in the understanding and devising of scientific nomenclature, and which would not be without value in forming habits of exact observation and logical inference.

“I regard an injury done to the study of Greek as an injury inflicted upon the one side of education which our American public, eagerly engaged in commerce and industries, is most likely to disregard, and upon the one side of education of which, without knowing it, it is really most in need. There is no danger that the sciences will not be vigorously pursued in America, at least to the very considerable extent to which their practical applications make it profitable to pursue them. There is, on the other hand,

a very natural danger, due to our youth as a nation, and to the immense opportunities which our undeveloped resources afford, that the pursuit of studies more remotely practical will be regarded as a waste of time. Yet the thing which we most need is, not greater opportunities to make wealth, but a higher regard for the things which Greek civilization represents, and which the study of Greek literature and Greek life conveys. We need, in our triumphant Americanism, a good deal more of Hellenism. For a great many men, as I myself believe, the one thing that is best worth knowing well, alongside of our own literature, is Greek literature, and the one spirit best worth comprehending intimately is the Greek spirit.

"My own conclusion, then, is that, among excellent examples set us by Harvard University, of whose service to American education I, as one of her sons, am justly and deeply proud, and among excellent examples set us by Johns Hopkins University, to whose guiding spirits American education owes a great debt, the example of granting the degree of Bachelor of Arts without Greek is not to be reckoned."



HENRY WADE ROGERS, LL. D.,
Chairman of
Committee on Higher Education.

Prof. Hale's paper was supplemented by telegrams and other communications on the subject, after the reading of which the theme was discussed by several well-known educators, among them President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, California, who said :

"Nothing so weakens a study as to make it the subject of official pampering ; to put it in such a way that it is to be studied, not for the visible good it gives, but for some peculiar good which the student is taught he has not the ability to comprehend. Nothing has so hurt the student of the classics in this country as the divine sacredness with which we have tried to invest them. We have hurt science

as much as the study of Greek by not putting Greek on its own merits in the same position, in regard to university work, as other studies are put on in Harvard or Johns Hopkins. We certainly would not name any other university than Harvard and Johns Hopkins, where higher work is done, where Greek is studied for the good it gives, and not as a part of a divinely appointed curriculum. Making Greek a requirement weakens it in all its relations, and the utilitarian spirit has not done one twentieth as much harm as the spirit of pointing to Greek as something sacred. Accordingly, Greek should not be made a required subject for anything except Greek courses. A scientific study should not be required except in

purely scientific courses. Let us change the form of the question from, Should Greek be required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts? to, Should we give the Bachelor of Arts degree without Greek? That is, shall we give a certain name to courses without Greek? The question is one of name. It is not a very important question for that reason. It is, of course, desirable to have degrees that will tell what a man knows, as, for example, an A. B., stating that he had Latin and Greek. It would be better if he could be labeled A. B. in Anabasis, enumerating the books he had read, the places where had read them, and, better than all, the teacher under whom he had read them. It might be still better to have different colored gowns to signify different degrees. Thus we might have pink gowns for those who have read the Anabasis, and blue gowns for those who have read something else. Then you could see a Greek man across the street, and say, 'There goes a Greek man who has done an advanced piece of work.' But we do not care for that sort of thing. We do not want titles. It is not the American spirit. This is the strongest reason for reducing all these degrees to one, and has not been referred to by Prof. Hale. Caligula wished all the Romans might have one neck, so that he might cut it off at one stroke. Likewise, let all degrees have but one neck, so that they could all be cut off at one blow, for the whole thing is merely foolishness, as the wearing of pink or blue or yellow gowns is all childishness. It is a step in the right direction when we either multiply degrees unduly, so that they will appear ridiculous, or when we reduce them all to one.

"The separation of degrees from B. A. is bound, sooner or later, to kill all degrees. It will not kill the Greek, for which the degree stood, and the time is coming when Greek culture will be more and more appreciated. Not that there are not plenty of other kinds of culture, but there will always be Greek-minded men and Latin-minded men, for whom Greek and Latin will have value.

"The degree of A. B. had meant such liberal culture as the colleges of the past were able to give. The colleges of the present were able to give a liberal culture in many more directions. All academic words and terms are undergoing changes. The word doctor and the word bachelor are not exempt from this. It would have been better to have found new names for every one of the new conditions. But all colleges can not meet the demands of all men, and it is not the business of any college to force upon any that which is not for his best development. If an institution proposes to teach only classically minded men the classics, very well. It is a noble field, and the work may be nobly done. It strains out by that sieve a vast number of men who want training, and want it in other fields. Although in Germany all scientific men of all kinds were forced to go through a course in the German gymnasium, yet there is nothing in education so much criticised as the German gymnasium. In this country it has been true that the great majority of scientific men were outside of the colleges altogether. It is not

true now by any means, but it was once true, that the men who had done work and made a name for American science were men outside of colleges, who reached their knowledge through other means, because they were strained out of colleges which forced them to do what they did not want to do."

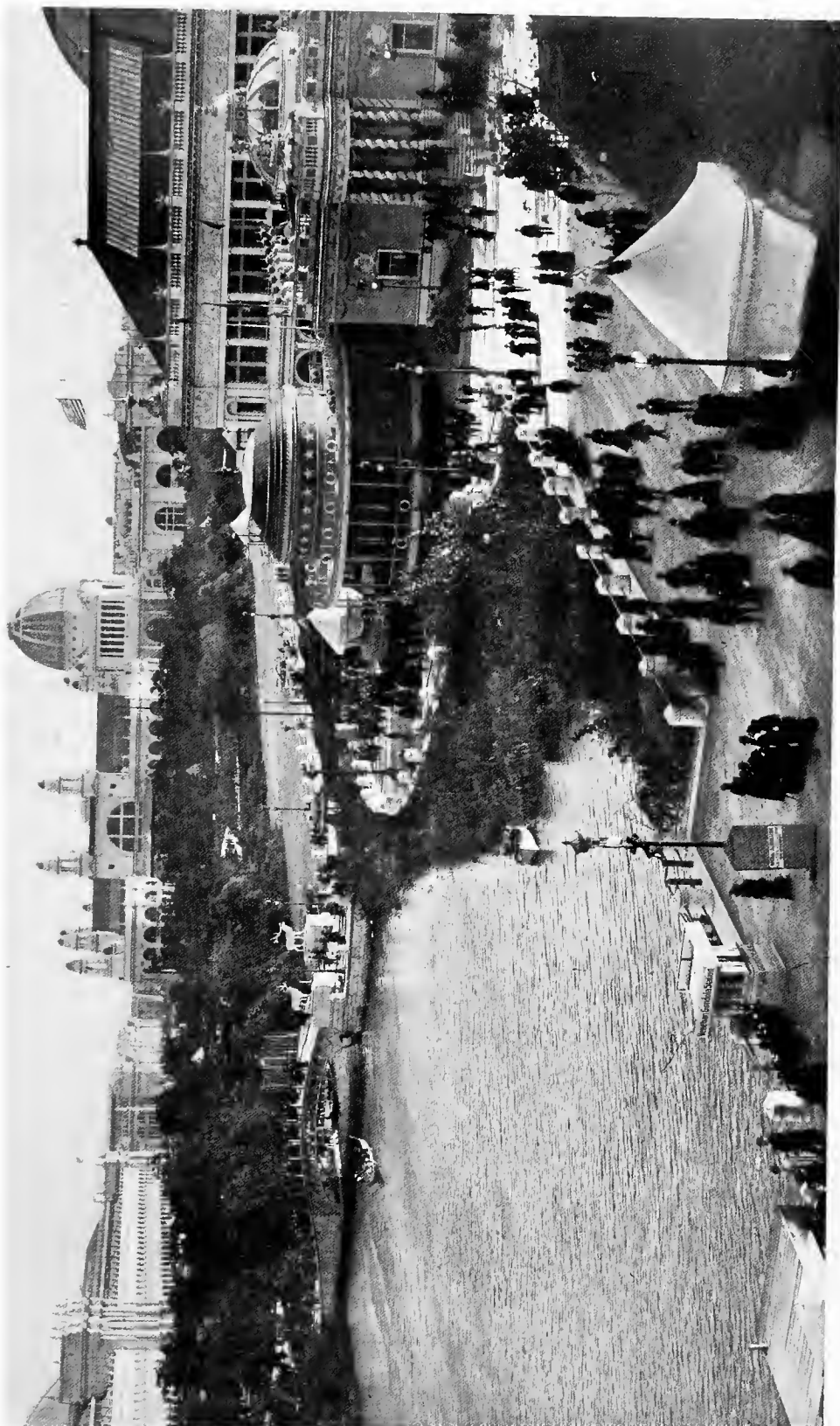
[Here Prof. Shorey, of the University of Chicago, asked whether President Jordan would name some of the American men of science who had received their training outside of the colleges.]

President Jordan said that he could mention in general almost all those who are great in zoölogy, such as Audubon, Wilson, and Lawrence. He could think of only two early scientific men who were college graduates. However, all that class of men was outside of colleges; not that a classical education would have hurt them, but that a classical education stood between them and what they wanted to do.

"Most of the scientific men whose letters were read by Prof. Hale appealed to the value of Greek from the utilitarian side, referring to its etymological advantages. But we know that the knowledge of Greek for etymological purposes is not the kind usually taught in college, nor is the value of Greek to scientific men in giving them the meaning of scientific words of very great importance. In another letter read there was a reference to the fact that the intellectual tilths of this generation were largely on classical fields. As a matter of fact, they were largely in biological and psychological fields, matters wholly outside of the classics. The intellectual tilths of this generation have been about the works and name of Darwin. They have dominated everything else, and if we are to apply the weight of evidence as to the value of Greek and Latin, we might appeal to Darwin, who says his time in the university was absolutely wasted, because it was spent on subjects he had no use for.

"But unfriendly criticism of Greek, as Greek, is not legitimate, because Greek and what Greek stands for will always have its importance. The question here is simply whether we will take the name B. A. for a narrow field, or spread it over a wider one. In the statement made in one of the letters, that modern languages are mere gruel beside Latin and Greek, the person simply gives himself away. A man who has read Goethe, Lessing, and other masters would never say that. Nothing is gruel if it is done in a worthy spirit. Advanced work in any subject will lead to strength. There is no conceivable subject in which it will not." In closing, President Jordan asked when Greek became a dead language and ceased to be a means of human intercourse. He had supposed that quite a number of persons, who said they were Greeks and came from Greece, were still actually using Greek as a means of human intercourse. Greek, he added, is not a dead language, and even if it was it would not deserve any special consideration on account of its death.

Following President Jordan, Prof. Shorey, of the University of Chicago,



VIEW SOUTHEAST, FROM THE WOMAN'S BUILDING.

made an effective plea for the retention of what has been, until recently, the accepted meaning of the Arts degree, in the course of which he said :

"Man is not a logical animal, and questions of this kind are rarely decided by sheer stress of argument. But since there is little which I could wish to add to the direct presentation of his thesis, given by my colleague, Prof. Hale, I will venture, in the few words I have to say, to inflict a little of the dialectics of the subject upon you.

"We all probably remember the scene in *Daniel Deronda* in which Sir Hugh Mallinger remarks that he has forgotten all his Greek ; but still it did him good : it formed his English, which, by the way, is rather hesitating and faltering ; and we all remember the respectful silence that Daniel Deronda himself observed in the face of this declaration. I generally feel inclined to preserve a similar respectful silence in the presence of most of the arguments which it is my misfortune to hear in defense of Greek. The paper of to-day was a happy exception. Nevertheless, even in to-day's debate it is to be noted that nearly every one of the very able and tellingly put points made by the distinguished president of the scientific university in the West were made against arguments in favor of Greek that will not bear scrutiny, arguments that fairly made me cringe when I heard them—the etymological argument, for example ; a mere argumentative stop-gap employed in default of more serious reasons—or the idea that Greek should be required of everybody as the one thing needful, a point that is not seriously made by the true defenders of Greek. The real educational issue raised, apart from those telling retorts against weak and indefensible arguments—the real educational issue he raised was the challenge to produce sufficient reason for establishing distinct degrees of B. S. and A. B., and sufficient, fair, and serious practical modern educational reasons for reserving one of these degrees as a distinctive degree for the course in which Greek plays an important part.

"I will ask you to watch me closely and see whether I do not answer this challenge before I have done. But before entering upon that matter I wish to clear the debate of one or two irrelevancies constantly brought forward in the discussion of this question. In the first place, it is proposed to compel nobody to study Greek. It is proposed by the advocates of Greek to compel those who want the degree of A. B. to study Greek, there being concurrent degrees of B. S. and Ph. B. Therefore all questions of compelling men to study Greek are questions not relevant to the subject.

"Secondly, it is often stated (I am still clearing away irrelevancies)—the argument is often advanced that Greek is not practical. That is a question for a man to decide before he goes to college at all. The very idea of a liberal education in this country, and I hope it will always remain so, is that a man has a certain amount of leisure for disinterested culture ; and I should be very much interested, as Charles Lamb once said, to 'examine the bumps of the gentleman,' and to investigate the processes of ratiocination that would lead to the conclusion that Middle High German is a more practical

study than Greek for a practicing attorney, and that the comparative anatomy of the invertebrates will help the wholesale grocer where Greek literature leaves him in the lurch. No college studies are practical, if by practical you mean calculated to insure the kind of success won by Jay Gould. The practical course for men whose hearts are set upon this career is to begin as Jay Gould did, by sweeping out the office at fourteen, with the chance of remaining an office-sweep forever, or of accumulating a fortune like Jay Gould's.

"So with regard to the argument we often hear—an argument that has not been advanced to-day, but which I am sure is in the minds of many present—the argument that whatever may be said of the delicacy and subtle precision of the Greek language, of the glory and beauty of Greek literature, the average student does not really attain to that. This is not a relevant argument, for it is simply an indictment of human nature and of our bad methods of teaching. When scientific men are together by themselves, when modern language men come together and the history men are meeting, they will all admit that their own subjects are not taught according to the ideal method. We must be consistently optimistic or pessimistic when we are comparing the relative educational values of subjects. We must either assume that all studies are to be taught so as to bring out all there is in them, or we must accept the present low standards for all. It is not relevant to say that the beauty of Greek literature is not grasped by all students who pursue its study, unless you admit the same conditions with regard to the peculiar discipline of science and other studies.

"So, in the same way, some will say that Greek is forgotten. But I will venture to affirm that nobody in this assembly can have forgotten his Greek more absolutely than I have forgotten my old English history and my calculus. The fact is, no man remembers anything in detail unless he keeps it fresh by daily practice either as a profession or a hobby. But the general civilizing and refining effect of his study he does not lose. And some subjects perhaps leave more of this civilizing after-effect than others.

"Having attempted to clear away some of these irrelevancies that ought to be left to audiences of another character, I will endeavor to state what I consider to be the real educational issue. Are there, in the present state of education in the United States—are there logical, practical educational reasons for bestowing more than one degree as the stamp and seal of what is known as a general collegiate education? Secondly, is there anything in the special claims of the study of Greek to make it reasonable that one of these alternative courses, one of these degrees, should be characterized by the presence of Greek in its curriculum? I think both of these questions can be answered in the affirmative, and, if so, the question is settled so far as the logic of debate can settle anything in a world that is admittedly not governed by logic.

"I think from the educational chaos of the time there emerge two or

three distinct types of education. We all recognize that there is an education based essentially not merely on knowledge of the results, but on discipline in the processes and methods of physical science. That distinction (between methods and results) is not made often enough, but the distinction is all-important. All educated people may master some of the results of science ; only a few can master scientific processes. If we try to master the methods, we have to sacrifice liberal culture. If science means several hours daily in the laboratory (and our scientific brethren will accept nothing less), then science and the older literary and historic culture are for all but intellectual giants incompatible. We can not have both, as Mill demanded—*ceci tuera cela*. This education in science may be broadened in many ways, by free election of culture studies, or by prescribed courses that will widen the student's outlook ; but his main work must be done in the laboratory. It would be idle to attempt to ignore this type of education, in view of the part played by physical science in our modern civilization, and the many able men whose powers are best developed by this discipline. It must be recognized and stamped by the seal of the college with the degree of B. S. There is no question about that, and there is no necessity of compelling men who want the training and this degree to take another type of culture.

"Then (but of this I am somewhat doubtful) there is an intermediate, compromise form of education which certainly has been shown to meet a popular demand—the course that leads to the degree which the University of Chicago calls Ph. B. ; in which some of the detailed knowledge of the processes and methods of modern science is sacrificed to make room for a certain infusion of the mental and moral sciences, history, and Latin, and a certain modicum of the modern languages. This is the second type of education (possibly a transitional type) recognized, and for the present I think wisely recognized, by the University of Chicago.

"And now we come to the third and last of my three types, what is known as the old classical course, sometimes called the humanistic education, but which I prefer to define as an education, as my colleague says in the knowledge of the best that has been thought and said in the world, studied *systematically and scientifically in its sources*. That education, I think, is a sufficiently marked distinctive type, and, what is more, there is a distinctive type of mind adapted for that education. I hear a good deal of the unfortunate youth who is compelled to waste his time grubbing among Greek roots and analyzing Greek optatives when he would rather be work-



JAMES B. ANGELL, LL. D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

ing in the laboratory ; but what of the youths who are forced to waste their time dissecting starfish, and who are tortured with test tubes and retorts, when they would rather be reading Sophocles ? The argument is as strong on one side as on the other. I do not advocate compulsion in either direction. But the 'election' of elementary physics and chemistry is not left to the caprice of the student of biology, and it is conceivable that there is a type of education in which the study of Greek should not be an accident.

"And now I come back to the main question, which I have not lost sight of : Why is it necessary to distinguish B. S. and B. A. ? What educational end is achieved by stamping the course that prescribes Greek with a special degree ? Why not have a free elective system, and allow students adapted to Greek to pursue Greek, and those adapted to science to pursue science ? The idea of the free elective system is very alluring. It results, however, in chaos, unless intelligent pressure is put upon our students ; and intelligent pressure is not put upon our students to choose their courses wisely where the absolute free elective system exists.

"I am myself a son of Harvard, and I admire and love Harvard as much as anybody in this assembly, and yet my own course, considered a successful one, was not wisely chosen, and I believe that is the case in a far larger number of instances than appears in optimistic annual reports. What guidance and direction there is, is exercised in casual perfunctory interviews with deans and advisers, and may at any time be counteracted by caprice, prejudice, a letter from home, or the last 'able editorial' on the college fetich. That is not the way to plan a well-considered scheme of education. Such schemes should be elaborated by the collective wisdom of our university faculties. The university should define in their broad outlines two or three main types of liberal education, and set up the corresponding distinct degrees as signposts to guide the student to a definite goal. It will tell a student who wants a predominantly scientific training that he must pursue certain studies, because such studies are, in the judgment of the entire scientific faculty, necessary for a properly co-ordinated scientific education ; and, similarly, if his tastes and capacities are for the historical culture, it may, without tyrannous restriction on his freedom of election, tell him that it is well for him to read the *Chanson de Roland*, but it is indispensable for him to read the *Iliad*. By so doing, the university will often save its students from false tendency, wasted efforts, and vain regrets.

"Every teacher of Greek is familiar with the experience which I have had repeatedly during the past year. Intelligent students have come to me who have discovered that the education they want is the literary and linguistic. They *do* want to know the best that has been taught and said in the world, and they *do not* want to work in the laboratory ; and they have been brought up in colleges, like some universities that have been represented here to-day, where they were prevented from studying Greek at the right season ; and now they anxiously inquire whether it is too late for them to secure this key

to the one domain of knowledge that attracts them most, and it is difficult to advise them honestly. If the alternatives had been clearly put before them at the beginning, and they had been told that Greek was indispensable for the particular culture that they wished, they would have been spared their misdirected efforts and regrets. Here is the distinct educational argument in favor of the division of degrees. It sets up a signpost, as I have already said, to guide the student from afar, and forces upon his attention the problem of distinguishing the two or three leading types of education, and choosing, with intelligent advice, the one for which he is best adapted. It is mere quibbling, and not a fair *reductio ad absurdum*, to argue that this principle would lead to a dozen specific degrees with a colored gown for each.

"I pass lightly over my other points. The second point is (assuming that it is desirable to bestow two or three distinct degrees) that Greek should mark such a type. The reasons for that have been developed repeatedly to-day, and I could not possibly do them justice in the brief time that remains. One strong reason familiar to the lips of all, although not believed and felt by all, is that the Greek literature is in itself intrinsically the most beautiful in the world. Unhappy those who think this is a mere superstition of Greek professors! But if any here are thus skeptical of the imperishable charms of Greek, how can I prove it to them in five minutes' extempore discourse? I can prove it to any intelligent class of sophomores who have passed the first thorny hedge of grammar, and who will read with me a masterpiece of Sophocles or Plato, and perhaps that is enough. But it is not solely or mainly on account of this charm that some knowledge of Greek must be the distinctive stamp of one form of culture, one type of education. It is because, as was said in one of the letters read from this platform to-day, it is impossible to be a *Quellenforscher* without Greek, because Greek is indispensable for the systematic and scientific knowledge of the history, philosophy, and religion and poetry of the West; because the Greek spirit is the direct source of all that lives and moves and has its being in the higher world of modern thought. True, the average student will not realize all this any more than he will appreciate the full significance of the 'scientific spirit.' But the appointed custodians of Greek culture must not merely affirm, but believe and know it. In the daily routine of the classroom we must draw for our students the subtle lines that link that exquisite past to all that is truly living in the spiritual life of our own time. If that were done, we should have the students with us, whatever may be the opinion of the general public."

The subject Signs of Improvement visible in the Undergraduate Life of American Students came up for discussion also at this session, and a paper on this theme was presented by President Raymond, of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, who took the ground that there are visible evidences of improvement in the undergraduate life of the American student in athletics

and morals, in student organizations, intercollegiate courtesies, and the relations of students to their instructors. Great differences of opinion were expressed in the discussion of this subject, especially as to the influence of college athletics. President Blanchard, of Wheaton College, Illinois, spoke regarding the disadvantages of Greek-letter fraternities, and the Rev. Dr. C. H. Payne, of New York city, urged that the deteriorating tendencies of certain games should be taken in hand by college authorities at once.

At the third session of the Congress on Higher Education the chair was occupied by President Seth Low, of Columbia College, New York, who delivered the opening address on The Relations of Professional Schools to the University. This address was followed by a paper on The Evolution of Liberal Education, by Prof. A. F. West, of Princeton. A discussion of the doctorate in philosophy and of the conditions under which it should be bestowed followed, introduced by a paper by Prof. W. O. Sproull, Dean of the University of Cincinnati, and the session was closed with a paper by Bishop Keane, of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C., on The Relation of our Colleges and Universities to the Advancement of our Civilization, and an address by President Angell, of the University of Michigan.



MISS JOSEPHINE C. LOCKE,
Chairman of Woman's
Committee on Manual Education.

The Congresses on Manual Education were held throughout the two weeks in eleven sessions, in which papers of great interest were presented. The work of the sessions held during the first week—the Congress on Manual and Art Education—was in charge of a committee of which Dr. H. H. Belfield, of Chicago, served as chairman, with a Woman's Committee under the chairmanship of Miss Josephine C. Locke. Among the addresses and papers that were read

may be mentioned: The Function of Drawing and Manual Training in Education, by Prof. C. R. Richards, of the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn; Manual Training in the American School System, by President Walter Hervey, of the New York Training College; The Ethical Value of Manual Training, by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch; Manual Training in Sweden, by Prof. Gustaf Sellergen, of the Stockholm Technological High School; The Influence of Japanese Art, by Prof. Ernest Fenollosa, of the Boston Art Museum; The Philosophy of the Tool, by Dr. Paul Carus; Manual and Art Education in Switzerland, by Edward Boos-Jegher, official delegate of the Swiss Confederation; and the addresses by Mr. W. M. R. French, Dr.

H. H. Belfield, Prof. C. M. Woodward, of Washington University, Prof. Gabriel Bamberger, the Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus, Prof. Halsey S. Ives, Dr. William T. Harris, and the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

The chairman of the committee having in charge the Congress of Industrial and Manual Training, which was held during the second week, was Dr. Andrew J. Rickoff. Prof. J. D. Runkle, of the Institute of Technology, Boston, made the opening address, after which Prof. C. M. Woodward, of Washington University, St. Louis, read a paper on The New Demands made by the World's Industries upon the Elementary Schools. The next subject considered was embodied in the theme A Shorter Course in the Arts, and then a Specialization with Reference to Some Definite Industrial Pursuit, as in the French Schools. M. Eugène Martin, Director of the Primary and Higher Elementary Schools of Paris, gave an interesting account of the French system of industrial and manual-training schools as it now exists, and the subject was discussed by Prof. Deatrick, of the Keystone Normal School, Pennsylvania; Mr. Grant, of Rhode Island; George B. Kilbourn, of Springfield, Mass.; and Prof. C. M. Woodward, of St. Louis, from whose remarks the following paragraphs are quoted to explain the main features of the French system of industrial and manual instruction, including the changes recently adopted:

"I was glad to learn from Mr. Martin that the plan of 'a shorter course in the arts, and then a specialization with reference to some definite industrial pursuit,' is no longer their only system; that general manual-training schools much like our own now exist in France. Several years ago I visited the school on the Boulevard de Villette, in Paris. It was of the type referred to in the thesis. Four trades were taught. The 'shorter course in the arts' consisted of a rapid tour through the four departments, with a view to finding out what each was like, or how the work would suit one's taste or fancy or outside opportunity; then came a choice, and a devotion of all the rest of the time to one course. The school did commercial work, having skilled workmen who had charge of the apprentices and helped them in their work.

"I shall here confine myself to a comparison of the methods (*a*) and (*b*). (*a*) A series of graded models embracing the fundamental principles of the art. (*b*) A series of completed and useful articles. No particular art is here referred to. It is presumed to be one where special materials are wrought and special tools are used. The object of the training is supposed to be to master both tools and materials. By the mastery of a tool a good deal is meant. The forms of tools are not matters of caprice or accident. They have been evolved from the brains of the most skillful users, and no one can use an important tool correctly without teaching and practice, any more than he can a sword, or a rifle, or a tennis racket.

"Take a joiner's chisel. It has two functions—mortising and paring. Its use is mastered by mortising and paring under the instruction of a skillful user. The wood may be hard or soft; it may split easily or with difficulty;

the mortise may be 'open' or 'blind.' What is the educational method for mastering the use of the chisel on different woods? The 'points' in a good mortise are, that it shall be exactly to the line on every side; that it shall be sunk in exactly the right direction; that the material shall not be split or jammed on either side or at the end; that the inner faces shall be smooth and true; and, finally, it must be made with the least possible expenditure of time and energy. Shall the pupil make several doors, or window sashes, or toy carts (one in each kind of wood), or shall he practice on small pieces of wood of different kinds, making mortises in each, till he is reasonably perfect in his work—not covering the mortise by a great deal of other work that he has no need to do?

"How does your man with a rifle? Does he go about shooting at cats, and dogs, and thieves, and other 'useful articles,' till he has learned to use his gun correctly, or does he shoot at a target at different distances till he is a good shot before he shoots at game? Shall a child at the piano or violin learn difficult movements by practicing those movements by themselves, or only as they occur in regular 'pieces'?

"I am convinced that the demand for 'complete' articles is based on a misconception of the object in view, and a failure to see where 'completion' and perfection lie. If the object is a perfect mortise, then nothing but a perfect mortise can 'complete' the task.

"But you ask, Where is the tenon which is to fit the mortise? Should that not always be made too? I answer, There is no educational need of it. The tenon is another step, a different exercise; requires different tools and different methods. The tenon is not going to determine the quality of the mortise. The possible fact that one fits the other does not prove that either is correct, for both may be wrong. There is an absolute standard in every case, and nothing should be allowed to obscure it. The fact that in the construction of a useful article a mortise and tenon *do* fit is apt to cover up a multitude of sins. Your maker of useful articles will often continue to be a poor workman, because he will never stop to learn. He gets a certain amount of exterior form study, but he masters nothing. He gets excessive practice where he does not need it, and too little on difficult points.

"From what I have said, it is evident that in a manual-training school—I am not speaking of the elementary grades, but of boys of from fourteen to eighteen years of age—time is too precious to be spent in construction. A skilled and educated teacher can cull out the principles, the essential processes, and devise exercises which shall embody them logically with the least amount of waste material. I hold that the making of a bureau by a boy who is aiming at educational growth is wasteful in the extreme. A thing is educational which increases the range of our vision or the strength of our grasp. Repetitions of familiar steps profit little and consume time. I was told the other day of four boys who spent all their shop time for twenty weeks making a desk to bring to the Fair. To permit such a thing was an

educational crime. As well stop your class in arithmetic and have them add the census tables or extract the square root of two to a hundred places.

“Finally, why this feverish anxiety to produce something useful? Is the economic bearing of manual training less evident than in science and literature? Is it not sufficiently useful if one masters tools and materials, learns to make and read exact drawings, and acquires the ability to analyze a construction into steps which he knows he can take if he wishes? The school is to fit one to be useful; it is not a factory, nor a place for manual labor. To get the greatest educational result from manual training we must extend as much as possible the range of rational study of the arts which underlie construction, applying those arts only when it is necessary to illustrate its economic bearing. In the St. Louis Manual-Training School it is our custom to require of each student a single example of synthetic work at the end of each series of elementary principles. For instance, the alphabet of iron and steel forging, where the ever-present agency is that of heat, consists of a very few letters. The number of applications in a score of industries is very great, but one can count the fundamental processes on his fingers. We study these processes separately, unmixed with foreign elements, till each is clearly seen in its nakedness; and at the end of the series, each pupil by himself—not the whole class together—designs or selects a synthetic exercise, embodying as many elements as possible, and yet lying within his easy range, and constructs it. These composite pieces are technically known as ‘finals.’ These ‘finals’ are chiefly useful in showing the pupils how all-embracing the elements are. A child who has learned to write correctly the twenty-six letters can copy a play of Shakespeare or an oration of Webster if he will but be patient. These ‘finals’ differ with different pupils and from year to year, and they make an interesting display at our June exhibitions; but if too freely used at a World’s Fair they are in danger of misleading, for they do not reveal—they rather hide—their mission.

“I am clearly in favor of the graded series of exercises, embodying as nakedly as possible the fundamental principles, with a single ‘final’ at the end. Please bear in mind I have not been speaking of primary grades, where the pupils are quite too young to be able to sustain an interest in details and abstractions. They want things, not parts of things. Neither have I spoken of grammar grades, where great care must be exercised that one does not philosophize too much. In every case the end in view must be wholly in view, not only to the teacher but to the pupil.”

In the second session Prof. Gustaf Larsson, Principal of the Sloyd Training School, Boston, Mass., read a paper on The Sloyd or Swedish System compared with the Russian System of Manual Training, and exhibited samples of sloyd work in illustration of his subject. A paper on Manual Training in Russia was then read by E. Kovalevsky, the official delegate from that country, and Dr. H. H. Belfield, Director of the Chicago Manual-Training School, discussed the merits of the Swedish system. Prof. C. M. Wood-

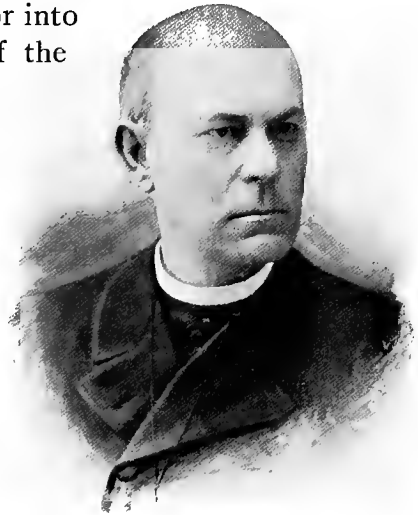
ward, of St. Louis, followed, comparing the sloyd system with the Russian, as used in manual-training schools, and Dr. James MacAlister, of Drexel Institute, gave a brief account of the introduction of manual-training work in Philadelphia, which was first induced by the small attendance in the high school. The discussion of this subject was continued by Dr. Paul Hoffman, Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools, New York city; Prof. Woodward, of St. Louis; Prof. Richards, of Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.; and Prof. Bennett, of the College for Training of Teachers, New York. The subject for discussion in the third session was Should Boys and Girls have the Same Industrial and Manual Training Instruction in all the Grades? The discussion was opened by a paper read by W. B. Powell, Superintendent of Public Schools, Washington, D. C., and other speakers were Edward Boos-Jegher, of Switzerland, and Dr. Paul Hoffman and Prof. Charles A. Bennett, of New York.

The Congress on University Extension, which was organized under a committee having as chairman Prof. Nathaniel Butler, Jr., of the University of Chicago, held five sessions, beginning Tuesday, July 18. During this time many interesting and valuable papers were presented, with the result that the movement was put in a new light before a great many intelligent people who carried to their communities new ideas regarding this great means of culture. Among the papers of particular interest was that on The Origin of University Extension, submitted by Prof. James Stuart, M. P., who in 1872 really gave the movement its start, from which the following quotations are made:

"The movement for higher education, like many other great movements, has taken place along a very extended line. The advance has been made inside the universities, by the widening of the area of their studies, by the improvements of their methods of teaching, by the reorganization of their funds, and generally by the opening of their doors to a greater variety of persons, and by their adaptation to the needs of the times. Outside the universities the advance has manifested itself by the foundation of colleges in great centers of population, by the beginning and recent rapid development of higher technical instruction, and by the widespread influence of university extension. In this paper I shall confine myself to the last-mentioned of these developments, because it is essentially the typical higher educational movement of the time. It gave rise, indeed, to much in the other movements which I have mentioned. Its influence has reacted, and continues to react, very powerfully on the universities themselves. It has given a stimulus there to many new branches of study, and it has left its impress upon the methods of teaching which the universities have adopted. The foundation of the universities and colleges which have arisen in England and Scotland is due—in most cases immediately and directly—to its influence, with the sole exception of Owens College, Manchester, which was of earlier origin. But it is not in this respect that university extension is most typical. A leading characteristic of the present day is undoubtedly the breaking

down of privilege, or rather the extension of the advantages hitherto enjoyed by the privileged to the community as a whole. In education this is the order of the day no less than in other regions, and of all educational movements there is none which has so much as university extension embodied this great feature of the present time, endeavoring to give to the people generally what has hitherto been the privilege of the few.

"The university-extension system would never have been developed or have taken root had it not been for the work done by a number of persons, some of whom, I am glad to say, are present with you in Chicago. Among these persons are the Rev. T. J. Lawrence and Mr. R. G. Moulton, who from the beginning were essential to the development, even the existence, of the movement. At a somewhat later period Mr. R. D. Roberts became the life and soul of the movement in Cambridge and London, while from the moment that Oxford entered with vigor into the undertaking Mr. Sadler, along with some of the Oxford lecturers, has not only animated the work which Oxford has done, but has filled the whole undertaking with fresh vigor and new adaptations. Besides these gentlemen, I must record the names particularly of the late Miss Clough and of Mrs. Josephine P. Miller, who, as Secretary and President of the North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women, devised the first set of lectures I ever had the opportunity of giving; and, lastly, among the members of the university, it is nearly impossible to overestimate what university extension owes to the Rev. W. Moore Ede, who for several years organized all that was done in the Midlands, and in its later developments to the Rev. G. I. Browne, so long Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate.



RT. REV. JOHN L. SPALDING,
a speaker at the Congress.

"In the autumn of 1867 I was engaged to give a course of lectures in astronomy to ladies in Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester, and Liverpool. These lectures lasted for two months, and I traveled the rounds of the four places each week. There were in the four places about six hundred pupils. With the object of making the lectures as educational as possible, and remembering that the pupils had not been accustomed to take notes, I accompanied each lecture by a syllabus, which was intended to be a sample of the notes which they should take, whose skeleton might be filled up by them afterward to recall the thread of the lecture. Further, in order to avoid the difficulties of an oral examination, I adopted a plan of setting printed questions to be answered in writing at home. The answers to these were transmitted to me by post, and I returned them the following week with corrections and comments.

On November 16 of the same year I went, at the request of an old friend, to give a single lecture to the engineer artisans of Crewe. The lecture was on Meteors, and received an advertisement, wholly unexpected but exceedingly effective, from the great meteor shower of the preceding evening, in consequence of which the audience was remarkably large, and a greater interest taken in the subject than probably would otherwise have manifested itself. However that may be, it encouraged my friend Mr. W. M. Moorsom, who became himself one of the pioneers of university extension, to arrange with me for a course of six lectures on astronomy, which were delivered to the working men of Crewe in the summer of 1868, and which led to my giving a similar course in the autumn of the same year at the great co-operative society of Rochdale, known as the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers. It was there that what is now known as 'the class' in connection with the lecture of the university-extension system had its origin. It arose from a happy accident, and became, along with the syllabus and the questions to be answered at home, a permanent feature of all future courses. For the next three years I was engaged, along with several friends, in keeping up continuous courses of the same character among the ladies of the North of England Council, the workmen of Crewe, and the co-operators of Rochdale; and I made a special tour among co-operative societies in the north of England, with the object of founding a union of their societies for carrying out 'a peripatetic co-operative university.' My idea was that a portion of the percentage of their profits which by their rules these societies devote to educational purposes might, if applied to the purpose of such lectures, enable them to employ permanently a staff of university teachers, whom they might interchange from year to year; and that they might join with the ladies, who in a number of towns were now carrying out the system, but who, like all others, were experiencing this difficulty, that their operations were not sufficiently extended to be able to offer a permanent field of employment to good lecturers. The proposal was a good deal discussed, but for various reasons fell through, and I was driven to seek for a still wider basis of action. About this time I received new and invaluable support from the town of Nottingham, where Mr. Richard Enfield and the Rev. J. B. Paton—both of them from that day to this devoted friends of university extension—were moving to establish lectures on political economy, the science of health, and other subjects, among the workmen of their town. I proposed to them a co-operation with Leicester and Derby, and thus re-enforced, and with the experience gained during more than four years' active work, with the approval and co-operation of friends generally throughout England, and of colleagues, some of whom I have mentioned, I brought the matter before the University of Cambridge in a letter of date November 23, 1871. The letter was accompanied by memorials which were in the following year referred to a syndicate or University Committee of Inquiry. The syndicate, having taken very extended evidence, was convinced of the existence of a demand for higher

education in the great centers of population, of the ability of the university to supply that demand, and of the propriety of its undertaking to do so by adopting the system of teaching which had now by our experiments become plainly elaborated. The first course of lectures was given in the autumn of 1873, in Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. The subjects were Political Economy, Mechanics, and English Literature, and the three lecturers were the Rev. V. H. Stanton (now Professor of Divinity in Cambridge), T. O. Harding (a well-known senior wrangler), and the Rev. E. B. Birks. All three were fellows of Trinity College. To the system of teaching which I had already elaborated the university added a final examination accompanied by certificates. Each course consisted of weekly lectures accompanied by weekly classes extending over a period of twelve weeks, conducted according to the following regulations :

“‘The teacher to remain in the lecture room for some time after the conclusion of each lecture and class, in order to answer questions or solve the difficulties which have occurred to pupils, and to give advice as to the reading of text-books and other means of officially studying the subject.

“‘Each lecture to be accompanied by a syllabus distributed to the pupils, and by questions. Those who desire to answer these questions to do so in writing at home, and to be at liberty to submit their answers to the teacher for correction and comment. The class in each subject to be formed only from among those who attend the lectures on that subject, and to consist of those who are desirous of studying more fully. The class, at the discretion of the teacher, either to take up the subject of the lectures or cognate subjects bearing directly thereon and necessary for the better elucidation of the subject of the lectures. The teaching in the class to be more conversational than that in the lecture.

“‘Written examinations to be held at the conclusion of each course by examiners appointed by the syndicate, open to any pupil who has attended the course ; and certificates to be granted to the candidates who manifest sufficient merit in these examinations.’

“It would be difficult to describe the system still employed more accurately than in the language thus quoted, and several of the phrases made use of in these original regulations will be familiarly recognized by those engaged to-day in the university-extension movement in Chicago. The first syndicate, in 1873, was appointed tentatively ; but on March 18, 1875, it was made permanent, and the system then became, and has since continued, an integral part of the university work. The chief additions to the system since that time have consisted in the affiliation of several of those local colleges which have been its direct product, and the extension subsequently of that affiliation to all university-extension students, so that those who have passed through a prescribed series of courses given by authorized lecturers, who, in addition, have passed certain examinations, shall have the right of claiming a Cambridge degree on a shortened period of residence at that university.

"In connection with this, and moving in the same direction, a pretty general effort has been made to encourage and to secure greater continuity of teaching. This has developed itself most highly in London, where the Joint Board of Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London has now organized a considerable part of the teaching so as to run over a whole year, two successive courses being given in the winter months on the same subject, and a further additional advanced class being held in continuation thereof during the summer months. To any pupil who has successfully gone through a year's work of this kind, a special certificate, called a 'sessional certificate,' is given; and where four such certificates are obtained, three in scientific subjects and one in literary subjects, or *vice versa*, the pupil becomes entitled to what is called a 'certificate of continuous study,' which represents the high-water mark of what university extension has reached in England.



SETH LOW,
a speaker at the Congress.

"Till the university-extension movement arose, the characteristic of higher education was that it was localized in a few centers. University extension spread it over the whole country and carried it, potentially at least, to every home. It did more. It utilized in doing so the existing institutions, so that they themselves became the sources from which flowed out the fructifying streams. University extension is based on the belief, justified by experience, that people can acquire mental cultivation from oral teaching without devoting their whole time to the process, and its methods have been adapted to meet the needs of such persons. University extension is based on the fact that oral teaching is the best form of education, and, further, it has been a conscious protest against a system of education based on examination. The current of such a

system was in full sweep over England at the time when university extension first arose, not only in the universities, but in the public elementary schools of the country. We proclaimed, and without deviation had adhered to this, that the examiner ought to be subsidiary to the teacher in any sound system of education, and should follow in his wake; and we opposed the idea of teaching controlled by and leading up to examination. Our views have won the day, and have changed many things at the universities and in public elementary schools. The university-extension system has recognized that the mind may be trained by means of the orderly and scientific treatment of subjects in which the pupil takes a real and living in-

terest, and which bear directly on his everyday life, just as well as, if not better than, by abstract studies which have no such bearing. It has recognized from the first the absolute equality of men and women, rich and poor, in their claims to educational advantages. This has been made positive by availing itself of physical opportunities of easy locomotion and facility for co-operation and by adapting itself to the circumstances in which modern society exists."

Among other papers possessing much interest were University Credits, by Dr. R. D. Roberts; A Sketch of the Movement in America, by Miss Katharine L. Sharp; The Traveling Library, by F. W. Shepardson; E. T. Devine's paper on The Syllabus; George L. Hunter's paper on The Function of the Local Center; Class Instruction as a Department of University Extension, by Charles Zeublin; and addresses by Mrs. Charles Kendall Adams and Melvil Dewey. The Congress was closed with the presentation of a very interesting paper, by E. L. S. Horsburgh, on The Universities and the Workingmen, which derives special significance from the great need of university extension among the wage earners. He spoke as follows:

"There are essential differences between the labor problem in America and in England. America is the land of democratic equality, and it is to give just offense to your manual laborers in receipt of weekly wages to regard them, or to speak of them, as a class in any way apart from the rest of the community. In England at present this is not the case. The existence of classes in England, with separate interests and separate aims, is natural to the conditions, though it is none the less to be deplored.

"And yet the problem of labor must, in many essential respects, be the same everywhere, and especially from the point of view of education. A somewhat broad line must everywhere be drawn between those who labor with their heads and those who labor with their hands. To the one class education in some form is a necessity of existence; to the other it is an accident to be acquired, if at all, through an excess of toil. The one class gathers up and lays on fresh intellectual advantages by reason of the nature of its employments; the other class soon lays aside whatever of education it has received, and can only gather it up again in moments of scanty leisure, in despite, not as a consequence, of its regular employment. It is this class of laborers—those engaged in manual toil—who in every state are a majority. In their hands, if they only knew it, lie all the potentialities of rule. In every country the tendency is becoming more and more marked to admit them to all the privileges of citizenship, to place power in their hands; and thus in each country this question stares us in the face, How will it fare with us when the destinies of the race are intrusted to the hands of the uninstructed many, who have only to realize the power of numbers in order to prevail over the educated few?

"For my part, I have as little abstract faith in the instructed few as in

the uninstructed many. What I do desire is to see a sense of responsibility pervading all, and I believe it is by education alone that men can be brought to realize their responsibilities. If you accept this you accept also the urgent need that exists for spreading education as widely and as thoroughly as possible among the masses of the people, and no educational movement of the present day can for a moment justify its existence, unless it aims at extending the highest facilities for culture to the poorest, most remote, and most unenlightened of those among whom it is to operate.

"In old time in England the universities justified their name. They were universal in their aims and methods. They appealed to all, and attracted all. We read of thirty thousand students at Oxford in the fourteenth century—men taken from the plow and the farmyard, and these

more numerous than those taken from the houses of the great or wealthy—but as time went on a sort of palsy seemed to strike our universities. They considered that their function was the manufacture of specialties, not the diffusion of culture among the mass, and there have been periods when no institutions in our country were at once more wealthy and more worthless, equally failing to produce the specialist or to elevate the mass. And even now they are, to far too great extent, exclusive corporations having enormous advantages to secure to their children, but only able to secure those advantages to a privileged few.



MISS JANE ADDAMS,
Chairman of
Committee on Social Settlements.

"Our universities, too, have proved a very favorable soil for the production of a narrow, exclusive, and priggish character. Men pass from their undergraduate days to fellowships, tutorships, and professorial chairs. Thus they have spent their days in

an unnatural and hothouse atmosphere. They have mixed little with the world. Having always been in the enjoyment of leisure, they know nothing of lives of incessant toil in mine or factory; having lived among culture all their lives, they can only regard the uncultivated person with contempt; with eyes closed to three fourths of the active life of the world, they become purblind, and can only clearly recognize their own superiority; and it is to these men that the direction of university affairs largely has fallen."

In addition to the Congress on University Extension, higher institutions of learning were represented by a Congress of College and University Students and a Congress of College Fraternities, both held during the week beginning July 17.

The Congress of College and University Students, which was organized by a committee under the chairmanship of James B. Reynolds, met in four sessions, at all of which interesting programmes were presented. The opening session was addressed by the president and by foreign delegates to the Congress, after which addresses were delivered on Student Life in the Southern Colleges of America, by Prof. F. C. Woodward, of South Carolina College, Columbia, and on The Influence of the Resident System, by Frank P. Divelbiss, of Richmond, Mo. Coeducation as a Factor in the Social Life of Students was presented by Prof. Martha Foote Crow, of the University of Chicago, at the second session, following which was a discussion; and in the third session the subject under consideration was Inter-University Student Fellowship, with reports from Naples, Upsala, Christiania, Cornell, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins. The fourth and last session of the Congress was addressed by C. L. Van Cleve, editor of The Shield of Phi Kappa Psi, on The American College Fraternity System, and reports from various universities were followed by discussion.

The Congress of College Fraternities was organized by a committee of which Richard Lee Fearn was chairman, with a woman's committee under the chairmanship of Miss Ethel Baker. Among the papers presented were the following: The Legal Status of the Fraternities, by William Raymond Baird; The Histories of Fraternities, by W. B. Palmer; A Permanent Fraternity League, by E. H. L. Randolph; and The Women's Fraternities, by Mrs. Mary Robert Smith. These papers were all presented during the first session, and in the session held on the afternoon of the same day, July 19, various phases of Fraternity Journalism were presented. The woman's session, held on the following day, was presided over by Miss Ethel Baker, chairman of the Woman's Committee. An address of welcome was delivered by Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Vice-President of the Congress Auxiliary, and the following-named papers presented: The Origin and Development of the Fraternity System, by Margaret E. Smith; Fraternity Journalism, by May Henry; Chapter Houses, by a member of Kappa Kappa Gamma; Limitations of Fraternity Membership, by Mrs. Rho Fisk Zeublin; Fraternity Extension, by Miss Bessie Leach; Ethical Influence of Fraternities, by Mrs. Blackwelder; and Fraternity Women in the World, by Isabella M. Andrews.

Among the other Congresses held during the first week was that on Social Settlements, organized by committees in charge of Charles Zeublin, of the University of Chicago, and Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House. Among the papers read during the seven sessions of this Congress may be mentioned The University Settlement Historically Considered, by Robert A. Woods, of Andover House, Boston; The Relation of the Settlement to Universities, by James B. Reynolds, of Paris; The Settlement of a Center for University Extension, by Dr. R. D. Roberts, of London; The Settlement in its Relation to Municipal Reform, by Mrs. Florence Kelley; The Settlement in its Relation to Tenement Houses, by Miss Helena Dudley, of Philadelphia;

The Settlement in its Relation to Organized Social Work, by Everett P. Wheeler, of New York ; Weak Points in the Settlement Method, by Edward Cummings, of Harvard University ; The Settlement in its Relation to the Art Movement, by Miss Ellen G. Starr, of Hull House ; and The Ideals of Future Society as evolved in a Settlement, by Charles Zeublin. The evening symposium on The Settlement in its Relation to the Labor Movement, opened by Henry D. Lloyd, was one of the most interesting of the sessions of this Congress.



The Maine State Building.

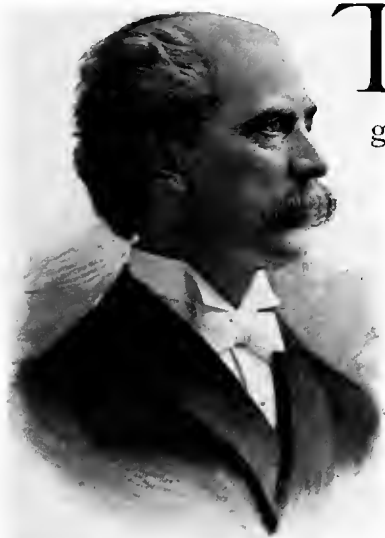


View southeast across the North Pond.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

Character of the conference—The committee—The preliminary address and the responses to it—Opening ceremonies—Extracts from many of the papers that were read—Confucianism—The Brahmo-Somaj-Shintoism—Christianity and Mohammedanism compared—Buddhism—The world's debt to Buddha—The Parsees—The Armenian Church—Hinduism—Evolution and Christianity—Congress of Missions—Sunday rest—Denominational Congresses.—Inquiry rooms—Spirit of the work—Reasons for success.



REV. JOHN H. BARROWS, D. D.,
Chairman of Committee of Organization.

THE assembling of the world's religious leaders in a great parliament extending over seventeen days was the crowning event of the World's Congresses of 1893. So much attention was excited by this concourse that for a time even the great Exposition then in progress seemed overshadowed and forgotten while the representatives of the religions of the earth sat down together. Never before have religious teachers from all lands, representing all prominent faiths, met on one common platform and with absolute freedom and perfect courtesy presented their varied and often contradictory tenets. The interest excited by this Congress was world-wide. Said one speaker, "I came nine thousand miles only to attend this conference." Said he who followed, the white-robed Dharmapala, "And I came thirteen thousand miles that I might stand on this platform."

On that platform sat men of all colors, of all races, from all quarters of the globe, and of all the faiths that during the ages have dominated the des-

tinies of the human family. There were Christians—Protestant and Catholic, Roman and Greek ; Jews and Mohammedans ; Parsees, Brahmans, and Buddhists ; followers of Confucius, and worshipers of ancestors ; descendants of those antagonists who punctuated their conflicting assertions with the bullet and the bayonet, and of those who bore witness to their faith in the presence of the axe, the gibbet, or the stake ; here gathered, they found their hands clasped in one unbroken circle as their upward gaze centered on one loving Father.

As it was found impracticable to bring the representatives of distant lands to Chicago early in the season, it was decided to hold the Congresses of Religion in September and the first half of October. The immense task of organizing the Parliament of Religions was intrusted to a General Committee, of which the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, was appointed chairman, and it was owing in great part to his many months of patient, intelligent, and persistent effort that the great Parliament proved such a signal success. In selecting the committee—which consisted, in addition to the chairman, of fifteen persons representing fifteen forms of religious faith—great care was taken to secure as representatives of different religious bodies persons of strong and vigorous convictions, who would be acknowledged by their respective organizations as worthy to speak in their behalf. The committee, as originally constituted, consisted, in addition to the chairman, of the following persons: The Right Rev. Bishop William E. McLaren, D. D., D. C. L., Protestant Episcopal Church, and Rev. Prof. David Swing, Chicago Central Church, Independent, Vice-Chairmen of the Committee ; His Grace the Most Rev. P. A. Feehan, Catholic Archbishop of Chicago ; Rev. Dr. F. A. Noble, Congregational Church ; Rev. Dr. William M. Lawrence, Baptist Church ; Rev. Dr. F. M. Bristol, Methodist Church ; Rev. Dr. A. J. Canfield, Universalist Church ; Rev. M. C. Ranseen, Swedish Lutheran Church ; Rev. J. Berger, German Methodist Church ; Rev. J. Z. Torgersen, Norwegian Lutheran Church ; Right Rev. Bishop Charles E. Cheney, Reformed Episcopal Church ; Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Jewish Church ; Rev. L. P. Mercer, New Jerusalem Church ; Jonathan W. Plummer, Friends' Church ; Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Unitarian Church, Secretary of the Committee.

In addition to the General Committee on Religious Congresses, a special committee was appointed to make arrangements for the Congress of each participating denomination. The cordial co-operation of the women of the various churches largely contributed to the great success of the Congresses. A Woman's General Committee on Religious Congresses was appointed, of which the Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, of Chicago, was chairman ; and in most cases also a church committee of women corresponded to and co-operated with the committee of men in the organization of each of the denominational Congresses.

The basis of the proposed Union Congress, and the equal importance of

the accompanying denominational conventions, were explained to the committee by Mr. Bonney in an opening conference, and, in full accord with his views, the work was begun by them and carried forward to completion. Dr. Barrows very soon proved his marvelous fitness for the great task intrusted to him, and devoted himself to it with a tireless energy that assured success. The first work was that of making a working programme for the Parliament of Religions by formulating specific subjects to be presented in the sessions, and making engagements with selected leaders to prepare papers on the particular themes assigned to them.

The first public act of the General Committee was the issuance of a preliminary address in June, 1891, inviting the representatives of all faiths to aid in presenting to the world the religious harmonies and unities of humanity, and also in showing forth the moral and spiritual agencies that are at the root of human progress. It was stated that it was not the purpose of the conventions to create the temper of indifferentism in regard to the important peculiarities distinguishing the religions of the world, but rather to bring together, in frank and friendly conference, the most eminent men of different faiths, strong in their personal convictions, who should strive to see and show what are the supreme truths, and what light religion has to throw upon the great problems of the age. Among the themes proposed for consideration were the triumphs of religion in all ages, the present state of religion among the nations and its influence over literature, art, commerce, government, and the family life, the power of religion in promoting temperance and social purity, and its harmony with true science, its dominance in the higher institutions of learning, and the value of the weekly rest day on religious and other grounds. Representatives from every part of the globe were interrogated and bidden to declare what they had to offer or suggest for the world's betterment, what light religion had to throw upon the labor problem, the educational questions, and the perplexing social conditions of the time, and what illumination could be given to the subjects of vital interest that would come before the other Congresses of 1893.

Thousands of copies of this preliminary address, approved by each member of the committee and bearing the names of a Jewish rabbi, a Catholic archbishop, Protestant bishops and clergy, both orthodox and liberal, a Quaker, and a New Churchman, were distributed throughout the world, with many hundreds of letters written by Dr. Barrows and his associates to religious leaders in the different countries. The responses received from every part of the world in answer to this proclamation were most inspiring. Mr. Gladstone sent his cordial good wishes for the Christian and philanthropic effort. The poet Whittier wrote: "The idea seems to me an inspiration." Cardinal Gibbons wrote: "The movement is worthy of all encouragement and praise. I rejoice to learn that the project for a Religious Congress at Chicago in 1893 has already won the sympathies and enlisted the active co-operation of those in the front rank of human thought and progress, even in other lands than ours.

If conducted with moderation and good will, such a Congress may result, by the blessing of Divine Providence, in benefits more far-reaching than the most sanguine could dare to hope." Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D., said: "I can not but believe that the moral and spiritual results of the Exposition are to be its important results." The Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D. D., wrote: "I am most heartily in sympathy with the plan of Religious Congresses in connection with the Columbian Exposition." Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes sent his best wishes for the success of a forward movement in the cause of human brotherhood and sympathy. President George Washburn, of Robert College, Constantinople, wrote: "It will be something to bring together Catholics, Jews, and Protestants of different denominations, but the Congress should also include representatives of the Eastern churches, Mohammedans, and the Indian and Chinese religions." President Alexander Tison, of the Imperial Law School of Tokio, Japan, wrote: "I shall be glad to help you all I can in getting some representative, English-speaking Buddhist to go from Japan to Chicago in 1893." Prof. D. W. Simon, of Edinburgh, Scotland, wrote: "The idea of the Congresses commands my heartiest sympathy." Hon. Justice Ameer Ali, of Calcutta, India, wrote: "I regard your programme as marking an epoch in the history of religious development." President A. M. Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, Oxford, wrote: "I think the scheme of great promise and interest." Prof. Frederick Godet, of Switzerland, Count Goblet D'Alviella, of Belgium, and Lord Egerton, of England, also severally sent their warm approval and good wishes. Similar expressions were received from many other leaders of human progress, including Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul; Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia; Bishop Huntington, of New York; Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota; Bishop Vincent, of Chautauqua; Bishop Keane, Rector of the Catholic University of America; President Angell, of the University of Michigan; President Northrop, of the University of Minnesota; President Bartlett, of Dartmouth College; President Gates, of Amherst College; Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island; Bishop Scarborough, of New Jersey; Bishop Sullivan, of Canada; Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D.; Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D.; Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D.; Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D.; Prof. Lazarus, of the University of Berlin; Prof. Commer, of the University of Breslau; Prof. Orelli, of the University of Basle; Prof. Bascom, of Williams College; Prof. Park, of Andover; Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Canada; Dr. William Miller, of Christian College, Madras, South India; Principal John Cairns, of Edinburgh; Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, of Manchester New College, Oxford; and Count Matteo Prochét, of the Evangelical Waldensian Church.

But while the general feeling toward the Congress was that of approval, a few notes of strong dissent were heard. It was with little surprise that the committee learned how decided was the opposition of the Sultan of Turkey to the proposed conference—an opposition very embarrassing to the leaders of the Greek and Armenian Churches in the Turkish Empire. A



THE IOWA STATE BUILDING.



THE INDIANA STATE BUILDING.

letter written by His Grace Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, undoubtedly exercised a large influence over the action of the Anglican Church. It is as follows :

"I am afraid that I can not write the letter which, in yours of March 20, you wish me to write, expressing a sense of the importance of the proposed conference, without its appearing to be an approval of the scheme. The difficulties which I myself feel are not questions of distance and convenience, but rest on the fact that the Christian religion is the one religion. I do not understand how that religion can be regarded as a member of a Parliament of Religions without assuming the equality of the other intended members and the parity of their position and claims. Then, again, your general programme assumes that the Church of Rome is the Catholic Church, and treats the Protestant Episcopal Church of America as outside the Catholic Church. I presume that the Church of England would be similarly classified : and that view of our position is untenable. Beyond this, while I quite understand how the Christian religion might produce its evidences before any assembly, a 'presentation' of that religion must go far beyond the question of evidences, and must subject to public discussion that faith and devotion which are its characteristics and which belong to a region too sacred for such treatment. I hope that this explanation will excuse me with you for not complying with your request."

The opinions of the Protestant Episcopal bishops in the United States were very largely favorable to the Parliament ; but, as an example of the bitter hostility which the Parliament aroused in some good men, the following letter to the chairman of the committee from the Rev. E. J. Eitel, of Hong-Kong, may be cited :

"Let me warn you not to deny the sovereignty of your Lord by any further continuance of your agitation in favor of a Parliament not sanctioned by his Word. If misled yourself, at least do not mislead others, nor jeopardize, I pray you, the precious life of your soul by playing fast and loose with the truth and coquetting with false religions. I give you credit for the best intentions, but let me warn you that you are unconsciously planning treason against Christ."

In the meantime the applications from the different religious denominations for an opportunity to present their faith and achievements in separate Congresses had become so numerous that it was evident that this part of the great undertaking would be crowned with a most gratifying success, and accordingly committees were appointed to make arrangements and prepare programmes for the various organizations.

The tentative programme, in the preparation of which the committee was assisted greatly by Bishop John Joseph Keane, of Washington, was sent out in the winter of 1892 to more than three hundred scholars for criticism and suggestion, and then the enormous labor of the final programme of topics was entered upon and speakers were invited. On the first of March, 1893,

the committee's second report was published, containing the programme for the seventeen days of the Parliament.

In the early months of the Columbian Exposition the prospects for the Parliament were clouded somewhat by the long-continued agitation of the question whether the Exposition should be open Sundays. When Sunday opening was achieved the Baptists decided not to hold a denominational Congress in connection with the Parliament, and the Christian Endeavor Society, through its trustees, reached a similar conclusion. For other reasons, the Congress of the Anglican Churches, for which earnest toil had been put forth, was given up.

Letters were sent out to thirty different countries, and replies came back in English, French, German, Norwegian, Italian, Latin, Spanish, Greek, Armenian, Bohemian, Polish, Japanese, Chinese, and Hindustani, until gradually the whole world became interested in the proposed convention. Prize essays on Confucianism and Taoism, for which more than sixty Chinese scholars competed, were sent to the chairman of the General Committee. The Imperial Government of the Celestial Empire commissioned the Secretary of Legation at Washington to attend the Parliament. Papers were prepared by some of the new and minor sects of India which did not expect to have personal representation in the Parliament. The Hon. James G. Blaine and his successor, the Hon. John W. Foster, of the State Department at Washington, and some of the foreign ministers and consuls of the United States, were helpful to the General Committee in procuring for them the attention of foreign governments. Several intelligent travelers, among them the Rev. Francis E. Clark, D. D., President of the Christian Endeavor Society, journeyed round the globe and spoke of the plans for the Congress. The committee was confronted from the beginning with the question whether representatives of the non-Christian faith could be induced to lay aside their fears and prejudices, leave their important work at home, and undertake long and expensive journeys to meet, in the heart of a Christian country, the ablest scholars of Christendom, masters of the English language, with which they themselves were sometimes not perfectly familiar. As the Buddhist and Shintoist communities in Japan were divided over the wisdom of attending the Religious Congress, much credit is due to the Japanese delegates who voluntarily undertook the journey.

The opening session of the Congresses was held on Monday morning, September 11, 1893. Intense public interest had been aroused, and an audience of four thousand filled the Memorial Art Palace. At ten o'clock an imposing procession marched to the platform, and amid enthusiastic cheering the representatives were appropriately grouped, with Cardinal Gibbons, highest in rank of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, on the right of President Bonney, and the Rev. Dr. Barrows, Chairman of the Parliament, on his left.

The ceremonies were opened by chanting the doxology with an organ accompaniment. This was followed by the hymn "Before Jehovah's awful

throne," after which Cardinal Gibbons led the multitude of voices in the Lord's Prayer. The address of welcome was then delivered by President Bonney, and Dr. Barrows spoke in the name of the General Committee. The manifestation of sympathy and approval that followed his address had not subsided when it was changed into a hearty greeting to the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Chicago, who was introduced to speak in the name of the Catholic communion. President Bonney then introduced His Eminence James, Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, who, in spite of illness, had come to respond to the addresses of welcome. With cordial acknowledgment of the services of women in the work of organizing the Religious Congresses, the Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, D. D., Chairman of the Women's Committee of Organization, was introduced, and added words of welcome in behalf of women. Addresses were then delivered by Mr. Harlow N. Higinbotham, President of the World's Columbian Exposition, and by the Rev. Alexander M'Kenzie, pastor of the Shepard Memorial Church of Cambridge, who spoke of the distinctively religious purpose and work of the Puritan colonists, and their formative influence on the character of the republic. Responses to the addresses of welcome were delivered by the foreign representatives. The Most Rev. Dionysios Latas, Archbishop of Zante, Greece, was introduced and spoke as a representative of the Greek Church. The next speaker was P. C. Mozoomdar, of Calcutta, India, known to many in the assembly as author of *The Oriental Christ*, and also as a representative of the Brahmo-Somaj, the movement toward a pure and spiritual theism. The Emperor of China responded to the invitation of the committee by sending as a delegate the Hon. Pung Kwang Yu, First Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington. The translation of the commissioner's address was read to the assembly by Dr. Barrows. Prince Serge Wolkonsky, although present in no formally representative character, either from the Russian Empire or from the Russo-Greek Church, was made welcome as a member of the Parliament, and tendered his thanks for so high an honor. The state religion of Japan—the Shinto religion—was represented in the person of one of its most eminent prelates, the Right Rev. Reuchi Shibata, whose address was read by Dr. Barrows, after which four Buddhist priests from Japan were introduced—namely, Banriu Yatsubuchi, Zitzuzen Ashitsu,



JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS,
a speaker at the Congress.

Shaku Soyen, and Horin Toki. The priests arose and remained standing while Z. Noguchi, their interpreter, expressed their thanks for the invitation to participate in the proceedings of the Congress. Count A. Bernstorff, of Germany, while disclaiming any official authority either from state or from Church, spoke as a German and as an Evangelical Protestant in a sincere and weighty address. After a few courteous and sympathetic words from M. Bonet-Maury, representing religious thought and sentiment in France, Archbishop Redwood, of New Zealand, addressed the assembly ; and the interest of the long-protracted session culminated in the brief closing address of the Buddhist delegate, Mr. H. Dharmapala, of Ceylon.

The afternoon session opened with a few words of cordial and hopeful salutation from Dr. Carl von Bergen, of Sweden, after which Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi, a lawyer of Bombay, one of the chief exponents of the Jain religion of that country, spoke. He was followed by Prof. Minas Tcheraz, editor of an Armenian newspaper published in London, and a theosophist from Allahabad, India, Prof. C. N. Chakravarti, after whom the Rev. Alfred Williams Momerie, D. D., of London, England, was introduced and spoke. Other speakers were Swami Vivekananda, of Bombay, India, and Principal Grant, of Canada.

The programme of the general Parliament of Religions directly represented England, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, India, Japan, China, Ceylon, New Zealand, Brazil, Canada, and the American states, and included indirectly many other countries. Among the great themes presented for consideration were Theism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, Catholicism, the Greek Church, and Protestantism in many forms, and reference was made to the nature and influence of other religious systems. The programme also announced for presentation the great subjects of revelation, immortality, the incarnation of God, the universal elements in religion, the ethical unity of different religious systems, the relation of religion to morals, marriage, education, science, philosophy, evolution, music, labor, government, peace and war, and many other themes. Seventeen days were assigned for the execution of this part of the general programme, and during substantially the same period the second part of the programme was carried out in the adjoining Hall of Washington. This consisted of what were termed presentations of distinctive faith and achievements, by selected representatives of different churches.

The third part of the general programme for the Congresses of the department consisted of separate and independent Congresses of the different religious denominations for the purpose of setting forth more fully their doctrines and the service they had rendered to mankind. These special Congresses were held for the most part in the smaller halls of the Memorial Building, but few of them, for special reasons, were held before the opening of the General Congress of Religions. It was the object of these denominational

Congresses to afford opportunities for further information, and the leaders of the several churches most cordially desired the attendance of the representatives of other religions. Each denominational Congress was held during the week in which the presentation of the denomination occurred.

The fourth and final part of the programme of the Department of Religion consisted of Congresses of various kindred organizations. These Congresses were held between the close of the Parliament of Religions and October 15, and included Missions, Ethics, Sunday Rest, the Evangelical Alliance, and similar associations. The Congress on Evolution should, in regularity, have been held in the Department of Science, but circumstances prevented, and it was given a place in this department by the courtesy of the Committee of Organization.

The absence of the Methodist bishops, whose regular appointments made it impossible for them to attend, was deeply deplored. Among the Baptists present were Drs. Boardman, Lorimer, Whitman, Moxom, Howe, Henderson, and Small, and Profs. Lyon, Goodspeed, and Wilkinson. Among the eminent Presbyterians present were Drs. Niccolls, W. C. Roberts, Henry M. Field, Philip Schaff (who died shortly after the close of the Parliament), President Scovel, Principal Grant, S. J. McPherson, and George F. Pentecost. A prince of Russia, a prince of Siam, and an African prince contributed to the interest of the meetings. No more picturesque figure was present than that of the Archbishop of Zante, representing the Greek Church, and by his side were his archdeacon, Homer Paratis, and Father Phiambolis, of Chicago. There were missionaries and missionary teachers, like Washburn of Constantinople, Phillips and Hume of India, Faber, Reid, and Candlin of China, McGilvary and McFarland of Siam, Post and Ford of Syria, Haworth of Japan, and Gulick of the Sandwich Islands. India, mother of religions, was represented by the spiritually minded Mozoomdar, a master of eloquence, Vivekananda, "the orange monk," who exercised a wonderful influence over his auditors, the keen and courteous Nagarkar, the attractive Narasima, the acute and philosophical Ghandi, the metaphysical Chakravarti, Mr. Dharmapala of Colombo; and, through papers contributed, by Slater of Bangalore, the Rev. T. J. Scott, the learned Parsee scholars Modi and Barucha of Bombay, such distinguished representatives of Brahmanism as D'vivedi and Aijanger, and by the Right Rev. Sumangala, Buddhist High Priest of Ceylon. Japan was represented by the Buddhist priests Ashitsu, Toki, Soyen, and Yatsubuchi; Mr. Kawai of the Nichiren sect; Shibata, High Priest of Shintoism; the eloquent layman Hirai; and the Rev. J. T. Yokoi and President Kozaki of the Doshisha University. China was represented by Pung-Kwang-Yu, Dr. Martin, Dr. Blodget, the Rev. George T. Candlin, Mr. Yen, and Mr. Ho; Mohammedanism by Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb, of New York, and J. Sanna Abou Nadara, of Paris. Count Bernstorff spoke for the Evangelical Church of Germany. The Parliament was enriched by contributions from such scholars

as Max Müller, d'Harlez, Dawson, Bruce, Drummond, Conrad von Orelli, Fisher, Valentine, Jean Réville, Albert Réville, Tiele, and Goodspeed, and by eminent philanthropists and social reformers like Edward Everett Hale, Lyman Abbott, Joseph Cook, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Richard T. Ely, Washington Gladden, and Aaron M. Powell. The Catholics were headed by Cardinal Gibbons, who in his opening address touched all hearts, and by Bishop Keane, a rare combination of evangelical earnestness and tenderest catholicity. This delegation was exceedingly strong, and all the Catholic speakers kept strictly within the prescribed limits of the Parliament, stating their own views with frankness and ability, and refraining from criticism of others. Bishop Keane had put the different topics into the hands of specialists, all of whom were excellent speakers. Bishop Arnett, who made friends for Africa with every word he spoke, the venerable Bishop Payne, Bishop Handy, and others represented the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Successful evangelists like B. Fay Mills were there. Seventh-Day Baptists like Dr. Lewis, United Brethren like Landis, preachers of the Reformed Church like Dr. Burrell, of New York, Armenians like Prof. Tcheraz, and Rev. A. G. Assadourian, who brought "friendly and abundant greetings from the Protestant Armenian congregations in Turkey, and especially the salutations and love of the Bithynian Synod of Constantinople," of which he is secretary. General William Booth wrote from London: "You have an opportunity of influencing the whole world with the spirit of our common Christianity without parallel in ancient or modern times." In the absence of the leaders of the Salvation Army, Brigadier-General Fielding told of the methods and aims of that movement, and as an evidence of the growth of the Army during the twenty-eight years of its existence, made the statement that "it has four thousand three hundred and ninety-seven mission stations, seventy-four homes of rest for officers, sixty-six training schools for officers, sixty-four slum posts, forty-nine rescue homes for fallen women, twelve prison-gate homes, fifty-two food and shelter depots, thirty-four factories and employment offices, five farm colonies, two hundred and fifteen social institutions connected with General Booth's scheme, and thirteen thousand seven hundred and thirteen officers; that its War Cry has a circulation of 580,532, and that last year more than thirteen million persons attended its indoor meetings in the United States."

Among the Congregationalists present at the Parliament or contributing to it were Messrs. Noble, Gladden, Mills, Phillips, Pratt, Fisher, Abbott, Cook, Washburn, Munger, Dike, Brand, Headland, Martin, Clark, Blodget, and Hume. Among the Unitarians were Hale, Jones, Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. E. R. Sunderland, Carpenter, Peabody, Mrs. Fannie B. Williams, and Alger. Among the Methodists were Candlin, Terry, Lee, Bishop Arnett, Baldwin, Carroll, Townsend, and Bristol. Among the Anglicans were Bishop Dudley, Haweis, Momerie, Richey, and Canon Fremantle. Harvard College furnished a strong delegation in Lyon, Toy, Peabody, and Dwight. The Uni-

versities of Yale and Chicago were well represented. Rabbi Wise, Rabbi Gottheil, and Dr. E. G. Hirsch headed the notable company of Jewish scholars in attendance. Dr. Francis E. Clark, of Boston, founder of the Christian Endeavor Societies, made a valuable contribution to the Parliament. The presence and participation of women was an important feature.

A committee—of which the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd-Jones was chairman, and Dr. William Hayes Ward, Prof. Henry Coppée, Richard Watson Gilder, Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps-Ward, Prof. William C. Wilkinson, and Bishop John H. Vincent were members—furnished selected hymns for the Parliament, fitted to express the sentiments of the universal heart. Among those that were sung were “Nearer, my God, to Thee,” “Come, Thou Almighty King,” “All people that on earth do dwell,” “O life that maketh all things new,” and “God is love, his mercy brightens.” It was not possible to follow completely the order of the subjects laid down in the original programme—the elements were too various, and the presence of speakers was not always assured—but the variety of themes on certain days augmented popular interest. The total attendance at the Parliament was nearly 150,000.

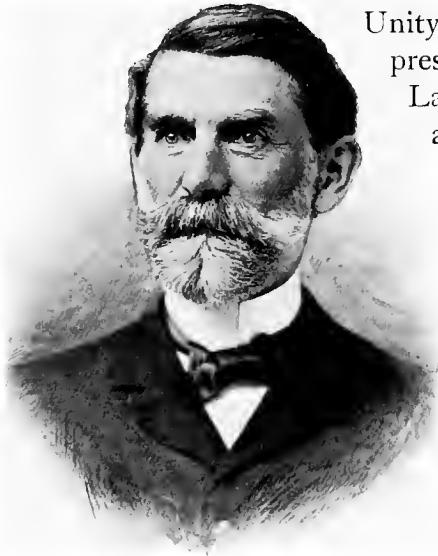
Many letters, some of them equal to treatises in length, printed pamphlets, petitions and poems of various merit, were contributed to the Parliament. Among these may be mentioned a long communication from Manisharker Vithalji, head pontiff of the Rasesha religion, sent from Jamnagar; an interesting autobiographical communication from Swami Shugun Chandra, late Kayastha missionary, Kunjah, India. Mr. Lakshimi Narain, barrister at law, of Lahore, Secretary of the Kayastha Provincial Society of Benares and Gorakhpur, was a delegate from that body to the Parliament. He was also commissioned by the Kayastha Provincial Societies of Oudh, Allahabad, Central India, Hyderabad, and Moradabad. An elaborate answer to some religious questions propounded by the chairman was sent by Bishun Dass, a Brahman free thinker, Punjab, India, and also by Satya Charan Deb, of Kanchrapara, Bengal. Goolam Mohammed bin Haji Hafez Sadek Randeri, from Surat, India, communicated to the Parliament a pamphlet on *The Touchstone of Philosophies*, a treatise on some of the tenets of the Mussulman faith. A pamphlet on the Zoroastrian religion was sent by the learned Ervad S. D. Bharucha, of Bombay. Abou Nad-dara, of Paris, sent interesting tracts on Mohammedanism. Mr. A. Ranganadam and Mr. V. Ethirajen, of Madras, India, presented to the chairman an interesting acrostic sonnet, commending the work of the Parliament. Thousands of pamphlets were sent to the Congress by Buddhists of Japan and Ceylon, and Ishar Parshad, of Lahore, sent an essay on Religion.

By far the most important of the rules and regulations governing the Congress was that which excluded controversy and prohibited strife. Each representative was asked to present the very best things he could offer for those in whose behalf he spoke, and was admonished that nothing was desired from him in the way of attack on any other person, system, or creed.

The rigorous exclusion of that vindictive spirit which delights in assailing others instead of presenting something meritorious of its own, contributed greatly to the success of the Congress. From the faith of every religion, also, any pernicious practices that had grown up through the centuries and claimed protection under its name were separated.

Confucianism.—The Confucian system of religion and morals was elaborately set forth on the third day in a paper by the Hon. Pung-Kwang-Yu, and in other special papers presented by him. The approach to theism made by the ethical and political teachings of Confucius was further expounded in a prize essay by Kung-Hsien-Ho, which was read on the sixth day. The following extracts are from the address of Pung-Kwang-Yu :

“What the Buddhists say concerning ‘One in Union and Three in Division,’ what the Taoists say concerning the ‘Three Pure Ones in Unity,’ and what the Christian says concerning the ‘Trinity in Unity’ and the ‘Godhead of Three Persons,’ seem to



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present a substantial agreement in idea with what Lao-tz says about the derivation of two from one and three from two, and also with what Confucianists say about the ‘absorption of the Trinity in the Finite,’ though there is, indeed, quite a diversity of opinion respecting the sense in which these terms are used. The Confucianists take the meaning of the word *ti*, dispenser of heaven, in their interpretation of the notes of Confucius to the Book of Changes. *Ti*, therefore, is synonymous with heaven, and there is only one such. The heaven and earth constitute a dualism. The conjunction of their vital essences brings forth a third, the inscrutable part of which is called a spirit. The heaven unites its essences with the essences of the sun, moon, or stars, and the resulting products of spiritual

force and energy are called respectively the spirit of the sun, moon, and stars. These are the spirits of heaven. When heaven unites its essences with the essences of the earth’s elevations and depressions, the resulting products of spiritual force and energy are called the spirits of mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas. These are the spirits of the earth. The spirits of the heavens and the earth can not be represented by human likenesses or by natural objects, nor can they be called by proper names or clothed with the vesture of mortals. How much more is this true of the Lord of lords !

“The spiritual essence of man, produced by the union of celestial and terrestrial forces, is the soul, which partakes of a twofold nature, the celestial

element being *wen* and the terrestrial element being *pah*. The separation of these two elements gives rise to the existence of ghosts.

"There are, then, celestial spirits, terrestrial spirits, and human spirits. If any of these spirits, by some exercise of power or by some supernatural action, benefits the creation in some way, thus emulating the goodness of heaven to some extent, then it is the part of the national government to take cognizance of such action by raising the beneficent spirit to the rank of *ti* and enrolling his name in the catalogue of canonized spirits. It is not to be inferred from such acts of the national government that spirits are *tis* or rulers of heaven. What is really meant by this is that beneficent spirits, by showing their goodness to the animated creation in general and to mankind in particular, are worthy to take their places by the side of heaven and earth as the benefactors of mankind. It will be seen that the ideas of God and spirits, as derived from revelation, are so different from the conceptions of God and spirits which Confucianists have, that what is taught by the one must be different from what is taught by the other.

"There are some Western scholars who say that the system of doctrines of Confucius can not be properly called a religion, and there are others who say that China has no religion of her own. That the ethical systems of Confucius can not be called a religion, may be admitted without fear of contradiction ; but that China has no religion of her own must be taken as not well founded in fact. The primary signification of the word *yu* is scholar. In remote times, when observations had to be first made of things in the heavens above and of things on the earth beneath, discoveries and inventions were the order of the day. There were no teachers to teach, and no learners to learn. Consequently there were no men who could lay claim to the title of *yu* in the beginning. The word *yu* is found in the Book of Rites of the Chau dynasty, and was therefore first used in the mediæval age of antiquity. But there were priests in China as far back as the time of Hwang-ti. Among the official titles of ancient times were the Grand Dispenser, the Grand Administrator, the Grand Historiographer, the Grand Hierarch, the Grand Scholar, and the Grand Diviner. These were the six ministers that composed the Grand Council of State. The Grand Hierarch was the head of the priesthood. 'In ancient times,' say the traditions of Tsoh, 'there were persons who were known by their singleness of heart ; who were dignified in bearing and upright in life ; whose understandings were such as to enable them to get at the inner meaning of things above and things below ; whose wisdom shed light far and wide ; whose sight was so clear that things appeared to them as if illumined by a strong light ; and whose hearing was so acute that they could detect the faintest sound. Upon such the Divine Spirit often descended.' Inspired persons of this character were called *chih* if men, and *wu* if women. But in the Book of Rites of the Chau dynasty inspired men and women are indiscriminately called *wu*. It will be seen that a form of religion was practiced in China

not only long before the appearance of the Confucian school, but also long before the appearance of any of the great religious founders who formulated the grand systems of religious belief. The term *wu* was originally applied to inspired persons possessing clearness of sight, acuteness of hearing, wisdom, and understanding. Such gifts were quite beyond the reach of common men, but as men of wisdom and understanding did not make their appearance in every age, there began to spring up in after ages men who made pretensions to wisdom and understanding while they were only familiar with magical and strange arts.

"In the time of Siao-Hau, son of Hwang-ti, there were priests who acted in the capacity of recorder in private families. Secular and spiritual matters soon became mixed, and misfortunes and calamities befell the nation. Chuan-kuh, son of Siao-Hau, appointed separate officers for the conduct of spiritual and civil affairs, in order to put a stop to the confusion and return to the ancient practice. He strictly prohibited the one from interfering with the other. Then the people were allowed once more to enjoy peace and sweet content. This is the first instance on record of priests practicing deceptions upon the people. From that time the system of public instruction has been conducted on a secular and not on a religious basis. The entire separation of religious and civil affairs dates from that period, and nothing can now induce the Chinese to consent to interference of the one with the other.

"There are two functions of government to which the wise rulers of antiquity attached great importance, namely, the offering of sacrifices and the direction of military affairs. In fasting, in war, and in sickness Confucius was wont to conduct himself with special care. It is said of Confucius that when he offered sacrifices to his ancestors he conducted himself as if his ancestors were present; and when he offered sacrifices to spirits, he conducted himself as if the spirits were present. 'When I take no part in a sacrifice,' says Confucius, 'it seems as if there had been no sacrifice.' Therefore in ancient times wise rulers and good men, when they subjected themselves to a course of self-discipline, never lost sight of the influences exercised by spirits over human affairs for good and for evil.

"'Good fortune,' says Yu, of the Hsia dynasty, 'attends a life ordered according to Nature, evil fortune a life ordered against Nature, as the shadow attends the body, or the echo the sound.' 'A family,' says Confucius, in his notes to the Book of Changes, 'that has laid up a store of good deeds must have its cup of joy filled to overflowing; a family that has laid up a store of evil deeds must have its cup of misery filled to overflowing.' The object of prayer is to secure good fortune and happiness and to avert evil fortune and misery. It is taken for granted that both good and evil come from Heaven, and that spirits can bring everything to pass. But it must be admitted by those who believe in the efficacy of prayer that what can not be gained by prayer can often be gained without prayer, and what can not be averted by prayer can often be averted without prayer. What is

the reason ? It is simply that what brings good fortune and happiness may be traced to a life ordered according to Nature or to a family that lays up a store of good deeds ; and what brings evil fortune and misery to a life ordered against Nature and to a family that lays up a store of evil deeds. Nature is inexorable as far as the uniform operation of its laws is concerned. Spirits can interfere with the affairs of men only when they execute Nature's behests.

"Confucius, in his notes to the Book of Changes, says of Nature : 'She manifests herself in generation, and remains latent in development. She vivifies the animated creation, and can not be touched with compassion such as wise men have for the misfortunes and infirmities of their fellow-men.' Again he says : 'A truly great man provides against the operations of Nature, and Nature will not prevent him. When he fails to provide against the operations of Nature, then he submits to the inevitable.' 'Nature,' says the Book of Rites, 'in the evolution of living things, can only develop such qualities as are in them. She furnishes proper nourishment to those that stand erect, and tramples on those that lie prostrate.' Wise men and great men are men, and being men they can be touched with the misfortunes and infirmities of men. Wise men and great men, therefore, can supplement Nature's work by supplying a compassionate heart, and at the same time impart a new life to the animated creation. Thus, if by disciplining themselves and by teaching others, they so live according to Nature and lay up a store of good deeds as to attain to good fortune and happiness without any seeking on their part, this is what is meant by providing against the operations of Nature without fear of prevention on the part of Nature, and this is also what is meant by saying that those that stand erect receive proper nourishment for their growth. The reverse is also true. Nature is not provided with a compassionate heart. The bounties of Nature are shared by the whole creation alike. Man is only a part of the creation. Nature vivifies the whole creation, but can not exclude a single individual from the range of her influence. Nature acts upon the whole creation, but can not act upon a single individual in a different manner. She can only develop the innate qualities which belong to each individual. Those that are trampled upon trample upon themselves first.

"Happiness and goodness, calamity and wickedness, are as inseparable as the shadow and the body or the echo and the sound. Confucius made man only the subject of his study and abstained from discoursing on wonders, brute force, rebellion, and spirits. He says that the art of rendering effective service to the people consists in keeping aloof from spirits as well as holding them in respect. 'We have not yet performed our duties to men,' says he, 'how can we perform our duties to spirits?' 'We know not as yet about life ; how can we know about death?' 'He who has sinned against Heaven has no place to pray.' 'The master minds that ruled in ancient times,' says he, in his notes to the Book of Changes, 'instructed the people how to live in conformity with the laws of Nature, and thus won their re-

spect and confidence.' Again he says: 'The changes are in perfect accordance with the laws of Nature; consequently they pervade the whole system of Nature. They are noted in the observation of heavenly bodies, and in the investigation of terrestrial phenomena; consequently from them may be learned the cause of light and darkness. They commence at the beginning and return at the end; consequently from them may be learned the theories of life and death. They show that the body is but a concretion of elementary essences which may be transformed into flitting spirits; consequently from them may be learned the nature of souls and spirits.' Still he is silent on the cause of light and darkness that may be learned, on the theories of life and death that may be learned, and on the nature of souls and spirits that may be learned. One may infer from this that the laws of Nature and the laws of the spiritual world lie beyond the comprehension of all men but those endowed by Nature with the spirit of wisdom, and can be understood only by men whose intellectual gifts are far above the average. Under such circumstances any attempt to present before the people questions and problems that are incomprehensible and incapable of demonstration serves only to delude them by a crowd of misleading lights and lead them to error and confusion. On the other hand, everybody can understand and appreciate what is said concerning the duties of life. As long as one fulfills the duties of life conscientiously one has, in fact, followed the path of virtue and avoided the path of wickedness, thus holding in his hands the means of securing happiness and keeping back misfortune. What harm is there if such a one has never heard of the laws of Nature, or the laws of the spiritual world, and does not know anything about prayer? Therefore the wise rulers of antiquity laid down the rules of propriety and the principles of instructions so clearly that men of the lowest as well as of the highest order of intelligence could all understand them and easily carry them out, in the hope that the people would not turn away from the duties of life to speculations on the laws of Nature and the laws of the spiritual world. What are the duties of life? They consist of nothing else than that sovereigns should be humane, subjects loyal, parents loving, children obedient, husbands faithful, wives devoted, elder brothers respectful, friends true to each other. The three superior claims and the five social relations are grounded upon the necessities of Nature and fully recognized by all men. The wise and the foolish, the high and the low, are equally bound by these natural ties. For this reason the intelligent portion of the Chinese people have always ranged themselves among the followers of Confucius, who may be said to have succeeded to the privileges of the ancient priesthood without adopting the practice of the great teachers of the West in making religious worship the basis of their systems of education.

"Under the later dynasties especial functionaries have always been appointed to perform the duties of priests. All the temples scattered over the empire, as well as the Buddhist and Taoist cloisters, have priests in charge



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who hold positions in the Government similar to those known in the Chau dynasty under the name of spiritual officers. These priests, however, are but common men with no special training. They are mere servants of the public in all matters pertaining to the worship of Heaven and spirits. The most noble personage of this class is the living descendant of one of the shining lights of Taoism who bears the title of 'Heavenly Teacher.' He has supreme control of all matters pertaining to the worship of Heaven, and possesses a supernatural knowledge of the light and darkness of the spiritual world, and also the power of controlling evil spirits. He may be called the spiritual head of the priesthood, such as existed in ancient times, and is a man full of wisdom and understanding, and not one of those who mislead the minds of men by means of false and fraudulent gods. The Imperial Government has conferred upon him the dignity of hereditary noble of the third class, and the spiritual gifts that have remained in his family for two thousand years have descended to him from father to son. In China there is but one family of this character. The nation, as a whole, has always held the head of the Taoist priesthood in high respect. Widely different is the public veneration which the Chinese nation accords to the living lineal descendant of Confucius. He stands at the head of the five classes of Chinese nobility, with the title of Duke of Yen-Shing. Still, as there are proper authorities specially charged with making appointments in the public service, with administering the laws, with spreading civilizing influences, and with instructing the people, even the descendant of Confucius can not properly interfere in such matters, much less can the head of the Taoist priesthood.

"The statutes of the present dynasty relating to the duties of the head of the Taoists, in the matter of prohibiting evil practices under the guise of doing good, provide that any one who shall delude the people shall be punished upon conviction thereof as principal, with death by strangling, and, as accomplice, with transportation. Again, the statutes relating to the holding of examinations for admission of candidates to the membership of the various orders of the Taoist and Buddhist priesthoods provide that any officer of the board who shall grant permit for holding such examinations in violation of the law or allow such examinations to be held privately, together with the local authorities who shall fail to put a stop to such proceedings, shall be severely dealt with. Chinese law also provides that private persons making supplications to Heaven, or worshiping the Great Dipper, or committing any other sacrilegious acts, shall be punished with stripes, and that any woman burning incense in cloisters shall be punished with lashes. But in the case of a female person violating the law, the punishment is inflicted vicariously upon the head of the family to which she belongs. This principle of the Chinese law is applicable not only to this case, but also to all cases of violation of law in which the offender is a female. For in China the responsibility of educating women lies with the head of each family. The primary object is to preserve female modesty.

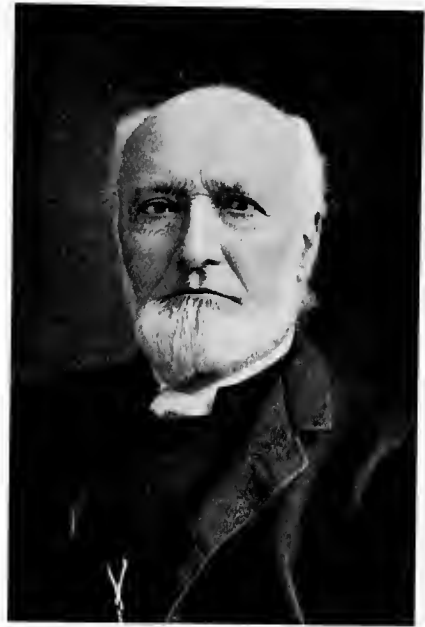
“What has been said thus far has reference to those who profess religion in China. There are also still lower forms of belief, which have their professors. It can not be said of China, then, that she has no religion of her own. The ritual which prescribes rules for the proper observation of ceremonies and for the offering of sacrifices assigns to each one, according to his position in the social scale, the part he is to take on all occasions, and fixes certain bounds over which he may not step. After all, to do reverence to spirits is to do nothing more than to refrain from giving them annoyance, and to do reverence to Heaven is nothing more than to refrain from giving it annoyance. On points like this the ritual is full and explicit. There is, consequently, no demand for other religious works.

“Owing to the radical differences in customs and manners between China and the nations of the West, what is properly call religion has never been considered as a desirable thing for the people to know and for the Government to sanction. The reason is, that every attempt to propagate religious doctrines in China has given rise to the spreading of falsehoods and errors, and finally resulted in resistance to legitimate authority and in bringing dire calamities upon the country. The following are notable instances of religious troubles that have occurred within the past hundred years: The disturbance raised in the provinces of Sze-chuen, Hupeh, Shensi, Shantung, and Chih-li by the members of the ‘White Lotus Society,’ who professed to practice a form of Buddhism, as was taught by a Buddhist monk called Hui-Yuen, of the Tsin dynasty, and were banded together for purposes of robbery; the disturbance raised in the province of Fuh-kien by members of the Vegetarian Society, who professed to observe the directions given in a book said to have been delivered by a god to one named Kao-Kwan while in a trance; the disturbance raised in the province of Kwangsi by the ‘Long-haired Rebels,’ who professed to be Christians and made use of such terms as ‘Heavenly Father’ and ‘Heavenly Brother,’ applying the name of ‘Heavenly Kingdom’ to themselves; the disturbance at Yehho, stirred by a band of alchemists who were professed followers of Wei-peh-Yang, of the Han dynasty, and Chang-Peh-Tuen, of the Sung dynasty, and had made vain attempts to discover the elixir of life. It was just at the time when the Government of China was engaged in putting down the uprising of the ‘Long-haired Rebels’ that the Western powers united in asking China to open the country to the missionary efforts of all Christian nations.

“I have been brought up a *yu* (Confucian) and not a *wu* (priest). It is evident that I am not properly equipped by education for discussing matters pertaining to religion. Inasmuch as Western scholars already know that the ethical system of Confucius is not a religion, I can not, under the circumstances, plead ignorance of religious matters as an excuse for not complying with your kind request to prepare an essay on Confucius. Accordingly I have brought out during the past two months a little book consisting of seven chapters, entitled Instruction by Rulers, Instruction by a Teacher,

the Laws of Nature, the Laws of the Spiritual World, the Laws of Humanity, the Doctrines of Orthodox Scholars, and Heterodox Doctrines. I flatter myself that in those chapters I have given an outline of the political and educational principles of China that have stood the test of six thousand years. To the seven principal chapters I have added two supplementary ones, in which I compare the words of Christ with those of other leaders of religious thought, and take the liberty to criticise the methods of conducting missionary work in China.

"It is evident that whoever carries under his arm a system of doctrines, and crosses over into the territory of another state for the purpose of gaining proselytes, in reality sets up as a higher being than his fellows. By assuming the rôle of moral propagandist he can not escape the imputation that he looks down upon the people of other nations as irreligious. By assuming the office of teaching others to do good, he can not escape the imputation that he looks down upon the people of other nations as evil doers. During the period of Chinese history known as the period of Spring and Autumn, and that of the Warring States, the adherents of the various schools of philosophy were especially addicted to propagandism. But Confucius enjoined a different practice on his disciples. 'Whatsoever ye would not,' says he, 'that others should do to you, do ye not then unto them.' Therefore propagandism is a practice that does not commend itself to the favorable consideration of Chinese scholars, ministers of state, and emperors.



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"'The divine laws of Nature,' says Confucius, in his notes to the Book of Changes, 'regulate the order of the four seasons so that they succeed one another without variation; the master minds who ruled in former ages instructed the people how to live in conformity with those divine laws, and thus won the respect and obedience of the nation.' 'The laws of Nature,' says Ching, the philosophical scholar, commenting upon this passage, 'are of a most divine origin. They show such a uniformity in the rotation of the seasons and in the evolution of life as to suggest the design of some unnamable Intelligence. It was the master minds of former ages that discovered by contemplation those laws, and turned them to the advantage of mankind by giving directions as to the proper observance thereof. The people derived benefits so imperceptibly from applying the laws of Nature to the require-

ments of life that they could hardly estimate the service rendered by their benefactors, but only accepted the conclusions reached, without attempting to find out the reason. This was merely the homage paid to the power of the mind.' Such was the beginning of Chinese civilization. In those days only those who were head and shoulders above their followers were rulers. In their movements and in their choice of means to an end they showed that they knew how to adapt themselves to the requirements of Nature and set an example for their less gifted fellows to follow. Thus the people came to look up to their rulers in the same manner as they did to Heaven.

"Prior to the accession of the 'Three Illustrious Houses' to the throne of China every species of instruction had the stamp of originality, and savored nothing of imitation. Fuh-si, who ruled China about four thousand years before Christ, is said to have made observations of the heavens above and of the earth beneath, and derived his knowledge from examining himself as well as external objects. He invented the eight diagrams for the purpose of expressing the quality of things spiritual and classifying the properties of matter. These eight diagrams represent the first attempt at writing in China. This monarch introduced many conveniences of life for the improvement of his people. The first in importance was the institution of marriage. The invention of the calender and stringed musical instruments and the cooking of food date from this period. He invented also the net for fishing and hunting, and taught his people to domesticate wild animals and tend cattle.

"Shen-nung, who ruled China about thirty-one hundred years before Christ, taught the people agriculture and medicine, and established fairs for the interchange of commodities. When Hwang-ti succeeded to the throne, there came into use the six systematic groups of ideographs. Thus book-making had its beginning. This monarch had to defeat his rivals for the throne in seventy hard-fought battles before he found himself firmly established as the undisputed master of the country. Music and the various modes of punishing offenders date from this period. Among the inventions that came into use about this time may be mentioned the common instruments used in astronomical observations, such as the armillary sphere, the magnetic chariot which always turned toward the south, the almanac, the sexagenary cycle, the scale of musical notes, the common methods of computation, distinctive coverings for the body and head, houses for protection from the elements, vehicles for traveling on land and water, the bow and arrow, military tactics, a common medium of exchange, the mortar and pestle for pounding rice, the coffin for the interment of the dead.

"When Yao and Shun came to the throne they had only to adjust their garments, and peace and prosperity came upon the land. All that these two monarchs had to do was to tread in the footsteps of their predecessors in conforming to the laws of Nature and in adhering to the five relations as the cardinal principles of society. Then they molded the character of the nation

by the establishment of right principles, and called in music to lend its softening influence. The result was that the supreme power of the state passed from the one to the other simply by an interchange of civilities.

“Yu, of the Hsia dynasty, Tang, of the Shang dynasty, and Wen and Wu, of the Chau dynasty, were the founders of the most illustrious houses that have ruled China, and the period during which the members of these houses held supreme authority has since been known by the name of ‘the Three Epochs.’

“The accession of the house of Chau brought into power the Duke of Chau. This eminent statesman introduced extensive reforms in the administration of government, and established the system of public service. He laid the foundations of the Chau dynasty so firm and strong that it endured for eight hundred years, and established the principles of government so clearly that the founders of imperial houses in succeeding generations have always endeavored to follow the lines then laid down in assigning different functions to the six principal departments of government, and in shaping legislation to the needs of the times. From the time of the Duke of Chau to the time of Confucius there was an interval of five hundred years, and since the time of Confucius about twenty-five centuries have rolled by.

“The administration of public affairs under the present dynasty has always been characterized by so strict an observance of the natural rights and by so faithful an adherence to the principles of government laid down by Yao and Shun as to challenge comparison with the halcyon days of the ‘Three Epochs,’ and carry out the spirit of the teaching of Confucius. It is hardly necessary to go into detail in regard to the beneficent measures that have been adopted under the present dynasty respecting rites, music, warfare, and punishments, and also in regard to the successful attempts to follow in the footsteps of the past and to make openings for the future. Paper and ink would not suffice to do justice to those achievements. As for public instruction under the present dynasty, there are precepts, commands, instructions, and proclamations as explicit and clear as the sun and stars for the guidance of men of the highest intellectual powers as well as men of the lowest understanding. The sixteen edicts of the Emperor Kang-si and the universal precepts of the Emperor Yung-Ching, containing about ten thousand words, may be taken as good examples. What is inculcated therein emphasizes, as the fundamental principles of education, the imitation of the ancients, the search after truth, the practice of the proprieties of life, and the strict observance of the relations of society, the object being to set a high value on moral character and a low value on the learning of trades or professions. For this reason even those who have fine literary talents, but who do not practice those social virtues that are authoritatively taught, find it difficult to gain an entrance to public life.

“The families of the gentry, as a rule, employ private tutors who are well versed in the classics for the education of their children, while the children

of the poorer classes are gathered in public schools. The promising lads are taught to obey their parents, be respectful to their elders, speak the truth, conduct themselves with propriety, love their fellow-men, and associate with the good. Special emphasis is laid on the complete separation of the sexes, with a view to the promotion of virtue. The text-books used are restricted to works of recognized excellence, such as the classical and historical works and the Five Classics. These books having been thoroughly mastered, the candidate for literary honors must acquire the art of composition and a style of his own that has the characteristics of clearness, vigor, elegance, and purity. Then the local magistrates not only examine him in his studies, but also institute an inquiry among his neighbors concerning his moral character. If he stands the tests respecting his book learning and moral character, he is turned over to the Imperial Commissioner of Education, who examines him in Chinese composition. After passing this examination he is required to present satisfactory testimonials of good moral character from scholars of advanced standing in the local government institute before he is admitted to the privilege of receiving instruction from its corps of professors and instructors. After a three years' course in the local institute, the candidate for higher honors has to repair to the examination hall in the provincial capital for another trial, and afterward to present himself at the capital of the empire for an examination held under the auspices of the Board of Rites. He climbs higher with each examination, until finally he presents himself at court, the Emperor appearing in person as the examiner. In this final examination the questions asked are on subjects relating to the study of Nature and men, the wisdom of ancient sages, and the affairs of the nation. The successful candidate is then assigned to some position, either on one of the boards or in the provinces, such as will enable him to bring into practice the knowledge of that particular branch of study in which he has shown the greatest proficiency. He has therefore to serve an apprenticeship in the conduct of public business under his official superiors. It is only when he has acquired sufficient experience that an office is given him.

"All Chinese reformers of ancient and modern times have either exercised supreme authority as political heads of the nation or filled high posts as ministers of state. The only notable exception is Confucius. In the period preceding the accession of the houses of Tang and Yu originality was the guiding spirit of the times, and after that imitation began to prevail. There are no teachers of the people who do not at the same time hold some official position. There is only a single person who is venerated as the teacher for all generations and in all human attainments, and it is Confucius.

"In the good old days when the throne happened to be occupied by a wise monarch and the offices filled by men of talent and virtue there often appeared men whose modest nature inclined them to retirement, but whose genius and character commanded the veneration of their contemporaries. They sometimes become instructors of emperors and sometimes instructors

of ministers of state. History recognizes only a single uncrowned lawgiver who has been venerated by sovereigns and ministers of all succeeding generations as their own teacher in compliance with commands issued by their sovereigns and ministers, and who has been venerated by the people of succeeding generations as the teacher of their sovereigns and ministers. That man is Confucius.

“Confucius appeared on the scene at a time when the fortune of the Chau dynasty was at a low ebb, when one tyrant after another usurped sovereign authority. He met with a cold reception, and ended his days in discontented retirement. As he had no opportunity to carry out his ideas of social reform during his lifetime, why should he desire to bequeath his teachings to posterity? Yet posterity has freely accorded to him its tribute of veneration, nay, has even matched his virtues with those of heaven and earth, and extolled his principles as the connecting link between the ancient and modern civilizations. He may be said to have united all the perfections of the ancient sages in his own person by rescuing the Six Classics from the ravages of time. The ancient sages were the master spirits of remote antiquity, of the Tang and Yu dynasties, and of the Three Epochs. The Six Classics are the ancient works that have come down to us from the remotest antiquity—namely, the Book of Changes, the Book of Chronicles, the Book of Odes, the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Book of Rites, and the Book on Music. These works treat of the progress of civilization from the remotest antiquity to the accession of the houses of Tang and Yu. Confucius revised the historical records of China by rejecting all that portion which treated of events that took place before the accession of the houses of Tang and Yu, so as to begin his revised Book of Chronicles with the accession of the houses of Tang and Yu, his purpose for so doing being to inculcate peaceful relinquishment of power as the culmination of kingly virtue. On the other hand, the Spring and Autumn Annals is an historical record of the Duchy of Lu; but the historical records of that duchy did not begin with the Duke of Yin. In the time of the Duke of Yin the reigning monarch of the Chau dynasty removed the seat of government to the east. From that event may be traced the decline of power of the Central Government and the gradual usurpation of authority by the nobility. The purpose of Confucius, therefore, in beginning his Spring and Autumn Annals with the succession of the Duke of Yin was to bestow approval and censure upon the chief actors of the period with an even hand and emphasize obedience to rightful sovereigns and resistance to usurpers as the proper measure of the subject's duty. The Book of Odes may be considered as a kind of historical record. Confucius selected three hundred odes, and these owe their preservation to his sanction and authority. In them we can easily detect the various influences that were instrumental in bringing about the periodical growth and decay of civilization. As for the Book of Changes, the diagrams were furnished by Fuh-si, the classical text by Wen-Wang and the Duke of

Chau, and the notes by Confucius. The Book of Rites, which dates from the Three Epochs, owes its preservation to the fact that Confucius quoted from it in his teaching and his disciples set down his words. Of the last two works, the former treats of the cardinal principles of human society from the standpoint of natural reason, which lies at the foundation of education. The latter treats of the same principles from the standpoint of social requirements. Chinese civilization would have suffered an irreparable check if Confucius had never been born; for after his death the occupant of the throne attempted to blot out all knowledge of antiquity from the land by consigning all books found to the flames. It was due to the veneration in which Confucius was held that his followers took pains to commit to memory the

productions that had the sanction of his authority, and preferred death to renunciation of his teaching. They succeeded in rescuing from destruction a hundredth part of the ancient writings. In order to appreciate the wisdom of Confucius, we must view

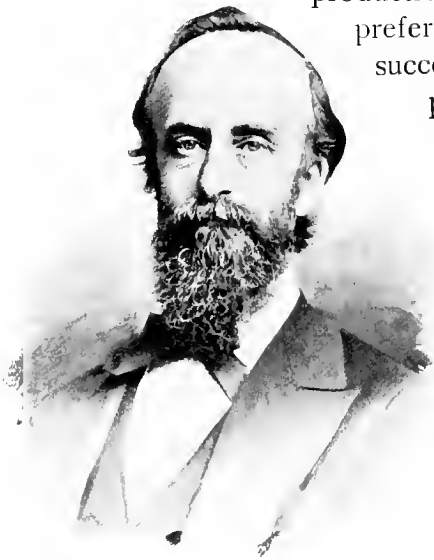
it as a wisdom running through the ancient and modern civilizations. In order to conceive of the service of Confucius to mankind, we can only compare it to that of heaven and earth. Take away the stars and planets and the Milky Way, and you have nothing to say about the universe.

But the stars and planets and the Milky Way are only the dregs of finite space. Take away the rivers, plains, mountains, and plateaus, and you have nothing to say about the earth. But the rivers, plains, mountains, and plateaus are but the surface of the terrestrial sphere. Other master minds were only representatives of the wisdom of the age to which they belonged;

Confucius concentrated in himself the quintessence of them all.

"From the dawn of Chinese civilization to the present day sixty centuries have rolled by. During this long period men of transcendent wisdom have appeared by the hundred, men of genius by the thousand, men of intelligence and ability by tens and hundreds of thousands. Some have attained to the highest posts in the state, and others have been founders of philosophical systems. What, then, caused the Chinese to choose from among all the master minds of ancient and modern times Confucius, who was but a private individual, and with one voice acknowledge him as their most venerated teacher, and base their system of education entirely on the lines laid down by him in his Spring and Autumn Annals, Book of Rites, Book on Music, Book of Changes, Book of Chronicles, and Book of Odes?

"Why is it that Confucius alone should be able to obtain recognition as



REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

the pre-eminent example for all ages to follow? And why is it that his teachings should have such a hold upon the Chinese people as to become absolutely fixed in their hearts? It is worth while to give to these matters a few moments of profound reflection.

“‘The finite,’ says Confucius in his notes to the Book of Changes, ‘gave birth to two essential forms.’ Again he says, ‘The universe owed its existence to the active and passive principles of Nature.’ The passive principle denotes the substantive element of matter, and the active principle the ethereal element. Undifferentiated matter that once filled all space in a chaotic state, without distinction of substantive and ethereal elements, but having all the vital power within itself, is what is meant by the finite. When the primitive substance passed from a rarefied to a condensed state, one portion became sensible, which we call objects, and the other portion became insensible, which we call the heavens. The insensible produce the sensible according to the nature of the substance. The sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth, which revolve in ethereal space, all belong to the passive principle of Nature, because they are sensible objects having substance. Their substance in its rarefied state once diffused itself throughout finite space, and was not distinguishable from the heavens.

“The primitive substance before its condensation was not distinguishable into a light and a heavy portion, and all ethereal space was rendered turbid and chaotic thereby. After the primitive substance had separated into a light and heavy portion all ethereal space became at once clear and pure. At first matter was without form. But after becoming differentiated it assumed distinct forms.

“In the beginning the principle of fire diffused itself throughout the universe in its latent state. It manifested itself only when it came in contact with the sun. Likewise the principle of water diffused itself in its latent state throughout the universe. It assumed a liquid form only when it came in contact with the earth. The earth is a conglomeration of objects, and the mother of all things. When it is acted upon by moisture and the heat of the sun it undergoes a sort of fermentation like dough when acted upon by yeast, so that whatever has the principle of life within itself, under the double influence of heat and moisture, can not but spring forth into being. Still, from the beginning of the universe to the day when the first life appeared on the earth, it is impossible to determine the length of time in years.

“‘When heaven and earth,’ says the Book on Music, ‘act and react upon each other, and the active and passive principles of Nature come together, it is the most favorable time for the reproduction of all things, as then the proper conditions present themselves for vegetation to reach a luxuriant growth, for buds and sprouts to start forth, for birds of the air to become full-fledged, for animals to put forth their horns, and for hibernating insects to stir themselves.’ We judge that the first vegetation covering the surface of the earth must have been of the type of lichens and mosses. Next came

herbs and trees. As herbs of all kinds grew and died down every year, and trees of all kinds put forth their leaves and shed them from year to year, vegetation gradually became dense and luxuriant, and formed a sort of protective covering over the earth, which served to gather the moisture of the earth and the heat of the sun into one place so that these two elements could act and react upon each other. The essences of the heavens and the earth were thus gathered together in one place, and after the lapse of years Nature succeeded in extracting out of the mass certain products by a process similar to that by which mercury is extracted from cinnabar, and finally transformed those products into living animals. All things have a beginning, but Nature has no beginning. The earth enables all things to attain their ends. All things come to an end, but Nature has no end. In the beginning all things passed from a rarefied to a condensed state, and came into existence out of nothing. Nature makes use of these raw materials, and shows their adaptation to various economical purposes.

"One can no more leave the surface of the earth than the earth can go beyond the limits of space. Being on the surface of the earth, one is, in fact, in the midst of celestial space. From the place where one stands to the farthest point a telescope can reach there is not a spot that is not filled with space. Where space is, there is heaven. As space surrounds a man on all sides, so does heaven. There is not a thought that flashes across a man's mind, but heaven knows it as soon as he, though even his wife does not know it, however near she may be. On this account a wise man strives to gain such a mastery over himself that even in his private cell or under his bed coverings he may conduct himself with the same regard for propriety as when he appears before a large audience in a public hall. The reason is that the life-sustaining principle of man is so intimately connected with the life-sustaining principle of Nature, that as long as the connection is unbroken he remains alive, but as soon as the connection is broken he immediately dies. It is the uniform law of Nature that all living things are weak at the beginning of life, grow from weakness to strength, pass from strength to old age, and then must die. To live according to the dictates of Nature is to be contented in whatever situation one may be placed, without being affected by joy or fear. To help on the work of Nature is simply to administer the government and diffuse instruction in accordance with the laws of Nature, that the instinct of every creature to enjoy life may be properly satisfied.

"The Minister of Public Instruction was charged with the duty of selecting orthodox scholars for teachers. The signification of the word *yu* is scholar—one who has self-control enough to be able always to maintain a mild and equable temper, and at the same time devotes his life to the cultivation of the arts and sciences. He must have such endowments and attainments as qualify him to mediate between the conflicting interests of the people. Confucius thought the characteristics of a typical *yu* were so manifold that a complete analysis of them could not be given off-hand.



THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, M

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| 1. MICHAEL DE ZMIGRODZKI, Austria. | 14. Rev. B. L. WHITMAN, Waterville, Me. |
| 2. Chaplain J. H. MACOMBER, U. S. A. | 15. Rev. GEORGE T. CANDLIN, Tientsin, China. |
| 3. Rev. Dr. HAWORTH, Japan. | 16. Rt. Rev. SHAKU SOYEN, Japan. |
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| 12. Z. NOGUCHI, Japan. | 25. N. NOMOURA, Japan. |
| 13. Rev. ALFRED W. MOMERIE, London, Eng. | |



orning Session, Thursday, September 21, 1893.

26. Rev. GEORGE F. PENTECOST, London, Eng.
27. Rev. AUGUSTA J. CHAPIN, Chicago.
28. YUNG KWAI, China.
29. WILLIAM PIPE, Dr. Barrows's Secretary, Chicago.
30. Miss JEANNE SORABJI, Bombay, India.
31. YOSHIRO KAWAI, Japan.
32. PUNG KWANG YU, China.
33. PROTAB C. MOZOOMDAR, Calcutta, India.
34. KINZA RIUGE HIRAI, Japan.
35. Rev. P. PHIAMBOLIS, Chicago.
36. THEODORE F. SEWARD, New York.
37. B. B. NAGARKAR, Bombay, India.
38. ARCHIMANDRITE CHRISTOFORO GIBBORA.

39. Rev. GILBERT REID, China.
40. VIRCHAND A. GANDHI, Bombay, India.
41. Rev. F. W. M. HUGENHOLTZ, Holland.
42. Rev. J. Z. TORGERSEN, Chicago.
43. Chaplain ALLAN ALLENSWORTH, U. S. A.
44. Rev. WALTER M. BARROWS, Rockford, Ill.
45. Rt. Rev. PENJAMIN W. ARNETT, A. M. E. Church.
46. Dr. ADOLF BRODBECK, Hanover, Germany.
47. Rev. MARDIROS IGNADOS, Constantinople.
48. Prof. G. BONET-MAURY, Paris, France.
49. Rev. ORRIN P. GIFFORD, Chicago.
50. Rev. J. KITTREDGE WHEELER, Chicago.
51. Rev. JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Chicago.

"Confucius prescribes rules of propriety for the guidance of sovereigns and subjects, of parents and children, and draws a line of demarkation between the spheres of husband and wife, and between those of the old and the young. He lays special stress on the doctrine of clearly defined social relations as the foundation stone of his system. The writings of the different schools, on this account, are saturated with it. Confucius failed to arrive at a high station in the state, and therefore had no opportunity to carry out his own theories of government. Accordingly he devoted himself to study and contemplation, and recommended a similar course of life to posterity. Among his sayings are these :

" 'I was not born a man of knowledge ; I am only naturally quick to search out the truth from a love for the wisdom of the ancients.' 'I am not presumptuous enough to set up for a wise and benevolent man ; it can be said of me, however, that I am not weary in well-doing, and that I am untiring in teaching others.' 'I have gone all day without food, and all night without sleep, in order to think ; I find it unprofitable, however, and look upon study as preferable.' 'I have never declined to instruct even those who have come to me with only a small tribute of regard to show their earnest desire to learn.' 'I make it a practice not to open the understanding of those who manifest no zeal, nor to clear the doubts of those who do not appreciate their own confusion of thought. If I point out one corner to any one who does not know how to apply this knowledge to the other three corners, I will not repeat what I have said.' 'If there is any virtue that I have not practiced, if there is any study that I have not mastered, if there is any righteous course of action which I have known but not been able to pursue, if there is any fault which I have not been able to correct—these things are the cause of my sorrow.' 'The love of humanity, not tempered with the love of study, is blind as to its foolishness ; the love of knowledge, not tempered with the love of study, is blind as to its capriciousness ; the love of truth, not tempered with the love of study, is blind as to its mischievousness ; the love of directness, not tempered with the love of study, is blind as to its uncharitableness ; the love of courage, not tempered with the love of study, is blind as to its rebelliousness ; the love of firmness, not tempered with the love of study, is blind as to its venturesomeness.'

"The literature on the six liberal arts was so extensive that works on the subject could be numbered by tens of thousands. At that time strange theories and doctrines were clamoring for recognition, and every one was seeking a royal road to success and fame. The age showed an utter want of the love of study. The scholars of the period, recognizing the fact, refused to submit to the tendency of the times. Accordingly men of virtue and intellect from all quarters of the country flocked to the feet of Confucius, to the number of three thousand. Among these were only seventy-two who had a thorough knowledge of the six liberal arts. Yen-tz alone went among his fellow-disciples as a man of pre-eminently studious habits. To Tsang-tz

and Tz-kung was communicated a knowledge of the great 'controlling principle.' The actions and words of Confucius were jotted down by his disciples at the time, and the materials thus collected form the book of Lun-yu. Tsang-tz took notes of what Confucius said about filial duties, and compiled the treatise on Filial Duties. In after ages the Book of Changes, the Book of Chronicles, and the Book of Odes, the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Book of Rites, the Book on Music came to be called the Six Classics by way of eminence, and sometimes also designated as the Six Liberal Sciences. The Book of Rites and the Book on Music are sometimes taken as forming but one book; then the name of Five Classics is given to the above-mentioned works. The name of 'Seven Classics' is also sometimes seen, which is applied to the Five Classics mentioned, together with the Analects of Confucius and the treatise on Filial Duties. There is not a Chinese youth, before being admitted into the local government school, but has thoroughly mastered the Seven Classics, together with the Analects of Mencius, and become well grounded in the principles set forth therein, thus rendering himself perfectly able to meet the requirements of life.

"Upon the accession of the house of Tsin, the occupant of the throne, fearful lest the Confucianists should animadvert upon the tyrannous acts and iconoclastic policies of his reign, ordered that all books found in his realm should be consigned to the flames, and all the Confucianists he could lay hands on be buried alive, so as to silence their voice forever. Upon the accession of the house of Han, a grand research was made for literary remains of the past. Some works which had escaped the general destruction, owing to their being hidden in the walls of houses, were brought out; and others were rewritten by those who had committed their texts to memory. Thus the Six Classics were restored in some measure to their original form. The Book of Changes was the only work that had come out of the general conflagration entire, and has come down to us just as it was. The Confucianists of the Han dynasty may be said to have infused energy into the doctrinal system of Confucius, and given it a period of vigorous growth.

"During the Sung dynasty eminent Confucianists appeared in the persons of Lien, Loh, Kwan, and Min, and through their influence the system of doctrines and precepts taught by Confucius shone forth like the sun in the firmament of heaven. From that time all schoolboys have learned to become followers of Confucius. The learning of the various schools of Confucian philosophy has for its limits a knowledge of the laws of Nature, and for its foundation the well-defined principles that govern the relations of man to man.

"Chu-tz was head and shoulders above other Confucian scholars, and seemed to unite in his single person the essences of them all. He taught and expounded the classics, collected the writings of the four foremost Confucian scholars, and produced the work on the Education of Youth. He practically exhausted the multifarious applications of the principles of the

six liberal arts, as well as the principles of the five social relations. Toward the close of the Sung and Ming dynasties the learning of the various schools of Confucian philosophy experienced alternate periods of purity and corruptness, and consequently of progress and decline. On the whole, the state of the nation at any particular period, whether peaceful and prosperous or wretched and unhappy, usually corresponded with the progress or decline of Confucian learning.

"The schools in China are divided into several grades. There are family schools, national academies, endowed institutions of learning. The different departments, prefectures, and districts have their respective schools, the general name for them all being Confucian schools. Literature and art are considered merely as adjuncts, and the exposition of social duties is the fundamental thing. Thus, from the upper classes to the lower, there is not a day in which the observance of social duties is not inculcated. Accordingly, every Confucian school consists of a shrine for the worship of Confucius, bearing the words 'Ta Ching' ('Great Completeness'), and a hall for the assembling of students, bearing the words 'Ming Lun' ('Exposition of Social Duties').

"'Attack heterodox doctrines,' says Confucius, 'on account of the mischief they do.' 'Those who agree with us are not for this reason right; those who differ with us are not for this reason wrong,' is also one of Confucius's sayings. The object of study is to gain a breadth of view and a liberality of spirit which eliminates self from all calculations. We all learn from others. In the realm of human knowledge, what does not admit of a difference of opinion can be summed up in the doctrines of the 'three main-stays' and of the 'five relations' of human society. Except these, every one is free to follow his own predilections in the choice of a profession, and can not be dragooned into any sort of uniformity. There is no harm in the lack of uniformity.

"Lao-tan, the founder of Taoism, was a historiographer of the Chan dynasty and a contemporary of Confucius. His system of philosophy is eclectic and not original, being characterized by a sincere seeking after truth and by a love for antiquity. The only work of his that is still extant is the treatise on Wisdom and Virtue. It consists of five thousand words and is said to be a compilation made by him of the maxims of Hwang-ti, respecting the government of the nation and the government of the army. The substance of his teaching is that public affairs should be administered in a quiet way and with entire self-abnegation on the part of the public servants, who, having performed the required service, should at once seek retirement. Taoism is commonly regarded as having derived its doctrines and precepts from Hwang-ti and Lao-tz. Hwang-ti was a direct ancestor of the Yao, who is regarded by Confucianists as their pattern of wisdom and virtue. So it seems that Confucianism and Taoism may be said to have sprung from the same source. On this account a chronicler of the Han dynasty remarks

that Taoism, which recognizes an ancient historiographer as its founder, in teaching the doctrine of the people's right to rule, practically accords to Yao his approval of his choosing a successor from among the people. Since the imitation of Yao and Shun's example became the distinguishing test of the Confucian school, the adherents of other schools that flourished during the Han dynasty—such as the Military, Penal, Medical, Sacerdotal, Paphian, Spiritualistic, Alchemistic, Incantation-believing, and Oracle-believing schools—who claimed to have derived their doctrines from Hwang-ti and Lao-tz, and who were not numerous enough to form a school of their own, and at the same time were not allowed to attach themselves to the Confucian school, have been lumped together finally with the followers of Taoism. Still the doctrines and practices of these sects differ widely from the



MOST REV. JOHN J. KEANE,
a participant in the Congress.

original teachings of Hwang-ti and Lao-tz. Since the Han and Tang dynasties there have been but few propagandists of the doctrines of Hwang-ti and Lao-tz. The living exponents of Taoism at the present day are an ignorant priesthood, consisting of temple tenders merely. Though the temples of the Taoists and the Buddhists are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the empire, yet there are essential differences in the course pursued by each sect to gain proselytes. The so-called Buddhists and Taoists of the present day differ not at all in their training and practices of priests, and are not, therefore, allowed to compete at the public examinations with the Confucianists. The reason is that the Confucianists devote themselves to the study of things human, while the priests of the two sects devote themselves to the study of things spiritual.

“What the Confucianists call things spiritual is nothing more than the law of action and reaction, which operates upon matter without suffering loss, and which causes the seasons to come around without deviation. What priests of the two sects call things spiritual consists of prayers and repentance, which they make use of as a means of practicing deception upon the people by giving out that they can reveal the secrets of happiness and misery thereby. As a rule, they are men given to speculations on the invisible world of spirits, and neglectful of the requirements and duties of life. For this reason they are employed by public functionaries to officiate on occasions of public worship, and at the same time they are despised by the Confucianists as the dregs of the people.

"The life of man is practically limited by Nature to a hundred years. What is required of him in the various relations he stands in, as sovereign and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friend, is so multifarious that a faithful performance of all his duties would certainly take more than a hundred years. What practical purpose does it serve, then, to engage in senseless discussions respecting the state of man previous to his coming into existence, or in foolish conjectures concerning a life of happiness or misery that may be in store for him after death, while one leaves his duties to society unperformed and allows the flitting years to go by without fear or regret, as if the precious time were thrust upon his hands against his will? On the other hand, if one has done those things that he should do, his conscience is clear both before men as well as before Heaven. Granting that the belief in Heaven and hell and the final judgment of the world is well founded, he who has tasted the pleasures derived from the fulfillment of his duties to society has already ascended into Heaven, and he who allows the lust of the flesh to defile his heart and pervert the use of his senses has already entered into hell. What need is there of troubling the 'Great Lord of the Eastern Mountains' of the Taoists, the 'Yen-Lo' of the Buddhists, and the Christ of the Christians, to judge the dead after death and reward every man according to his deserts? On this account for thousands of years the instructors of the people, from the emperor down to the school-teacher, have never departed from inculcating the principles of social relations. Every one, therefore, as long as he does not attempt to throw the social order into confusion, is free to read even heretical books as well as the writings of Buddhists and Taoists, to worship such divinities of the heavens and the earth as are recognized by the Government in its ceremonial code, and to pay homage to Buddha and to the genii, inasmuch as such acts are not prohibited by law. The reason is that the capacity of each individual's intellect is fixed. It is impossible to dragoon all to an investigation of the first principles of things with a view to determine the grounds upon which the whole system of moral law is based. All that is required of every one is to hold fast that which is good, and depart from evil. As for other matters, each one can consult his own pleasure and inclination. There is no prohibition of any kind."

The Brahmo-Somaj.—On the third day also the character and principles of the Brahmo-Somaj were set forth by Protap Chunder Mozoomdar. Following is the greater part of his address :

"The Brahmo-Somaj of India, which I have the honor to represent, is a new society; our religion is a new religion, but it comes from far, far antiquity, from the very roots of our national life, hundreds of centuries ago. Sixty-three years ago the whole land of India—the whole country of Bengal—was full of a mighty clamor. The great jarring noise of a heterogeneous polytheism rent the stillness of the sky. The cry of widows—nay, far more lamentable, the cry of those women who had to be

burned on the funeral pyre of their husbands—desecrated the holiness of God's earth.

“We had the Buddhist goddess of the country, the mother of the people, ten-handed, holding in each hand the weapons for the defense of her children. We had the white goddess of learning, playing on her *vena*, a stringed instrument of music, the strings of wisdom, because, my friends, all wisdom is musical; where there is a discord there is no deep wisdom. The goddess of good fortune, holding in her arms, not the horn, but the basket of plenty, blessing the nations of India, was there, and the god with the head of an elephant, and the god who rides on a peacock—martial men are always fashionable, you know—and the 33,000,000 gods and goddesses besides.

“Amid the din and clash of this polytheism and so-called evil, amid all the darkness of the times, there arose a man, a Brahman, pure bred and pure born, whose name was Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In his boyhood he had studied the Arabic and Persian; he had studied Sanskrit, and his own mother was a Bengalee. Before he was out of his teens he made a journey to Thibet and learned the wisdom of the Lamas. Before he became a man he wrote a book proving the falsehood of all polytheism and the truth of the existence of the living God. This brought upon his head persecution, nay, even such serious displeasure of his own parents that he had to leave his home for a while and live the life of a wanderer. In 1830 this man founded a society known as the Brahmo-Somaj. Brahma, as you know, means God; Brahmo means the worshiper of God, and Somaj means society; therefore Brahmo-Somaj means the society of the worshipers of the one living God. While on the one hand he established the Brahmo-Somaj, on the other hand he co-operated with the British Government to abolish the barbarous custom of suttee, or the burning of widows with their dead husbands. In 1832 he traveled to England, the very first Hindu who ever went to Europe, and in 1833 he died, and his sacred bones are interred in Brisco, the place where every Hindu pilgrim goes to pay his tribute of honor and reverence.

“The Brahmo-Somaj founded its monotheism upon the inspiration of the Vedas and the Upanishads. When Raja Ram Mohan Roy died his followers for a while found it nearly impossible to maintain the infant association. But the Spirit of God was there. The movement sprang up in the fullness of time. The seed of eternal truth was sown in it; how could it die? Hence in the course of time other men sprang up to preserve it and contribute toward its growth. Did I say the Spirit of God was there? Did I say the seed of eternal truth was there? There! Where? All societies, all churches, all religious movements, have their foundation not without, but within the depths of the human soul. Where the basis of a church is outside, the floods shall rise, the rain shall beat, and the storm shall blow, and like a heap of sand it will melt into the sea. Where the basis is within the heart, within the soul, the storm shall rise, and the rain shall beat, and the flood shall come, but like a rock it neither wavers nor falls. So that move-

ment of the Brahmo-Somaj shall never fall. Think for yourselves, my brothers and sisters, upon what foundation your house is laid.

"In the course of time as the movement grew, the members began to doubt whether the Hindu scriptures were really infallible. In their souls, in the depth of their intelligence, they thought they heard a voice which here and there, at first in feeble accents, contradicted the deliverances of the Vedas and the Upanishads. What shall be our theological principles? Upon what principles shall our religion stand? The small accents in which the question first was asked became louder and louder and were more and more echoed in the rising religious society until it became the most practical of all problems—upon what book shall true religion stand?

"Briefly, they found that it was impossible that the Hindu scriptures should be the only records of true religion. They found that the spirit was the great source of confirmation, the voice of God was the great judge, the soul of the indweller was the revealer of truth, and, although there were truths in the Hindu scriptures, they could not recognize them as the only infallible standard of spiritual reality. So twenty-one years after the foundation of the Brahmo-Somaj the doctrine of the infallibility of the Hindu scriptures was given up.

"Then a further question came. The Hindu scriptures only not infallible! Are there not other scriptures also? Did I not tell you the other day that on the imperial throne of India Christianity now sat with the Gospel of Peace in one hand and the scepter of civilization in the other? The Bible had penetrated into India; its pages were unfolded, its truths were read and taught. The Bible is the book which mankind shall not ignore. Recognizing, therefore, on the one hand the great inspiration of the Hindu scriptures, we could not but, on the other hand, recognize the inspiration and the authority of the Bible. And in 1861 we published a book in which extracts from all scriptures were given, as the book which was to be read in the course of our devotions.

"Our monotheism, therefore, stands upon all scriptures. That is our theological principle, and that principle did not emanate from the depths of our own consciousness, as the donkey was delivered out of the depths of the German consciousness; it came out as the natural result of the indwelling of God's Spirit within our fellow-believers. No, it was not the Christian missionary that drew our attention to the Bible; it was not the Mohammedan priests who showed us the excellent passages in the Koran; it was no Zoroastrian who preached to us the greatness of his Zend-Avesta; but there was in our hearts the God of infinite reality, the source of inspiration of all the books, of the Bible, of the Koran, of the Zend-Avesta, who drew our attention to his excellences as revealed in the record of holy experience everywhere. By his leading and by his light it was that we recognized these facts, and upon the rock of everlasting and eternal reality our theological basis was laid.

“What is theology without morality? What is the inspiration of this book or the authority of that prophet without personal holiness—the cleanliness of this God-made temple and the cleanliness of the deeper temple within? Soon after we had got through our theology the question stared us in the face that we were not good men, pure-minded, holy men, and that there were innumerable evils around us, in our houses, in our national usages, in the organization of our society. The Brahmo-Somaj, therefore, next laid its hand upon the reformation of society. In 1851 the first intermarriage was celebrated. Intermarriage in India means the marriage of persons belonging to different castes. Caste is a sort of Chinese wall that surrounds every household and every little community, and beyond the limits of which no audacious man or woman shall stray. In the Brahmo-Somaj we asked, ‘Shall this Chinese wall disgrace the freedom of God’s children forever?’ Break it down; down with it, and away!

“Next, my honored leader and friend, Keshub Chunder Sen, so arranged that marriage between different castes should take place. The Brahmins were offended. Wiseacres shook their heads; even leaders of the Brahmo-Somaj shrugged up their shoulders and put their hands into their pockets. ‘These young firebrands,’ they said, ‘are going to set fire to the whole of society.’ But intermarriage took place, and widow marriage took place.

“Do you know what the widows of India are? A little girl of ten or twelve years happens to lose her husband before she knows his features very well, and from that tender age to her dying day she shall go through penances and austerities and miseries, and loneliness and disgrace which you tremble to hear of. I do not approve of or understand the conduct of a woman who marries a first time and then a second time and then a third time and a fourth time—who marries as many times as there are seasons in the year. I do not understand the conduct of such men and women. But I do think that when a little child of eleven loses what men call her husband, and who has never been a wife for a single day of her life, to put her to the wretchedness of a lifelong widowhood, and inflict upon her miseries which would disgrace a criminal, is a piece of inhumanity which can not too soon be done away with. Hence intermarriages and widow marriages. Our hands were thus laid upon the problem of social and domestic improvement, and the result of that was that very soon a rupture took place in the Brahmo-Somaj. We young men had to go—we, with all our social reform—and shift for ourselves as we best might. When these social reforms were partially completed there came another question.

“We had married the widow; we had prevented the burning of widows; what about our personal purity, the sanctification of our own consciences, the regeneration of our own souls? What about our acceptance before the awful tribunal of the God of infinite justice? Social reform and the doing of public good is itself only legitimate when it develops into the all-embracing principle of personal purity and the holiness of the soul. After the end

of the work of our social reform we were therefore led into this great subject. How shall this unregenerate nature be regenerated? this defiled temple, what waters shall wash it into a new and pure condition? All these motives and desires and evil impulses, the animal inspirations, what will put an end to them all and make man what he was—the immaculate child of God, as Christ was, as all regenerated men were? Theological principle first, moral principle next, and in the third place the spiritual of the Brahmo-Somaj.

“Moral aspirations do not mean holiness; a desire of being good does not mean to be good. The bullock that carries on his back hundredweights of sugar does not taste a grain of sweetness because of its unbearable load. And all our aspirations, and all our fine wishes, and all our fine dreams, and fine sermons, either hearing or speaking them—going to sleep over them or listening to them intently—these will never make a life perfect. Devotion only, prayer, direct perception of God’s Spirit, communion with him, absolute self-abasement before his majesty; devotional fervor, devotional excitement, spiritual absorption, living and moving in God—that is the secret of personal holiness.

“And in the third stage of our career, therefore, spiritual excitement, long devotions, intense fervor, contemplation, endless self-abasement, not merely before God but before man, became the rule of our lives. God is unseen; it does not harm anybody or make him appear less respectable if he says to God ‘I am a sinner; forgive me.’ But to make your confessions before man, to abase yourselves before your brothers and sisters, to take the dust off the feet of holy men, to feel that you are a miserable, wretched object in God’s holy congregation—that requires a little self-humiliation, a little moral courage. Our devotional life, therefore, is twofold, bearing reverence and trust for God and reverence and trust for man, and in our infant and apostolical church we have, therefore, often immersed ourselves in spiritual practices which would seem absurd if I were to relate them to you.

“The last principle I have to take up is the progressiveness of the Brahmo-Somaj. Theology is good; moral resolutions are good; devotional fervor is good. The problem is, how shall we go on ever and ever in an onward way, in the upward path of progress, and approach toward divine perfection? God is infinite; what limit is there in his goodness or his wisdom or his righteousness? All the scriptures sing his glory; all the proph-



REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

ets in the heaven declare his majesty ; all the martyrs have reddened the world with their blood in order that his holiness might be known. God is the one infinite good ; and, after we had made our three attempts of theological, moral, and spiritual principle, the question came that God is the one eternal and infinite, the inspirer of all human kind. The path of our progress then lay toward allying ourselves, toward affiliating ourselves with the faith and the righteousness and the wisdom of all religions and all mankind.

"Christianity declares the glory of God ; Hinduism speaks about his infinite and eternal excellence. Mohammedanism, with fire and sword, proves the almightiness of his will ; Buddhism says how joyful and peaceful he is. He is the God of all religions, of all denominations, of all lands, of all scriptures, and our progress lay in harmonizing these various systems, these prophecies and developments, into one great system. Hence the new system of religion in the Brahmo-Somaj is called the New Dispensation.

"For a whole decade my friend Keshub Chunder Sen, myself, and other apostles of Brahmo-Somaj have traveled from village to village, from province to province, from continent to continent, declaring this new dispensation and the harmony of all religious prophecies and systems unto the glory of the one true, living God. But we are a subject race ; we are uneducated ; we are incapable ; we have not the resources of money to get men to listen to our message. I do not come to the sessions of this Parliament as a mere student, not as one who has to justify his own system. I come as a disciple, as a follower, as a brother. May your labors be blessed with prosperity, and not only shall your Christianity and your America be exalted, but the Brahmo-Somaj will feel most exalted ; and this poor man who has come such a long distance to crave your sympathy and your kindness shall feel himself amply rewarded."

Shintoism.—On the same day the Right Rev. Reuchi Shibata expounded the creed and practice of Shintoism. He spoke as follows :

"The word Shintô, or Kami-no-michi, comes from the two words 'Shin' or 'Kami,' each of which means deity, and 'to' or 'michi' (way), and designates the way transmitted to us from our Divine Ancestors, in which every Japanese is bound to walk. Having its foundation in our old history, conforming to our geographical position and the disposition of our people, this way, as old as Japan itself, came down to us with its original form, and will last forever, inseparable from the eternal imperial house and the Japanese nationality.

"According to our ancient Scriptures there were a generation of Kami, or deities, in the beginning, who created the heavens and the earth, together with all the things, including human beings, and became the ancestors of the Japanese. Of these deities, Izanagi-no-Kami and Izanami-no-Kami, the one a male and the other a female deity, descending from heaven, 'made and consolidated' the land. They begot numerous deities, among whom was Amaterasu-ohomi-kami, a female deity ('Heaven-shining-Great-August'),

and ruled the 'Plain of High Heaven.' Having handed the three Divine Treasures of Yasakami-no-magatama (gem), Yata-no-kagami (mirror), and Kusahagi-no-tsurugi (sword) to her divine grandson, Ninigi-no-Mikoto, the august deity sent him down to the land of Japan with these words of benediction: 'The ever-fruitful land with its reed-covered plains and its luxuriant rice fields (Japan) is the land which our posterity shall govern. Our line shall flourish forever with the heavens and the earth'; and ordered the deities Amero-koyane-no-Mikoto, Ameno-futotama-no-Mikoto, and others to attend him. Thus originates the inseparable relation between the ever-unbroken line of imperial blood, the ever-loyal subjects, and the fruitful land of Japan.

"Jimmu-tenno, the grandson of Ninigi-no-Mikoto, was the first of the human emperors. Having brought the whole land under one rule, he performed great services to the Divine Ancestors, cherished his subjects, and thus discharged his great filial duty, as did all the emperors after him. So also all the subjects were deep in their respect and adoration toward the Divine Ancestors and the emperors, their descendants. Though, in the course of time, various doctrines and creeds were introduced in the country, Confucianism in the reign of the fifteenth Emperor Ojin, Buddhism in the reign of the twenty-ninth Emperor Kimmei, and Christianity in modern times, the Emperor and the subjects never neglected the great duty of Shintô. The present forms of ceremony are come down to us from time immemorial in our history. Of the three Divine Treasures transmitted from the Divine Ancestors, the Divine Gem is still held sacred in the imperial palace, the Divine Mirror in the Great Temple of Isé, and the Divine Sword in the Temple of Atsuta, in the province of Owari. To this day, his Majesty the Emperor performs himself the ceremony of worship to the Divine Ancestors; and all the subjects perform the same to the deities of temples, which are called, according to the local extent of the festivity, the national, the provincial, the local, and the birthplace temple. When the festival day of temples, especially of the birthplace, etc., comes, all people who, living in the place, are considered specially protected by the Deity of the Temple, have a holiday and unite in performing the ancient ritual of worship and praying for the perpetuity of the imperial line, and for profound peace over the land and families. The deities dedicated to the temple are Divine Imperial Ancestors, illustrious loyalists, benefactors to the place, etc. Indeed, the Shintô is a beautiful *cultus* peculiar to our native land, and is considered the foundation of the perpetuity of the imperial house, the loyalty of the subjects, and the stability of the Japanese state.

"Thus far I have given a short description of Shintô, which is the way in which every Japanese, no matter to what creed—even Buddhism or Christianity—he belongs, must walk. Let me next explain briefly the nature and origin of a religious form of Shintô, i. e., of the Zhikkô sect, whose tenets I profess to believe.

"The Zhikkô (practical) sect, as the name indicates, does not so much lay stress upon mere show and speculation as upon the realization of the teachings. Its doctrines are plain and simple, and teach man to do man's proper work. Being a new sect, it is free from the old dogmas and prejudices, and is regarded as a reformed sect. The scriptures on which the principal teachings of the sect are founded are Forukoto-bumi, Yamato-bumi, and many others. They teach us that before heavens and earth came into existence there was one absolute deity called Ame-no-minakanushi-no-kami. He has great virtue, and power to create, to reign over all things ; he included everything within himself, and he will last forever. In the beginning the One Deity, self-originated, took the embodiments of two deities, one with the male nature, and the other female. The male deity is called Takami-musubi-no-kami, and the female Kami-musubi-no-kami. These two deities are nothing but forms of the one substance, and unite again in the Absolute Deity. These three are called the 'Three Deities of Creation.' They caused a generation of deities to appear, who in their turn gave birth to the islands of the Japanese Archipelago, the sun and moon, the mountains and streams, the Divine Ancestors, etc. So their virtue and power are esteemed wondrous and bountiful.

"According to the teachings of our sect, we ought to reverence the famous mountain Fuji, assuming it to be the sacred abode of the divine Lord, and as the brain of the whole globe. And, as every child of the Heavenly Deity came into the world with a soul separated from the one original soul of Deity, he ought to be just as the Deity ordered and make Fuji the example and emblem of his thought and action. For instance, he must be plain and simple as the form of the mountain, make his body and mind pure as the serenity of the same, etc. We should respect the present world, with all its practical works, more than the future world ; pray for the long life of the Emperor and the peace of the country ; and, by leading a life of temperance and diligence, co-operating with one another in doing public good, we should be responsible for the blessings of the country.

"The founder of this sect is Hasegawa Kakugyô, who was born in Nagasaki, of the Hizen province, in 1541. About this time the whole empire was greatly disturbed by a long series of atrocious civil strifes, accompanied by famine and pestilence ; and the people were deeply alarmed at frightful changes due to physical phenomena. In the eighteenth year of his age, Hasegawa, full of grief at the gloomy state of things over the country, set out on a pilgrimage to various sanctuaries of famous mountains and lakes, Shintoistic and Buddhistic temples. While he was offering fervent prayers on sacred Fuji, sometimes on its summit and sometimes within its cave, he received inspiration through the miraculous power of the mountain, and, becoming convinced that this place is the abode of Ame-no-minakanushi-no-kami, he founded a sect and propagated the creed all over the empire.

"After his death in the cave, in his hundred and sixth year, the light of

the doctrines was handed down by a series of teachers. The tenth of them was my father, Shibata Hanamori, born at Ogi of the Hizen province in 1809. He was also in the eighteenth year of his age when he adopted the doctrine of this sect. Amid the revolutionary war of Meiji, which followed immediately, he exerted all his power to propagate his faith by writing religious works and preaching about the provinces. He corrected and reformed the old dogmas and prejudices, and gave a new appellation, 'Zhikkô,' to the sect formerly known as the Fuji sect. In 1891, in his eighty-second year, he returned to the Shades, and I succeeded him as president of the sect.

"As our doctrines teach us, all animate and inanimate things were born from One Heavenly Deity, and every one of them has its particular mission; so we ought to love them all, and also to respect the various forms of religion in the world. They are all based, I believe, on the fundamental truth of religion; the difference between them is only in the outward form, influenced by variety of history, the disposition of the people, and the physical conditions of the places where they originated. As it is impracticable now to combine them into one religion, the religionists ought, at least, to conquer hostile feelings; to try to find out the common truth which is hidden in all forms of religious thought, and to unite their strength in searching for the common object of religions.

"While it is the will of Deity and the aim of all religionists that all his beloved children on the earth should enjoy peace and comfort in one accord, many countries look still with envy and hatred toward one another, and appear to seek for opportunities of making war under the slightest pretext, with no other aim than of wringing out ransoms or robbing a nation of its land. Thus, regardless of the abhorrence of the Heavenly Deity, they only inflict pain and calamity on innocent people. Now and here my earnest wish is this: that the time should come soon when all nations on the earth will join their armies and navies with one accord, guarding the world as a whole, and thus prevent preposterous wars with each other. They should also establish a supreme court in order to decide the case when a difference arises between them.

"To facilitate this in the future, I earnestly plead that every religionist of the world may try to edify the nearest people to devotion, to root out enmity between nations, and to promote our common object."

Christianity and Mohammedanism.—On the fifth day of the session President George Washburn, D. D., of Robert College, Constantinople, delivered an address on The Points of Contact and Contrast between Christianity and Mohammedanism. He said:

"It is not my purpose to enter upon any defense or criticism of Mohammedanism, but simply to state, as impartially as possible, its points of contact and contrast with Christianity. The chief difficulty in such a statement arises from the fact that there are as many different opinions on theological questions among Moslems as among Christians, and that it is impossible to

present any summary of Mohammedan doctrine which will be accepted by all.

"The faith of Islam is based primarily upon the Koran, which is believed to have been delivered to the prophet at sundry times by the angel Gabriel, and upon the traditions reporting the life and words of the prophet; and, secondarily, upon the opinions of certain distinguished theologians of the second century of the Hegira, especially for the Sunnis, of the four *imams*, Hanifè, Shafi, Malik, and Hannbel. The Shiites, or followers of Aali, reject these last with many of the received traditions, and hold opinions which the great body of Moslems regard as heretical. In addition to the twofold

divisions of Sunnis and Shiites and of the sects of the four *imams*, there are said to be several hundred minor sects. It is, in fact, very difficult for an honest inquirer to determine what is really essential to the

faith. A distinguished Moslem statesman and scholar once assured me that nothing was essential beyond a belief in the existence and unity of God. And several years ago the *Sheik-ul-Islam*, the highest authority in Constantinople, in a letter to a German inquirer, stated that whoever confessed that there is but one God, and that Mohammed is his prophet, is a *true* Moslem, although to be a good one it is necessary

to observe the five points of confession, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage; but the difficulty about this apparently simple definition is that belief in Mohammed as the prophet of God involves a belief in all his teaching, and we come back at once to the question what that teaching was.

"The great majority of Mohammedans believe in the Koran, the traditions and the teaching of the school of Hanifè, and we can not do better than to take these doctrines and compare them with what are generally regarded as the essential principles of Christianity. With this explanation we may discuss the relations of Christianity and Mohammedanism as historical, dogmatic, and practical.

"It would hardly be necessary to speak in this connection of the historical relations of Christianity and Islam if they had not seemed to some distinguished writers so important as to justify the statement that Mohammedanism is a form and outgrowth of Christianity—in fact, essentially a Christian sect. Carlyle, for example, says, 'Islam is definable as a confused form of Christianity.' And Draper calls it 'the Southern Reformation, akin to that in the North under Luther.' Dean Stanley and Dr. Döllinger make similar statements. While there is a certain semblance of truth in their



RT. REV. THOMAS U. DUDLEY,
a speaker at the Congress.

view, it seems to me not only misleading, but essentially false. Neither Mohammed nor any of his earlier followers had ever been Christians, and there is no satisfactory evidence that up to the time of his announcing his prophetic mission he had interested himself at all in Christianity. No such theory is necessary to account for his monotheism. The citizens of Mecca were mostly idolaters, but a few, known as Hanifs, were pure deists, and the doctrine of the unity of God was not unknown theoretically even by those who, in their idolatry, had practically abandoned it. The temple at Mecca was known as Beit ullah, the house of God. The name of the prophet's father was Abdallah, the servant of God; and "By Allah" was a common oath among the people.

"The one God was nominally recognized, but in fact forgotten in the worship of the stars, of Lat and Ozza and Manah, and of the three hundred and sixty idols in the temple at Mecca. It was against this prevalent idolatry that Mohammed revolted, and he claimed that in so doing he had returned to the pure religion of Abraham. Still, Mohammedanism is no more a reformed Judaism than it is a form of Christianity. It was essentially a new religion.

"The Koran claimed to be a new and perfect revelation of the will of God, and from the time of the prophet's death to this day no Moslem has appealed to the ancient traditions of Arabia or to the Jewish or Christian Scriptures as the ground of his faith. The Koran and the traditions are sufficient and final. I believe that every orthodox Moslem regards Islam as a separate, distinct, and absolutely exclusive religion; and there is nothing to be gained by calling it a form of Christianity. But after having set aside this unfounded statement, and fully acknowledged the independent origin of Islam, there is still an historical relationship between it and Christianity which demands our attention.

"The prophet recognized the Christian and Jewish Scriptures as the Word of God, although it can not be proved that he had ever read them. They are mentioned one hundred and thirty-one times in the Koran, but there is only one quotation from the Old Testament, and one from the New. The historical parts of the Koran correspond with the Talmud and the writing current among the heretical Christian sects, such as the Protevangelium of James, the pseudo Matthew, and the gospel of the nativity of Mary, rather than with the Bible. His information was probably obtained verbally from his Jewish and Christian friends, who seem in some cases to have deceived him intentionally. He seems to have believed their statements that his coming was foretold in the Scriptures, and to have hoped for some years that they would accept him as their promised leader.

"His confidence in the Christians was proved by his sending his persecuted followers to take refuge with the Christian King of Abyssinia. He had visited Christian Syria, and, if tradition can be trusted, he had some

intimate Christian friends. With the Jews he was on still more intimate terms during his last years at Mecca and the first at Medina.

"But in the end he attacked and destroyed the Jews and declared war against the Christians, making a distinction, however, in his treatment of idolaters and 'the people of the Book,' allowing the latter, if they quietly submitted to his authority, to retain their religion on the condition of an annual payment of a tribute or ransom for their lives. If, however, they resisted, the men were to be killed and the women and children sold as slaves (Koran, *sura ix*). In the next world Jews, Christians, and idolaters are alike consigned to eternal punishment in hell.

"Some have supposed that a verse in the second *sura* of the Koran was intended to teach a more charitable doctrine. It reads: 'Surely those who believe, whether Jews, Christians, or Sabians, whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with the Lord. No fear shall come upon them, neither shall they be grieved.' But Moslem commentators rightly understand this as only teaching that if Jews, Christians, or Sabians become Moslems they will be saved, the phrase used being the common one to express faith in Islam.

"In the third *sura* it is stated in so many words: 'Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those that perish.' This is the orthodox doctrine; but it should be said that one meets with Moslems who take a more hopeful view of the ultimate fate of those who are sincere and honest followers of Christ.

"The question whether Mohammedanism has been in any way modified since the time of the prophet by its contact with Christianity, I think every Moslem would answer in the negative. There is much to be said on the other side, as, for example, it must seem to a Christian student that the offices and qualities assigned to the prophet by the traditions, which are not claimed for him in the Koran, must have been borrowed from the Christian teaching in regard to Christ; but we have not time to enter upon the discussion of this question.

"In comparing the dogmatic statements of Islam and Christianity, we must confine ourselves as strictly as possible to what is generally acknowledged to be essential in each faith. To go beyond this would be to enter upon a sea of speculation almost without limits, from which we could hope to bring back but little of any value to our present discussion.

"It has been formally decided by various *fetvas* that the Koran requires belief in seven principal doctrines, and the confession of faith is this: 'I believe on God, on the Angels, on the Books, on the Prophets, on the Judgment Day, on the eternal Decrees of God Almighty concerning both good and evil, and on the Resurrection after death.' There are many other things which a good Moslem is expected to believe, but these points are fundamental. Taking these essential dogmas one by one, we shall find that they agree with Christian doctrine in their general statement, although in their



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development there is a wide divergence of faith between the Christian and the Moslem.

"The doctrine of God is stated by Omer Nessefi (A. D. 1142) as follows: 'God is one and eternal. He lives, and is almighty. He knows all things; hears all things; sees all things. He is endowed with will and action. He has neither form nor figure, neither bounds, limits nor numbers, neither parts, multiplications, nor divisions, because he is neither body nor matter. He has neither beginning nor end. He is self-existent, without generation, dwelling, or habitation. He is outside the empire of time, unequal in his nature as in his attributes, which without being foreign to his essence do not constitute it.' The Westminster Catechism says: 'God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, unchangeable, in his being wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth. There is but one only, the living and true God.' It will be seen that these statements differ chiefly in that the Christian gives special prominence to the moral attributes of God, and it has often been said that the God of Islam is simply a God of almighty power, while the God of Christianity is a God of infinite love and perfect holiness; but this is not a fair statement of truth. The ninety-nine names of God which the good Moslem constantly repeats assign these attributes to him. The fourth name is 'The Most Holy'; the twenty-ninth, 'The Just'; the forty-sixth, 'The All-loving'; the first and most common is 'The Merciful,' and the moral attributes are often referred to in the Koran. In truth, there is no conceivable perfection which the Moslem would neglect to attribute to God. Their conception of him is that of an absolute Oriental monarch, and his unlimited power to do what he pleases makes entire submission to his will the first, most prominent duty. The name which they give to their religion implies this. It is *Islam*, which means *submission* or *resignation*; but a king may be good or bad, wise or foolish, and the Moslem takes as much pains as the Christian to attribute to God all wisdom and all goodness.

"The essential difference in the Christian and Mohammedan conception of God lies in the fact that the Moslem does not think of this great King as having anything in common with his subjects, from whom he is infinitely removed. The idea of the incarnation of God in Christ is to them not only blasphemous but absurd and incomprehensible; and the idea of *fellowship* with God, which is expressed in calling him *our Father*, is altogether foreign to Mohammedan thought. God is not immanent in the world in the Christian sense, but apart from the world and infinitely removed from man.

"The Doctrine of Decrees, or of the Sovereignty of God, is a fundamental principle of both Christianity and Islam. The Koran says: 'God has from all eternity foreordained by an immutable decree all things whatsoever come to pass, whether good or evil.' The Westminster Catechism says: 'The decrees of God are his eternal purpose according to the counsel of his will, whereby for his own glory he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass.' The same controversies have arisen over this doctrine among Moham-

medans as among Christians, with the same differences of opinion. Omer Nessifi says: 'Predestination refers not to the temporal but to the spiritual state. Election and reprobation decide the final fate of the soul, but in temporal affairs man is free.' A Turkish confession of faith says: 'Unbelief and wicked acts happen with the foreknowledge and will of God, by the effect of his predestination, written from eternity on the preserved tablets, by his operation but not with his satisfaction. God foresees, wills, produces, loves all that is good, and does not love unbelief and sin, though he wills and effects it. If it be asked why God wills and effects what is evil and gives the devil power to tempt man, the answer is, he has his views of wisdom, which it is not granted to us to know.'

"Many Christian theologians would accept this statement without criticism, but in general they have been careful to guard against the idea that God is in any way the efficient cause of sin, and they generally give to man a wider area of freedom than the orthodox Mohammedans. It can not be denied that this doctrine of the decrees of God has degenerated into fatalism more generally among Moslems than among Christians. I have never known a Mohammedan of any sect who was not more or less a fatalist, notwithstanding the fact that there have been Moslem theologians who have repudiated fatalism as vigorously as any Christians. In Christianity this doctrine has been offset by a different conception of God, by a higher estimate of man, and by the whole scheme of redemption through faith in Christ. In Islam there is no such counteracting influence.

"The other five doctrines we may pass over with a single remark in regard to each. Both Moslems and Christians believe in the existence of good and evil *angels*, and that God has revealed his will to man in certain *inspired books*, and both agree that the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures are such books. The Moslem, however, believes that they have been superseded by the Koran, which was brought down from God by the angel Gabriel. They believe that this is his eternal and uncreated word; that its divine character is proved by its poetic beauty; that it has a miraculous power over men apart from what it teaches, so that the mere hearing of it, without understanding it, may heal the sick or convert the infidel. Both Christians and Moslems believe that God has sent prophets and apostles into the world to teach men his will; both believe in the judgment day and the resurrection of the dead, the immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments in the future life.

"It will be seen that in simple statement the seven positive doctrines of Islam are in harmony with Christian dogma; but in their exposition and development the New Testament and the Koran part company, and Christian and Moslem speculation evolve totally different conceptions, especially in regard to everything concerning the other world. It is in these expositions based upon the Koran (e.g., *suras* lvi and lxxviii), and still more upon the traditions, that we find the most striking contrasts between Christianity and

Mohammedanism ; but it is not easy for a Christian to state them in a way to satisfy Moslems, and as we have no time to quote authorities we may pass them over.

"The essential dogmatic difference between Christianity and Islam is in regard to the person, office, and work of Jesus Christ. The Koran expressly denies the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, his death, and the whole doctrine of the Incarnation and the Atonement, and rejects the sacraments which he ordained. It accepts his miraculous birth, his miracles, his moral perfection, and his mission as an inspired prophet or teacher. It declares that he did not die on the cross, but was taken up to heaven without death, while the Jews crucified one like him in his place. It consequently denies his resurrection from the dead, but claims that he will come again to rule the world before the day of judgment. It says that he will himself testify before God that he never claimed to be divine : this heresy originated with Paul.

"At the same time, the faith exalts Mohammed to very nearly the same position which Christ occupies in the Christian scheme. He is not divine, and consequently not an object of worship, but he was the first created being, God's first and best beloved, the noblest of all creatures, the mediator between God and man, the great intercessor, the first to enter Paradise, and the highest there. Although the Koran in many places speaks of him as a sinner in need of pardon (Ex., *suras* xxiii, xlvii, and xlviii), his absolute sinlessness is also an article of faith.

"The Holy Spirit, the third person in the Trinity, is not mentioned in the Koran, and the Christian doctrine of his work of regeneration and sanctification seems to have been unknown to the prophet, who represents the Christian doctrine of the Trinity as teaching that it consists of God the Father, Mary the Mother, and Christ the Son. The promise of Christ in the Gospel of John to send the Paraclete, the prophet applies to himself, reading *παράκλητος* as *περικλῆτος*, which might be rendered into Arabic as *Ahmed*, another form of the name Mohammed.

"We have, then, in Islam a specific and final rejection and repudiation of the Christian dogma of the Incarnation and the Trinity, and the substitution of Mohammed for Christ in most of his offices ; but it should be noted that while this rejection grows out of a different conception of God, it has nothing in common with the scientific rationalistic unbelief of the present day. If it can not conceive of God as incarnate in Jesus Christ, it is not from any doubt as to his personality, or his miraculous intereference in the affairs of this world, or the reality of the supernatural. These ideas are fundamental to the faith of every orthodox Mohammedan, and are taught everywhere in the Koran.

"There are *nominal* Mohammedans who are theists, and others who are pantheists of the Spinoza type. There are also some small sects who are rationalists, but after the fashion of old English deism rather than of the modern rationalism. The deistic rationalism is represented in that most

interesting work of Justice Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*. He speaks of Mohammed as Xenophon did of Socrates, and he reveres Christ also, but he denies that there was anything supernatural in the inspiration or lives of either, and claims that Hanifè and the other *imams* corrupted Islam as he thinks Paul the apostle did Christianity; but this book does not represent Mohammedanism any more than Renan's *Life of Jesus* represents Christianity. These small rationalistic sects are looked upon by all orthodox Moslems as heretics of the worst description.

"The practical and ethical relations of Islam to Christianity are even more interesting than the historical and dogmatic. The Moslem code of morals is much nearer the Christian than is generally supposed on either side, although it is really more Jewish than Christian. The truth is, that we judge each other harshly and unfairly by those who do not live up to the demands of their religions, instead of comparing the pious Moslem with the consistent Christian."



PROF. MAX MÜLLER,
a contributor to the Congress.

Mohammed Webb spoke twice on the subject of Islam and its relations to social conditions. The following extracts are from his addresses :

"In order to realize the influence of Islam upon social conditions and to comprehend and appreciate the teachings of Mohammed, his whole life and apparent motives must be inspected and analyzed carefully and without prejudice. We must learn to read between the lines of so-called history. When we have done this we shall find that the ethics he taught are identical with those of every other prominent religious system. That is to say, he presented the very highest standard of morality, established a system of worship calculated to produce the best results among all classes of his followers, and made aspi-

ration to God the paramount purpose of life. Like every other truly inspired teacher, he showed that there were two aspects or divisions of the spiritual knowledge he had acquired—one for the masses who were so thoroughly occupied with the affairs of this world that they had only a very small portion of their time to devote to religion, and the other for those who were capable of comprehending the highest spiritual truths and realized that it was better to lay up treasures for the life to come than to enjoy the pleasures of this world. But his purpose, clearly, was to secure the most perfect moral results by methods applicable to all kinds and conditions of humanity.

"In analyzing the sayings of the prophet, aside from the Koran, we should

always bear in mind the social conditions prevalent among the Arabs at the time he taught, as well as the general character of the people. Presuming that Mohammed was truly inspired by the Supreme Spirit, it is quite reasonable to suppose that he used quite different methods of bringing the truth to the attention of the Arabs twelve hundred years ago from those which he would follow before an audience of intelligent, educated people in this nineteenth century.

“To understand the spirit of Islam let us take the prophet as a child. He was born in Mecca. All historians—and I shall simply now state what Christian historians have written of him—are agreed that he was remarkable as a boy for the purity of his character. He was utterly free from the vices which afflicted the youth of Mecca. As he grew to manhood his character became unimpeachable, so much so that he was known all over the city as ‘the trusty.’ Those characteristics with which he is accredited by Christian writers were manifested in no degree whatever. He began life as a merchant, following his uncle’s caravans to southern Europe and Syria, and he demonstrated the fact that he was an excellent business man. He was successful, so much so that the wealthy widow Kadijah selected him to take charge of her business interests. He had never displayed any disposition to associate with the fair sex ; sensuality was no part of his character at all. He married this widow, and with her accumulated a large fortune, with which he engaged in the same trade as his uncle, Abu Taleb.

“This marriage, by the way, was not brought about by Mohammed. He did not go to Kadijah and ask her to be his wife, but she, taking perhaps a mercenary view of the situation, engaged him for life to be her business manager. Mohammed rejected the proposal at first and would have refused it altogether, but his uncle, Abu Taleb, said it was the best thing he could do and that he should marry her. Notwithstanding the fact that the laws of his country allowed him to take as many wives as he pleased, Christian historians agree that he was true to Kadijah for twenty-five years and never availed himself of the opportunity to take another wife. He was true to her until the day of her death.

“The Moslem brotherhood stands upon a perfect equality, recognizing only the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The emir, who leads in prayer, preaches no sermon. He goes to the mosque every day at noon and reads two chapters from the holy Koran. He descends to the floor upon a perfect level with the hundreds, or thousands, of worshipers, and the prayer goes on, he simply leading it. The whole system is calculated to inculcate that idea of perfect brotherhood.

“A man said to me in New York the other day : ‘Must I give up Jesus and the Bible if I become a Mohammedan ?’ No, no. There is no Mussulman on earth who does not recognize the inspiration of Jesus. The system is one that has been taught by Moses, by Abraham, by Jesus, by Mohammed,

by every inspired man the world has ever known. You need not give up Jesus, but assert your manhood. Go to God.

"The chief objection to Islam, and the first one generally made, is polygamy. It is quite generally believed that polygamy and the purdah, or seclusion of females, is a part of the Islamic system. This is not true. There is only one verse in the Koran which can possibly be distorted into an excuse for polygamy, and that is practically a prohibition of it. I never met but two Mussulmans in my life who had more than one wife. There is nothing in the sayings of the prophet nor in the Koran warranting or permitting the purdah. During the life of the prophet and the early caliphates the Arabian women went abroad freely, and, what is more, were honored, respected, and fully protected in the exercise of their rights and privileges.

"Islam has been called 'the religion of the sword,' and there are thousands of good people in America and in Europe who really believe that Mohammed went into battle with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. The truth is that the prophet never encouraged nor consented to the propagation of Islam by force, and the Koran plainly forbids it. It says: 'Let there be no forcing in religion; the right way has been made clearly distinguishable from the wrong one. If the Lord had pleased, all who are on the earth would have believed together; and wilt thou force men to be believers?' And in the 2d *sura*, 258th verse, it says: 'Let there be no compulsion in religion. Now is the right way made distinct from error; whoever, therefore, denieth *Taghoot* (literally error) and believeth in God hath taken hold on a strong handle that hath no flaw therein. And God is he who heareth, knoweth.'

"Our prophet himself was as thoroughly non-aggressive and peace-loving as the typical Quaker, and, while he realized that a policy of perfect non-resistance would speedily have resulted in the murder of himself and every Mussulman in Arabia, he urged his followers to avoid, as far as possible, violent collisions with the unbelievers, and not to fight unless it was necessary in order to protect their lives. It can be shown, too, that he never in his life participated in a battle, and never had a sword in his hand for the purpose of killing or maiming a human being.

"It has been charged that slavery is a part of the Islamic system in the face of the fact that Mohammed discouraged it and the Koran forbids it, making the liberation of a slave one of the most meritorious acts a person can perform. But in weighing the evidence bearing upon this subject we should never lose sight of the social and political conditions prevalent in Arabia at the time the prophet lived and the Koran was compiled.

"It has also been said that Mohammed and the Koran denied a soul to woman and ranked her with the animals. The Koran places her on a perfect and complete equality with man, and the prophet's teachings often place her in a position superior to the males in some respects. Let me read you one passage from the Koran bearing upon the subject. It is the 35th verse of the

33d *sura*: 'Truly, the men who resign themselves to God (Moslems), and the women who resign themselves; and the believing men, and the believing women; and the devout men, and the devout women; and the men of truth, and the women of truth; and the patient men, and the patient women; and the humble men, and the humble women; and the men who give alms, and the women who give alms; and the men who fast, and the women who fast; and the chaste men, and the chaste women; and the men and women who oft remember God; for them hath God prepared forgiveness and a rich recompense.' Could anything have been written to emphasize more forcibly the perfect equality of the sexes before God?

"The property rights which American women have enjoyed for only a few years have been enjoyed by Mohammedan women for twelve hundred years; and to-day there is no class of women in the world whose rights are so completely protected as those of the Mussulman communities.

"Stated in the briefest manner possible, the Islamic system requires belief in the unity of God and in the inspiration of Mohammed. Its pillars of practice are physical and mental cleanliness, prayer, fasting, fraternity, alms-giving, and pilgrimage. There is nothing in it that tends to immorality, social degradation, superstition, or fanaticism. On the contrary, it leads on to all that is purest and noblest in the human character; and any professed Mussulman who is unclean in his person or habits, or is cruel, untruthful, dishonest, irreverent, or fanatical, fails utterly to grasp the meaning of the religion he professes.

"But there is something more in the system than the mere teaching of morality and personal purity; it is thoroughly practical, and the results, which are plainly apparent among the more intelligent Moslems, show how well the prophet understood human nature. It will not produce the kind of civilization that we Americans seem to admire so much, but it will make a man sober, honest, and truthful, and will make him love his God with all his heart and with all his mind, and his neighbor as himself.

"Every Mussulman who has not become demoralized by contact with British civilization prays five times a day—not whenever he happens to feel like it—but at fixed periods. His prayer is not a servile, cringing petition for some material benefit, but a hymn of praise to the one incomprehensible, unknowable God, the omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent Ruler of the Universe. He does not believe that by argument and entreaty he can sway the judgment and change the plans of God, but with all the force of his soul he tries to soar upward in spirit to where he can gain strength to be pure and good and holy and worthy of the happiness of the future life. His purpose is to rise above the selfish pleasures of earth and strengthen his spirit wings for a lofty flight when he is at last released from the body. Before every prayer he is required to wash his face, nostrils, mouth, hands, and feet; and he does it. During youth he acquires the habit of washing five times a day, and this habit clings to him through life and keeps him physically clean.

"It is a significant fact that the only Mussulmans who drink whisky and gamble are those who wear European clothing and imitate the appearance and habits of the Englishmen. I have never seen a drunken Mussulman nor one who carried the odor of whisky or beer about with him. But I have heard that some of those who had become Anglicized and have broken away from the Moslem dress and customs actually do drink beer and whisky and smoke cigarettes.

"I have been in mosques where from five hundred to three thousand Mussulmans were gathered to pray, and at the conclusion of the prayer I was hemmed in by a hundred of them who were eager to shake my hand and call me their brother. But I never detected those disagreeable odors which suggest the need of extended facilities for bathing. I have repeatedly recalled this fact while riding on the elevated railways in New York and in two or three public assemblages in London.

"Prostitution and marital infidelity, with scandalous newspaper reports of divorce proceedings, are quite impossible to a Mussulman community where European influences have no foothold. A woman toiling over a wash-tub to support a drunken husband and several children, and a poor widow with her little ones turned into the street for the non-payment of rent, are episodes that never occur where Islamic laws and customs prevail. Woman takes her place as man's honored and respected companion and helpmate, and is the mistress of her home whenever she is disposed to occupy that position. Her rights are accorded to her freely. She finds her pleasure and recreation at home in the pure atmosphere of her husband's and children's love and the peaceful refining occupations of domestic life. Both she and her husband, as well as their children, are taught and believe that it is better to retire at 9 P. M., just after the last prayer of the day, and arise before day-break and say the morning prayer just as the first rays of the sun are gliding the eastern horizon.

"Another feature of the Islamic social life that has impressed me is the utter absence of practical joking. There is little or no sarcasm, bitter irony, cruel wit, among the Mussulmans, calculated to cause their fellows chagrin, shame, or annoyance, wounding the heart, and breaking that bond of loving fraternity which should subsist between men. The almost universal disposition seems to be to cultivate unselfishness and patience, and to place as little value as possible upon the things of this world.

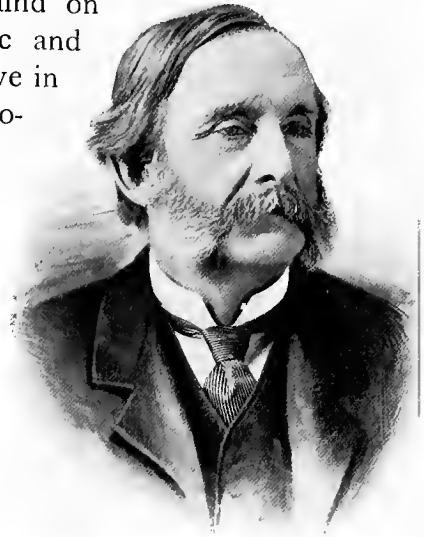
"In the household of the true Mussulman there is no vain show, no labored attempt to follow servilely the fashions, including furniture and ornaments, in vogue in London and Paris. Plainness and frugality are apparent everywhere, the idea being that it is far better to cultivate the spiritual side of our nature than to waste our time and money trying to keep up appearances that we hope will cause our neighbors to think that we have more money than we really have and are more æsthetic in our tastes than we really are.

"'But,' some one may say, 'what about the story that a Mussulman be-

lieves that he will go directly to paradise if he dies while trying to kill a Christian?' This is one of the numerous falsehoods invented by enemies of the truth to injure as peaceful and non-aggressive a class of people as the world has ever seen.

"Another feature of the spirit of Islam is its fraternity. One of the first things that Mohammed did after being driven out of Mecca and located in Medina was to encourage the formation of a Moslem brotherhood, with a perfect community of property, a socialistic idea impracticable in this civilization but perfectly practical at that time. His followers assembled around him and contributed all they had. The idea was, 'Do anything to help your brother, what belongs to your brother belongs to you, and what belongs to you belongs to your brother. If he needs help, help him.'

"Caste lines are broken down entirely. We find on one occasion Omar, one of the most energetic and vigorous of his caliphs, exchanged with his slave in riding on the camel. The daughters of Mohammed in the household would divide the time grinding corn with the slaves. The idea was taught 'your slave is your brother.' Social conditions make him your slave, but he is none the less your brother. This idea of close fraternity, this extreme devotion to fraternity, was the cause of the Moslem triumph at arms. In the later years, after the death of Mohammed, that idea was paramount in every instance, and it was only when that bond of fraternity was broken that we find the decadence of the Islamistic power in Spain.



THOMAS W. HIGGINSON,
Chairman of the
Free Religious Congress.

"Readers of history can very readily trace where the first serpent made its entry into the Islamistic social system, that serpent of disunion in division.

We find the Christians coming up on the other side, closely knit in the same bond of brotherhood. Does that bond of brotherhood exist to-day? It exists among the Mussulmans of India. It exists among the better class of Mussulmans of Egypt and Turkey in a degree that would surprise you. I know an old man in Bombay who had lost everything and was being helped along by his Mohammedan brethren. A wealthy man, reputed to be worth something like half a million or a million and a half dollars, owned a very beautiful yacht, and this man went to him and said: 'I want to borrow your yacht to go fishing.' 'Certainly, take it whenever you want it; it is yours.' During my stay in the East, every time I visited Bombay, almost, that old fellow would go out fishing. I dined in the house of a wealthy Mussulman, and that same old man came in. As he entered the door he said, 'Peace be with you.' A chair was set for him at the table. We were eating at the

table at that time, in deference to me, possibly. Usually they eat upon the floor, in the most primitive fashion, and with their fingers, but the better class of Mohommedans, or rather those who have acquired European ideas, eat with the fork and knife, with glass furniture on the table, etc. On that occasion we were at the table, and this old man was invited to sit down and take dinner with us. That fraternal idea impressed me more deeply, possibly, than anything else. I felt that I was among my brethren and that Mussulmans were brothers the world over, and I know that is one of the basic principles of the system, and that belongs strictly to the spirit of Islam.

"There is one particular spirit which is a part of the Islamistic idea that prevails among the Moslems—and now I am speaking not of the lower classes, not of the masses of the Moslems whom the missionaries see when they go to the East, but of the educated, intelligent Moslems, and they are the safest guides. No one would expect me to go into the slums of Chicago to find a reflection of the Christian religion. You can not expect to find it in the character and the acts and the thoughts of a poor, ignorant coolie, who can neither read nor write, and who has associated with the most degraded characters all his life. But the spirit that prevails among the Moslems of the higher class is indifference to this world. This world is a secondary consideration, and the world beyond is the world to strive for; the life beyond is the life that has some value to it. It is worth devoting all our lives to secure in that life happiness and perfect bliss. The idea of paradise naturally follows. It is popularly believed that Mohammed talked of a paradise where beautiful houris were given to men, that they led a life of sensual joy and luxury, and all that sort of thing. That idea is no more absurd than the golden-streets and pearly-gates idea of the Christian. Mohammed taught us a spiritual truth; he taught a truth which every man who knows anything of the spiritual side of religion ought to know; and he taught it in a manner which would most readily reach the minds and hearts of his hearers.

"The poor Arabs who lived in the dry, sandy deserts looked upon broad fields of green grass and flowing rivers and beautiful trees as a paradise. We who are accustomed, perhaps, to that sort of thing, some of us, run away with the idea that a golden street and pearly gates are better than that. His idea was to show them that they were to secure a perfect bliss, and to an Arab, if he could reach an open field where the grass grew green under his feet, and the birds sang and the trees bore pearls and rubies, and all that sort of thing, it would be bliss. Mind you, Mohammed never taught that, but he is credited with teaching it, and I believe he taught something to illustrate this great spiritual truth that he was trying to force upon their minds, and it has been corrupted into the idea of a garden full of houris.

"The greeting, *Assalam Aleikum* ('Peace be with thee'), and the response, *Aleikum salaam* ('With thee be peace'), have a true fraternal sound, calculated to arouse the love and respect of any one who hears them.

"I have seen it asserted that, under the Islamic system, a high state of

civilization is impossible. Stanley Lane-Poole writes as follows : 'For nearly eight centuries under her Mohammedan rulers Spain set to all Europe a shining example of a civilized and enlightened state. Art, literature, and science prospered as they then prospered nowhere else in Europe. Students flocked from France and Germany and England to drink from the fountains of learning which flowed only in the cities of the Moors. The surgeons and doctors of Andalusia were in the van of science ; women were encouraged to devote themselves to serious study, and a lady doctor was not unknown among the people of Cordova. Mathematics, astronomy, botany, history, philosophy, and jurisprudence were to be mastered in Spain and in Spain alone. The practical work of the field, the scientific methods of irrigation, the arts of fortification and shipbuilding, the highest and most elaborate products of the loom, the graver and the hammer, the potter's wheel and the mason's trowel, were brought to perfection by Spanish lords. In the practice of war, no less than in the arts of peace, they long stood supreme.' And what has become of this grand civilization, traces of which we still see in some of the Spanish cities and the splendid architecture of the Mogul emperors of India ? It is to be seen here in Chicago, and wherever there is a manifestation of materialistic progress and enlightenment.

"So long as the pure teachings of the prophet were followed, the Moslem development was pure and healthy, and much more stable and admirable than the gaudy materialism that finally developed and brought with it utter ruin. True civilization, a civilization based upon purity, virtue, and fraternal love, is the kind of civilization that exists to-day among the better classes of Mussulmans, and brings with it a degree of contentment and happiness unknown amid the tumult of the Western social system.

"The devout Mussulman, one who has arrived at an intelligent comprehension of the pure teachings of the prophet, lives in his religion and makes it the paramount principle of his existence. It is with him in all his goings and comings during the day, and he is never so completely occupied with his business or worldly affairs that he can not turn his back upon them when the stated hour of prayer arrives and present his soul to God. His loves, his sorrows, his hopes, his fears, are all immersed in it ; it is his last thought when he lies down to sleep at night and the first to enter his mind at dawn, when the voice of the muezzin rings out loudly and clearly from the minaret of the mosque, waking the soft echoes of the morn with its thrilling, solemn, majestic monotonous, 'Come to prayer ; prayer is better than sleep.' "

Buddhism.—The Right Rev. Banriu Yatsubuchi occupied a portion of the session of the sixth day with an exposition of Buddhism, of which we give here the essential portions. It is especially interesting because of its imperfect and yet intelligible English :

"Buddhism is a doctrine taught by Buddha Shakyamuni. The word Buddha is Sanskrit, and its Chinese meaning is Kaku, while the Japanese is

Satoru. Now let me explain it more fully. It has three meanings, such as Jikaku, Kakuta, and Kakugioenman. Jikaku is to awake himself and attain to the realm of truth by one's own wisdom. Kakuta means the word transition—that is, to let others do as one did in his Jikaku. The former is attainable by wisdom, and the latter by mercy. When wisdom and mercy are worked thoroughly by one, he may be called Buddha or Kakugioenman. In Buddhism we have Buddha as our Saviour, the spirit incarnate of absolute self-sacrifice and divine compassion, and the embodiment of all that is pure and good. Buddha was a man as we are, but he, apart from us, knew the truth or original body of the universe, and cultured the virtuous works, or, in other words, he worked thoroughly by his wisdom and mercy, so that he may be called our Saviour. Although Buddha was not a creator, and he had no power to destroy the law of the universe, he had the power of knowledge to know the origin, nature, and end of the universe, and cleared off the cravings and illusions of his mind till he had no higher grade of spiritual and moral faculties attainable. The truth or original body of the universe is absolute, infinity, eternity, and not material and not immaterial, and not existing and not unexisting. As every object of the universe is one part of the truth, of course it may eventually become Buddha according to the natural reason.

“Then Buddha was one who developed from lower being. So when we attain the ultimate point by gradual development there should be no place that is not lighted by the light of our enlightened mind, and we can save the worlds, using our power freely. That being who has mercy and wisdom in perfection is Buddha. If I explained it contrarily, Buddha was simply incomplete man before his enlightenment. The only difference between Buddha and all other beings is in point of supreme enlightenment.

“Kegon Sutra teaches us that there is no distinction between Truth, Buddha, and Beings, and Nehan Sutra also teaches us that all beings have a natural instinct of Buddhahood. Only the difference in appearance, not in body, between Buddha and all beings is in point of enlightenment or ignorance. Classed in the category of ignorance are beings of the man and animal kingdoms. Classed under the grade of enlightenment are the Boddhi-sattvas and Buddha, etc. For instance, there are Rikusoku or six Soku in the Tendai sect, as follow : 1. Ri Soku—the situation of one who has naturally the capacity to understand the reason of San Tai or Three Truths, but his mind is yet undeveloped to understand the reason of San Tai. Existing, nonexisting, and middle, which means belonging to either of the former two, are San Tai. 2. Mioji Soku—the situation of one who can understand a little about the reason of the Three Truths by hearing the names of them. 3. Kwangio Soku—the situation of one who is culturing meditation and behavior. 4. Soji Soku—the situation of one who can purify Rokukon or the six senses—namely, eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind. 5. Bunshin Soku—the situation of one who can leave ignorance and come to the

middle right path. 6. Kukyo Soku—the situation of one who can leave totally original ignorance and witness the ultimate stage of enlightenment.

“Although there are six differences, in order to show the difference of depth or shallowness, enlightenment and ignorance, yet they have the same thing or instinct through all. Spirit and matter, or mind and object, occupy the Truth. When they come together they make out two works, the transitive and intransitive. Mind, intransitive, not only influences object, intransitive, but influences itself. For instance, the sun not only gives us heat and light, but it shows its body to us and warms itself by its own light and heat. So, if one does not neglect to purify his mind and to increase power of wisdom, he may take in spiritual world or space and have cognizance of past, present, and future in his mind. Then he can use spirit and matter freely as he chooses, and can save all beings of the innumerable world. The way to purify the mind and to evolve wisdom were expressed by Buddha Shaka himself in his preachings throughout his life.

“I assure you by Buddhism that there are innumerable Buddhas in surrounding worlds who had attained to that final grade before Buddha Shaka says, or after him by those same ways showed by Buddha Shakaya Muni.

“Kishinron tells us that space has no limit; that the worlds are innumerable; that the beings are countless; that the Buddhas are numberless. Then we can see that Buddha had been once a man, attained to Buddhahood by perfection of virtue and wisdom. So there is no objection in reason that we may become Buddha after many developments culturing natural laws of the truth. One must not think that Buddha and Buddha's worlds are only higher order and place in human world, thinking that Buddha Shaka was only an Indian prince of this earth. If he wish to know Buddha's countenance, he must understand first that the Buddha's body differs from us. Buddha's body has three different aspects—namely, Hōsshin, Hōshin, and Ōshin. 1. Hōsshin—Dharma-Kaya—law body; colorless and formless—means that Buddha makes the truth or original body of universe his own body. As I stated before, we have the same nature of a Buddha, but the cloud of ignorance covers our natural instincts so that we can not see the truth and be free from miseries of life. On the contrary, Buddha, making his body truth which is wider than universe, is to be found everywhere. This body is called Hōsshin. 2. Hōshin-Sambhogakaya—compensation, body—is a body which was got as an effect by the cause. Even Buddha can not free from the reason of cause and effect which is the great and immutable law of universe. By what cause Buddha came to get his present situation is that, when Buddha had been Boddhisattva, he made good cause to become Buddha. Hōsshin and Hōshin are only different aspects of Buddha, but they ought to be one on the Buddha's body. 3. Oshin-Nirvana-kaya—transformed, body—means corresponding body. Buddha, not satisfying himself that he had become Buddha, wishes to save other ignorance by changing his body severally to correspond to different states of ignorance. This is called

Ōshin. The former two aspects are too high to be seen by our eyes. So Buddha changed his body to correspond to ours, no matter that he has formed Hōsshin, which are omnipresence and eternity. The proper example is our Lord Buddha Shaka. I think that he has looked upon his own body differently from what other humans do, as we may suppose it should be. Because Buddha Shaka said in Hokke Sutra that Buddha does not look Sangai as Sangai is. Sangai means three worlds—form, formless, and the animal of the world of senses. For another example, Shujo, or human and lower beings, introduce their lives avariciously. Shomon and Engaku, higher classes than human beings, abominate their lives in this world, while Boddhisattvas are taking much pleasure in the same world. So we can not judge or suppose what those of higher classes think of this world.



REV. FRANK M. BRISTOL,
a speaker at the Congress.

“Buddhism aims to turn from the incomplete superstitious world to the complete enlightened world of truth. Although there are many thousands of Buddhas' preachings of different sorts, their object ought to be one, as above stated, witnessing by either preacher or preached. The complete preachings of Buddha, who spent fifty years to give them, were preached precisely and heedfully, and their meanings are so profound and deep that I can not give even an infinitesimal part of them in this place. It is comparable to the rising sun in the east that Buddha, after his enlightening, gave his great law to lower beings. What was struck by the first beam of morning sun was the highest peak of mountain, which may be compared to the highest Sutra Kegon. Next Buddha preached to the lower classes of Nin Den, just as noon-day shines on every lower object of the earth. That the purple streams of twilight of setting sun reflect on the peaks which rise upon the clouds, is Buddha's preaching of Hokke Nehan, that is most sublime and superior to all. He preached from the height of original instinct and body of the truth down to the state of lower beings of the universe. His law is a lighthouse to light the dark ocean of our ignorance. His preaching is a compass to point out the direction on the bewildering spiritual world. His preaching is an immortalized storehouse of the Truth. He taught his disciples, using four Shitsu Tan in his mind, just as the doctor cures his patients by giving several medicines, according to the different cases. Twelve divisions of Sutras and eighty-four thousand laws which are to meet different cases of Buddha's patients in the suffering world are minute classifications of Buddha's teaching, discipline, and essay. Why are so many sects and preachings in Buddhism? Because of the differences in human character. Let me state what

is four Shitsu Tan, which I gave the call before. Shitsu is a Chinese word and Tan is Sanskrit, and they made one phrase, which means to give to all over. So Buddha's preaching was given to all beings by this four Shitsu Tan—namely, World, For Others' Sake, Conquer, and Sublime Principle.

"It is no need to censure that Buddhism has many sects which were founded in Buddha's teachings, because Buddha preached severally to suit hearers, and they believed what they chose. There are two divisions, Mahayana and Hinayana, in India, and thirteen sects in China, and twelve sects and thirty schools in Japan.

"The heart of my country, the power of my country, the light of my country, is Buddhism. *That* Buddhism is not known to the world, and reply do I before that lately European scholars hold to the opinion that Mahayana was not preached by Buddha Shaka himself, but others, and that Hinayana Nirvana was the ideal of our Buddhism."

Banriu Yatsubuchi's exposition of Buddhism was followed on the eighth day by a discourse on The World's Debt to Buddha, by H. Dharmapala, of Ceylon, of which the following is the greater part :

"Ancient India, twenty-five centuries ago, was the scene of a religious revolution, the greatest the world has ever seen. Indian society at this time had two large and distinguished religious foundations—the Sramanas and the Brahmanas. Famous teachers arose and with their disciples went among the people preaching and converting them to their respective views. The air was full of a coming spiritual struggle, hundreds of the most scholarly young men of noble families leaving their homes in quest of truth, ascetics undergoing the severest mortifications to discover a panacea for the evils of suffering, young dialecticians wandering from place to place engaged in disputations, some advocating skepticism as the best weapon to fight against the realistic doctrines of the day, some a life of pessimism as the nearest way to get rid of existence, some denying a future life. It was a time of deep and many-sided intellectual movements, which extended from the circles of Brahmanical thinkers far into the people. The sacrificial priest was powerful then as he is now. He was the mediator between God and man.

"Oriental scholars who had begun their researches in the domain of Indian literature in the beginning of this century were put to great perplexity at the discovery made of the existence of a religion called after Buddha, in the Indian philosophical books. Sir William Jones, H. H. Wilson, and Colebrook were embarrassed in being unable to identify him. Dr. Marshman, in 1824, said that Buddha was the Egyptian Apis, and Sir William Jones solved the problem by saying that he was no other than the Scandinavian Woden. But in June, 1837, the whole of the obscure history of India and Buddhism was made clear by the deciphering of the rock-cut edicts of Asoka the Great, in Girnar and Kapur-da-giri, by that lamented archæologist, James Prinsep; by the translation of the Pali Ceylon History into English by Turnour; by the discovery of Buddhist manuscripts in the tem-

ples of Nepaul, Ceylon, and other Buddhist countries. In 1844 the 'first rational, scientific, and comprehensive account of the Buddhist religion' was published by the eminent scholar, Eugene Burnouf. The key to the hidden archives of this great religion was presented to the people of Europe by this great scholar, and the inquiry since begun is being carried on by the most thoughtful men of the day.

"Infinite is the wisdom of the Buddha; boundless is the love of Buddha to all that lives, say the Buddhist scriptures. Buddha is called the Maha-Karunika, which means the 'All-merciful Lord who has compassion on all that lives.' To the human mind, Buddha's wisdom and mercy is incomprehensible. The foremost and greatest of his disciples, the blessed Sariputta, even he has acknowledged that he could not gauge the Buddha's wisdom and mercy. Prof. Huxley, in his lecture on Evolution and Ethics, speaking of Buddha, says: 'Gautama got rid of even that shade of a shadow of permanent existence by a metaphysical *tour de force* of great interest to the student of philosophy, seeing that it supplies the wanting half of Bishop Berkeley's well-known idealist argument. It is a remarkable indication of the subtlety of Indian speculation that Gautama should have seen deeper than the greatest of modern idealists.'

"Twenty-five centuries ago India witnessed an intellectual and religious revolution which culminated in the overthrow of monotheism, priestly selfishness, and the establishment of a synthetic religion, a system of life and thought which was appropriately called Dhamma—Philosophical Religion. All that was good was collected from every source and embodied therein, and all that was bad discarded. The grand personality who promulgated the Synthetic Religion is known as Buddha. For forty years he lived a life of absolute purity, and taught a system of life and thought, practical, simple, yet philosophical, which makes man—the active, intelligent, compassionate, and unselfish man—to realize the fruits of holiness in this life on this earth. The dream of the visionary, the hope of the theologian, was brought into objective reality. Speculation in the domain of false philosophy and theology ceased, and active altruism reigned supreme.

"Five hundred and forty-three years before the birth of Christ the great being was born in the Royal Lumbini Gardens in the city of Kapilavastu. His mother was Máya, the Queen of Rajá Sudhodana of the Solar Race of India. The story of his conception and birth and the details of his life up to the twenty-ninth year of his age, his great renunciation, his ascetic life, and his enlightenment under the great Bo tree at Buddha Jayá, in middle India, are embodied in that incomparable epic 'The Light of Asia,' by Sir Edwin Arnold.

"Six centuries before Jesus of Nazareth walked over the plains of Galilee preaching a life of holiness and purity, the Tathágata Buddha, the enlightened Messiah of the world, with his retinue of Arhats, or holy men, traversed the whole peninsula of India with the message of peace and holiness to the



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sin-burdened world. Heart-stirring were the words he spoke to the first five disciples at the Deer Park, the hermitage of Saints at Benares. His first message was: 'Open ye your ears, O Bhikshus, deliverance from death is found. I teach you, I preach the law. If ye walk according to my teaching ye shall be partakers in a short time of that for which sons of noble families leave their homes and go to homelessness—the highest end of religious effort; ye shall even in this present life apprehend the truth itself and see it face to face.' And then the exalted Buddha spoke thus: 'There are two extremes, O Bhikshus, which the truth seeker ought not to follow: the one a life of sensualism, which is low, ignoble, vulgar, unworthy, and unprofitable; the other the pessimistic life of extreme asceticism, which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable. There is a Middle Path, discovered by the Tathágata—the Messiah—a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to eternal peace. This Middle Path, which the Tathágata has discovered, is the Noble Eightfold Path: viz., Right Knowledge—the perception of the Law of Cause and Effect—Right Thinking, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Profession, Right Exertion, Right Mindfulness, Right Contemplation. This is the Middle Path which the Tathágata has discovered, and it is the path which opens the eyes, bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to perfect enlightenment, to eternal peace. Birth is attended with pain, old age is painful, disease is painful, death is painful, association with the unpleasant is painful, separation from the pleasant is painful, the non-satisfaction of one's desires is painful—in short, the coming into existence is painful. This is the Noble Truth of suffering. Verily it is that clinging to life which causes the renewal of existence, accompanied by several delights, seeking satisfaction, now here, now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for a continuity of individual existences, or the craving for annihilation. This is the Noble Truth of the origin of suffering. And the Noble Truth of the cessation of suffering consists in the destruction of passions, the destruction of all desires, the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harboring no longer of this thirst. And the Noble Truth which points the way is the Noble Eightfold Path.' This is the foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness, and from that center at Benares this message of peace and love was sent abroad to all humanity: 'Go ye, O Bhikshus, and wander forth for the gain of the many, in compassion for the world for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. Proclaim, O Bhikshus, the doctrine glorious. Preach ye a life of holiness, perfect and pure. Go, then, through every country, convert those not converted. Go therefore, each one traveling alone filled with compassion. Go, rescue and receive. Proclaim that a blessed Buddha has appeared in the world, and that he is preaching the Law of Holiness.'

"The essence of the vast teachings of the Buddha is: The entire obliteration

tion of all that is evil. The perfect consummation of all that is good and pure. The complete purification of the mind. The wisdom of the ages is embodied in the three Pitakas—the Sutta, Vinaya, Abhidhamma—comprising eighty-four thousand discourses, all delivered by Buddha during his ministry of forty-five years. Buddha, in a discourse called the Bramajāla Sutta, enumerates sixty-two different religious views held by the sectarians. After categorically explaining these different systems, Buddha continues: ‘Brethren, these believers hold doctrines respecting the past, or respecting the future, and, meditating on previous events or on those which are in futurity, declare a variety of opinions respecting the past and future in sixty-two modes. These doctrines are fully understood by the Tathāgata Buddha; he knows the causes of their being held and the experiences upon which they are founded. He also knows other things far more excellent than these; but that knowledge has not been derived from sensual impressions. He, with knowledge not derived from the impressions on the senses, is fully acquainted with that by which both the impressions and their causes become extinct, and distinctly perceiving the production, the cessation, the advantages, the evils, and the extinctions of the sensations, he is perfectly free, having no attachments. Brethren, these doctrines of Buddha are profound, difficult to be perceived, hard to be comprehended, tranquillizing, excellent, not attainable by reason, subtle and worthy of being known by the wise. These the Tathāgata (Buddha) has ascertained by his own wisdom and publicly makes them known. But the teachings of the other believers are founded on ignorance, their want of perception, their personal experience, and on the fluctuating emotions of those who are under the influence of their passions. Brethren, all these modes of teaching respecting the past or the future originate in the sensations experienced by repeated impressions made on the six organs of sensitiveness. On account of these sensations desire is produced; in consequence of desire, an attachment to the desired objects; on account of this attachment, reproduction in an existent state; in consequence of this reproduction of existence, birth; in consequence of birth are produced disease, death, sorrow, weeping, pain, grief, and discontent.’

“A systematic study of Buddha’s doctrine has not yet been made by the Western scholars, hence the conflicting opinions expressed by them at various times. The notion once held by the scholars that it is a system of materialism has been exploded. The Positivists of France found it a positivism; Buchner and his school of materialists thought it was a materialistic system; agnostics found in Buddha an agnostic, and Dr. Rhys Davids, the eminent Pali scholar, used to call him the ‘agnostic philosopher of India’; some scholars have found an expressed monotheism therein; Arthur Lillie, another student of Buddhism, thinks it a theistic system; pessimists identify it with Schopenhauer’s pessimism; the late Mr. Buckle identified it with the pantheism of Fichte; some have found in it a monism; and the latest dictum of Prof. Huxley is that it is an idealism supplying ‘the wanting half of Bishop

Berkeley's well-known idealist argument.' The basic doctrine is the self-purification of man. Spiritual progress is impossible for him who does not lead a life of purity and compassion.

"The strongest emphasis has been put by Buddha on the supreme importance of having an unprejudiced mind before we start on the road of investigation of truth. Prejudice, passion, fear of expression of one's convictions, and ignorance are the four biases that are to be sacrificed at the threshold.

"To be born as a human being is a glorious privilege. Man's dignity consists in his capability to reason and think and to live up to the highest ideal of pure life, of calm thought, of wisdom without extraneous intervention. In the *Saimanna phala Sutta* Buddha says that man can enjoy in this life a glorious existence, a life of individual freedom, of fearlessness, and of compassionateness. This dignified ideal of manhood may be attained by the humblest, and this consummation raises him above wealth and royalty.

"Human brotherhood forms the fundamental teaching of Buddha; universal love and sympathy with all mankind and with animal life. Every one is enjoined to love all beings as a mother loves her only child and takes care of it, even at the risk of her life. The realization of the idea of brotherhood is obtained when the first stage of holiness is reached; the idea of separateness is destroyed, and the oneness of life is recognized. There is no pessimism in the teachings of Buddha, for he strictly enjoins on his holy disciples not even to suggest to others that life is not worth living. On the contrary, the usefulness of life is emphasized for the sake of doing good to self and humanity.

"From the first worshipping savage to the highest type of humanity, man yearns after something higher; and for this reason Buddha inculcated the necessity of self-reliance and independent thought. To guide humanity in the right path, a Tathágata (Messiah) appears from time to time.

"Speaking of Deity in the sense of a Supreme Creator, Buddha says that there is no such being. Accepting the doctrine of evolution as the only true one, with its corollary, the law of cause and effect, he condemns the idea of a Creator and strictly forbids inquiry into it as being useless. A Supreme God of the Brahmans and minor gods are accepted; but they are subject to the law of cause and effect. This Supreme God is all love, all merciful, all gentle, and looks upon all things with equanimity, and Buddha teaches men to prac-



REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN,
a speaker at the Congress.

tice these four supreme virtues. But there is no difference between the perfect man and this Supreme God of the present world-period.

"The teachings of the Buddha on evolution are clear and expansive. We are asked to look upon the cosmos 'as a continuous process unfolding itself in regular order in obedience to natural laws. We see in it all, not a warring chaos restrained by the constant interference from without of a wise and beneficent external power, but a vast aggregate of original elements, perpetually working out their own fresh redistribution in accordance with their own inherent energies. He regards the cosmos as an almost infinite collection of material atoms animated by an almost infinite sum total of energy'—which is called *Ākāśa*. We do not postulate that man's evolution began from the protoplasmic stage; but are asked not to speculate on the origin of life, on the origin of the law of cause and effect, etc. So far as this great law is concerned, we say that it controls the phenomena of human life as well as those of external nature. The whole knowable universe forms one undivided whole, a 'monon.'

"Buddha promulgated his system of philosophy after having studied all religions; and in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* sixty-two creeds are discussed. In the *Kālāma Sutta* Buddha says: 'Do not believe in what ye have heard; do not believe in traditions, because they have been handed down for many generations; do not believe in anything because it is rumored, and spoken of by many; do not believe merely because the written statement of some old sage is produced; do not believe in conjectures; do not believe in that as truth to which you have become attached by habit; do not believe merely on the authority of your teachers and elders; after observation and analysis, when it agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and gain of one and all, then accept it and live up to it.'

"To the ordinary householder whose highest happiness consists in being wealthy here and a heaven hereafter Buddha inculcated a simple code of morality. The student of Buddha's religion abstains from destroying life, he lays aside the club and the weapon, he is modest and full of pity, he is compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life. He abstains from theft, and he passes his life in honesty and purity of heart. He lives a life of chastity and purity. He abstains from falsehood and injures not his fellow-man by deceit. Putting away slander, he abstains from calumny. He is a peacemaker, a speaker of words that make for peace. Whatever word is humane, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart—such are words he speaks. He abstains from harsh language. He abstains from foolish talk. He abstains from intoxicants and stupefying drugs.

"The advanced student of the religion of Buddha when he has faith in him thinks: "'Full of hindrances is household life, a path defiled by passion; free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all worldly things. How difficult is it for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fullness, in all its purity, in all its perfection! Let me then cut off my hair

and beard, let me clothe myself in orange-colored robes, and let me go forth from a household life into the homeless state." Then before long, forsaking his portion of wealth, forsaking his circle of relatives, he cuts off his hair and beard, he clothes himself in the orange-colored robes, and goes forth into the homeless state. Then he passes a life self-restrained according to the Rules of the Order of the Blessed Ones; uprightness is his delight, and he sees danger in the least of those things he should avoid, he encompasses himself with holiness in word and deed, he sustains his life by means that are quite pure; good is his conduct, guarded the door of his senses; mindful and self-possessed, he is altogether happy.'

"The student of pure religion abstains from earning a livelihood by the practice of low and lying arts—viz., all divination, interpretation of dreams, palmistry, astrology, crystal-gazing, prophesying, charms of all sorts.

"Buddha says: 'Just as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard in all the four directions without difficulty, even so of all things that have life, there is not one that the student passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt pity, sympathy, and equanimity. He lets his mind pervade the whole world with thoughts of love.'

"To realize the unseen is the goal of the student of Buddha's teachings, and such a one has to lead an absolutely pure life. Buddha says: 'Let him fulfill all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone. Fulfill all righteousness for the sake of the living and for the sake of the beloved ones that are dead and gone.'

"Slave dealing, sale of weapons of warfare, sale of poisons, sale of intoxicants, sale of flesh—these are the lowest of all low professions. Faith, pure life, receptivity of the mind to all that is good and beautiful, liberality, wisdom—those who possessed these five kinds of wealth in their past incarnations are influenced by the teachings of Buddha.

"Buddha says: 'He who is faithful and leads the life of a householder, and possesses the following four virtues: truth, justice, firmness, and liberality—such a one does not grieve when passing away. Ask other teachers and philosophers whether there is anything greater than truth, self-restraint, liberality, and forbearance. Know that from time to time a Tathágata is born into the world, enlightened, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha. He by himself thoroughly understands and sees, as it were, face to face, this universe, the world below with all its spirits, and the worlds above and all creatures, all religious teachers, gods and men, and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he proclaim both in its letter and its spirit, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation; the higher life doth he proclaim, in all its purity and in all its perfectness.'

“Buddha is : 1. Absolutely free from all passions, commits no evil, even in secrecy, and is the embodiment of perfection ; he is above doing anything wrong. 2. Without a teacher, by self-introspection he has reached the state of supreme enlightenment. 3. By means of his divine eye he looks back to the remotest past and future, knows the way of emancipation, is accomplished in the three great branches of divine knowledge, and has gained perfect wisdom. He is in possession of all psychic powers, is always willing to listen, full of energy, wisdom, and Dhyana. 4. He has realized eternal peace of Nirvána and walks in the perfect path of virtue. 5. He knows the three states of existences. 6. He is incomparable in purity and holiness. 7. He is teacher of gods and men. 8. He exhorts gods and men at the proper time according to their individual temperaments. 9. He is the supremely enlightened teacher and the perfect embodiment of all the virtues he preaches. The two characteristics of the Buddha are wisdom and compassion.

“Buddha says : ‘He who is not generous, who is fond of sensuality, who is distressed at heart, who is of uneven mind, who is not reflective, who is not of calm mind, who is discontented at heart, who has no control over his senses—such a disciple is far from me though he is in body near me.’ Actuated by the spirit of compassion, the disciples of Buddha have ever been in the forefront of missionary propaganda. The whole of Asia was brought under the influence of the Buddha’s law. Never was the religion propagated by force, not a drop of blood has ever been spilled in the name of Buddha. Punna, the Bhikshu, before he was sent on his mission to preach to the people of Sunaparanta, was warned by Buddha in the following manner : ‘The people of Sunaparanta are exceedingly violent. If they revile, what will you do?’ ‘I will make no reply.’ ‘And if they strike you?’ ‘I will not strike in return.’ ‘And if they try to kill you?’ ‘Death is no evil in itself, many even desire it, to escape from the vanities of life ; but I shall take no steps either to hasten or to delay the time of my departure.’

“The ultimate goal of the perfected man is eternal peace. To show humanity the path on which to realize this state of eternal peace, Buddha promulgated the Noble Eightfold Path. The Nirvána of Buddha is beyond the conception of the ordinary mind. Only the perfected man realizes it. It transcends all human thought. Caught in the vortex of evolution, man undergoes change and is constantly subject to birth and death. The happiness in the highest heaven comes some day to an end. This change, Buddha declared, is sorrowful. And until you realize Nirvána you are subject to birth and death.

“The last words of Buddha were : ‘Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourself to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. Learn ye, then, O Bhikshus, that knowledge have I attained and have declared unto you, and walk ye in it, practice and increase, in order that this path of holiness may last and long

endure, for the blessing of many people to the relief of the world, to the welfare, the blessing, the joy of gods and men. O Bhikshus, everything that cometh into being changeth. Strive on unceasingly for the consummation of the highest ideal.'

"When Buddhism flourished in India, the arts, sciences, and civilization reached their zenith, as witnessed in the edicts and monuments of Asoka's reign. Hospitals were first founded for man and beast. Missionaries were sent to all parts of the world. Literature was encouraged. Wherever Buddhism has gone, the nations have imbibed its spirit, and the people have become gentler and milder. The slaughter of animals and drunkenness ceased, and wars were almost abolished. With the advent of Buddhism into Ceylon, and other Buddhist countries, literature flourished, and wherever it went it helped the development of arts and letters. The monasteries became the seats of learning, and the monks, in obedience to their Master's will, disseminated knowledge among the people.

"Buddha was the first to establish the brotherhood without distinction of caste and race. Twenty-four centuries ago he declared: 'As the great streams, O disciples, however many they may be, the Ganges, Jumna, Achiravati, Sarabhu, when they reach the great ocean lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name—the great ocean—so also do the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras lose their distinctions when they join the brotherhood.' The outcast as well as the prince was admitted to this order. Virtue was the passport, not wealth and rank.

"Sir Edwin Arnold says: 'I have often said, and I shall say again and again, that between Buddhism and modern science there exists a close intellectual bond. When Tyndall tells us of sounds we can not hear, and Norman Lockyer of colors we can not see, when Sir William Thompson and Prof. Sylvester push mathematical investigation to regions almost beyond the calculus, and others, still bolder, imagine and try to grapple a space of four dimensions, what is all this except the Buddhist *Māya*? And when Darwin shows us life passing onward and upward through a series of constantly improving forms toward the Better and the Best, each individual starting in new existence with the records of bygone good and evil stamped deep and ineffaceably from the old ones, what is this again but the Buddhist doctrine of Karma and Dharma?' Finally, if we gather up all the results of modern research, and look away from the best literature to the largest discovery in physics and the latest word in biology, what is the conclusion—the high and joyous conclusion—forced upon the mind, if not that which renders true Buddhism so glad and so hopeful?

"As Buddhism acknowledges no caste system, and admits the perfect equality of all men, it proclaims universal brotherhood. But peoples should agree in the acceptance of the universal virtues. Buddhism advocates universal peace among nations, and deploras war and bloodshed. The rights of smaller tribes and nations for a separate existence should be protected from

aggressive warfare. In the *Anguttara Nikaya*, *Tika Nipata*, *Brahmanavagga*, Buddha advocates arbitration, instead of war. Buddhism strongly condemns war, on the ground of the great losses it brings on humanity."

The Parsees.—On the eighth day also The Religious System of the Parsees was explained by Jinanji Jamshedji Modi, of Bombay, India. We give here a large part of his interesting discourse :

"The Parsees of India are the followers of Zoroastrianism, or the religion of Zoroaster, which was for centuries both the state religion and the national religion of ancient Persia. With the overthrow of the Persian monarchy under its last Sassanian king, Yazdagard, at the battle of Nehâvand in A. D. 642, this religion received a check at the hands of the Arabs, who, with sword in one hand and Koran in the other, made the religion of



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a speaker at the Congress.

Islam both the state religion and the national religion of the country. But many of those who adhered to the faith of their fathers quitted their ancient fatherland for the hospitable shores of India. The modern Parsees of India are the descendants of those early settlers. In the words of the Right Rev. Dr. Meurin, of Bombay, in 1885, the Parsees are 'a people who have chosen to relinquish their venerable ancestors' homesteads rather than abandon their ancient religion, the founder of which lived three thousand years ago—a people who for a thousand years have formed in the midst of the great Hindu people, not unlike an island in the sea, a quite separate and distinct nation, peculiar and remarkable as for its race, so for its religious and social life and customs.' Prof. Max Müller says of the religion of the Parsees : ' Here

is a religion, one of the most ancient of the world, once the state religion of the most powerful empire, driven away from its native soil and deprived of political influence, without even the prestige of a powerful or enlightened priesthood, and yet professed by a handful of exiles—men of wealth, intelligence, and moral worth in western India, with an unhesitating fervor such as is seldom to be found in larger religious communities. It is well worth the earnest endeavor of the philosopher and the divine to discover, if possible, the spell by which this apparently effete religion continues to command the attachment of the enlightened Parsees of India, and makes them turn a deaf ear to the allurements of the Brahmanic worship and the earnest appeals of Christian missionaries.'

"Zoroastrianism or Parseeism—by whatever name the system may be

called—is a monotheistic form of religion. It believes in the existence of one God, whom it knows under the names of Mazda, Ahura, and Ahura-Mazda, the last form being one that is most commonly met with in the later writings of the Avesta. That the religious system of Zoroaster is monotheistic is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that Zoroaster rejected from his writings the word 'dæva,' a very ancient Aryan word for God, derived from the Aryan root 'div,' 'to shine.' Most of the Western nations which separated from the parent stock took with them this word in one form or another for the name of their God. Thus the Greeks called their God, Deos or Zeus; the Romans, Deus; the Germans, Teus; the Lithuanians, Diewas, and so on. The Indian and the Iranian branches had the word 'dæva.' But when the early Iranians saw that the belief of the people was tending to polytheism and that the sacred word 'dæva,' instead of being used for God alone, was being used for many of his created objects, they stamped the words as unfit for the name of God and rejected it altogether from the Avesta.

"The first and greatest truth that dawns upon the mind of a Zoroastrian is that the great and the infinite universe, of which he is an infinitesimal part, is the work of a powerful hand, the result of a master mind. The first and the greatest conception of that master mind, Ahura-Mazda, is that, as the name implies, he is the Omniscient Lord, and as such he is the ruler of both the material and the immaterial world, the corporeal and the incorporeal world, the visible and the invisible world.

"As to the material, corporeal, or visible world, the sublime objects and the grand phenomena of Nature which present themselves to the sight of all men, from intelligent and keen observers to ordinary simple men whose powers of observation are in their crude infancy, bear evidence to his omnipotence, to his all-working and ever-working power. If one were to ask which is the best and the surest evidence that Zoroastrianism rests upon for its belief in the existence of God, the reply is that it is the 'evidence from nature.' The harmony, the order, the law, and the system observed in Nature lead the mind of a Zoroastrian from Nature to Nature's God.

"As in the physical world, so in the moral world. As Ahura-Mazda is the ruler of the physical world, so he is the ruler of the spiritual world. He is the most spiritual among the spiritual ones. His distinguished attributes are good mind, righteousness, desirable control, piety, perfection, and immortality. As he is the source of all physical light, so he is the source of all spiritual light, all moral light. He is the beneficent spirit from whom emanate all good and all piety. He looks into the hearts of men, and sees how much of the good and of the piety that have emanated from him has made its home there, and thus rewards the virtuous and punishes the vicious.

"As he has arranged all order and harmony in the physical world, so he has done in the moral world. Of course, one sees at times, in the plane of this world, moral disorders and want of harmony; but then the present state

is only a part, and that a very small part, of his scheme of moral government. As petty disorders here and there in Nature do not disclose any want of system or harmony in the grand scheme of the universe, so petty disorders in the moral plane in the present state of life do not disclose any want of method in his moral government. In the moral world virtue has its own reward, and vice its own punishment. Virtue has all happiness and pleasure in the long run, and vice all misery and grief. From a Zoroastrian point of view the consideration of these facts presents strong evidence for the existence of a future state of life, for the immortality of the soul. As the ruler of the world, Ahura-Mazda hears the prayers of the ruled. He grants the prayers of those who are pious in thought, pious in words, and pious in deeds. 'He not only rewards the good, but punishes the wicked. All that is created, good or evil, fortune or misfortune, is his work.'

"We have seen that Ahura-Mazda or God is, according to Parsee Scriptures, the causer of all causes. He is the creator as well as the destroyer, the increaser as well as the decreaser. He gives birth to different creatures, and it is he who brings about their end. How is it, then, that he brings about these two contrary results? 'This great thinker [Zoroaster] of remote antiquity solved this difficult question *philosophically* by the supposition of two primeval causes, which, though different, were united, and produced the world of material things, as well as that of the spirit.' These two primeval causes or principles are called in the Avesta the two 'Mainyus.' This word comes from the ancient Aryan root 'man,' to 'think.' It may be properly rendered into English by the word 'spirit,' meaning 'that which can only be conceived by the mind but not felt by the senses.' Of these two spirits or primeval causes or principles, one is creative and the other destructive. The former is known in the Avesta by the name of 'Spenta-mainyush,' or the increasing spirit, and the latter by that of 'Angro-mainyush,' or the decreasing spirit. These two spirits work under one God, Mazda, who, through the agency, as it were, of these two spirits, is the causer of all causes in the universe, the creator as well as the destroyer.

"According to Zoroaster's philosophy, our world is the work of these two hostile principles—Spenta-mainyush, the good principle, and Angromainyush, the evil principle, both serving under one God. In the words of that learned Orientalist, Prof. Darmesteter, 'All that is good in the world comes from the former; all that is bad comes from the latter. The history of the world is the history of their conflict; how Angromainyu invaded the world of Ahura-Mazda and marred it, and how he shall be expelled from it at last. Man is active in the conflict, his duty in it being laid before him in the law revealed by Ahura-Mazda to Zarathushtra. When the appointed time is come Angromainyu and hell will be destroyed, man will rise from the dead, and everlasting happiness will reign over the world.'

"Some authors entertain an opinion that Zoroaster preached dualism. But this is a serious misconception. On this point Dr. Haug says: 'The

opinion, so generally entertained now, that Zarathushtra was preaching a dualism—that is to say, the idea of two original and independent spirits, one good and the other bad, utterly distinct from each other, and one counter-acting the creation of the other, is owing to a confusion of his philosophy with his theology. A separate evil spirit of equal power with Ahura-Mazda, and always opposed to him, is entirely foreign to Zarathushtra's theology. The reason why the original Zoroastrian notion of the two spirits, the creative and the destructive, is misunderstood as dualism is this. In the Parsee Scriptures the names of God are Mazda, Ahura, and Ahura-Mazda, the last word being a compound of the first two. The first two words are common in the earliest writings of the Gâthâ, and the third in the later Scriptures. In later times the word Ahura-Mazda, instead of being restricted, like Mazda, to the name of God, began to be used in a wider sense and was applied to Spenta-mainyush, the Creative or the Good principle. This being the case, wherever the word Ahura-Mazda was used in opposition to that of Angro-mainyush, later authors took it as the name of God, and not as the name of the Creative principle, which it really was. Thus the fact of Ahura-Mazda's name being employed in opposition to that of Angro-mainyush or Ahriman led to the notion that Zoroastrian Scriptures preached dualism.

“Dr. West presents the subject from another point of view: ‘The origin and end of Ahriman appear to be left as uncertain as those of the devil, and altogether the resemblance between these two ideas of the evil spirit is remarkably close; in fact, almost too close to admit of the possibility of their being ideas of different origin. If, therefore, a belief in Ahriman, as the author of evil, makes the Parsee religion a dualism, it is difficult to understand why a belief in the devil, as the author of evil, does not make Christianity also a dualism.’

“From a consideration of these points of philosophy, Mr. Samuel Lang says: ‘The doctrines of this excellent religion are extremely simple. The leading idea is that of monotheism, but the one God has far fewer anthropomorphic attributes, and is relegated much further back into the vague and infinite than the God of any other monotheistic religion. Ahura-Mazda, of which the more familiar appellation Ormuzd is an abbreviation, means the ‘All-knowing God’; he is said sometimes to dwell in the infinite luminous space, and sometimes to be identical with it. He is, in fact, not unlike the inscrutable First Cause, whom we may regard with awe and reverence, with love and hope, but whom we can not pretend to define or to understand. But the radical difference between Zoroastrianism and other religions is that it does not conceive of this one God as an omnipotent Creator, who might make the universe as he chose, and therefore was directly responsible for all the evil in it; but as a being acting by certain fixed laws, one of which was, for reasons totally inscrutable to us, that existence implied polarity, and therefore that there could be no good without corresponding evil.’

“As there are two primeval principles under Ahura-Mazda that produce

our material world, so there are two principles inherent in the nature of man which encourage him to do good or tempt him to do evil. One asks him to support the cause of the good principle, the other to support that of the evil principle. These two principles inherent in man—viz., Vohumana and Akamana (good mind and evil mind)—exert their influence upon a man's thoughts, words, and deeds. When the influence of the former—i. e., the good mind—predominates, our thoughts, words, and deeds result in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; but when that of the latter—i. e., the evil mind—predominates, they result in evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds. The fifth chapter of the Vendidad gives a short definition of what is morality or piety. There, first of all, the writer says that 'purity is the best thing for man after birth.' This you may say is the motto of the Zoroastrian religion. Therefore M. d'Harlez very properly says that, according to Zoroastrian Scriptures, the 'notion of the word virtue sums itself up in that of the "Asha."' What Zoroastrian moral philosophy teaches is this, that your good thoughts, good words, and good deeds alone will be your intercessors. Nothing more will be wanted. They alone will serve you as a safe pilot to the harbor of heaven, as a safe guide to the gates of paradise. The late Dr. Haug rightly observed that 'the moral philosophy of Zoroaster was moving in the triad of "thought, word, and deed."' These three words form the pivot upon which the moral structure of Zoroastrianism turns.

"Zoroastrianism believes in the immortality of the soul. The Avesta writings of Hâdokht Nushk and the nineteenth chapter of the Vendidad and of the Pehlevi books of Minokherad and Virâf-nâmeh treat of the fate of the soul after death. The last-mentioned book contains an account of the journey of Ardâi-Virâf through the heavenly regions. This account corresponds to that of the ascension of the prophet Isaiah. Its notions about heaven and hell correspond to some extent to the Christian notions about them. According to Dr. Haug, its description of hell and of some of the punishments suffered by the wicked there, bears a striking resemblance to that in the Inferno of the Italian poet Dante.

"A plant called the Homa-i-saphid or white Homa, a name corresponding to the Indian Soma of the Hindus, is held to be the emblem of the immortality of the soul. According to Dr. Windischmann and Prof. Max Müller, this plant reminds us of the 'Tree of Life' in the garden of Eden. As in the Christian Scriptures the way to the tree of life is strictly guarded by the Cherubim, so in the Zoroastrian Scriptures the Homa-i-saphid, or the plant which is the emblem of immortality, is guarded by innumerable Fravashis—that is, guardian spirits. The number of these guardian spirits, as given in various books, is 99,999.

"A good deal of importance is attached in the Avesta and in the later Pehlevi writings to this question of the immortality of the soul, because a belief in this dogma is essential to the structure of moral principles. The whole edifice of our moral nature rests upon its groundwork.

“Again, Zoroastrianism believes in heaven and hell. Between heaven and this world there is supposed to be a bridge named ‘Chinvat.’ According to the Parsee Scriptures, for three days after a man’s death his soul remains within the limits of this world under the guidance of the angel Srosh. If the deceased be a pious man or a man who led a virtuous life, his soul utters the words, ‘Well is he by whom that which is his benefit becomes the benefit of any one else.’ If he be a wicked man or one who led an evil life, his soul utters these plaintive words: ‘To which land shall I turn? Whither shall I go?’ On the dawn of the third night the departed souls appear at the Chinvat Bridge. This bridge is guarded by the angel Meher Dâver—i. e., Meher the Judge. He presides there as a judge assisted by the angels Rashné and Astâd, the former representing Justice and the latter Truth. At this bridge, and before this angel Meher, the soul of every man has to give an account of its doings in the past life. Meher Dâver, the judge, weighs a man’s actions by a scale pan. If a man’s good actions outweigh his evil ones, even by a small particle, he is allowed to pass from the bridge to the other end to heaven. If his evil actions outweigh his good ones, even by a small weight, he is not allowed to pass over the bridge, but is hurled down into the deep abyss of hell. If his meritorious and evil deeds counter-balance each other, he is sent to a place known as ‘Hamast-gehan,’ corresponding to the Christian Purgatory and the Mohammedan *Æraf*. His meritorious deeds done in the past life would prevent him from going to hell, and his evil actions would not let him go to heaven.



RT. REV. B. W. ARNETT,
a speaker at the Congress.

“Again, Zoroastrian books say that the meritoriousness of good deeds and the sin of evil ones increase with the growth of time. As capital increases with interest, so good and bad actions done by a man in his life increase, as it were, with interest in their effects. Thus a meritorious deed done in youth is more effective than that very deed done in advanced age. For example, let that meritorious deed be valued in money. Let two friends, A. and B., at the age of twenty-five propose doing an act of charity, viz., a donation of £1,000 to a charitable institution. A. immediately gives the amount and B. postpones the act for some time and does it at the age of fifty. Calculating at the rate of four per cent, A.’s gift of £1,000 at the age of twenty-five is worth twice that of B. at the age of fifty—i. e., twenty-five years later. Thus, the *Dadistan-i-Dini* recommends man to follow the path

of virtue from his very youth. A virtuous act performed by a young man is more meritorious than the same act performed by an old man. As in the case of good deeds and their meritoriousness, so in the case of evil action and their sins. The burden of the sin of an evil action increases, as it were, with interest. A young man doing an evil act has time and opportunities at his disposal to wash off, as it were, the effect of that act either by repentance or good deeds in return. A young man has a long time to repent of his evil deeds and to do good deeds that could counteract the effect of his evil deeds. If he does not take advantage of these opportunities, the burden of those evil deeds increases with time.

"The Parsees do not worship fire as God. They merely regard fire as an emblem of refulgence, glory and light, as the most perfect symbol of God, and as the best and noblest representative of his divinity. In the eyes of a Parsee his fire's brightness, activity, purity, and incorruptibility bear the most perfect resemblance to the nature and perfection of the deity. A new element of purity is added to the fire burning in the fire temples of the Parsees by the religious ceremonies accompanied with prayers that are performed over it, before it is installed in its place in a vase on an exalted stand in a chamber set apart. The sacred fire burning there is not the ordinary fire burning on our hearths. It has undergone several ceremonies, and it is these ceremonies, full of meaning, that render the fire more sacred to the eyes of a Parsee. In establishing a fire temple, fires from various places of manufacture are brought and kept in different vases. Great efforts are also made to obtain fire caused by lightning. Over one of these fires a perforated metallic flat tray, with a handle attached, is held. On this tray are placed small chips and dust of fragrant sandalwood. These chips and dust are ignited by the heat of the fire, care being taken that the perforated tray does not touch the fire. Thus a new fire is created out of the first fire. Then from this new fire another one is created by the same process. From this new fire another is again produced, and so on, until the process is repeated nine times. The fire thus prepared after the ninth process is considered pure. The fires brought from other places of manufacture are treated in a similar manner. These purified fires are all collected in a large vase, which is then put in a separate chamber.

"What does a fire so prepared signify to a Parsee? He thinks to himself: 'When this fire on this vase before me, though pure in itself, though the noblest of the creations of God, and though the best symbol of the Divinity, had to undergo certain processes of purification, had to draw out, as it were, its essence—nay, its quintessence—of purity, to enable itself to be worthy of occupying this exalted position, how much more necessary, more essential, and more important it is for me—a poor mortal who is liable to commit sins and crimes, and who comes into contact with hundreds of evils both physical and mental—to undergo the process of purity and piety, making my thoughts, words, and actions pass, as it were, through a sieve of piety

and purity, virtue and morality, and to separate by that means my good thoughts, good words, and good actions from bad thoughts, bad words, and bad actions, so that I may, in my turn, be enabled to acquire an exalted position in the next world.'

"Again, the fires put together as above are collected from the houses of men of different grades in society. This reminds a Parsee that, as all these fires from the houses of men of different grades have, by the process of purification, equally acquired the exalted place in the vase, so before God all men—no matter to what grades of society they belong—are equal, provided they pass through the process of purification—i. e., provided they preserve purity of thought, purity of words, and purity of deeds.

"Again, when a Parsee goes before the sacred fire, which is kept all day and night burning in the fire temple, the officiating priest presents before him the ashes of a part of the consumed fire. The Parsee applies it to his forehead just as a Christian applies the consecrated water in his church, and thinks to himself: 'Dust to dust. The fire, all brilliant, shining, and resplendent, has spread the fragrance of the sweet-smelling sandal and frankincense round about, but is at last reduced to dust. So it is destined for me. After all, I am to be reduced to dust and have to depart for this transient life. Let me do my best to spread, like this fire, before my death, the fragrance of charity and good deeds, and lead the light of righteousness and knowledge before others.' In short, the sacred fire burning in a fire temple serves as a perpetual monitor to a Parsee standing before it, to preserve piety, purity, humility, and brotherhood.

"A Parsee is not restricted to any particular place for his prayers. He need not wait for a priest or a place. Nature in all its grandeur is his temple of worship. The glorious sun, the resplendent moon, the mountains towering high into the heavens, and the rivers fertilizing the soil, the extensive seas that disappear, as it were, into infinity of space, and the high vault of heaven—all these grand objects and phenomena of Nature draw forth from his soul admiration and praise for the Great Architect who is their author.

"For a visitor to Bombay, which is the headquarters of the Parsees, it is not unusual to see a number of Parsees saying their prayers, morning and evening, in the open space, turning their faces to the rising or the setting sun, before the glowing moon or the foaming sea. Turning to these grand objects, the best and sublimest of his creations, they address their prayers to the Almighty.

"All Parsee prayers begin with a promise to do acts that will please the Almighty God. The promise is followed by an expression of regret for evil thoughts, words, or deeds, if any. Man is liable to err, and so, if during the interval any errors of commission or omission are committed, a Parsee in the beginning of his prayers repents of those errors.

"To educate their children is a spiritual duty of Zoroastrian parents. According to the Parsee books, the parents participate in the meritoriousness of

the good acts performed by their children as the result of the good education imparted to them. On the other hand, if the parents neglect the education of their children, and if, as the result of this neglect, they do wrongful acts or evil deeds, the parents have a spiritual responsibility for such acts. The age recommended by religious Parsee books for ordinary education is seven. Before that age children should have home education with their parents, especially with the mother. At the age of seven, after a little religious education, a Parsee child is invested with *Sudreh* and *Kusti*—i. e., the sacred shirt and thread. This ceremony of investiture corresponds to the confirmation ceremony of the Christians. A Parsee may put on the dress of any nationality he likes, but under that dress he must always wear the sacred shirt and thread. These are the symbols of his being a Zoroastrian. A Parsee is enjoined to remove, and put on again immediately, the sacred thread several times during the day, saying a very short prayer during the process. He has to do so early in the morning on rising from bed, before meals, and after ablutions. The putting on of the symbolic thread and the accompanying short prayer remind him to be in a state of repentance for misdeeds if any, and to preserve good thoughts, good words, and good deeds—the triad in which the moral philosophy of Zoroaster moved.

“After this investiture with the sacred shirt and thread the general education of a child generally begins. The Parsee books speak of the necessity of educating all children, whether male or female. Thus female education claims as much attention among the Parsees as male education. Physical education is as much spoken of in the Zoroastrian books as mental and moral education. The health of the body is considered the first requisite for the health of the soul. That the physical education of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Parsees, was a subject of admiration among the ancient Greeks and Romans, is well known. In all the blessings invoked upon one in the religious prayers, the strength of body occupies the first and most prominent place.

“Obedience to parents is a religious virtue with the Zoroastrian religion. Disobedient children are considered great sinners. This virtue of obedience to parents was such a common characteristic with the ancient Zoroastrians that, as Herodotus says, the legitimacy of a child accused of a misdeed toward the parents was looked at with great suspicion. The parents were the rulers of the house. The father was the king and the mother the queen of the house. So the children, as subjects, were bound to be obedient to their rulers. This obedience to parents at home and to teachers at school was a training for obedience to the rules and manners of society at large, and to the constitutional forms for the government of the country. One of the blessings that a priest prays for in a house on performing the *Afringân* ceremony is the obedience of the children to the head of the family. He prays: ‘May obedience overcome disobedience in this house; may peace overcome dissension; may charity overcome want of charity; may courtesy overcome



THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE BUILDING.
Modeled after the home of John Hancock, Boston.

pride; may truth overcome falsehood.' Zoroastrianism teaches love and regard, loyalty and obedience, to the regular constitutional forms of government. Of all the practical questions, the one most affected by the religious precepts of Zoroastrianism is that of the observation of sanitary rules and principles. Several chapters of the *Vendidad* form the sanitary code of the Parsees. Most of the injunctions will stand the test of sanitary science for ages together. Of the different Asiatic communities inhabiting Bombay, the Parsees have the lowest death-rate.

"Again, Zoroastrianism asked its disciples to keep the earth pure, to keep the air pure, and to keep the water pure. It considers the sun as the greatest purifier. In places where the rays of the sun do not enter, fire over which fragrant wood is burned is the next purifier. It is a great sin to pollute water with decomposing matter. Not only is the commission of a fault of this kind a sin, but also the omission, when one sees such a pollution, of taking proper means to remove it. A Zoroastrian, when he happens to see, while passing in his way, a running stream of drinking water polluted by some decomposing matter, is enjoined to wait and try his best to go into the stream and to remove the putrefying matter, lest its continuation may spoil the water and affect the health of the people using it. An omission to do this act is a sin. At the bottom of the Parsee custom of disposing of the dead, and at the bottom of all the strict religious ceremonies enjoined therewith, lies the one main principle—viz., that, preserving all possible respect for the dead, the body, after its separation from the immortal soul, should be disposed of in a way the least harmful to the living.

"Cultivation of the earth is specially recommended. To bring desolate land into cultivation, and thus to add to the prosperity of the inhabitants, is a meritorious act, helping the cause of the good principle. Taking the word in its general sense, Zoroastrian books advise temperance in all cases. Temperance is spoken of as a priestly virtue. It was owing to these teachings of their religion that the ancient Persians were, according to Strabo, Xenophon, and other ancient historians, well known for their temperate habits. Fasting is not prescribed in any case. The old religious books of the Parsees do not strictly prohibit the use of wine, but preach moderation. *Dâdistan-i-dini* allows the use of wine, and admonishes every man to exert moral control over himself. To the robust and intelligent, who can do without wine, it recommends abstinence. To others it recommends moderation. A person who gives another a drink is deemed as guilty as the drinker, if the latter does any mischief through the influence of that drink.

"A Parsee, before praying for himself, prays for his sovereign and for his community, for he is himself included in the community. His religious precepts teach him to drown his individuality in the common interests of his community. In the twelfth chapter of the *Yasna*, which contains the Zoroastrian articles of faith, a Zoroastrian promises to preserve a perfect brotherhood. He promises, even at the risk of his life, to protect the life and the

property of all members of his community and to help in the cause that would bring about their prosperity and welfare. With these good feelings of brotherhood and charity the Parsee community has endowed large funds for benevolent and charitable purposes. Men of all grades in society contribute to these funds on various occasions. On the death of dear ones, the rich and the poor all pay various sums, according to their means, in charity, and these sums are announced on the occasion of the Oothumnâ or the ceremony on the third day after death.

“The religious training of a Parsee does not restrict his ideas of brotherhood and charity to his own community. He extends his charity to non-Zoroastrians as well.

“For all workers, the Avesta recommends sleep and a complete cessation from every kind of work for eight hours during the day. The Pehlevi Pandnâme of Bouzorge-Meher recommends eight hours during the day for mental recreation, religious meditation, prayers and study. The rest of the day—eight hours—is recommended for field labor and other physical work.

“The literature of the Parsees has, on the whole, a very healthy tone. The materialism, the agnosticism, the atheism, and the other ‘isms’ of the Western world have no place in it as yet. Zoroaster, when he preached his religion in ancient Persia, specially asked his hearers not to accept it on mere blind faith, but to criticise it and to choose it after deliberation. A part of the old Pehlevi literature of the Parsees also displays something of a critical tone of inquiry. The modern literature of the Parsees on the subject of religious matters is also critical and inquisitive ; but on the whole it is religious in its tone. Faith in the existence of God, in the immortality of the soul, and in future reward and punishment pervades the substratum of all thoughts. This faith is not necessarily and always entertained from a Zoroastrian point of view, but from what we should term a general theistic point of view. Again, the literature is very tolerant of other religions. It is never carping at other faiths or forms of belief unless compelled to do so in self-defense. One of the reasons for this is that the Parsees do not proselyte.

“Commerce has made the Parsees prosperous. The founders of the great Parsee families, that have given hundreds of thousands of rupees in charity for the good of their own and other communities of Bombay, all acquired their wealth by commerce. Honesty in trade is a virtue highly recommended in Parsee books. In some of the practical admonitions given to a bridegroom in the marriage service, he is specially advised not to enter into partnership with an ambitious man. According to the teachings of the Parsee books, the husband is the king, and the wife the queen, of the household. On the husband devolves the duty of maintaining his wife and children ; on the wife, that of making the home comfortable and cheerful. The qualifications of a good husband, from a Zoroastrian point of view, are that he must be (1) young and handsome ; (2) strong, brave, and healthy ; (3) diligent and industrious so as to maintain his wife and children ; (4) truthful,

as would prove true to herself and true to all others with whom he would come in contact ; and (5) wise and educated. A wise, intelligent, and educated husband is compared to a fertile piece of land which gives a plentiful crop, whatever kinds of seeds are sown in it. The qualifications of a good wife are that she be wise and educated, modest and courteous, obedient and chaste. Obedience to her husband is the first duty of a Zoroastrian wife. According to the Sad-dar, a wife that expressed a desire to her husband three times a day (in the morning, afternoon, and evening) to be one with him in thoughts, words, and deeds—i. e., to sympathize with him in all his noble aspirations, pursuits, and desires—performed as meritorious an act as that of saying her prayers three times a day. She must wish to be of the same view with him in all his noble pursuits and ask him every day, 'What are your thoughts, so that I may be one with you in those thoughts? What are your words, so that I may be one with you in your speech? What are your deeds, so that I may be one with you in your deeds?' A Zoroastrian wife so affectionate and obedient to her husband was held in great respect, not only by the husband and the household, but in society as well.

"Marriage is greatly encouraged by the spirit of the Parsee religion. It is especially recommended in the Parsee Scriptures, on the ground that a married life is more likely to be happy than an unmarried one, that a married person is more likely to be able to withstand physical and mental afflictions than an unmarried person, and that a married man is more likely to lead a religious and virtuous life than an unmarried one.

"Several rich Parsees have founded endowment funds, from which young and deserving brides are given small sums on the occasion of their marriage, for the preliminary expenses of starting in married life. Fifteen is the minimum marriageable age spoken of by the Parsee books. The parents have a voice of sanction or approval in the selection of wives and husbands. Marriages with non-Zoroastrians are not recommended, as they are likely to bring about dissensions, owing to difference of manners, customs, and habits.

"The Parsees mix freely with members of other faiths, and take part in the rejoicings of their holidays. They also sympathize with them in their griefs and afflictions, and in case of sudden calamities, such as fire, floods, etc., they subscribe liberally to alleviate their misery. From a consideration of all kinds of moral and charitable notions inculcated in the Zoroastrian



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Scriptures, Frances Power Cobbe, in her *Studies, New and Old, of Ethical and Social Subjects*, says of the founder of the religion : ' Should we in a future world be permitted to hold high converse with the great departed, it may chance that in the Bactrian sage, who lived and taught almost before the dawn of history, we may find the spiritual patriarch, to whose lessons we have owed such a portion of our intellectual inheritance that we might hardly conceive what human belief would be now, had Zoroaster never existed.' "

The Armenian Church.—On the ninth day Prof. Minas Tcheraz, of London, England, spoke on the subject of The Armenian Church. We give the following passages from his address :

" The Armenians opposed an active resistance to the Mohammedans, which prevented them from penetrating sooner into eastern Europe. The resistance became passive from the time that they lost their political independence, but it was none the less decisive. Persecutions did not cease under the dominion of the Ottomans, supported by their co-religionists the Kurds, Turcomans, Tartars, Kizilbashis, and Circassians, and re-enforced above all by the swarm of renegades of all races, who were always ready to attach themselves to every state religion, every belief surrounded by privileges and worldly advantages, and who will be the first to return to Christianity, if some day a Christian state takes the place of the Turkish. These persecutions assumed exceptional rigor at the epoch of the Janissaries, whose cruelties knew no bounds. To speak truly, they continued until our own day under one form and another, but they have not been able to sap the Armenian Church, which numbers even now five million faithful souls, scattered over all parts of the globe. Etchmiadzin is revered not only by the sons of this church, but also by the eighty thousand Armenians who have entered within the pale of the Church of Rome, the twenty thousand who have become Protestants, and a small number which has adhered to the Greek orthodoxy. It has had under its jurisdiction the Christians of Albania and Georgia, converted by its missionaries, and has still under its jurisdiction Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians, who receive hospitality in its important establishments in the Holy Land, for the Armenian Church at Jerusalem occupies a position equal to that of the Greek or the Latin Church.

" In some respects misfortune is beneficial. The persecutions directed against the Armenian Church have had some good results. They have served to strengthen the character of the faithful who have survived them. At Constantinople I have seen many Christians from Hungary and Poland embrace Islam without difficulty in order to obtain employment in the Turkish army or administration ; but very few Armenians succumb to this temptation, and if an Armenian turns Mohammedan, he raises the murmur of the whole community against him, who never pardons this apostasy. It is a spectacle worthy of admiration, not only from the Christian but from the human point of view, to see these Armenians who prefer to suffer for their religious convictions rather than be loaded with honors for renouncing them. If they

abandon the cross for the crescent their miseries cease and a free career is opened before them of social distinction and earthly pleasures under the *ægis* of a religion which patronizes polygamy. Well! the worship of the ideal is so strong in them that they stubbornly refuse to change the rags of the *giaour* for the golden epaulettes of the pasha.

"Another result of these manifold persecutions has been to strengthen the attachment of the Armenians to the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator. Etchmiadzin has become a word of enchantment, graven in the soul of every Armenian. The Armenians of the mother country bow down with love before this sanctuary, which has already seen 1,591 summers. And as regards those who have left their native land, if it is far from their eyes it is not far from their hearts. A Persian monarch, Shah-Abbas, had forcibly transported into his dominion fourteen thousand Armenian families. Like the captive Israelites at the remembrance of Jerusalem, these Armenians always sighed at the recollection of Etchmiadzin. In order to keep them in their new country, Shah-Abbas conceived the project of destroying Etchmiadzin, of transporting the stones to Djoulfa (Ispahan), and there reconstructing a similar convent. He actually transported the central stone of the chief altar, the baptismal fonts, and other important pieces, but the emotion of the Armenians became so great that he was forced to give up his project of vandalism.

"If Armenia has been exposed to so many calamities for having embraced the Christian religion, the latter has, however, rendered inestimable services in its turn. There it has organized charity and spread instruction, and it has maintained the Armenian nationality.

"The spirit of charity which forms the very basis of the Christian religion has penetrated the hearts of the people. Innumerable houses of piety and benevolence have been erected in all parts of the country, and the sick and disinherited have always found hands stretched out to help them. Narses the Great himself built more than two thousand charitable establishments: hospitals for lepers and the infirm, hospitals for the poor, houses of refuge for the old, the orphans and the indigent, hospices for foreign travelers and priests, monasteries, nunneries, etc. This spirit is equally evident among Armenians in other countries, and if you enter Constantinople by the railway from Roumelia, the first great building which strikes your eyes is the Armenian hospital of Gedi-Kouleh, with its thousand inmates who are treated with every care.

"The revolution brought about by Christianity in the ideas of the Armenian people has pushed them forward in the way of instruction. The Armenians formed their own alphabet, and from the Greek text of the Septuagint and from the Syriac version called Peshito, they translated the Bible with a skill that has been highly appreciated by Golius, Hottinger, Piques, and Pierre Ledbrun, while Lacroze did not hesitate to proclaim the Armenian version of the New Testament 'the queen of all versions.' They

have produced, generally in the silence of a number of flourishing cloisters, an immense literature, 'one of the most fruitful and interesting in the Christian East,' according to the celebrated French Armenist, Victor Langlois. 'The Armenian liturgy,' says another distinguished Armenist, Edouard Dulaurier, 'contains a number of prayers in which the turn and movement of the thought, the majestic fullness and correctness of the style, reveal an original composition which is entirely Armenian.' Their poetic genius has produced superb canticles which do honor to the Christian inspiration, of which a selection is to be found in their national hymnary (Sharagan), justly compared to a diamond necklace.

"Christianity, when it became a national church, maintained the Armenian nationality. Without it the Armenians would have been absorbed in Zoroastrianism, and at a later period in Islamism; for in that nest of religions which goes by the name of the East, religion makes nationality; and the peoples are nothing but religious communities. That is why the Armenians, especially after the loss of their political independence, look askance at every attempt to detach the faithful from their church. Surrounded at the present day by orthodoxy (i. e., the Greek Church), Catholicism, and Protestantism, each of which aims at bringing this martyred church into its course, they believe it is their duty to maintain the *status quo*, because they would not be able to satisfy the three churches all at once, and because their church is the last refuge of their nationality. They possess a national church, just as they possess a national language and literature, with a national alphabet, a national era and a national history, a national music and a national architecture, and they do not wish to sacrifice them to the national characteristics of the more numerous nations; for, in their eyes, numbers do not constitute merit, and human civilization owes more to Greece, which is microscopically small, than to China, which is colossal in its greatness. They are conscious of their mission in Asia, and M. Félix Nève did not exaggerate in any respect when he wrote these lines: 'By a twofold phenomenon, which is very rare in history, the Armenian people, strong by reason of an admirable fidelity to its character and its faith, survives the wars and revolutions that have in a way decimated it; it possesses in its literary and liturgical idiom a sign of its vitality and a pledge of its perpetuity. One could believe that it is destined to take part some day in the regeneration of Asia.'

"The foreign missionaries who find it convenient to preach Christianity to the faithful of the church nearly contemporary with Christ, ought not to forget that it is their first duty not to weaken in any way the position of a church which is in daily conflict with the powerful religion of Islam. Blessed be the church which should undertake to propagate among the Christians of Armenia, not such or such a form of Christianity, but an instruction and an education which render a people capable of reconciling respect for the past with the exigencies of the modern spirit! From this point of view, the American college at Constantinople renders greater services than those who

waste their time in inculcating Puritan simplicity on the brilliant imagination of an Eastern people.

“The Armenian Church belongs to the Eastern Church, and its rites do not differ much from those of the Greek Church ; but it is completely autonomous, and is ruled by its deacons, priests, and bishops, whose ecclesiastical vestments recall those of the Greeks and Latins. It has a special hagiography, which embraces the entire ecclesiastical year ; a special ritual, a special missal, a special breviary, a special hymnary. It admits the seven sacraments, but administers extreme unction only to the ecclesiastics ; does not recognize either expiations or indulgences ; and celebrates the communion with unleavened bread and wine without water. It holds Easter at the date assigned by Christians before the Nicene Council, and the Nativity and Epiphany on the 6th of January. It prescribes fasting on Wednesday and Friday, and has a period of fasting and an order of saints which are peculiar to it. It believes that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. It is not at all Eutychian, of which it has been falsely accused, for it explicitly professes the dogma of the two natures, of the two wills, and of the two operations in Jesus Christ. It was not a question of dogma, but of jurisdiction, that caused it to reject the Council of Chalcedon. Its conduct is only guided by a feeling of self-preservation, and is dictated to it by the necessities of its situation. As long as Armenia lacks political independence, the Armenians will not be able, without danger, to recognize the Council of Chalcedon. It is a rampart which separates them from the Greek or Russian Church ; if they renounce it, almost half of the nation who live under Muscovite rule would be easily absorbed in the Russian Church and nationality. The state of servitude in which the Armenians live will likewise prevent them from introducing reforms in their church, whose popular character permits it to accept without opposition the ameliorations desired by the faithful.

“Toleration is one of the glories of the Armenian Church. Its adherents have given manifold proofs of it to the Christians of all denominations, and if you happen to visit Etchmiadzin, you will see the tomb of Sir John MacDonald, who was British envoy in Persia, quite close to the entrance of the cathedral, among the tombs of the greatest patriarchs of modern Armenia. The church founded by the Illuminator prays daily ‘for all holy and orthodox bishops,’ and ‘for the peace of the whole world and the stability of the holy church,’ and beseeches the mercy of God ‘by the prayers and intercessions of those who invoke the name of the Lord of Sanctity in any country from the rising to the setting sun.’

“Another glory of the Armenian Church is its democratic spirit. No obstacle is put in the way of its adherents to read and study the Bible. In the mass it practices the ceremony of cordial salutation, which the faithful render to one another with the holy kiss. Its deacons and priests, who are married, live from the voluntary offerings of their flocks, and it is the high clergy only, who are bound to celibacy, who receive a very moderate stipend.

No annual payment is required, as in certain civilized countries, to have a pew in the church; every Christian is received gratuitously, and rich and poor alike bow the head side by side before the Eternal. The clergy, from the humblest deacon to the supreme patriarch, are elected by the free will of the ecclesiastics and the laity. In the very midst of the consecration of a candidate, the bishop stops to ask the congregation if he is worthy of receiving orders. If one single individual calls out that he is not worthy of them, the consecration is suspended, and if this individual proves his assertion to the bishop, the candidate is immediately discarded. It may well be said that the Armenian clergy are the servants and not the masters of the church."

Hinduism.—On the ninth day, also, Hinduism was discussed by Swami Vivekananda, who spoke as follows:

"Three religions stand now in the world which have come down to us from time prehistoric—Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism. They all have received tremendous shocks, and all of them prove by their survival their internal strength; but while Judaism failed to absorb Christianity, and was driven out of its place of birth by its all-conquering daughter, and a handful of Parsees are all that remains to tell the tale of his grand religion, sect after sect has arisen in India and seemed to shake the religion of the Vedas to its very foundation; but, like the waters of the seashore in a tremendous earthquake, it receded only for a while, only to return in an all-absorbing flood, a thousand times more vigorous, and when the tumult of the rush was over, they have been all sucked in, absorbed, and assimilated in the immense body of another faith.



RABBI K. KOHLER,
a speaker at the Congress.

"From the high spiritual flights of Vedantic philosophy, of which the latest discoveries of science seem like the echoes, the agnosticism of the Buddhas, the atheism of the Jains, and the low ideas of idolatry with the multifarious mythology, each and all have a place in the Hindu's religion. Where then is the common center to which all these widely diverging radii converge? where is the common basis upon which all these seemingly hopeless contradictions rest?

"The Hindus have received their religion through their revelation, the Vedas. They hold that the Vedas are without beginning and without end. It may sound ludicrous to this audience how a book can be without beginning or end. But by the Vedas no books are meant. They mean the accumulated treasury of spiritual law discovered by different persons in different times. Just as the law of gravitation existed before its discovery, and would exist if all humanity forgot it, so with the laws that govern the spirit-

ual world. The moral, ethical, and spiritual relation between soul and souls and between individual spirits and the Father of all spirits were there before their discovery and would remain even if we forgot them. The discoverers of these laws are called Rishis, and we honor them as perfected beings ; and I am glad to tell this audience that some of the very best of them were women.

“Here it may be said that the laws as laws may be without end, but they must have had a beginning. The Vedas teach us that creation is without beginning or end. Science has proved to us that the sum total of the cosmic energy is the same throughout all. Then if there was a time when nothing existed, where was all this manifested energy ? Some say it was in a potential form in God. But then God is sometimes potential and sometimes kinetic, which would make him mutable, and everything mutable is a compound, and everything compound must undergo that change which is called destruction. Therefore God would die. Therefore there never was a time when there was no creation. If I may be allowed to apply a simile, creation and creator are two lives, without beginning and without end, running parallel to each other, and God is power, an ever-active providence, under whom systems after systems are being evolved out of chaos—made to run for a time and again destroyed. This is what the Hindu boy repeats every day with his *guru* : ‘The sun and the moon, the Lord created after other suns and moons.’ And this agrees with science.

“Here I stand, and if I shut my eyes and try to conceive my existence, I, I, I—what is the idea before me ? The idea of a body. Am I, then, nothing but a combination of matter and material substances ? The Vedas declare ‘No,’ I am a spirit living in a body. I am not the body. The body will die, but I will not die. Here am I in this body, and when it fails still I shall go on living. And also I had a past. The soul was not created from nothing, for creation means a combination, and that means a certain future dissolution. If, then, the soul was created, it must die. Therefore it was not created. Some are born happy, enjoying perfect health, beautiful body, mental vigor, and with all wants supplied. Others are born miserable ; some are without hands or feet, some idiots, and only drag on a miserable existence. Why, if they are all created, does a just and merciful God create one happy and the other unhappy ? Why is he so partial ? Nor would it mend matters in the least to hold that those that are miserable in this life will be perfect in a future. Why should a man be miserable here in the reign of a just and merciful God ? In the second place, it does not give us any cause, but simply a cruel act of an all-powerful being, and therefore unscientific. There must have been causes, then, to make a man miserable or happy before his birth, and those were his past actions. Are not all the tendencies of the mind and those of the body answered for by inherited aptitude from parents ? Here are the two parallel lines of existence—one that of mind, the other that of matter. If matter and its transformation answer for all that we have, there is no necessity of supposing the existence

of a soul. But it can not be proved that thought has been evolved out of matter, and if a philosophical monism is inevitable, a spiritual monism is certainly logical and no less desirable, but neither of these is necessary here.

"We can not deny that bodies inherit certain tendencies from heredity, but these tendencies only mean the secular configuration, through which a peculiar mind alone can act in a peculiar way. Those peculiar tendencies in that soul have been caused by his past actions, and a soul with a certain tendency would go and take birth in a body which is the fittest instrument of the display of that tendency by the laws of affinity. And this is in perfect accord with science, for science wants to explain everything by habit, and habit is got through repetitions. So these repetitions are also necessary to explain the natural habits of a new-born soul—and they were not got in this present life ; therefore they must have come down from past lives.

"But there is another suggestion ; taking all these for granted, how is it that I do not remember anything of my past life ? This can be easily explained. I am now speaking English. It is not my mother tongue ; in fact, no words of my mother tongue are present in my consciousness ; but let me try to bring them up, they rush into my consciousness. That shows that consciousness is the name only of the surface of the mental ocean, and within its depths are stored up all our experiences. Try and struggle, and they will come up and you will be conscious. This is the direct and demonstrative evidence. Verification is the perfect proof of a theory and here is the challenge, thrown to the world by the Rishis. We have discovered precepts by which the very depths of the ocean of memory can be stirred up—try it, and you would get a complete reminiscence of your past life.

"So then the Hindu believes that he is a spirit. Him the sword can not pierce—him the fire can not burn—him the water can not melt—him the air can not dry. And that every soul is a circle whose circumference is nowhere, but whose center is located in a body, and death means the change of this center from body to body. Nor is the soul bound by the conditions of matter. In its every essence it is free, unbounded, holy and pure and perfect. But somehow or other it has got itself bound down by matter, and thinks itself matter ? Why should the free, perfect, and pure being be under the thralldom of matter ? is the next question. How can the perfect be deluded into the belief that he is imperfect ? We have been told that the Hindus shirk the question and say that no such question can be there ; and some thinkers want to answer it by the posing of one or more quasi perfect beings, and big scientific names to fill up the gap. But naming is not explaining. The question remains the same—how the perfect becomes the quasi perfect. How can the pure, the absolute, change even a microscopic particle of its nature ? But the Hindu is more sincere. He does not want to take shelter under sophistry. He is brave enough to face the question in a manly fashion. And his answer is, 'I do not know.' I do not know how the perfect being, the soul, came to think itself imperfect, as

joined to and conditioned by matter. But the fact is a fact for all that. It is a fact in everybody's consciousness that he thinks himself as the body. We do not attempt to explain why I am in this body. The answer that it is the will of God is no explanation. It is nothing more than what they say themselves, 'We do not know.'

"The human soul is eternal and immortal, perfect and infinite, and death means only a change of center from one body to another. The present is determined by our past actions, and the future will be by the present ; it will go on evolving up or reverting back from birth to birth and death to death. But here is another question : Is man a tiny boat in a tempest, raised one moment on the foaming crest of a billow and dashed down into a yawning chasm the next, rolling to and fro at the mercy of good and bad actions—a powerless, helpless wreck in an ever-raging, ever-rushing, uncompromising current of cause and effect—a little moth placed under the wheel of causation, which rolls on, crushing everything in its way, and waits not for the widows' tears or the orphans' cry ? The heart sinks at the idea, yet this is the law of Nature. Is there no hope ? Is there no escape ? was the cry that went up from the bottom of the heart of despair. It reached the Throne of Mercy, and words of hope and consolation came down and inspired a Vedic sage, and he stood up before the world and in trumpet voice proclaimed the glad tidings. 'Hear ye, children of immortal bliss, even ye that reside in higher spheres. I have found the Ancient One, who is beyond all darkness, all delusion, and knowing him alone you shall be saved from death over again. Children of immortal bliss, what a sweet, what a hopeful name !' Allow me to call you, brethren, by that sweet name, heirs of immortal bliss—yea, the Hindu refuses to call you sinners. Ye are the children of God, the sharers of immortal bliss, holy and perfect beings, ye are divinities on earth. Sinners ? It is a sin to call a man so ; it is a standing libel on human nature. Come up, oh, live and shake off the delusion that you are sheep ; you are souls immortal, spirits free and blessed and eternal ; ye are not matter, ye are not bodies ; matter is your servant, not you the servant of matter.

"Thus it is that the Vedas proclaim, not a dreadful combination of unforgiving laws, not an endless prison of cause and effect, but that at the head of all these laws, in and through every particle of matter and force, stands One through whose command the wind blows, the fire burns, the clouds rain, and death stalks upon the earth. And what is his nature ? He is everywhere the pure and formless One. The Almighty and the All-merciful. 'Thou art our father ; thou art our mother ; thou art our beloved friend ; thou art the source of all strength ; give us strength. Thou art he that bearest the burdens of the universe ; help me bear the little burden of this life.' Thus sang the Rishis of the Veda ; and how to worship him—through love. 'He is to be worshiped as the one beloved,' 'dearer than everything in this and the next life.'

"This is the doctrine of love preached in the Vedas, and let us see how it

is fully developed and preached by Krishna, whom the Hindus believe to have been God incarnate on earth. He taught that a man ought to live in this world like a lotus leaf, which grows in water, but is never moistened by water—so a man ought to live in this world—his heart to God and his hands to work. It is good to love God for hope of reward in this or the next world, but it is better to love God for love's sake, and the prayer goes: 'Lord, I do not want wealth, nor children, nor learning. If it be thy will, I will go to a hundred hells, but grant me this, that I may love thee without the hope of reward—unselfishly love for love's sake.' One of the disciples of Krishna, Emperor of India, was driven from his throne by his enemies, and had to take shelter in a forest in the Himalayas with his queen, and there one day the queen was asking him how it was that he, the most virtuous of men, should suffer so much misery; and Yuohistera answered: 'Behold, my queen, the Himalayas, how beautiful they are; I love them. They do not give me anything, but my nature is to love the grand, the beautiful, therefore I love them. Similarly, I love the Lord. He is the source of all beauty, of all sublimity. He is the only object to be loved; my nature is to love him, and therefore I love. I do not pray for anything; I do not ask for anything. Let him place me wherever he likes. I must love him for love's sake. I can not trade in love.'

"The Vedas teach that the soul is divine, only held under bondage of matter, and perfection will be reached when the bond shall burst, and the word they use is therefore Mukto—freedom, freedom from the bonds of imperfection, freedom from death and misery. And this bondage can only fall off through the mercy of God, and this mercy comes on the pure, so purity is the condition of his mercy. He reveals himself to the pure heart, and the pure and stainless man sees God, yea even in this life, and then, and then only, all the crookedness of the heart is made straight. Then all doubt ceases. He is no more the freak of a terrible law of causation. So this is the very center, the very vital conception of Hinduism. The Hindu does not want to live upon words and theories—if there are existences beyond the ordinary sensual existence, he wants to come face to face with them. If there is a soul in him which is not matter, if there is an all-merciful universal soul, he will go to him direct. He must see him, and that alone can destroy all doubts. So the best proof a Hindu sage gives about the soul, about God, is 'I have seen the soul; I have seen God.' And that is the only condition of perfection. The Hindu religion does not consist in struggles and attempts to believe a certain doctrine or dogma, but in realizing; not in believing, but in being and becoming.

"So the whole struggle in their system is a constant struggle to become perfect, to become divine, to reach God and see God, and this reaching God, seeing God, becoming perfect, even as the Father in Heaven is perfect, constitutes the religion of the Hindus. And what becomes of man when he becomes perfect? He lives a life of bliss, infinite. He enjoys infinite and

perfect bliss, having obtained the only thing in which man ought to have pleasure, God, and enjoys the bliss with God.

"So far all the Hindus are agreed. This is the common religion of all the sects of India ; but then the question comes, perfection is absolute, and the absolute can not be two or three. It can not have any qualities. It can not be an individual. And so when a soul becomes perfect and absolute, it must become one with Brahma, and he would only realize the Lord as the perfection, the reality, of his own nature and existence, the existence absolute, knowledge absolute, and life absolute. We have often and often read about this being called the losing of individuality, as becoming a stock or a stone. 'He jests at scars that never felt a wound.' I tell you it is nothing of the kind. If it is happiness to enjoy the consciousness of this small body, it must be more happiness to enjoy the consciousness of two bodies, so three, four, five ; and the aim, the ultimate of happiness would be reached when it would become a universal consciousness. Therefore, to gain this infinite universal individuality, this miserable little prison individuality must go. Then alone can death cease when I am one with life ; then alone can misery cease when I am one with happiness itself ; then alone can all errors cease when I am one with knowledge itself ; and it is the necessary scientific conclusion science has proved to me that physical individuality is a delusion, that really my body is one little continuously changing body, in an unbroken ocean of matter, and the Advaitam is the necessary conclusion with my other counterpart, mind.

"Science is nothing but the finding of unity, and as any science can reach the perfect unity, it would stop from further progress, because it would reach the goal ; thus chemistry can not progress farther, when it would discover one element out of which all others could be made. Physics would stop when it would be able to fulfill its services in discovering one energy of which all the others are but the manifestations ; and the science of religion became perfect when it discovered Him who is the one life in a universe of death, Him who is the constant basis of an ever-changing world, One who is the only soul of which all souls are but delusive manifestations. Thus was it, through multiplicity and duality, the ultimate unity was reached, and religion can go no farther, and this is the goal of all, again and again, science after science, again and again.



REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK,
a speaker at the Congress.

“And all science is bound to come to this conclusion in the long run. Manifestation, and not creation, is the word of science of to-day, and he is only glad that what he had cherished in his bosom for ages is going to be taught in some forcible language, and with further light by the latest conclusions of science.

“Descend we now from the aspirations of philosophy to the religion of the ignorant? On the very outset, I may tell you that there is no polytheism in India. In every temple, if one stands by and listens, he will find the worshipers applying all the attributes of God, including omnipresence, to these images. It is not polytheism, neither would the name henotheism answer our question.

“I remember when I was a boy, a Christian man was preaching to a crowd in India. Among other sweet things he was telling the people that if he gave a blow to their idol with his stick, what could it do? One of his hearers sharply answered, ‘If I abuse your God, what can he do?’ ‘You would be punished,’ said the preacher, ‘when you die.’ ‘So my idol will punish you when you die,’ said the villager.

“The tree is known by its fruits; and when I have been among them that are called idolatrous men, the like of whom in morality and spirituality and love I have never seen anywhere, I stop and ask myself, Can sin beget holiness?

“Superstition is the enemy of man, bigotry worse. Why does a Christian go to church, why is the cross holy, why is the face turned toward the sky in prayer? Why are there so many images in the Catholic church, why are there so many images in the minds of Protestants, when they pray? My brethren, we can no more think about anything without a material image than it is profitable for us to live without breathing. And by the law of association the material image calls up the mental idea, and *vice versa*. Omnipotent, to almost the whole world means nothing. Has God superficial area? if not, when we repeat the word we think of the extended earth, and that is all.

“As we find that somehow or other, by the laws of our constitution, we have got to associate our ideas of infinity with the ideal of a blue sky, or a sea; the omnipresence covering the idea of holiness with an idol of a church, or a mosque, or a cross—so the Hindus have associated the ideas of holiness, purity, truth, omnipresence, and all other ideas, with different images and forms. But with this difference; upon certain actions some are drawn their whole lives to their idol of a church and never rise higher, because with them religion means an intellectual assent to certain doctrines and doing good to their fellows. The whole religion of the Hindu is centered in realization. Man is to become divine, realizing the divine, and therefore idol, or temple, or church, or books, are only the supports, the helps of his spiritual childhood; but on and on he must progress.

“He must not stop anywhere. ‘External worship, material worship,’

says the Vedas, 'is the lowest stage ; struggling to rise high, mental prayer is the next stage ; but the highest stage is when the Lord has been realized.' Let the same earnest man who was kneeling before the idol tell you hereafter of struggles. 'Him the sun can not express, nor the moon, nor the stars, the lightning can not express him, nor what we speak of fire ; through him they all shine.' But with this difference : he does not abuse the images or call it sin. He recognizes in it a necessary stage of his life. 'The child is father of the man.' Would it be right for the old man to say that childhood is a sin, or youth a sin ?

"If a man can realize his divine nature with the help of an image, would it be right to call it a sin ? Nor even when he has passed that stage that he should call it an error. To the Hindu, man is not traveling from error to truth, but from truth to truth, from lower to higher truth. To him all the religions, from the lowest fetichism to the highest absolutism, mean so many attempts of the human soul to grasp and realize the Infinite, determined by the conditions of its birth and association, and each of these marks a stage of progress, and every soul is a child eagle soaring higher and higher, gathering more and more strength, till it reaches the glorious sun.

"Unity in variety is the plan of nature, and the Hindu has recognized it. Every other religion lays down a certain amount of fixed dogma, and tries to force the whole society through it. They lay down before society one coat which must fit Jack, and Job, and Henry, all alike. If it does not fit John or Henry, they must go without coat to cover body. They have discovered that the absolute can only be realized, or thought of, or stated through the relative ; and the images, cross or crescent, are simply so many centers, so many pegs to help on the spiritual idea. It is not that this help is necessary for every one, but for many ; and those that do not need it have no right to say that it is wrong.

"One thing I must tell you. Idolatry in India does not mean a horror. It is not the mother of harlots. On the other hand, it is the attempt of undeveloped minds to grasp high spiritual truths. The Hindus have their own faults, they sometimes have their exceptions ; but mark this, it is always toward punishing their own bodies, and never to cut the throats of their neighbors. If the Hindu fanatic burns himself on the pyre, he never lights the fire of inquisition ; and even this can not be laid at the door of religion any more than the burning of witches can be laid at the door of Christianity.

"To the Hindu, then, the whole world of religions is only a traveling, a coming up, of different men and women, through various conditions and circumstances, to the same goal. Every religion is only an evolving a God out of the material man ; and the same God is the inspirer of all of them. Why, then, are there so many contradictions ? They are only apparent, says the Hindu. The contradictions come from the same truth adapting itself to the different circumstances of different natures.

"It is the same light coming through different colors. And these little

variations are necessary for that adaptation. But in the heart of everything the same truth reigns ; the Lord has declared to the Hindu in his incarnation as Krishna : ' I am in every religion, as the thread through a string of pearls. And wherever thou seest extraordinary holiness and extraordinary power raising and purifying humanity, know ye that I am there.' And what was the result ! Through the whole order of Sanskrit philosophy, I challenge anybody to find any such expression as that the Hindu only would be saved and none others. Says Vyas : ' We find perfect men even beyond the pale of our caste and creed.' One thing more. How can, then, the Hindu, whose whole idea centers in God, believe in the Buddhist who is agnostic, or the Jain who is atheist ?

" The Buddhists do not depend upon God ; but the whole force of their religion is directed to the great central truth in every religion, to evolve a God out of man. They have not seen the Father, but they have seen the Son. And he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father. This, brethren, is a short sketch of the ideas of the Hindus. The Hindu might have failed to carry out all his plans, but if there is to be ever a universal religion, it must be one which would hold no location in place or time, which would be infinite like the God it would preach, whose sun shines upon the followers of Krishna or Christ, saints or sinners alike ; which would not be the Brahman or Buddhist, Christian or Mohammedan, but the sum total of all these, and still have infinite space for development ; which in its catholicity would embrace in its infinite arms and formulate a place for every human being, from the lowest groveling man who is scarcely removed in intellectuality from the brute, to the highest mind, towering almost above humanity, and who makes society stand in awe and doubt his human nature. It would be a religion which would have no place for persecution or intolerance in its polity, and would recognize a divinity in every man or woman, and whose whole scope, whose whole force, would be centered in aiding humanity to realize its divine nature. Offer religions in your hand, and all the nations must follow thee. Asoka's council was a council of the Buddhist faith. Akbar's, though more to the purpose, was only a parlor meeting. It was reserved for America to call, to proclaim to all quarters of the globe that the Lord is in every religion.

" May He who is the Brahma of the Hindus, the Ahura-Mazda of the Zoroastrians, the Buddha of the Buddhists, the Jehovah of the Jews, the Father in Heaven of the Christians, give strength to you to carry out your noble idea. The star arose in the East ; it traveled steadily toward the West, sometimes dimmed and sometimes effulgent, till it made a circuit of the world, and now it is again rising on the very horizon of the East, the borders of the Tasifu, a thousand-fold more effulgent than it ever was before. Hail Columbia, mother-land of liberty ! It has been given to thee, who never dipped her hand in her neighbor's blood, who never found out that shortest way of becoming rich by robbing one's neighbors, it has been given

to thee to march on at the vanguard of civilization with the flag of harmony."

Evolution and Christianity.—On the seventeenth day Henry Drummond, author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, spoke on Evolution and Christianity. The following extracts are from his address:

"True science is as much a care of true theology as any branch of truth, and if it is necessary for a few moments to approach the subject partly in an apologetic attitude, the final object is to show, not how certain old theological conceptions have saved their skins in recent conflicts, but that they have come out of the struggle enriched, purified, and enlarged.

"The first fact to be registered is that evolution has swept over the doctrine of creation, and left it untouched, except for the better. The stages in the advance here are easily noted. Working in its own field, science made the discovery of how God made the world. To science itself this discovery was as startling and as unexpected as it has ever been to theology. Exactly fifty years ago Mr. Darwin wrote in dismay to Hooker that the old theory of specific creation—that God made all species apart and introduced them into the world one by one—was melting away before his eyes. He unburdens the thought, as he says in his letter, almost 'as if he were confessing a murder.' But so entirely has the world bowed to the weight of the facts before which even Darwin trembled, that one of the last books on Darwinism, by so religious a mind as that of Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace, contains in its opening chapter these words: 'The whole scientific and literary world, even the whole educated public, accept as a matter of common knowledge the origin of species from other allied species by the ordinary process of natural birth. The idea of special creation, or any other exceptional mode of production, is absolutely extinct.' Theology, after a period of hesitation, accepted this version on the whole. The hesitation was not due, as is often supposed, to prejudice. What theology waited for was what science itself was waiting for—the arrival of the proof.



PROF. HENRY DRUMMOND,
a speaker at the Congress.

"That the doctrine of evolution is proved yet, no one will assert. That in some of its forms it is never likely to be proved, many are even convinced. It will be time for theology to be unanimous about it when science is unanimous about it. Yet it would be idle not to record the fact that in a general form it has received the widest assent from modern theology. And there is nothing here but gain. If science is satisfied, even in a general way,

with its theory of evolution as the method of creation, 'assent' is a cold word with which those whose business it is to know and love the ways of God should welcome it. It is needless at this time of day to point out the surpassing grandeur of the new conception. How it has filled the Christian imagination and kindled to enthusiasm the soberest scientific minds from Darwin downward, is known to every one. For that splendid hypothesis we can not be too grateful to science; and that theology can only enrich itself which gives it even temporary place in its doctrine of creation. The theory of evolution fills a gap at the very beginning of our religion; and no one who looks now at the transcendent spectacle of the world's past as disclosed by science, will deny that it has filled it worthily. Yet, after all, its beauty is not the part of its contribution to Christianity which one emphasizes here. Scientific theology required a new view, though it did not require it to come in so magnificent a form. What it needed was a credible presentation, in view especially of astronomy, geology, palæontology, and biology. These, as we have said, had made the former theory simply untenable. And science has supplied theology with a theory which the intellect can accept, and which for the devout mind leaves everything more worthy of worship than before.

"As to the time-honored question of the relation of that theory to the Book of Genesis, it may surely be said that theology has now no longer any difficulty. The long and interesting era of the 'reconcilers' is to be looked upon as past. That was a necessary era. With the older views of revelation there was no alternative but to harmonize the Mosaic cosmogony with palæontology. And no more gallant or able attempts were ever made to bridge an apparently serious gulf than were the 'Reconciliations' of Hugh Miller and Chalmers, of Kurtz and Guyot, and the band of brilliant men who spent themselves over this great apology. But the solution, when it came, reached us from quite another quarter.

"For, wholly apart from this problem, theology meantime was advancing in new directions. The science of Biblical criticism was born. The doctrine of evolution, casting its transforming light over every branch of knowledge, came in time to be applied to the literature and doctrine of the Old Testament. Under the new light the problem of the reconciliation of Genesis and science simply disappeared. The two things lay in different regions, no bridge was necessary, and none was called for. Genesis was not a scientific but a religious book, and there being no science there, for theologians to put it there, or 'reconcile' as if it were there, was seen to be a mistake. This new position is as impregnable as it is final. Genesis is a presentation of one or two great elementary truths to the childhood of the world. It can only be read aright in the spirit in which it was written, with its original purpose in view and its original audience. Dating from the childhood of the world, written for children, and for that child spirit in man which remains unchanged by time, it takes color and shape accordingly.

Its object is purely religious, the point being, not how certain things were made—which is a question for science, which the revealer of truth has everywhere left to science—but that God made them. It is not dedicated to science, but to the soul. It is a sublime theology, a hymn of creation, given in view of idolatry or polytheism, telling the worshipful youth of the earth that the heavens and the earth and every flying and creeping thing were made by God.

“This conclusion, and it can not be too widely asserted, is now a commonplace with scientific theology. The misfortune is that, with the broken state of the churches, there is no one to announce in the name of theology that this controversy is at an end. The theological world needs nothing as much just now as a clearing house, a register office, a something akin to the ancient councils, where the legitimate gains of theological science may be registered, the new advances chronicled, popular errors exploded, and authoritative announcements made of the exact position of affairs. The waste of time both to friends and foes—to friends in laboriously proving what is settled, to foes in ingloriously slaying the slain—is a serious hindrance to the progress of truth; and could any council have dealt with this controversy, let us say, as a British Association with Bathybius, the religious world would be spared such paltry spectacles as Mr. Huxley annihilating Mr. Gladstone, in presence of a blaspheming enemy, over a problem which to real theology is non-existent. Probably nine tenths of the ‘modern attacks’ upon religion from the side of science are assaults upon positions which theological science has itself discredited, but whose disclaimers, for want of a suitable platform to announce them from, have not been heard.

“Evolution has swept over the Church’s conception of origins and left it also untouched except for the better. The method of creation is one thing, the question of origin is another. There is only one theory of the method of creation in the field, and that is evolution; but there is only one theory of origins in the field, and that is creation. Instead of abolishing a creative hand, in short, as is sometimes supposed, evolution demands it. All that Mr. Darwin worked at was the origin of species; he discovered nothing new, and professed to know nothing new about the origin either of matter or of life. Nothing is more ignorant than the attempt to pit evolution or natural law against creation, as if the one excluded the other. The Christian apologist who tries to refute objections founded upon their supposed antagonism is engaged in a wholly superfluous task. Evolution, instead of being opposed to creation, assumes creation. Law is not the cause of the order of the world, but the expression of it—so far from accounting for the origin of the world, it is one of the chief things whose origin has to be accounted for. Evolution only professes to offer an account of the development of the world, but it does not profess either to account for it or for itself.

“The neutrality of evolution here has been again and again asserted by its chief exponents, and the fact ought to take a place in all future discus-

sion of the subject. Mr. Huxley's words alone should be sufficient to set the theological mind at rest. 'The doctrine of evolution,' he writes, 'is neither theistic nor antitheistic. It has no more to do with theism than the first book of Euclid has. It does not even come in contact with theism considered as a scientific doctrine.' 'Behind the co-operating forces of Nature,' says Weissman, 'which aim at a purpose, we must admit a cause, inconceivable in its nature, of which we can say only one thing with certainty—that it must be theological.'

"Far too lightly, in the past, have religious minds been wont to assume the irreligiousness of scientific thought. Scientific thought, as scientific thought, can neither be religious nor irreligious, yet when the pure man of science speaks a pure word of science—a neutral and colorless word—because he has failed to put in the theological color he has been branded as an infidel. It must not escape notice, in any summing up of the present situation, how scientific men have themselves repudiated this charge. It is not denied that some have given ground for it by explicit utterance—even by blatant, insolent, and vulgar utterance. But far more, and among them those who are currently supposed to stand foremost in the opposing ranks, have expressly denounced it and gone out of their way to denounce it.

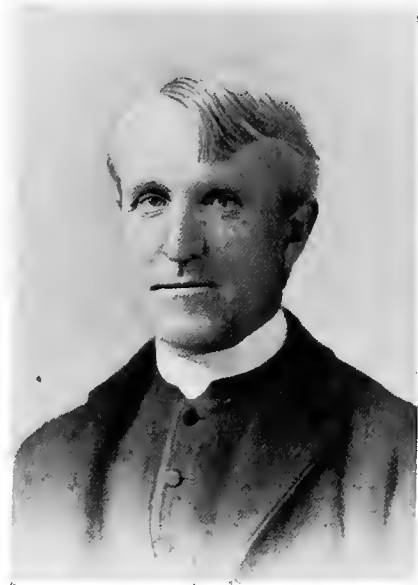
"Prof. Tyndall says: 'I have noticed during years of self-observation that it is not in hours of *clearness* and *vigor* that atheism commends itself to my mind; that in the hours of stronger and healthier thought it ever dissolves and disappears, as offering no solution of the mystery in which we dwell and of which we form part.'

"Apart from that, it may well be that some of the protest of science against theism is directed not against a true theism but against those superstitions and irrational forms which it is the business of science, in whatever department, to expose. What Tyndall calls a 'fierce and distorted theism,' which elsewhere he does not spare, is as much the enemy of Christianity as of science; and if science can help Christianity to destroy it, it does well. What we have really to fight against is both unfounded belief and unfounded unbelief; and there is perhaps just as much of the one as of the other afloat in current literature. 'In these days,' says Ruskin, 'you have to guard against the fatalist darkness of the two opposite prides: the pride of faith, which imagines that the nature of the Deity can be defined by its convictions, and the pride of science, which imagines that the energy of Deity can be explained by its analysis.'

"The question as to the proportion of scientific men who take the Christian side is too foreign to the present theme to call for remark; but as a matter of fact there is probably no more real unbelief among men of science than among men of any other profession. The numbering of heads here is not a system that one fancies, but as it is a line often taken on the opposite side, and seems to have a weight with certain minds, I record here, in passing, the following authorized statement by a well-known Fellow of the

Royal Society of London: 'I have known the British Association under forty-one different presidents—all leading men of science, with the exception of two or three appointed on other grounds. On looking over these forty-one names, I count twenty who, judged by their private utterances or private communications, are men of Christian belief and character, while, judged by the same test, only four disbelieve in any divine revelation. Of the remaining seventeen, some have possibly been religious men, and others may have been opponents; but it is fair to suppose that the greater part have given no very serious thought to the subject. I do not mean to say that all these twenty have been men of much spirituality, and certainly some of them have not been classed as orthodox, but the figures at least indicate that religious faith rather than unbelief has characterized the leading men of the association.'

"But to return. Instead of robbing the world of a God, science has done more than all the philosophies and natural theologies of the past to sustain and enrich the theistic conception. Thus: It has made it impossible for the world ever to worship any other God. The sun, for instance, and the stars have been 'found out.' Science has shown us exactly what they are. No man can worship them any more. If science has not by searching found out God, it has not found any other God, or anything the least like a God that might continue to be even a conceivable object of worship in a scientific age. By searching, though it has not found God, it has found a place for God. At the back of all phenomena, science posits God. As never before, from the purely physical side, there is room in the world for God; there is a license to any one who can name this name to affirm, to speak out, to introduce to the world the object of his faith. And the gain here is distinct. Hitherto theology held it as an almost untested dogma that God created the world. That dogma has now passed through the fiercest of crucibles and comes out untarnished. A permission to go on, a license from the best of modern science to resume the old belief, is at least something. By vastly extending our knowledge of creation, science has given us a more godlike God. The new-found energies in the world demand a will, and an ever-present will. God no longer made the world and withdrew; he pervades the whole. Appearing at special crises, according to the old view, he was to be conceived of as the non-resident God, the occasional wonder worker. Now



REV. FRANK SEWALL,
a speaker at the Congress.

he is always there. Science has nothing finer to offer Christianity than this exaltation of its supreme conception—God. Is it too much to say that in a practical age like the present, when the idea and practice of worship tend to be forgotten, God should wish to reveal himself afresh in ever more striking ways? Is it too much to say that at this distance from creation, with the eye of theology resting largely upon the incarnation and work of the Man Christ Jesus, the Almighty should design with more and more impressiveness to utter himself as the Wonderful, the Counselor, the Great and Mighty God? Whether this be so or not, it is certain that every step of science discloses the attributes of the Almighty with a growing magnificence. The author of *Natural Religion* tells that 'the average scientific man worships just at present a more awful, and as it were a greater, deity than the average Christian.' Certain it is that the Christian view and the scientific view together form a conception of the object of worship such as the world in its highest inspiration never reached before. The old student of natural theology rose from his contemplation of design in Nature with heightened feelings of the wisdom, goodness, and power of the Almighty. But never before had the attributes of eternity, and immensity, and infinity, clothed themselves with language so majestic in its sublimity.

"Evolution has swept over the argument from design and left it unchanged except for the better. In its old form, it is as well to admit squarely, this argument has been swept away. To it, as to the doctrine of special creation, the work of the later naturalists has proved absolutely fatal. But the same hand that destroyed, fulfilled, and this beautiful and serviceable argument has lately received such a rehabilitation from evolution as to promise for it a new lease of life and usefulness. Darwin has not written a chapter that is not full of teleology. The 'design' is there still, less in the part than in the whole, less in the parts than in the relations of the parts; and though the time is not quite ripe yet for the full restatement of the venerable argument, it is clear we are to have it with us again invested with profounder significance. It is of this that Mr. Huxley, after showing that the old argument is scientifically untenable, writes: 'It is necessary to remember that there is a wider teleology which is not touched by the doctrine of evolution, but is actually based upon the fundamental proposition of evolution.'

"Passing away from these older and more familiar problems, let me indicate lastly, and in a few closing words, one or two of the more recently disclosed points of contact. Not a few theological doctrines, and some of supreme significance, are for the first time beginning to feel the effect of the new standpoint; and though it were premature to claim actual theological contribution from this direction, one can not fail to notice where the rays are striking, and to prophesy that before another half century is past a theological advance of moment may result. The adjustments already made, it will be observed, have come exactly where all theological reconstruction must begin, with the foundation truths, the doctrines of God, creation and

providence. Advances in due order and all along the line from these upward are what one might further and next expect. With suggestions in some of these newer directions the whole field of theology is already alive, and the opportunity now offered to theological science for a reconstruction or illumination of many of its most important doctrines has never been surpassed in hopefulness or interest."

Congress of Missions.—The Congress of Missions, organized by a general committee, of which the Rev. Walter Manning Barrows, D. D., served as chairman, followed immediately upon the Parliament of Religions and continued for eight days with three daily sessions. The Woman's Congress of Missions, under the direction of a committee of which Mrs. F. W. Fisk was chairman, united with the general Congress during part of the sessions of three days. The delegates to these congresses comprised missionaries, beneficiaries of missionary labor, officers of missionary societies, and others interested. The papers and addresses were given, for the most part, by those who had gained their information at first hand, and who could thus speak with authority. While there was no disposition to exaggerate what had been accomplished, or to underestimate the difficulties still in the way, the prevailing tone of the Congress was hopeful. The questions discussed were those having a vital relation to the work that needs to be done now.

Dr. Barrows, chairman of the Congress, stated in his opening address on Thursday, September 28, that it had been the endeavor of the committee in laying out the work of the Congress to give the subject of co-operation the most prominent place; that it was certain the world would never be Christianized by a church divided into a hundred sects, working independently of one another, and often at cross-purposes; and that it would only be when the whole "body is fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth" that the work would be accomplished; that while the time might never come for fusion on any large scale, it had certainly come for co-operation on a larger scale.

A paper was presented by the Rev. George W. Knox, of Tokio, Japan, on Denominational Comity and Co-operation, after which the Rev. Edwin M. Bliss, of New York city, formerly of Constantinople, read a paper on Co-operation Applied: Practical Methods, in which he said:

"Co-operation in mission work is the working together of the different branches of the Christian Church with God, to evangelize the world and build up the kingdom of God. It is applicable to every department of Christian effort. It is interesting to note the advance that is indicated by the use of the term co-operation. A few years ago the great word, in speaking of the relations of missionary societies to each other, was comity. Comity is but a form of courtesy. I will not interfere with you and I shall expect that you will not interfere with me. It almost necessitated separate fields, separate developments, separate results. Co-operation is something far more than this. It recognizes that each separate body has a place and

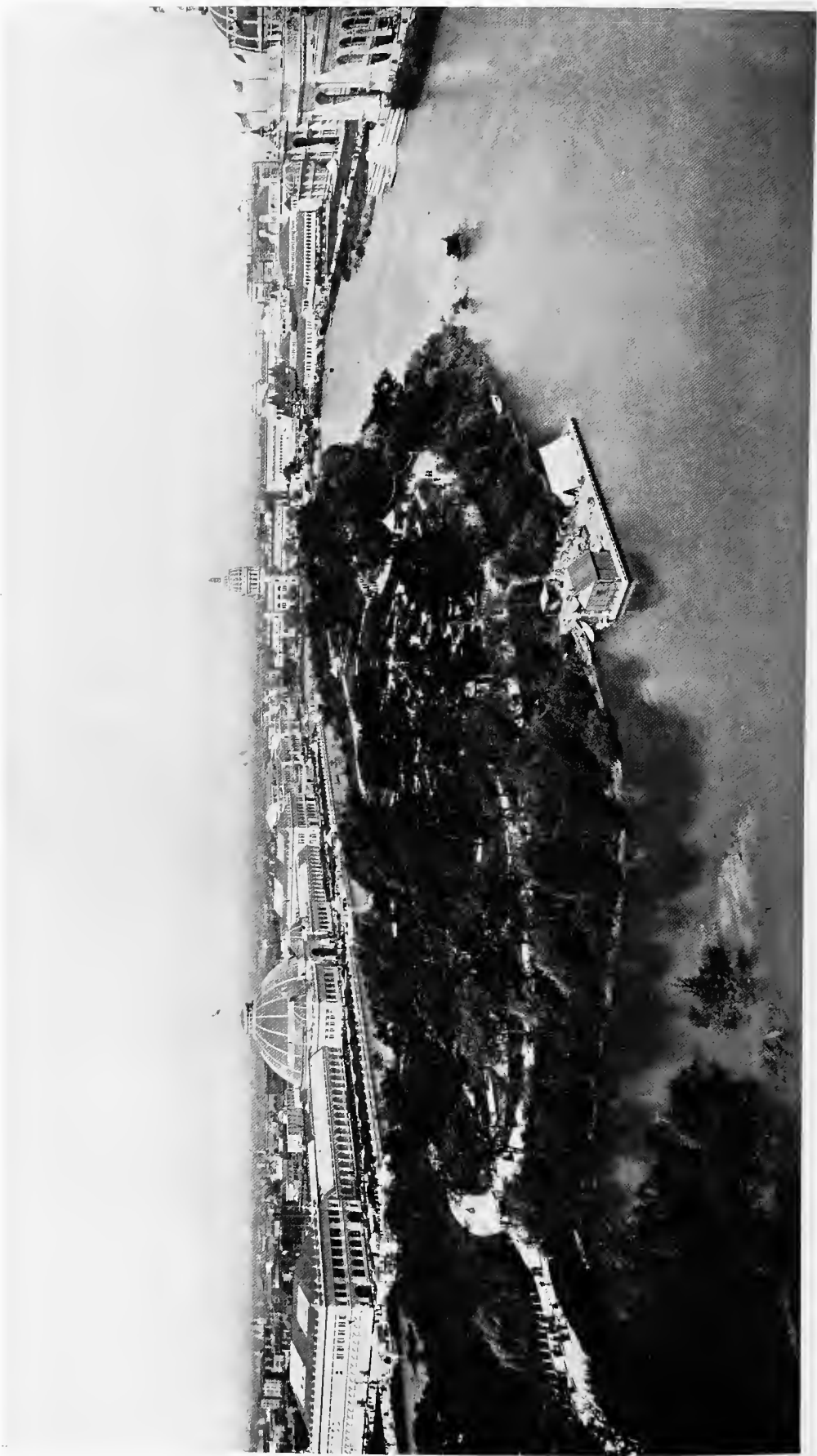
can do a work which is an essential part of the best success of all. Let us look at what is already being done. In the field of home missions two events stand out very prominently : First, the action of the home missionary societies of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Reformed Churches, and second, the interdenominational commission of the State of Maine. The Baptists, Christians, Congregationalists, Free Baptists, and Methodists, comprising eight ninths of the evangelical Christians of the State of Maine, have covenanted to promote co-operation in the organization and the maintenance of churches in their State, to prevent waste of resources and effort in smaller towns, and to stimulate missionary work in destitute regions.

"Turning to the foreign work, two events attract particular notice : The great conference in London in 1888, and the interdenominational conference of foreign missionary boards and societies in the United States and Canada held in New York city in January, 1893. . . . What methods may be adopted to secure the application of these principles? The first and most obvious is a better mutual acquaintance on the part of missionaries and the boards and the general public as to the work of different societies ; this to be secured by increased consultation and wider diffusion of missionary intelligence."

After discussion of the subject by the Congress a resolution was introduced declaring that, since the question of missionary co-operation was one of vital importance, and since the members of the Congress were convinced that the time had come for practical endeavor in that direction, it was recommended that a committee be appointed to prepare a memorial on the subject and address it to all missionary societies throughout the world, urging upon them the importance of establishing a World's Congress of Missions to secure a better organization of missionary forces. This resolution was adopted, and accordingly a committee was appointed consisting of ten members, the following denominations being represented : Presbyterian, Congregational, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Evangelical Lutheran, Christian, the Reformed Church of America, and the Congregational Church of England. The Rev. John Henry Barrows was appointed chairman of this committee.

The Rev. George Washburn, D. D., of Constantinople, presented a paper on *The True Aim and Methods of Missionary Work*, from which the following quotations are made :

"It is through the heart rather than the intellect, through those affections which are universal and peculiar to no race or religion or civilization, that we must make our first advance. The Moslem must first find Christ in the missionary before he can find him in Jesus of Nazareth. He must recognize the missionary as a friend before he will try to comprehend him as a teacher. Whatever work, then, will bring the missionary and the Moslem together, make them friends, and thus help them to understand each other, is not only a legitimate but an essential form of missionary work. It may



VIEW NORTHWEST, FROM THE ELECTRICITY BUILDING.

be at a given time and place better missionary work to import plows than tracts, to help a fisherman mend his net than to repeat to him the catechism, to dig a well than to preach a sermon, to found a college than to build a church, to study the Koran than to read the Bible, if these things open the way to win men's confidence and sympathy. The true aim of missionary work is to make Christ known to the world. Nothing is foreign to this work which reveals his spirit or is characteristic of his kingdom, and nothing is essential to it which is peculiar to any sect, race, or civilization."

In answer to the question "What should the missionary expect to accomplish?" Dr. Washburn said :

"The missionary is not simply a witness bearer, nor does he expect personally to evangelize a nation. He goes out as a messenger of glad tidings, and his first work is to find one man who will receive the message and start a progressive series. He goes as a messenger, and remains as a helper. Very few missionaries in semi-civilized countries have personally won as many souls to Christ as the average pastor of an American church. It is not in the nature of things that he should. The conversion of the nation is the work of the people themselves, not of a foreigner ; for the new faith must be assimilated and brought into relation with the character, civilization, and habits of thought of the nation before it can exert a general controlling influence over the people. The end, therefore, which the missionary may hope to attain is the establishment of a living, native Christian church, strong enough to stand by itself and evangelize the nation."

The Rev. J. T. Gracey, D. D., President of the International Missionary Union, presented an address on the subject of Native Agencies the Chief Hope of National Evangelization, in which he advocated the organization of schools for training the native Christians for missionary work, and spoke in terms of warm admiration of the willingness of the native Christians to support this work and their heroism in bearing the persecutions to which they are subjected.

The Rev. William Miller, D. D., of Madras, India, in a paper on Educational Agencies in Missions, advocated education in missions as a strengthening, training, developing agency, and also as a preparatory agency, and said : "Both in its theory and its practice, the Church maintains that while the simple presentation of the message of forgiveness and love through the cross of Christ is the highest form of Christian effort and the central means of building up the Church, there is yet, according to the divine plan, both room and need for humbler agencies to work in auxiliary subordination to it. The Church's aim has been, through study of God's ordinary methods of procedure, to become an instrument in making them effectual ; to lay itself along the line of the Divine purpose, and, seeking no glory for herself, to do intentionally, and therefore more rapidly, a work that must be done somehow if the Divine purpose, are to be fully carried out in any land or among any race. With views like these, schools, of which some were to become colleges, were

established. In these the minds were to be formed and trained of those who were within the Hindu community and who could not fail to affect that community in all its thoughts and ways. In such institutions, all truth that could help to form thought and character aright was to be inculcated as opportunity served, and all to be so inculcated as to set in the forefront that revelation of love which is the key to human history and the germ of all true progress. As the most important among truths of this kind, the words of Scripture, and especially the words of Christ, were to be studied. The Scriptures were to be the spearhead, all other knowledge the well-fitted handle. The Scriptures were to be the healing essence, all other knowledge the congenial medium through which it is conveyed.

"The aim of those who work in this way is to be instruments in helping and hastening the changes in the thoughts and characters and tendencies of men, which are necessary, according to the ordinary government of the world, for the thorough accomplishment of God's great design. Now a divine preparation has never yet been a short or easy thing. It requires much weary travel for careful study of the ground. It requires the organization of a staff and the collection of materials. It requires patient study and invention to overcome unlooked-for obstacles. It requires time of no stinted length before it can be fairly estimated, and time in still larger measure before its full benefit is felt. It has not been by any means for the whole of the sixty years since they began that preparatory educational agencies have been maintained with a right understanding of their proper function. Even yet it is but partly that they are thus maintained. And the introduction of Christian thought by means of advanced education has not stood alone. Other schemes of thought than the Christian have necessarily presented themselves to the minds that have been stirred from the torpor that has crept over their race for centuries. In all its working, even in the lands where it is strongest, the leaven of the Gospel has given life to—it is part of its function to give life to—antagonism as well as approval. Every line of thought which such antagonism has suggested in Europe and America—sum it up under the title of rationalism, of agnosticism, or what you will—has, or is fast coming to have, its representatives in India. And in India such forms of thought find fitting channels ready for them. Hinduism is not the idolatry and unrooted polytheism of savages. The idolatry which has spread over it till it seems to the superficial observer to be itself is merely a corruption and excrescence. Within, there are aspirations as lofty and philosophies as subtle as formed the environment of the early Church at Ephesus and Alexandria. To these the touch of Christian education has given new life, as in the nature of the case it was sure to do. Few things are so prominent in the India of to-day as the attempt to read Christian thought and Christian ethic and as much as may be of the Christian spirit into the forms of the ancient system. In trying to do this some of those with whom the new influences are strongest are earnestly engaged, and more will be so engaged ere long. Some are doing

this with the vain desire of arresting the spread of Christianity. Some are doing it who know well that they and those whom they influence are on the high road to a full confession of Christ. But those who are so engaged, whether from the one motive or the other, have of course in the meantime the support of the multitude, to whom in a superficial way the customs of the past are dear ; and the loud approval of the multitude gives excuse to the hostile and the thoughtless to declare that the revival of Hinduism has been the sole outcome of Christian education. To men who have thought of how humanity is actually trained, it is needless to point out that such a phase as this was bound to come. The fact that it has come in India will be to such men an important element in the truth that a divine preparation is being made, however it may be regarded by those who look only on the surface as a sign of failure. Educational institutions in which the foremost youths of all faiths and classes commingle freely—in which all truth is taught zealously and taught in its connection with Him who is the center of the world's development and the rightful king of men—in which the dominating principle is reliance on the guidance and the strength of the God of all the ages—such institutions will be admitted, by every one who has head to understand and heart to sympathize with the divine ways, to be invaluable outposts of the Christian army. They can never be the sole dependence of the Church universal in any land ; but it is plain that they must very greatly increase the good effect of every other agency she employs.”

The Rev. Alvirus N. Hitchcock, Ph. D., of Chicago, read a paper on *Missionary Societies : Their Place and Function in the Work of the Church*, and papers were presented also by Rev. C. P. Hard, M. A., of India, on the *Environment of the Native Convert : Caste, Polygamy, and other Hereditary Customs*, and by the Rev. H. C. Haydn, D. D., LL. D., Cleveland, Ohio, on *Obstacles to Foreign Missionary Success*.

The Rev. George Smith, LL. D., Edinburgh, Scotland, read a paper entitled *A Geographical Survey*, and the Rev. Frank F. Ellinwood, D. D., of New York, gave an address on the *Reflex Influence of Foreign Missions*.

The Rev. W. Elliot Griffis, D. D., of Ithaca, N. Y., presented a paper on the subject of *Citizen Rights of Missionaries*, in which he quoted the words of Secretary-of-State Everett, written in 1853, and also the statement made by Mr. Blaine to the effect that all American missionaries stationed in foreign lands were entitled to the protection of the United States Government without discrimination, and continued :

“When a missionary's life or property is endangered, the Government is as fully bound to protect him as in the case of the merchant or the traveler, and, in case of loss or destruction of property, to seek to obtain redress. As the Government knows not, nor inquires into the religion of its citizens, so it knows not nor inquires into his opinions regarding Christianity. The Government knows only citizens, not traders or missionaries. To abate by one jot the demand for justice in the case of the penniless missionaries, while a

fleet is sent to indicate the majesty of the flag when money is to be collected, is to debase authority to the level of barbarism. If American missionaries at Ponape are imprisoned and their property confiscated, and little or no notice taken of it at Washington, when a whole squadron was sent to Naples to collect money for Baltimore insurance companies, then something is wrong in the policy of the United States Government, or we as a nation have fallen away from a high standard.

"If a war be begun with Corea, and four hundred natives are slaughtered with Dahlgren howitzers and Bridgeport rifles because certain American marauders in the schooner General Sherman have been attacked, while the Turks are allowed to burn mission premises and assault American women, then we can not help thinking there is either inconsistency or weakness at Washington. Does the Government say that it can make absolutely no discrimination between its citizens abroad? Then let us have

interpretations and manifestations showing that it makes no discriminations between the great countries, like Spain or the Ottoman Empire, and little ones, like Naples or Corea, and that its pleasure is equal in acting as the dun or as the protector."



REV. JOSEPH COOK,
a speaker at the Congress.

General B. R. Cowan, U. S. Circuit Court, Cincinnati, Ohio, read a paper on The Responsibilities of Christian Governments as to Human Rights; the Rev. S. T. Baldwin, D. D., of New York, prepared a paper on Christian Government and the Opium Traffic; and Prof. George F. Wright, D. D., of Oberlin College, presented a paper on Science and Missions.

As the Congress of Missions came immediately after the Parliament of Religion, frequent references were made to it by the missionaries and others; and these references were uniformly friendly.

The Rev. Thomas Craven, of Lucknow, India, said he considered the presence on the platform of the Parliament of the many distinguished gentlemen of India a testimony to the power of Christianity in that country; that it was the Christian missionaries who carried the English language to the East Indies; that Dr. Duff, of the Free Church of Scotland, was the first instructor of the people in English; and the first Anglo-Indian dictionary was made by a Baptist missionary. Joseph Cook, of Boston, in an address on the Century of Modern Missions a Prophecy of Final Triumph, said: "In reply to the question, What has the science of comparative religions to say as to victories and hopes of Christian missions? you will allow me to be specific, for we are yet listening to the echoes of a most memorable Parliament of Religions, and I speak as if in the presence of the body which has made the spot on which we are as-

sembled historic ground. All ethnic religions have been explored in outline, and many of them in great detail. This is a condition of affairs which until within twenty-five years would not have been possible. Until the last half century it was hardly possible to obtain in the Occident any adequate information regarding Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and the other Oriental religions which were represented by their teachers on this very platform in the month just closed.

"What is the result of our later information of these religions? No other religion now known to man can be called a serious rival to Christianity. Not one of the great ethnic non-Christian faiths has the hope of converting the world. I know that some of them are enlarging the territory in which they are accepted, but even Mohammedanism, which has made the greatest gains, has increased only eleven per cent in India in the time that Christianity has increased sixty-four per cent. It is, I suppose, within the last quarter of a century that Mohammedanism has given up the hope of converting Africa, and in the same time Buddhism and Brahmanism have given up the hope of converting Asia. We are to use the principles of a Christian philosophy, of course, to judge what is worth saving and what is to be cast away in the chaos of decay brought to us by the advancing science of comparative religion, but as a religion only that which saves the soul is worth saving.

"Max Müller himself has published the opinion that it is mere futility to assume that the Bible is to be dazzled by any other sacred book. Until twenty-five years ago there had been some expectation on the part of rationalism that we might at least be able to put on the shelf very near our Bible some of these books. But the more the study of comparative religion has progressed, the more the brilliancy of the Word of God has come forth until the most advanced scholars in this study admit that there is no book that can be put on the same shelf with the Bible, or on any shelf that is not far away from that on which the Bible lies.

"There is an absolute gospel consisting of self-evident truth and the record of Christ, and we must accept nothing which does not come on the absolute authority of one or the other of these rules of life. This is the sieve through which all conclusions must be passed. Using this sieve with respect to the Parliament of Religions, missions appear more necessary than they did before the Parliament met.

"What have been the choice results of this Parliament in the field of comparative religion? Chief among the salient features of that great body is the fact that it would not listen to a defense of polygamy. Among the grand things we heard in the Parliament of Religions were the denunciation of international injustice, and, God be praised, the Parliament by its plaudits showed its protest against the opium traffic and slavery. The Parliament expressed its abhorrence of caste; it gave a hearing to every cause of philanthropy and reform, and exalted the religion of conscience."

Reports were presented of missionary success among aboriginal Americans in Africa, in India, in Siam, in the Ottoman Empire, in China, in Japan, in France, in Spain, in South America, in Mexico, among the Jews, and among the lepers.

The Rev. Albert S. Hunt, D. D., of New York, spoke on Bible Societies as a Co-operative Agency in Missionary Work, stating that when the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed the Bible had been translated into fewer than forty languages, and that several versions were obsolete and others required revision. The Bible Society began to multiply versions, to publish volumes of the Scriptures by tens of thousands, and this work expanded from year to year until the Scriptures have been issued in nearly four hundred languages or dialects, and until the Bible, once so costly that it was quite beyond the reach of the poor, in all parts of the world, is the cheapest of all books. The total issues of Bible societies thus far exceed the most enthusiastic anticipations of their founders. The British and Foreign Bible Society has issued more than one hundred and thirty-five million volumes, the American Bible Society nearly fifty-seven millions, and the Bible Society of Scotland more than thirteen millions, making an aggregate for the three leading Bible societies of the world of 206,201,404 volumes.

The Rev. S. H. Virgin, D. D., LL. D., of New York, presented a paper on Tract and Book Societies as Co-operative Agencies, in which he showed that the ignorance of spiritual truths that exists, the wrong teaching that prevails, the false doctrines that are in vogue, and the era of doubt in which we live, all demand an abundance of religious literature. The Rev. N. D. Hillis, D. D., of Evanston, Ill., in an address on The Peril of Our Nation through Illiteracy in Morals, said :

“ The International Sunday-school Association report 11,000,000 children and youth in Protestant Sunday schools, while the Catholics have 4,000,000 under religious instruction. This leaves 10,000,000 practically outside of all Church influence. This fact is big with peril. The sole remedy is plain. Ethics and morals must be re-enthroned in the public schools. The expulsion of the Bible from schools has led the Protestant to place his children in private schools, and the Catholic to found parochial schools. Thus the common schools have suffered on two sides. The time is ripe for compromise. Dr. John Henry Barrows, with representatives of all the Protestant churches, and Cardinal Gibbons, with his prelates, have found common standing ground for religious conference, and conference should be had and agreement reached as to certain common principles of ethics to be taught in our schools. As, for example, the Ten Commandments, teaching the youth how to carry himself in the home, the market place, and the forum ; the Sermon on the Mount, presenting the positive virtues bearing upon conduct and character ; the supremacy of conscience, individual responsibility for influence, and the Lord's Prayer called ‘ the Universal Prayer.’ On these ethical principles hang all

the law and the prophets, and the crying need of the hour is agreement upon the part of Catholics and Protestants to re-enthroneth ethics and morals in the public schools."

The different aspects of the home missionary work were presented by the Rev. Alexander Mackay-Smith, D. D., Washington, D. C. ; the Rev. Graham Taylor, D. D., Chicago Theological Seminary ; the Rev. John McNeil, of London ; the Rev. D. J. Burrell, D. D., New York ; the Rev. F. M. Bristol, D. D., Chicago ; the Rev. William C. Roberts, D. D., New York ; Mr. Thomas Kane and Mr. Peter Sinclair, of Chicago ; Right Rev. Charles E. Cheney, D. D., Chicago ; Mrs. Lucy Rider-Meyer, M. D., Chicago ; Miss Dora Stephenson, London ; Chaplain Allen Allensworth, United States ; Captain Pattie Watkins, Salvation Army, Chicago ; Mrs. F. J. Willing, New York ; Mrs. Emily K. Bishop, Dayton, Ohio ; Mrs. Flora K. Regal, Oberlin, Ohio ; Mrs. Darwin R. James, Brooklyn.

The Special Responsibility of Young People and their Societies was the subject of an address by the Rev. Francis E. Clark, D. D., President United Society of Christian Endeavor ; Rev. Edwin A. Schell, General Secretary Epworth League, Chicago ; and Mr. Robert Speer, Secretary Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, New York.

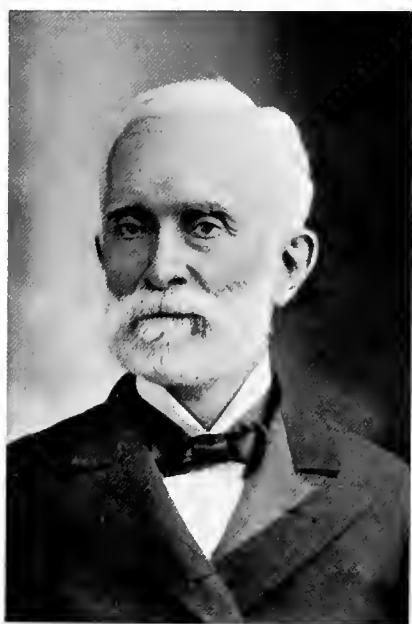
Miss Ellen C. Parsons, of New York, read a paper in which she treated the history of organized effort among women in behalf of missions. "It was not patriotism, warning of the menace in an incoming tide of immigrants—that came later ; it was not national remorse demanding reparation to the exiled Indian ; it was not even the last command of Jesus, 'disciple all nations,' like a clarion call to the conscience ; it was a human cry, appealing expressly to woman's tenderness, and it pierced her heart. It sounded out from that black heathenism, ages old, lost, vast, awful—the heartbreak of motherhood, the stifled cry of distorted childhood. This was what happy women heard in their happy, protected homes." Other aspects of the subject were treated by Mrs. Benjamin Douglas, of California ; Mrs. A. F. Schauffler, of New York ; Miss Sybil Carter, of the Episcopal Board ; Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, of New York ; Miss Charlotte M. Yonge and Mrs. Elizabeth Charles, of England. Women under the Ethnic Religions was presented by Mrs. Moses Smith, of Chicago, and Medical Missions was the subject of a paper by Mrs. J. T. Gracey.

Poems were read by Edna Dean Proctor and Emily Huntington Miller, and the closing addresses of the Congress were by the Rev. Arthur T. Pier-son, D. D., on Thy Kingdom Come, and Dwight L. Moody, on The Power of the Spirit.

Sunday Rest.—The Sunday Rest Congress, organized by a general committee under the chairmanship of the Rev. W. W. Atterbury, D. D., was held in the Art Institute September 28–30. The programme of the Congress divided the question of Sunday Rest into its physiological, economic, social, political, and religious relations. The papers under each of these

heads were supplemented by brief addresses and by reports on the recent progress of the movement in various countries.

A paper by Dr. Samuel B. Lyon, of New York, on *The Physiological Relations of Sunday Rest*, showed the responsibility of the physician with respect to this subject, the prominent position which preventive medicine was now assuming; that its efforts were largely directed to promoting the power of resistance to the attacks of the micro-organisms which are recognized as largely the causes of disease; and that inasmuch as immunity from germ disease is largely in proportion to the vigor of the individual, it is of immense importance to secure hygienic conditions, among which periodic rest is most important. He quoted numerous testimonies from recent medical authorities in Europe as to the effect of uninterrupted labor in the condi-



REV. W. W. ATTERBURY, D. D.,
Chairman of Committee on Sunday Rest.

tions in which it is usually carried on in lowering the vitality and impairing the power of resisting disease, and he showed especially the bearing of these facts upon the liability to mental disorders which have been greatly increasing among us of late. The physician may not from his professional standpoint say what particular day should be observed as a day of rest, but he may insist upon the great necessity of periodic intermission of labor, and if he is also a student of social conditions and a believer in the law of Moses and Christ, he will join hands cordially with those who view the subject from this point alone and say, "By all means let the day of rest be that which by tradition in all the lands of Christendom has been from time immemorial set apart for rest from labor and the worship of God."

Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, briefly confirmed the conclusion of the paper by facts from his own experience. He showed the deterioration which comes from a continuous routine of work taxing always the same faculties and muscles, which, not sufficiently counteracted by sleep, need a change of at least one day in the week to break up the monotony and to maintain the workman in health and efficiency, whether he worked with mind or body.

The Economic and Industrial Relations of the Sunday Rest occupied the largest proportion of the time of the Congress. George E. McNeill, of Boston, made an earnest and pathetic plea for Sunday rest, on economic and also on ethical grounds. Then followed a series of able reports on the results of Sunday rest in various industries; two of these, by M. Gibon, of

Paris, and M. Baumgartner, of Rouen, gave some striking and surprising results of Sunday rest in iron, glass, and other industries in France. Thomas Weir presented some striking facts concerning silver and other mining, contrasting the results in the character and comfort of the men and in the economical working of the mines where Sunday rest is granted with the more common practice of working seven days in the week. Similar testimony as to the practicability and economy of Sunday rest in the oil industries was presented by W. J. Young.

But the most important of the discussions under this head was on the Sunday railway traffic. E. C. Beach, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, presented the question from the side of the railway managers, recognizing the evils of Sunday labor and the difficulty in the way of further restricting it. Shippers of freight insisted on its speediest transportation, and the competition of rival lines made it impossible to resist the demands of shippers. Mr. Beach presented responses, in answer to a circular letter of inquiry, from the managers of railways operating 118,000 miles out of the total railway mileage of 196,000. These replies show a remarkable unanimity in favor of restricting Sunday traffic to the lowest practicable limit, and as to the difficulty in the way of further restriction for the reasons above indicated.

In criticism of the positions taken in this paper L. S. Coffin, formerly member of the State Board of Railway Commissioners of Iowa, and who appeared before the Congress as the authorized representative of various orders of railway employees with an aggregate of nearly one hundred thousand members, presented the employee's side of the question. By the use of the refrigerator cars the necessity for Sunday labor in connection with perishable freight was entirely obviated; and if Sunday traffic were not profitable the railway companies would decline it. There is need of federal legislation to stop the transportation of the mails on Sunday, and to restrict Sunday labor under the provisions of the interstate commerce regulations.

The Social and Moral Relations of the Sunday Rest were presented in a paper by O. Prunier, of Paris, Secretary of the French Association for Sunday Observance, who showed the higher morals of the man and the Family when emancipated one day in the week from the yoke of toil and to whom Sunday brought the opportunity of new and higher thoughts and associations. Alice L. Woodbridge, of New York, pleaded the cause of women in factories, stores, and domestic service, urging that not only should they have rest on Sunday, but such opportunity by shorter hours of labor during the week for self-improvement and recreation as would prepare them for the highest duties of Sunday. She dealt largely with the question of child labor, stating that in the United States alone, in 1880, 1,118,356 children between the ages of ten and sixteen were employed in mines, factories, and stores. Mrs. Florence Kelly, State Inspector of Factories in Illinois, enforced the views of the preceding papers. She described a recent visit to a canning establishment where were employed upward of six hundred people, of whom

forty were children under the legal age. On the wall she found this sign: "Until further notice, these works will run from 7 A. M. to 9 P. M. every day, including Sunday. Refusal to comply with this will be ground for immediate discharge." Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, illustrated by facts which came under daily observation the necessity of weekly relief from incessant work, and that only by co-operation could the Sunday rest be preserved. Mrs. J. H. Knowles, of Newark, N. J., in a paper on the home and family life, presented a beautiful picture of what Sunday in the home was capable of being, and of the effect of such training upon the public life of our country. Mrs. Henrotin, who occupied the chair of the Congress at the session at which the preceding papers were read, took occasion to express her conviction, contrary to what she had at first held, that the practical closing of the Exposition on Sunday had been an advantage to the working classes, inasmuch as many merchants and other employers had given one or two half holidays in each week to their employees to visit the Fair.

Under the head of Political Relations of the Sunday Rest, William Allen Butler, LL. D., of New York, treated Sunday laws, their grounds and limitations. He discussed fully the objections which in various directions have been brought against our American Sunday legislation. While the root of the weekly rest as an institution is found not so much in national law as in moral obligation, its incorporation into the general order of society is a result of civilization aided by Christianity, both combining to give to its support the consent of the communities, and establishing it as an institution favorable, if not indispensable, to the physical, moral, and social needs of mankind. It is therefore alike the province and duty of the Government to maintain it for the public use and enjoyment. Sunday laws are properly maintained as civil regulations governing men as members of society. Obedience to such laws is properly claimed and enforced. The vital principle which gives strength and stability to the world's day of rest, at once the pledge and guarantee of its perpetuity and its beneficent power, is the faith of humanity that it is a gift of God.

An interesting paper was read by Major-General Howard on the Sunday rest in the public service, and especially in the army and navy. He quoted the regulations by which unnecessary Sunday labor was prevented and the day observed in accordance with the laws and customs of our people. Ex-Postmaster-General John Wanamaker presented the laws and regulations which govern the Post Office Department in its various branches with reference to Sunday labor, and gave an account of the usages of the British post office as furnished him in a letter from the English Postmaster-General.

The question of Sunday laws was further discussed by Judge Doolittle, who presided at this session of the Congress, and by President Rogers, of the Northwestern University. Following along somewhat different lines from those of Mr. Butler's paper, they reached the same conclusion.

In no way was the characteristic breadth and liberality of the Congress

shown more strikingly than in its treatment of the relations of the Sunday rest to religion. As the different branches of the Christian Church may be supposed to differ somewhat in their views of this subject, it was right that this topic should be presented by representatives of more than one of the denominations. Cardinal Gibbons set forth the Roman Catholic views of the Sunday observance in a paper which more than one earnest Protestant who heard it was prepared to accept it as presenting substantially his own views. The view of the Lutheran Church, which constitutes one of the largest denominations of this country, was presented by Prof. Spaeth, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, and also briefly by Dr. Heilmann, a Lutheran pastor of Chicago. Dr. Atterbury, as the secretary of an association in which representatives of various denominations are united, presented what may be regarded as the commonly accepted views of the so-called evangelical denominations. In view of the important place which the Sabbath has always held in the social and religious life of the Hebrew people, a distinguished Jewish rabbi, Dr. Felsenthal, was heard with interest in a paper on the Sabbath in Judaism. He showed that the Jewish Sabbath, both in ancient and modern times, was far from being that narrow and burdensome institution which it was so often regarded ; it has endowed the laws with strength to withstand the almost unceasing and pitiless attempts to exterminate their race and religion ; it has blessed and dignified their family life. The laws of our American States ought to protect every congregation assembled on their Sabbath for divine worship in a church or a chapel or a synagogue or mosque or any other place against being disturbed in their worship ; and they can and ought to guarantee to each person in our land, even to the poorest, one day of perfect rest in each week of seven consecutive days. All further legislation is unnecessary and would be un-American. Let us trust in the power of public opinion. Relying upon that great power and upon the divine blessings of our Heavenly Father, all of us can look hopefully toward the future, and can rest assured that the land in all times to come will have a Sabbath, a real genuine Sabbath.

A suggestive discussion of the relations of the Sunday observance to the individual religious life was presented by Rev. W. J. A. Stewart (Baptist), of Rochester, N. Y.

After a paper by the Rev. W. R. Huntington, D. D., of Grace Church, New York, in which he traced the perils that menace the Sunday rest in countries like the United States and Great Britain, where it is most fully enjoyed, reports were presented of various associations and movements for securing and protecting Sunday rest. Mr. Deluz, Secretary of the late Paris Congress and of the International Federation, who has perhaps had more to do with the progress of the cause on the Continent than any other living man, reported the striking results which have been obtained within a recent period in several of the states of Europe for the relief of large classes of wage-earners from the burden of uninterrupted toil, while as yet the work seems

only to have begun. Mr. Charles Hill, Secretary of the Workingmen's Lord's Day Rest Association of England, reported the features of the contest in Great Britain to maintain the ground which had long been held against the influences which insidiously are invading the weekly rest. The Rev. Dr. George S. Mott, President of the recently formed American Sabbath Union, presented the history of Sabbath association and efforts in our own country for the past half century.

The closing address was made by Archbishop John Ireland, who had presided at one of the previous sessions. He called attention to the weakening of our reverence for Sunday as the chief cause of the infringements that are being made upon its observance. Christians should remember that every

weakening of the Sunday tends to its total obliteration.

We are making our citizens pure money-making machines; we are too anxious to be rich, and are willing to sacrifice to that end every tradition and reduce men to the level of the beast.



REV. WILLIAM R. HUNTINGTON,
a speaker at the Congress.

To indicate further how full and comprehensive was the religious presentation made in connection with the World's Congress Auxiliary, the following list is given of the other Congresses held in connection with the Parliament of Religions:

On September 3 the Welsh churches of all denominations united in a Congress which was held in the Hall of Columbus, with afternoon and evening meetings in the First Methodist Church. The services were almost entirely in the Welsh language. The venerable Rowland Williams, the famous pulpit orator of Wales, delivered a sermon on The Manifestation of Christ in the Flesh. A

paper on The Reformation and the Welsh was given by Rev. J. Evans. The Present Condition of the Welsh People was presented by Mrs. V. Morgan, Christianity in the Heart and in the Every-Day Life was presented by Rev. Rosina Davies, and Rev. Dr. H. O. Rowlands spoke of The Religious Characteristics of the Welsh.

The Free Religious Association of America had a Congress in the Hall of Washington on September 20, at which addresses were made by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, President William J. Potter, Francis E. Abbott, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Minot J. Savage, and others.

On September 22 a Congress of the King's Daughters and Sons was held in the Hall of Washington, with addresses by Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson, Mrs. Isabella C. Davis, Mrs. Howard M. Ingham, and Mrs. Clarence Beebe.



THE MICHIGAN STATE BUILDING.

A Congress of Evolutionists was held in some of the smaller halls of the Art Institute, extending from September 27 through September 29. The programme included addresses by B. F. Underwood, E. P. Powell, Prof. E. D. Coppee, Dr. Martin L. Holbrook, Mr. Charles S. Ashley, Prof. E. S. Morse, Prof. E. S. Bastin, Prof. George Gunton, and many others. This Congress properly belonged to the Department of Science and Philosophy, but as it was unavoidably delayed, a place in the Department of Religion was given to it through the courtesy of the General Committee.

On September 27 a Congress was held of the International Board of Women's Christian Associations, with addresses by Mrs. S. L. Winters, Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, D. D., Miss C. V. Drinkwater, Mrs. John Leslie, and others.

On October 7 there was a Congress of the Young Women's Christian Associations, addressed by Miss Effie K. Price, Lord Kinnaird, and others. The Young Men's Christian Association also held an interesting Congress.

In the Department of the Public Press a noteworthy Congress on the Religious Press was held under the direction of the Committee of Organization, of which the Rev. Simeon Gilbert, D. D., was chairman.

Denominational Congresses.—Soon after the organization of the Congresses committees were appointed to make arrangements and prepare programmes for Denominational Congresses, to include the Jewish Church, the Catholic Church, the Catholic Societies, the General Council of the United Norwegian Church, the Welsh Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Congregational Church, the Universalist Church, the Lutheran General Synod, the Disciples of Christ, the New Jerusalem Church, the Advent Christian Church, the United Brethren Church, the Reformed Episcopal Church, the Seventh-Day Baptist Church, the Unitarian Church, the Evangelical Association Church, the Friends' Church (Orthodox), the Friends' Church (Liberal), the Christian Scientists, the Free Religious Association, the Reformed Church, the African Methodist Church, the King's Daughters and Sons, the German Evangelical Synod, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the International Board of Women's Christian Associations, the Missionary Societies, the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Theosophists, the National Christian Association, the Ethical Societies, the Sunday Rest Organizations, and the Evangelical Alliance. These organizations held their Congresses for the most part in the order in which they are named, and most of them also participated in the Union Congress. There were also separate Congresses of Jewish Women, Lutheran Women, Congregationalist Women, and Women's Missionary Societies, besides some other sessions in which women took part.

The most imposing of all the denominational Congresses was that held by the Catholic Church, in which Cardinal Gibbons and a great number of archbishops, bishops, and priests took part. At this Congress the papal delegate

Satolli aroused the greatest enthusiasm by saying : " Go forth bearing in one hand the Word of God and in the other the Constitution of the United States."

The Jewish Congress was also one of extraordinary significance, as is shown by its published proceedings. Among its leaders were the venerable Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Rabbi K. Kohler, and Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Chairman of the Committee of Organization.

The New Jerusalem Church Congress, under the chairmanship of the Rev. L. P. Mercer, also attracted special attention from the active part taken by its leaders, including the Rev. Frank Sewall, Dr. Theodore F. Wright, and the Rev. Charles H. Mann.

Committees of organization were also appointed for the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Baptist Church, and the Christian Endeavor Societies ; but these bodies did not hold separate denominational Congresses. The two churches named were, however, conspicuously represented by eminent speakers in the Parliament of Religions ; and the Christian Endeavor movement in the Missions Congress by the president of its chief organization.

Inquiry Rooms.—One feature of the Parliament was the inquiry rooms, which were set apart for any religious body that desired to have a place of meeting at which questions could be answered by those competent to answer them. The Catholics and Buddhists availed themselves of this opportunity. An eyewitness says : " The Catholic clergy have been in constant attendance in the hall set apart for their use, which has been thronged with students many hours each day. The Buddhists, who were represented by Mr. Hirai and Mr. Dharmapala, were surrounded by curious and eager auditors."

Spirit of the Work.—The spirit and *personnel* of the Parliament are set forth in the following quotations from the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., chairman of this committee :

" Too much can not be said in commendation of the spirit that prevailed in this great meeting. It was a novel sight that orthodox Christians should greet with cordial words the representatives of alien faiths which they were endeavoring to bring into the light of the Christian Gospel ; but it was felt to be wise and advantageous that the religions of the world, which are competing at so many points in all the continents, should be brought together, not for contention but for loving conference, in one room. Those who saw the Greek Archbishop, Dionysios Latas, greeting the Catholic Bishop Keane with an apostolic kiss on the cheek and words of brotherly love ; those who heard Bishop Keane relate how Archbishop Ireland and he, finding that they were unable to enter the Hall of Columbus on account of the throng, went to the Hall of Washington and presided over the Jewish Conference ; those who witnessed the enthusiasm with which Christians greeted a Buddhist's denunciation of false Christianity ; and the many thousands who beheld day after day the representatives of the great historic religions joining in the

Lord's Prayer, felt profoundly as if a new era of religious fraternity had dawned.

"The Parliament was not a place for the suppression of opinions but for their frankest utterance, and what made it so supremely successful was mutual tolerance, extraordinary courtesy, and unabated good will. Christians who entered the Hall of Columbus with timidity and misgivings found themselves entirely at home in an atmosphere charged with religious enthusiasm. They felt that the spirit and principles involved in summoning the non-Christian religions to a conference in that great hall were precisely the spirit and principles with which a Christian missionary invites a Moslem and a Brahman into his own house—the spirit of love, inquiry, a desire for mutual understanding, a desire to learn as well as to teach. 'It must not be imagined,' as Dr. Simeon Gilbert has written in the *Review of the Churches*, 'that all the speakers piped low and soft. Not at all. There were clouds big with thunder, and there were thunders with lightnings in them that smote as with strokes from God's own right hand.'

"The amount of friction was not considerable. The Parliament was a conference which proved the supreme value of courtesy in all theological argument, and showed that the enlightened mind of the nineteenth century looks with scorn upon verbal ruffianism such as prevailed in the sixteenth. It has been remarked that this meeting was very generous and indiscriminate in its applause; but it was made up of a vast variety of elements, changing to some extent every day, and sometimes it applauded not so much the sentiments uttered as the clearness and boldness and aptness with which they were spoken. The Parliament was rigidly purged of cranks. Many minor sects tried earnestly to secure a representation for which there was neither time nor fitness. People sought to make the Parliament a medium of all sorts of propagandism, but without success.

"It was made evident that enlightened Christendom need never hereafter imagine that heathendom is simply 'a mass of degraded and corrupt superstitions,' and it was felt by many that to claim everything for Christianity and deny any good in other religions is not Christian, and is an impeachment of that Divine goodness which is not confined to geographical limits and which sends its favor upon the just and upon the unjust. It was made evident that high and beautiful forms of character have been fashioned by the Divine Spirit in faiths the most various. Phariseism, sectarianism, narrowness in all its manifestations, whether ecclesiastical or dogmatic, were gently rebuked by this Parliament. Comparison and criticism, it was made evident, are helps to religion. Father D'Arby, a Catholic priest of Paris, said at the scientific section: 'We love science. The office of science in religion is to prune it of fantastic outgrowths. Without science, religion would become superstition.'"

Reasons for Success.—The extraordinary success of the Parliament was due to its timeliness, to the amount of work put into it, and to the fact that

it was in the hands of men who were fitted to secure the co-operation of the great historic churches and of the representatives of the non-Christian faiths. Liberal Christians naturally looked upon it as one of their triumphs, but they could not have gained the co-operation of historic Christendom. Liberal-minded Jews saw in it the fulfillment of the prophecy that the knowledge of Jehovah should cover the earth, but Judaism alone could not have achieved a convention of Christians. The Brahmo-Somaj regarded the Parliament as fulfilling the ideas of the New Dispensation, but the Brahmo-Somaj would have been unable to draw together the representatives of the great faiths. No Christian missionary society could have achieved the Parliament, for the fear of aggressive propagandism would have kept out the non-Christian world. No ecclesiastical body in Christendom, whether Catholic, Greek,

Anglican, or Lutheran, could have assembled the Parliament. No kingly or imperial government in which church and state are united could have gathered it, and no republican government where church and state are separated would have deemed it a part of its office to summon it. But, as a part of an international exposition, and controlled by a generous-minded and representative committee, under no ecclesiastical dictation, and appealing in the spirit of fraternity to high-minded individuals, the Parliament was possible, and was actualized. The Imperial Government of China, the Buddhist Church of Southern India, the Brahmo-Somaj, the Jains, the Kayastha Society of India, and the Catholic Church of America are all the governments and religious bodies that were officially represented at Chicago. Still, very eminent individuals, representing all the great religious bodies of mankind, were present.



REV. GEORGE D. BOARDMAN, D. D.,
a speaker at the Congress.

The general ignorance in Christian lands of non-Christian faiths was strongly rebuked by one speaker at the Parliament. When Mr. Dharmapala asked a large audience how many had read the life of Buddha, five persons responded affirmatively by holding up the hand, whereupon he exclaimed: "Five only! Four hundred and seventy-five millions of people accept our religion of love and hope. You call yourselves a nation—a great nation—and yet you do not know the history of this great teacher. How dare you judge us!" If Mr. Dharmapala had inquired of the three thousand people at the Parliament: "How many of you have read, in whole or in part, Arnold's *Light of Asia*, with its account of Buddha?" many hundreds of hands would have been held up. The ignorance is not as dense and wide as was imagined.

The Mission Congresses and the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance which followed the Parliament, and were really a continuation of it on the Christian side, emphasized the fact that Christianity must become more united and active in promoting the social well-being of men.

Results.—The results of the Parliament were summed up by Bishop John Joseph Keane, Rector of the Roman Catholic University in Washington, D. C., in an address delivered on the seventeenth day, in which he declared that this comparison of all the religions had shown conclusively that the only worthy idea of God is that of monotheism ; that the belief in a divine revelation was a necessary step to religious unity ; and that all human endeavors to tell of the means provided by Almighty God for uniting mankind with himself led logically and historically to Jesus Christ. As long as God is God and man is man, Jesus Christ is the center of religion forever ; and because he is the ultimate center, his one organic church must also and equally be ultimate.

The closing address at the last afternoon session of the Parliament was delivered by the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D. D., of Philadelphia, who argued that Christ is the only unifier of mankind. Other religions are topographical ; Christianity is universal. Christ is the great unifier by his incarnation and by his teaching with regard to love and neighborhood. He is the key to all social problems. By his death for the sins of the whole world, Christ is unifying mankind. The cross declares the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. By his immortal life Christ is drawing men to himself and to each other. He is the true center of gravity, and only as the forces of mankind are pivoted on him are they in balance.

The last session of the Parliament of Religions was held on Wednesday evening, September 27, 1893. The immense audience filled the Art Palace. Those who were present agree that it is impossible adequately to describe the interest and enthusiasm that prevailed. President Bonney's closing address at this session indicates the grandeur and inspiration of the event, and may appropriately close this chapter. In this address of retrospect, congratulation, and farewell, he said :

“Worshippers of God and lovers of man : The closing words of this great event must now be spoken. With inexpressible joy and gratitude I give them utterance.

“The wonderful success of this first actual Congress of the Religions of the World is the realization of a conviction which has held my heart for many years. I became acquainted with the great religious systems of the world in my youth, and have enjoyed an intimate association with leaders of many churches during my maturer years. I was thus led to believe that if the great religious faiths could be brought into relations of friendly intercourse many points of sympathy and union would be found, and the coming unity of mankind in the love of God and the service of man be greatly facilitated and advanced. Hence, when the occasion arose it was gladly welcomed

and the effort was more than willingly made. What many deemed impossible, God has finally wrought. The religions of the world have actually met in a great and imposing assembly ; they have conferred together on the vital questions of life and immortality in a frank and friendly spirit, and now they part in peace with many warm expressions of mutual affection and respect.

"The laws of the Congress forbidding controversy or attack have, on the whole, been wonderfully well observed. The exceptions are so few that they may well be expunged from the record and from the memory. They even served the useful purpose of timely warnings against the unhappy tendency to indulge in intellectual conflict. If an unkind hand threw a firebrand into the assembly, let us be thankful that a kinder hand plunged it in the waters of forgiveness and quenched its flame. If some Western warrior, forgetting for the moment that this was a friendly conference and not a battlefield, uttered his war cry, let us rejoice that our Oriental friends, with a kinder spirit, answered, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they say.'

"No system of faith or worship has been compromised by this friendly conference ; no apostle of any religion has been placed in a false position by any act of this Congress. The knowledge here acquired will be carried by those who have gained it, as precious treasure, to their respective countries, and will there, in freedom and according to reason, be considered, judged, and applied as they shall deem right. The influence which this Congress of the Religions of the World will exert on the peace and prosperity of mankind is beyond the power of human language to describe. For this influence, borne by those who have attended the sessions of the Parliament of Religions to all parts of the earth, will affect, in some important degree, all races of men, all forms of religion, and even all governments and social institutions. The results of this influence will not soon be apparent in external changes, but will manifest themselves in thought, feeling, expression, and the deeds of charity. Creeds and institutions may long remain unchanged in form, but a new spirit of light and peace will pervade them ; for this Congress of the World's Religions is the most marvelous evidence yet given of the approaching fulfillment of the apocalyptic prophecy, 'Behold, I make all things new.'

"But great as the Parliament of Religions is in itself, its importance is immeasurably enhanced by its environment and relations. It is the center and crown of a great movement which touches all the leading interests of humanity. It has been aided by, and is in turn beneficial to, all these interests. Religion is but one of the twenty departments of the World's Congress work. Besides this august Parliament of the World's Religions, there are forty-five other Congresses in this department, with a number of special conferences on important subjects. Thus the divine influences of religion are brought in contact with Woman's Progress, the Public Press, Medicine and Surgery, Temperance, Moral and Social Reform, Commerce and Finance, Music, Literature, Education, Engineering, Art, Government, Science and

Philosophy, Labor, Social and Economic Science, Sunday Rest, Public Health, Agriculture, and other subjects embraced in a general department. The importance of the denominational Congresses of the various churches should be emphasized, for they conserve the forces which have made the Parliament such a wonderful success.

"The establishment of a universal fraternity of learning and virtue was early declared to be the ultimate aim of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition. The Congress of Religions has always been in anticipation what it is now in fact, the culmination of the World's Congress scheme. This hour, therefore, seems to me to be the most appropriate to announce that upon the conclusion of the World's Congress series as now arranged, a proclamation of that fraternity will be issued to promote the continuation in all parts of the world of the great work in which the Congresses of 1893 have been engaged.

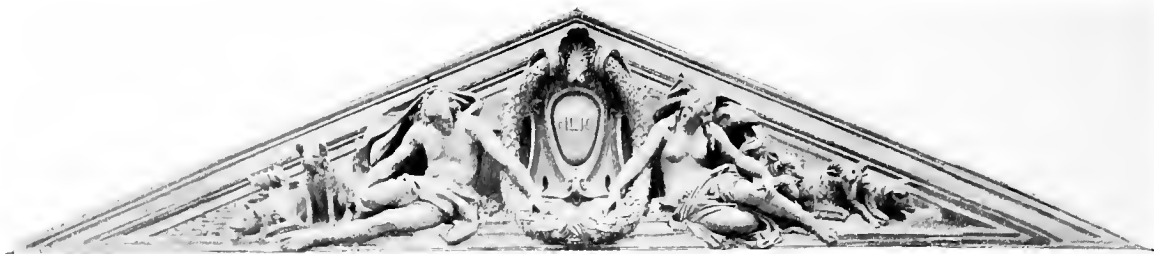
"And now farewell. A thousand congratulations and thanks for the co-operation and aid of all who have contributed to the glorious results which we celebrate this night. Henceforth the religions of the world will make war—not on each other, but on the giant evils that afflict mankind. Henceforth let all throughout the world who worship God and love their fellow-men join in the anthem of the angels:

'Glory to God in the highest!
Peace on earth, good will to men!'"

The great Parliament closed with the universal prayer, led by Rabbi Hirsch, the benediction by Bishop Keane, of the Catholic University, and the singing of "America" by the audience.



View southeast across the lagoon.

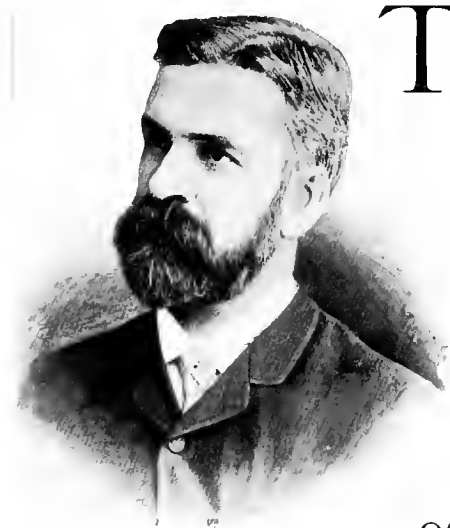


A pediment on the Agriculture Building.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ART CONGRESSES.

Architecture—Painting—Sculpture—Decoration—Ceramics—Candace Wheeler on Decorative and Applied Art—T. E. Cope on English Household Porcelain—Timothy Cole on Wood Engraving in America.



W. M. R. FRENCH,
Member of the
Committee on Art Congresses.

THE Congresses of the Department of Art, which were held in August, embraced Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, Decorative Art, Ceramics, and Photography. The sessions of all these were highly interesting, though they were not very largely attended. The American Institute of Architects met in connection with these Congresses, and its transactions were thought by some to be the most important in the department. In the Congress on Painting and Sculpture, one of the most notable features was Hopkinson Smith's lecture on The Illustrative Arts of America.

Of the General Committee in charge of this department, Charles L. Hutchinson was chairman, and Walter C. Larned vice-chairman. The membership of the committee included Halsey C. Ives and W. M. R. French. Daniel H. Burnham was Chairman of the Special Committee on Architecture; O. D. Grover, Chairman of the Committee on Painting; Lorado Taft, Chairman of the Committee on Sculpture; L. J. Millett, Chairman of the Committee on Decorative Art; James B. Bradwell, Chairman of the Committee on Photographic Art; and Mrs. Dwight W. Graves, Chairman of the Committee on Ceramic Art. Of the Woman's General Committee on the Congresses of Artists Mrs. Candace Wheeler was chairman, succeeding Miss Sarah H. Hallowell, who was originally appointed, but was unable to serve.

Decorative and Applied Art.—Mrs. Candace Wheeler, of New York, presented the following paper on Decorative and Applied Art:

"In defining the two expressions of human ability which we call decora-

tive and applied art it is necessary first to show not only the compass and meaning, but the limits of both ; to explain where the one ends and the other begins, and to bound the legitimate field of each.

“Decorative art, in a simple and broad sense, covers all art which enriches and beautifies architecture, whether of public monuments, buildings devoted to national or governmental use, or to religious worship, or the more or less elaborate structures devoted to the varying requirements of domestic shelter. It is the function of decorative art to assist in making all these different evidences of man’s power and ability beautiful. It includes sculpture and painting wherever these arts are accessory to the perfection or beauty of architectural construction. It includes all forms of enrichment by art, whether in carving, color, incised work, or inlaying. It may use clay, stone, glass, wood, metal, or pigment, in any order or manner that is harmonious with the structure to which it belongs. It may add carvings in all materials and castings in all metals, but in the use of all these different ways and means of art it must never fail to acknowledge its dependence. It includes mural painting, however wide its scope or dignified its character. The greatest efforts of the greatest painters may cover the lengthened perspective of a *loggia*, or soar upward in the ærial spaces of the grandest dome. They may marshal the long procession of the richest frieze or crowd the grand divisions of a ceiling with visions of beauty. All these are still but accessory to the art that leads the grand procession, the art that may and can reach and compass the highest qualities of sublime and compelling beauty, the art which is inevitably based upon mechanical and mathematical knowledge, and upon the immutable laws of Nature and science. But where architecture leads, decorative art follows. Its first principle, then, is subordination. To be itself, it must acknowledge its dependence, and be not only content but proud to be secondary. It must be as scrupulous in its allegiance as were the greatest masters who left to succeeding generations the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, the airy decorations of the courts of the Vatican, and the sculptures and mosaics of the great cathedrals and churches of the early and Middle Ages. It may hold in the sight of all men this record of its nobility, and proceed on its way through the closing years of this joyous nineteenth century, looking forward to a future as useful, as honored, and as proudly capable as any period that has preceded it. The present prosperity of the world, the probable and increasing devotion of the riches of the world to the wants and tastes instead of the warfare of mankind, promises a revival of architecture in its largest and highest possibilities ; and the revival of architecture means a revival, a growth, a progress in the arts. The marshaling of beauty which characterizes the Columbian Fair will be followed by an almost universal recognition of the value of the purely decorative arts in conjunction with architecture, and it is wise to insist upon the principle upon which all good, lasting, and successful decorative art must forever rest, the principle of subordination—the fact that it has not a first and most prominent but an entirely

secondary function. The moment it claims to be more than accessory, that it strives to create a dominant impression upon the mind, or become an independent impersonation of thought, it ceases to be true to its function and creates a dissonance or want of harmony. There have been and are instances where the thought and performance of the decorator is greater than that of the builder, where the work or creation of the architect is greatly dignified and ennobled by the superior talent of the painter or decorator ; but if he is true to the principle which underlies his art, that of subordination, the work of the architect will not be absorbed, the building will not become merely a theater for the display of his talent ; the primary motive will remain, no matter how much it may be ennobled by the sympathy and power of the decorator or the superior greatness of his gifts. He may people the structure with immortal statues, or make it precious with immortal pictures, but they will relate to its original purpose, and be governed by the style or period in which the architect chose to express himself. It is perhaps pardonable to insist upon the rank of this principle of subordination, even although it is a universally recognized one, because out of it grow all the principles, all the philosophy, of decorative and applied art, even to its widest and most remote application. We can not fail to recognize its truth, even beyond the point where construction in the sense of architecture ceases, and decoration becomes applied art or art applied to objects and manufactures. The primary principle underlies both, and it can easily be seen how all qualities, virtues, and excellencies grow out of these first and underlying principles. Subordination includes appropriateness, appropriateness includes suggestiveness, suggestiveness means all the poetry of thought called out by perfect treatment of a noble theme, the treatment expressed by composition. Beauty of color and grace of line are qualities which are individual gifts, and serve to make the work of one artist more precious or attractive than that of another ; but even these gifts must conform to laws, if we are to secure that conjunction which completes and perfects the most comprehensive beauty achieved by man—the beauty that becomes a permanent heritage of pleasurable sensation to the human race, and an absolute influence in its progress toward higher living.

“This influence may seem a great deal to claim for art ; but since the moral training of humanity is by means of its pleasures and its pains, no better teacher can be found than that which confers happiness by the gratification of the inherent and natural love of art ; and hardly a greater good can be worked for mankind than the creation of universal and surrounding beauty. Decorative and applied art are of the utmost importance, since the one contributes to those monuments which excite the loftiest and most supreme satisfaction, and the other surrounds or may surround the individual with endless sources of pleasure and content. Applied art is to decorative art what the child is to the man. It is, in short, a consequence of the greater work, but it holds within itself the same obligation to the same laws. It is the application of knowledge and love of art to the implements and manu-

factures of the mechanic and the manufacturer. It applies to things we may wear, or use, or handle, the small conveniences which are a part of our daily lives. It molds the shape of the rude and common implement into grace, and invests it with interest and beauty. It puts art and thought into the things which surround us. It elevates our habits and invests our customs with dignity, and is our unconscious teacher in beauty, grace, and truth. It fuses thought, sentiment, and feeling into the insensate matter of which these surroundings are composed, and performs the miracle of exciting in us an answering thought. It makes these things speak to us with a human voice and express human thought as truly as a book may convey the thought of another mind to us, and in proportion as the thought is true and the expression beautiful are we benefited or deteriorated by its proximity.

“It is this domestic influence, if we may call it so, of applied art which makes its practice on true principles of importance to us. It is almost more necessary to the growth and culture of the every-day world than every-day art—the finish, proportion, and excellence of the things among which we live and by which we live—should be perfect, and perfectly true to principles, than that we should have opportunities of studying the highest examples of human achievement. It is always a long step between us and them, even in comprehension; but the other lives with us and is a part of our lives; it enters into our unconscious thoughts and makes our judgment just and our knowledge enlightened. Applied art could do none of these things unless in its best and purest practice it followed the laws which govern decorative art, even to its utmost derivative. It must forever be mindful of its dependence and its meaning. It may be as beautiful as Nature and as harmonious as the truest chord upon the most perfect instrument, but its kind of beauty must be based upon the use of the thing to which it is applied and its harmony be in accord with the purpose or necessity to which it is added. In short, the same great principles of subordination and appropriateness upon which decorative art is founded are as strenuously binding in the varied and endless directions of applied art. It is easy to illustrate this by reference to any one of the manufactures to which art is or may be applied. Take, for instance, that of the silversmith. A silver spoon may be as truly an object of art as a picture, but it must begin by being perfectly adapted to its use. It must have the form which is best and most convenient for its original purpose. It must not lose its proper balance in length for convenient holding or its proper depth of bowl for carrying liquids. It must not be so ornamented in stem as to inconvenience the hand which holds it or so incrustated with relief in the bowl as to interfere with its proper service as a receptacle. A pair of tongs must perform its function of holding and lifting burning brands, or the ornament which makes it inefficacious is wrongly applied and inappropriate. In the broad field of art applied to textiles and wall coverings there is room for profound study of the rules and philosophy of applied art, and the necessity of such study is apparent in the interior of almost every house and in the

materials shown in every shop window. It is a great mistake to suppose that in small things the rules of art, the philosophy of art, may be neglected. Small things cease to be unimportant if largely treated. The same kind of value may attach to a yard of muslin covered with beautiful and appropriate design and treated with exhaustive knowledge and appreciation of color as would belong to a picture by the same artist. It is a very common error to suppose that incomplete and inferior knowledge will suffice for the designer. Good design requires not only perfect observance of the fundamental law of appropriateness, but personal gifts of grace and composition and an education which is not only technical but special and literary. The designer should know the art of all nations and ages in design, not for imitation but for cultivation. His compositions may and should be entirely uninfluenced by them in feeling, but he will have learned from them what is true or false in art, and to judge wisely of his own work. It is not to be supposed that the manufacturer should know what is absolutely best among the designs he reproduces. He knows clearly the qualities that will appeal to the public, and except when a design is backed by a name that has influence with the buying public and has gained its confidence, he will rarely accept a design which does not appeal to the popular taste by its color and sentiment. The enjoyment of fresh and positive coloring seems to be universal. There is also a universal liking for exact reproductions of familiar flowers, and as these two likings are inherent and spontaneous, the thoughtful designer will do well to add to his list of necessary requirements for a design fresh and good color and absolute truth in following natural forms. This is where Japanese design has obtained, and well deserves, world-wide popularity. Every flower or leaf or plant that appears in Japanese design is absolutely an individual specimen, true to its individualism as well as its species; and while there is little composition in the sense of large and regularly recurring groups or masses in Japanese design, the absolute truth and grace of drawing, and the unerring taste in placing ornament, have given Japanese art a foremost place in influence and favor in the world. This truth to Nature in representation does not by any means detract from composition in design, for there is abundant subject for composition in Nature as well as for individual ornament. The important thing is to gather into design or into applied art all truth, all beauty, and all that will influence or elevate humanity; to be forever mindful of the dignity and value of art as a means of education and of happiness, and to be content with nothing less than the best, either as artist or as possessor."

English Porcelain.—Mr. T. E. Cope, of London, England, read a paper on English Household Porcelain, which we quote almost entire:

"Among the many items dear to the housewife, china, for all household purposes whatever, holds a prominent place, and the task of choosing and managing it is by no means always easy. Certainly it is as important to exercise good judgment in selecting the ware for bedrooms and for the table as

in buying hangings or other objects which are constantly before the eye ; yet, oddly enough, in many otherwise well-managed establishments, the lack of taste in that one point is often productive of disastrous results, as far as effect and harmony are concerned. In bedrooms the appointments of the wash-hand stand have fortunately changed—for the better, of course, the contrary being hardly possible. The introduction of marble sides and backs to the stands is certainly an advance on the era of wooden erections of various degrees of clumsiness ; the suggesting would-be improvements in the way of oilcloth mats by way of *garniture ensuite*, etc. But marble is heavy and monotonous. The prettier stands fitted with tiled backs are preferable, especially as the tiles can be chosen with some reference to the general surroundings. As to the sets with which to furnish, Doulton's china alone offers an immense variety ; the dull shades especially are attractive, though this is, of course, a matter of personal choice. The choice of jugs presents some difficulty, since the desire for novelty and change has resulted in the introduction of an immense variety of fancy shapes. Those with a square, hexagonal, or other mouth from which the water runs anywhere except into the basin, are especially to be avoided. Some are made with handles sunk in the side, and, if not very pretty, have the advantage of being easy to lift ; others are set in the wash-hand stand, and merely require to be tilted, like a tea urn or kettle. But, after all, a plain well-made set is the best, and if one recognizes how much a slight difference in construction will do to insure comfort or discomfort in handling the ware for daily use and cleaning, etc., the difficulty of choice is considerably lessened. Having found satisfactory colors and shapes, be sure that the handles are convenient, so that the maids may be able to lift and hold various pieces of ware with ease.

“The bedroom sets which are very closely covered with highly colored patterns never look as clean and fresh as light or white ones. For useful services, as for washstand sets, the simplest in shape are the best. Some dishes (especially for vegetables) are much more convenient to hand round than others. The sauce tureens fixed to their dishes are to be recommended. If such apparent trifles be carefully considered in choosing, much after expense arising from breakages is avoided.

“As regards table crockery, there are more varieties than could possibly be dealt with in this limited space, though a few remarks on the favorite kinds, and their usual marks, may perhaps prove useful.

“English ware exists in great and interesting variety, and some of its most valuable specimens form almost as precious an heirloom as family lace or jewels. It was undoubtedly the great popularity of the china works at Chelsea in the eighteenth century, added to the success of the porcelain produced in Germany, that led to the establishment of the celebrated Sevres manufactory in France, which, by the way, was originally started at Vincennes. The principal color peculiar to all Chelsea is a deep claret red ; there is, however, very little of it extant in the way of dinner sets. It is

very rare, chiefly consisting of large vases and decorative pieces. The mark of this ware is an anchor, either painted in red or gold, or molded in relief. Sometimes a double anchor is used, and this is occasionally supplemented by one or more daggers. Complete sets of old Worcester are household treasures; the modern patterns are also much sought after, and have the advantage of being more accessible in price. The marks are various, the earliest being a "W" or a crescent, while, later, crossed arrows are of more frequent occurrence. Derby ware, which was made as early as 1750, is still first among the favorites. It can be had in white, or elaborately colored, and most delicately designed. The markings show a "D," combined with the familiar anchor; then the latter alone, without the initial; next, the

well-known crown, which introduced the much-admired Crown Derby; while still another variety gives crossed lines under the crown. This ware

is perhaps more extensively used than any other, and the modern services, with some differences in quality and design, are within the reach of every one. There is no particular fashion to be noted, *chacun a son gout* being the rule that prevails in such matters, though there may be at times a tendency to plain white, or white with gold fillets, to the monogram or crest style, or the well-covered ground, as the case may be. The most durable of the Derby varieties is the ironstone ware. Its merit lies in its strength, but it has the disadvantage of being abnormally heavy, which brings about many breakages, and for that reason it is to be avoided. Some exquisite designs in pure white are being sent out from Coalport, one of the best known of Shropshire wares. It has always been made more for use than for ornament.



TIMOTHY COLE,
a contributor to the Congress.

"There is no fixed rule as to what ware to adopt. The main difficulty nowadays lies in the abundance of pretty things. Even among comparatively common china there are some very dainty sets to be had. Of course, the great desideratum, especially where special and costly patterns are concerned, is to have a large stock at the start, as it is often difficult to match and replace a broken piece. The reserve supply should be kept safely stored away, or it may be found to be exhausted before the mistress has been made aware of the fact that certain pieces in use have met with an accident and been ruthlessly consigned to the dust bin. Nat-

urally, old family services should be used sparingly, and it is impossible to take too much care of such things ; at the same time it is highly unsatisfactory to use commonplace articles while sitting folornly surrounded by dainty ware symmetrically laid out in trim glass-door cabinets.

"The average servants rattle the crockery as if it were made of cast iron, and are apt to think it hard that any complaint should be made as long as the cups and plates still hold together. Indeed, with some domestics one could with advantage follow in the steps of the master who requested his housekeeper to purchase a small hammer, so that his household crockery might be chipped more neatly. Still, maids can be trained to be gentle and careful in the exercise of their duties, whatever they may be handling, and to look upon the slightest chip or crack as a matter for regret and future avoidance."

Wood Engraving.—Timothy Cole, of Amsterdam, presented an essay in which he traced briefly the whole history of Wood Engraving in America, from which we present the following passages :

"At our last great exposition, at Philadelphia in 1876, the wood-engraving exhibit, according to one of our most competent authorities—Mr. S. R. Koehler—did not amount to anything. Of the art department of that occasion he wrote a report, but when questioned recently as to how our specialty stood, of so little consequence was it that he found a perfect blank in his mind regarding it. This fact is worthy of note because from that period, sixteen years ago, dates the birth of the new school of wood engraving.

"Previous to that time the English and French wood engravers held the field. The saying 'Who cares for an American novel?' applied with equal force to an American wood engraving. The types of perfection were such men as Linton, an Englishman, and Jonnard, Pisan, and Pannemaker, who were French. We had one engraver then, however, a genuine Yankee, who did honor to the craft, and who, in the beauty and originality of his handling, was a precursor of our American school. This we all know was Mr. Henry Marsh, of Boston.

"The first publication of note to aspire to first-class work was the ambitious Aldine Press. Much of its work was done abroad, and a Frenchman named Maurand came over and opened a shop in New York for the purpose of monopolizing it. Juengling and I may be said to have begun our careers with this publication. The sudden uprising of the new school was no mere mushroom growth, as it was contemptuously termed at the time, since we see at the present day no good wood engraving done in any part of the world that is not an exemplification of its principles.

"It is not engraving that is wanted, but art ; art first and last ; art the end of engraving and art in engraving. And it is because this is the first and essential aim of the new school that it is here to-day, and claims attention at our World's Exposition. The demand creates the supply. That we are here is proof we ought to be here. We did not come of our own accord ;

we were called into being by the conditions of the times. Our existence is a perfect answer to all our objectors. Manifestly the first criterion of an engraving, which purports to be either a reproduction or a translation, must be the original from which it was taken. Herein lies an important distinction of the new school. If, for instance, you give me a portrait to engrave, and having completed it I submit to you the finished proof, your first concern on looking at it will naturally be the likeness. If this be called in question, it will not avail me to reply by calling your attention to the beauty of the technique, the well-chosen and expressive lines. You may very well answer that I place the cart before the horse. What you want first of all is a faithful rendering of your original; this given, you may then proceed to consider the manner of its execution. The original, then, is not a theme for the engraver to vary upon. But prior to the period under consideration an adherence to the original such as is now practiced was not imagined possible. Engraving was a law unto itself, and engravers were not troubled with any conscientious scruples as to how they adhered to their originals. The originals in all cases were drawings upon the wood, and when these were engraved there was nothing left by which to judge how well the engraver had done his work. In retouching and finishing his work the engraver could but trust to his memory of what the original was; so that every touch he gave in completing his block could have been but little better than his own notion super-added to the thought of the artist. The artist, in fact, was at the mercy of an inferior man. Moreover, a latitude was conceded the engraver from a consideration of the material he had to deal with. Not much was expected of wood. No one dreamed it capable of rivaling copper or steel, or etching, much less of surpassing these in some respects. Wood engraving was looked upon as a kind of carpentering, or, at best, a species of cabinetmaking, and the engraver as a skilled mechanic. A notion of this sort still lingers among the ignorant and uninitiated, though we should scarcely expect to meet with it in so intelligent a body as our customhouse authorities, who rank wood engraving with wood manufactures, and rate it at a high tariff accordingly!

"The subject was drawn upon the wood for the engraver by a draughtsman. If a painting had to be engraved it was not the author of the work that was employed to draw it upon the wood (unless, indeed, he understood that particular branch, which was rarely the case), but a draughtsman—one who was practiced in drawing upon boxwood, and who understood the limited capabilities of the engraver; for engravers at that time could not cut anything as they can now. The draughtsman, then, was an intermediary man between the artist and the engraver. The subject had already deteriorated in passing through the hands of the draughtsman—himself an inferior man to the artist—and as the work was engraved without reference to the original, the deterioration amounted to nothing less than debasement by the time it left the engraver's hand. The artist's work was at best caricatured in being engraved on wood. When photographing the subject upon the wood,

instead of drawing it, began to be practiced successfully—which was coeval with the beginning of our new school—a light dawned. Engravers began to see their deficiencies, and to appreciate what it was to render values—a thing that had never been practiced or understood before. The drawings were made upon paper, with which material artists were in their natural element, and these drawings were photographed on the wood, so that the intermediary man, the draughtsman, was dismissed, and the engraver was brought face to face with the artist. The engraver was promoted. Multitudes of drawings are thus saved under this better state of things which under the old were sacrificed in being engraved. The engraver now has his original constantly by him for comparison and study while he makes his copy. This was an education to him, and was one of the influences that contributed powerfully to the improvement and amelioration of the art.

“At this time, in 1877, and therefore contemporary with the beginning of the better manner in wood engraving, the Society of American Artists was formed in New York city. The artists were young men fresh from Paris, and were imbued with the latest ideas in art. These ideas consisted chiefly in a more learned and judicious application of the law of values. There was greater mystery, more atmosphere, and better *chiaroscuro* in their works than in those of the older academicians from whom they separated. They were enthusiastic and zealous, and gave a great impetus to the art of our country. I have said that the society was contemporary with the beginning of the new school; it was in fact the society that brought about the change. The society made a great stir. The artists wanted their works engraved, or rather the magazines wanted to illustrate the artists, but the latter were not contented with the formal and stereotyped technique of our art. There were no engravers who could do justice to the artists. Fancy the aspect of the situation! The art had degraded into a certain cut-and-dried method of doing everything, and engravers had become specialists in various manners. For instance, there were those who had learned the cut of foliage, and whose business was to hew trees all day; those who excelled in flesh cutting were hair cutters as well; while in the tailoring department there were those whose specialty was coats, dresses, and all kinds of stuff goods. It is not of course to tailors alone that the saying of ‘the ninth part of a man’ applies. In those days wood engraving was taught in much the same way as shoemaking; it was simply manufacture. There was no art in the cutting, and, as a natural consequence, no art in the result. Such, in brief, was the general condition of the craft when the work of reformation began, and the source of the inspiration came, as I have said, from the Society of American Artists. At this time the Century Magazine, then in its infancy, and not yet having changed its name from that of Scribner’s, entered zealously into the work, not, it must be confessed, from an entirely æsthetic point of view, but as well from a business one, as seeing in it a chance of distinction in the way of its illustrations, and consequently of pecuniary profit. The Century en-

couraged the new manner in every way, and instituted a series of prizes, which were awarded to young engravers for their best performances. The prices of engraving rose in proportion to the degree of skill and artistic feeling with which the engravers interpreted the artists, so that the prices now paid for good work would have appeared incredible to the old-timeworkers.

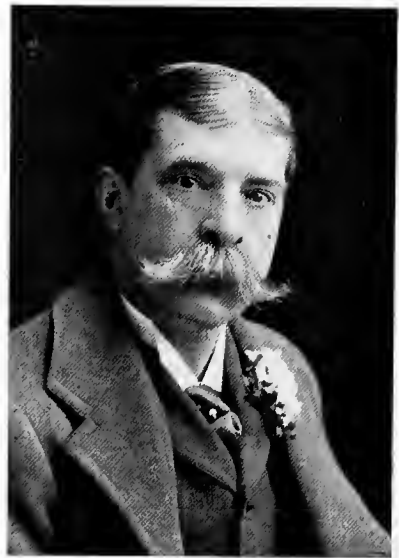
"I well remember the anxious urging and good advice of the indefatigable Mr. Drake, the art superintendent of the Century Magazine. He was first in the movement, and did more than any one else to promote it. He brought the artists and engravers together, and established a closer relationship between them. He criticised every block, and was wont to say, 'We must do the impossible.' He also brought the artists and engravers in contact with the printers, and his influence on printing was as marked as on engraving. Naturally the engravers could do nothing without the co-operation of the printers. With the old-time method of printing, used as it was to the coarser work of the old school, the engravings of the present day would present a sorry spectacle. The electrotypers also felt the influence, and the preparers of boxwood ; and better work all round was the result. The awakening was general, and the public was not insensible to the novelty and artistic excellence of the effects produced.

"Three causes operated in the development of the new school, namely : Photographing on the wood, the Society of American Artists, and the Century Magazine.

"It needed a conjunction such as this to effect a definite and permanent result, and the opposition it found in criticism and ridicule but served as an additional ally ; the finger of scorn pointed attention more particularly to it. But the all-essential element in the case was the publishing house. Similar things were done before in engraving both in England and elsewhere, but they were isolated cases, and publishers did not want them. They would have but the regular thing. Anything else was uncertain in its result as to printing, entailing greater care, some artistic treatment, better presses that would give more even pressure and a finer and more delicate distribution of ink, an attention to paper, and many other considerations coupled with serious expense and risk, that only enthusiasm and enterprise would have the temerity to venture upon. The seed of the new school was ready to spring up the moment it felt the sunshine and rain of an enterprising house.

"By the application of photography to wood, the engravers, as I have said, began to see their deficiencies, and to appreciate what it was to render values. In the word 'values' is comprehended the main distinction and difference that separate the new school from the old. To give the values of a painting in an engraving is to attend to one of its most delicate and necessary means of expression. There is nothing in the old school, from Bewick to Linton, that indicates any sentiment for the values of things. This is not to be wondered at, however, when we consider the art of that period in this respect as compared with the better manner that succeeded toward the mid-

dle of the present century, as illustrated in the masters of contemporary landscape painting. About a century before Bewick's time the decline of Dutch art had set in, and with it the knowledge of one of the most vital elements in all well-conceived art ; the law of values was forgotten and lost. In the woodcuts of Bewick there is no atmosphere and no *chiaroscuro*, though they possess a freshness of execution which is charming, and his effects, though cheaply obtained, are more captivating in their artlessness than the heavier treatment of the majority of his successors. But the main characteristic of the work during the fifty years from the time of Bewick to the birth of the new school may be summed up in 'the line for the line's sake,' a total want of *chiaroscuro*, or otherwise of values, and an attention to details at the expense of the *ensemble*. Effects were cheaply obtained by the use of the extreme of black and white, and the coarseness of the cutting allowed but a restricted scale of grays ranging between the two extremes. Everything is bounded and hard, without subtlety or refinement, tints are spotty, and values in textures are not understood. Toward the middle of the present century a new art was born, and contemporary landscape painters owe the best lessons they have received to such rare spirits as Corot, Rousseau, Dupré, Diaz, Millet, and others. The long-lost law of values was rediscovered—'rediscovered among the much-forgotten portions in the archives of the art of painting,' as Fromentin puts it. This was the fountain head at which the young artists of the society drew their inspiration. With a new art new means of expression were necessary in engraving, and if the new art was more profound, deeper, and more subtle, the problems to solve in engraving called for greater executive ability in the engraver. Looking back upon the work of our predecessors from the standpoint reached at the present day, we can see that its deficiency is a lack of executive ability. It was not sufficient even for the needs of its day ; it was not an exponent of the art of its generation, as engraving should be, but a confession of its own inaptitude. At no previous time have originals been as well and as faithfully rendered as during the last sixteen years, for the reason that the technique of our art had not reached its fullest development. The history of the rise of all art is, in a measure, the history of its executive development. In painting, we find that one more step in power of execution resulted in the unfolding of Michael Angelo from his predecessor Luca Signorelli, and of Raphael from Perugino, and so on to the beginning of Italian



F. HOPKINSON SMITH,
a speaker at the Congress.

art. We can not ignore the material basis of art, if we would understand it as a whole.

"The new school was a development and unfolding of the old. All our progress is an unfolding like the vegetable bud: there is first an instinct, then an opinion, then a knowledge, as the plant has root, bud, and fruit. How well this was exemplified in our case! We listened tremulously to the suggestions of artists, feeling ourselves on uncertain ground, for we had served an apprenticeship to other ways, yet we felt instinctively that it was safe. We began by cutting finer. This was the first break with usage, but we enlarged the scale of our tones thereby, though we did not fully realize this at the time, being only conscious that we interpreted the artist better in so doing. We lacked the boldness and self-assertion in our work which was the pride of our predecessors. Our opponents saw nothing in our hesitating step but imbecility and weakness, and ridiculed our efforts. Still we followed our instinct. We learned the art of grouping our textures and thereby enhancing the quality of our work to a degree that had not hitherto been practiced, and began to form opinions on these things, and to be able to give a reason for certain effects, until now we are able to suggest color, a thing not possible with the old methods. Moreover, we are able, in our turn, to criticise the methods of the old school, and to demonstrate its weakness.

"'Art,' says Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'in its perfection, is not ostentatious, but lies hid, and works its effect, itself unseen.' This applies with equal force to engraving. It is the triumph of the engraver when he makes you forget him in the artist. Of what use and of what value are his lines if this be not their vanishing point? The doctrine of 'the line for the line's sake' is not that of the artist, but of the artisan. It is like pretending to be distinguished by the garment, when in person we are undistinguished, a poor and vain fashion of proving that one is somebody. It is evident that if the beauties of the artist could be shown in the pages of our magazines without the intervention of the engraver it would be better in every way, since it is not engraving, but art, that is to educate mankind. Who would not prefer a work of art poorly engraved to the most beautifully engraved example which was bad as art? Engraving has value only when allied to high art; it is but a means to an end. If the engraving charms us in the *ensemble*, the engraver has done his work well; he has cut lines to some account. How can the means be questioned when the end is above criticism? The end justifies the means. The greater includes the less. But, coming down to the lines themselves, as to their fitness or unfitness in an engraved work, beauty does not exist alone, but always in relation to other things. What might be a beautiful line in the interpretation of a work by Raphael would be entirely inappropriate, insipid, and therefore not beautiful if employed in a work, say, by Frans Hals.

"It is the want of the recognition of this fact in the old school of engraving that condemns it. It fails to perceive that the means for the expres-

sion of beauty are not invariable and fixed, but as free and as variable as human nature itself. Sympathy with the multiple forms of expression is an absolute requisite in the engraver. He must have no preconceived notions, but must be as open and as receptive as a child. But along with this fallacy of the old school, which prescribed certain set forms for doing everything, was the totally different aims it held. This can be shown in a few words, and to the uninitiated in our art will indicate at a glance the difference between the old school and the new. In Nature, says the old, we find a variety of substances which can best be indicated in certain ways, as, for instance, a rough line for a rough surface, delicate contours modeled by smooth and flowing lines, distances by fine lines, foregrounds by bolder ones; hence they held a perspective in the use of lines. The new school says: We are not engraving Nature at all, but the artist; we are not endeavoring to imitate the nature of stuffs, but to give the nature and stuff of the artist. This change of principle naturally resulted in a richer and more varied technique than was possible under the old system, because each artist, being a new individual, demanded a new treatment, whereas with the old way of working, everything was cast in the same general mold. That an engraver's technique should be an inspiration of Nature, is well enough if he is engraving his own productions, expressing his own conceptions and views of things. Dürer had one way of engraving, and Mantegna so opposite a manner as to be a complete contradiction of the former, and among the rare and precious examples of early Italian engraving, such as Mocetto and Robetta, we have styles of marked dissimilarity; which goes to show that had engravers kept alive their artistic sympathies, they would not have fallen into the error of allowing but one way of doing things.

"Comparing the art of the present day with that of former times, or walking from a collection of modern pictures into a room of ancient works of art, one must notice that more attention is given nowadays to technique. There is not that unity of method belonging to them which gives to the old ones the same family air to quite distinct personalities. The old art does not ripple on the surface, but lies deep and will stand more wear. You may strip it of its outer garment, scrape it, and reduce it to tatters, or even engrave it badly, still its robustness and vitality remain unimpaired; the thought and personality remain, and we treasure the fragments and gather inspiration from them. To-day more attention is paid to manipulation. To be a good technician is the thing. It is the fashion, and the fashion leads the artists, and not the artists the fashion. There are as many styles and formulas as there are individuals as to drawing, color, and the expression of everything else by the action of the hand. It is not enough to be 'modern,' one must be 'very modern.' Artists are becoming more than ever jealous of their touch; it is their distinguishing feature. It was imperative that modern engraving should pay particular attention to surface qualities. How else could it be shown that such and such an artist was 'very modern' or merely 'mod-

ern,' or that he had any individuality at all? Not that I would infer in the least that modern art at bottom is shallow or superficial; rather it is sensational—

Musical,
Tremulous, impressional,
Alive to gentle influence
Of landscape and of sky,
And tender to the spirit touch
Of man's or maiden's eye—

dealing with the relative, the accidental, and the real; looking outward to the facts of Nature rather than inward—the ultimate expression of the picturesque. Take as an instance easily understood of how the modern engraver seeks to second his more brilliant relative in the way of doing things: In a subject of sunlight and shadow, the shadow is treated with cool tints and quietly, while the sunlight is piled with bright, sharp touches that accentuate its vividness in contrast to the quietness of the shadow. Now suppose the engraver, going to work in the old way, seeks to show the material upon which the sunlight fell; puts the picture at a distance and says it is stone, or wood, or earth; therefore either one of these materials it must be. How he will cut the spirit out of it! what a subversion of the aim and intelligence of the artist! Not so, however; he recognizes the fact that he is about to cut light and air. He cuts the shadow with fine, quiet lines, which from their very nature produce a feeling of density and coolness in black and white. And in the spirit of the artist, and following his lead, often his very touches, and knowing the scientific value of the lines themselves, he introduces a series of coarse ones in the sunlight which from their intrinsic nature sparkle and scintillate in brilliant contrast to the finer ones of the shadow. The quality of the color is thus enhanced by the juxtaposition of the treatment of each. Art is not material, but spiritual; and the engraver, like the artist, is independent of the material substances of things. They seek to penetrate deeper than the mere surface, and to portray the light and atmosphere.

“This law governing the nature of black and white when broken up into lines (black lines and white interspaces)—a law the full nature and advantage of which finds ultimate expression in the works of the new school—Mr. Koehler calls attention to for the first time that I am aware of in his memoir of Frederick Juengling. ‘It is a fact,’ he says, ‘namely, that it is not at all immaterial what is the quality and the direction of the line, and what the form and the grouping of the dots, in so far as their effect upon the retina, when seen in masses, is concerned. Two masses may have precisely the same value—that is to say, if rotated upon a disk they may produce in the eye precisely the same shade of gray, and yet seen at rest they may be of very different quality, according to the character and the direction of the lines or dots, or lines and dots of which they are composed. It is the utilization of this principle which makes it possible to suggest effects of color in



THE NEBRASKA STATE BUILDING.



THE MONTANA STATE BUILDING.

engraving.' Of this law, though it may have found occasional exemplification in early copper-plate engraving and etching, as Mr. Koehler shows, I fail to find any conscious apprehension in the old school of wood engraving, if I may judge of the best works of the masters of its time.

"I have said that the old school did not understand values in textures. It would be impossible to suggest the effects of color in engraving without some degree of comprehension and artistic application of the principle involved in this law. No color exists by itself ; it is modified by the influence of its neighboring color—the light of a candle will appear a dark spot against the sun. The same law holds good when applied to texture. The quality of a smooth treatment will be more or less enhanced according to the relationship it may bear to a rougher one, and *vice versa*. Add to this the difference in quality of color obtained by contrasting fine with coarse cutting or otherwise of brilliant with opaque tints, and we arrive at considering a tone in engraving under the double aspect of value as to color and texture, its value of brightness or dullness being modified according to its textual treatment. With the limited methods of the old school we have the elements of this law floating vague and undefined, of occasional unconscious application in part, but more often of unwitting violation. They held a perspective in the use of lines which, without considering whether it is within the province of the engraver to add to or improve the perspective of the artist, was the principal quality that saved their work from monotony, and as they sought to give the textures of things, this, when happily applied, was an additional source of interest and completed the sum of its variety. But as the quality of their textures was dependent upon the nature of the things depicted, they could not group and contrast them with a view to the coloristic effect of the whole. Neither was the perspective of their lines employed for coloristic purposes, but, as might naturally be inferred, to give distance.

"No one that I am aware of has treated this matter with greater insight and sympathy than Mr. Koehler, from whose memoir of Juengling I quote in conclusion : 'In the development of wood engraving in our own day the spectacle is repeated which was enacted in the days of Rubens, but, as a matter of course, in a much more refined form. It is quite conceivable that the representatives of the old school of that time—that is to say, those engravers who prided themselves upon the sweep and assurance of the line, and who sought their highest aim in its development—should have accused their contemporaries of the then new school that they sacrificed the dignity of their art to secondary qualities ; that they valued external picturesque attractiveness above the drawing, which alone expressed the intellect. Such accusations were brought against Juengling, and he often exclaimed angrily, 'Confound the line ! What I seek is tone and color !' And those who brought the accusation may be excused if, in view of the works of the 'new school,' their feelings were aroused much more violently even than those of the (hypothetical) antagonists of the new school of the seventeenth century.

The works that this latter was asked to interpret were, although the products of painting, still not so exclusively painting as the specifically most modern productions. The Venetians, Rubens, Rembrandt, Velasquez, etc., were indeed painters in the modern sense of the word ; but in their case the technique was still the servant of the idea, which, in the first instance, finds its expression in drawing. Reduce their works to this, their simplest expression, and you will find that they still retain their individual character. But with the mass of modern painters the idea has been reduced to a minimum ; in the best productions its place has been taken by feeling and what the Germans call *Stimmung*, and the love of technique and color for their own sake occupy so prominent a position that it would be exceedingly difficult to tell the works of one master from those of another if the attempt were made to reproduce them simply by drawing. None of the methods in use till then answered for the new tasks. It needed more delicate gradations of light ; it needed, above all else, a richer scale of color ; it needed, in a word, quality, and to attain this, the line as such, 'the line for the line's sake,' had at last to be completely sacrificed. It has been charged against the representatives of the new school, and more especially against Juengling, that they sacrificed the beauty of the line from ignorance or from caprice, and that they carried minuteness in their work to an insane degree, merely to show off their mechanical dexterity or, still worse, to hide their artistic incompetency, more especially as draughtsmen. It has furthermore been maintained that if such minuteness be desired, there is no longer any need for the engraver, but that in such case all reproductions may be abandoned to the photomechanical half-tone processes. These objections can not be upheld. The beautiful line which, if it means anything, must mean the graceful, delicately curved line, the sweep of which is in itself agreeable, is beautiful only where it fulfills a purpose. As soon as it ceases to answer the demands made upon it it ceases also to be really beautiful. Above it stands the expressive line which adapts itself to all conditions and forgets itself in the desire to answer its purpose. And whenever the engraver endeavors to lose the line entirely, to allow it to be absorbed in the mass so that it shall only make itself felt by its qualities, he does this for the sake of higher aims, not at all for the sake of fineness. Those who seek their safety in the quality last named may quietly drop wood engraving ; despite all fineness, however, they will never reach what they are after, for the texture in the photomechanical half-tone process is the same all over, and hence it lacks that indispensable varying quality which the hand of the engraver, guided by refined artistic perception, is capable of giving."

Photographic Art.—This Congress was widely representative, and the admission of photography into the Department of Art was regarded as a noteworthy event. To give an idea of the nature and scope of this Congress the following extracts are made from the introductory address of Judge Bradwell, Chairman of the Committee of Organization :

"Fifty-five persons, representing Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and the islands of the sea, accepted invitations to prepare papers and deliver addresses upon photography and the processes dependent thereon. The programme presents a great variety of talent and subjects: Color Photography is represented by Fred E. Ives, its ablest exponent in America; Isochromatic Photography, by G. Cramer, and Orthochromatic Photography and its Practical Application, by John Carbutt; Photography in Natural Colors, by the eminent artist Edward Bierstadt, of New York. The Present and Future Possibilities of Photography has been assigned to the enthusiastic W. I. Lincoln Adams, of the *Photographic Times*, and to Leon Vidal, an eminent artist of Paris and professor at the National School of the Decorative Arts. Winter Photography in the Alps is aptly treated by Elizabeth Main. Amateur Photography was appropriately selected by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes (now Ward), and Photographers' Efforts at Union, as appropriately selected by H. Snowden Ward, of London, England. Electric Lighting in the Studio has a skillful exponent in Henry Vander Weyde, of London, England. Portraiture is treated by Shapoor N. Bhedwar, of Bombay, India, in an exceedingly able and interesting manner. Posing and Illumination, by E. M. Estabrooke, of Elizabeth, N. J., will well repay a careful examination. The American Bibliography of Photography is to be treated by C. W. Canfield, of New York. Photography applied to Scientific Research by Prof. Romyn Hitchcock, of the Smithsonian Institution, will be a paper of lasting value. The Finer Division of the Silver Haloids for Scientific Work, by Thomas W. Smillie, of the Smithsonian Institution, will be of unusual interest to the scientific photographer. The Hand Camera: Its Aims and Objects, by Walter D. Welford, of London, England, will be instructive to all not skilled in the use of this instrument. Film in Relation to Amateur Photography, by Gustave D. Milburn, of Rochester, calls attention to a matter not generally known in relation to films when rolled. The Camera as a Source of Income outside the Studio will be treated by Mrs. Elizabeth Flint Wade, of Buffalo. America's Share in the Development of Photography will lose nothing at the hands of Julius F. Sachse, editor of the *American Journal of Photography*. Carbon Printing has been assigned to W. A. Cooper, one of Chicago's oldest and most expert process workers. Fine Line Screens and their Use, by M. Wolfe, of Dayton, who was not the first to discover



JAMES B. BRADWELL,
Chairman of Committee
on Photographic Art Congress.

their use, but was, we believe, the first in America to make them publicly an article of merchandise. Photo-Mechanical Processes in England receives the attention of W. T. Wilkinson, author of a work on Photo-Engraving. The beautiful process of Photogravure has been selected by the artistic and well-known Ernest Edwards, of New York, and Photo-Mechanical Printing up to 1893, by Prof. Jacob Husnik, of Prague, Austria, author of four works on mechanical printing. Support Reflection: Its Sources, its Effects, its Remedies, is to be treated by I. T. Sandell, of Thornton Heath, England. Tele-Photography will receive the attention of Edward Bausch, of Rochester. The address of Thomas R. Dallmeyer, of London, whose name is known wherever photographic lenses are used, is devoted to Tele-Photographic Systems of Moderate Amplification. Recent Improvements in Photographic Lenses, by Prof. W. K. Burton, of the Imperial University of Tokio, Japan, is on a subject of much interest. Photography as an Aid to Education will be demonstrated by Prof. Charles F. Himes, of Dickinson College. The Camera and the Pulpit will be the subject of a discourse by the Rev. A. W. Patton, of Joliet. M. A. Seed, maker of the dry plates that bear his name, will speak of coarse-grained negatives, and tell how to prevent them. Dr. Eilerslie Wallace, of Philadelphia, has a very readable paper on Medical Photography in General. Photography in Surgery, I am pleased to say, will be treated by a woman, Mrs. Dr. G. F. Sears, of Chicago. The Sensitiveness of Photographic Plates is the subject selected by the cautious and accurate Prof. G. W. Hough, of the Northwestern University. Andrew Pringle, of London, is to tell of the Services of Photography to Medicine. Negatives for Lantern Slides and Enlargements is the subject of F. A. Bridge, Hon. Secretary of the Photographic Club, London. Marine Photography is assigned to one of its ablest exponents, Henry G. Peabody, of Boston. Photography for illustrating the Practice of Medicine and Surgery in a Great Hospital, by Prof. O. G. Mason, of Bellevue Hospital, will interest not only photographers, but all who are in the practice of medicine and surgery. Photography as applied to Medicine, by Prof. Albert Londe, of Paris, is a paper of great scientific value and interest. Photography as applied to Surgery, by Prof. A. S. Murray, of Johns Hopkins Hospital, is a practical paper. The beautiful landscapes of Colorado, taken in the pure air of the mountains, will receive the attention of W. H. Jackson, of Denver. The paper of W. Jerome Harrison, of London, contains valuable suggestions as to the desirability of establishing an International Bureau to record and to exchange photographic negatives and prints. Photography without a Lens is illustrated by Captain R. Colson, of Paris. Universal Standards in Photographic Apparatus is to be advocated by Henry Sturmey, of London, and The Latent Image has been selected by Miss Adelaide Skeel, of Newburg, as her theme."

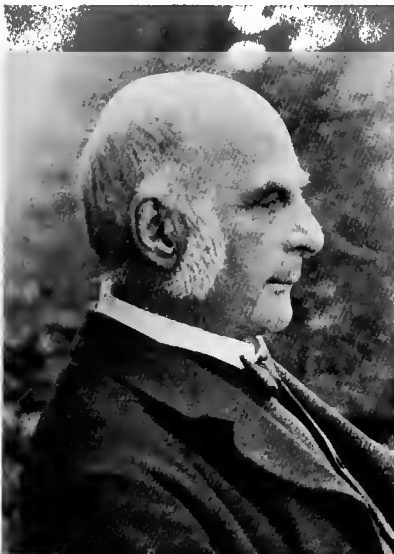


Plan of the Horticultural Garden on the Wooded Island.

CHAPTER X.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS.

Kant's Fallacy, the Immortality of the Soul, Form of Hand and Character, Synthetic Philosophy, the Twofold Nature of Knowledge, Realism in Art and Literature, and many other topics discussed—Papers by William T. Harris, W. Lutoslawski, Francis Galton, Brother Azarias, Josiah Royce, Louis J. Block, and others.



SIR FRANCIS GALTON,
a contributor to the Congress.

THE Congresses of the Department of Science and Philosophy were opened in the Hall of Columbus, on the morning of August 21, with an address of welcome by President Bonney. After responses in behalf of the various congresses and countries, the general divisions assembled in the halls assigned to them.

The Congresses of this department were highly successful. The Philosophical Congress under the chairmanship of Dr. R. N. Foster, the Geological Congress under the chairmanship of Prof. T. C. Chamberlin, the Chemical Congress under the chairmanship of Prof. J. H. Long, the Meteorological Congress under the chairmanship of Chief M. W. Harrington, the Electrical Congress under the chairmanship of Prof. Elisha Gray, the Astronomical Congress under the chairmanship of Prof. George W. Hough, the Psychical Congress under the chairmanship of Dr. Elliott Coues, and the Congress on Evolution under the direction of Secretary James A. Skilton—all attracted marked attention by the variety, comprehensiveness, and importance of their work. From Dr. Foster's introductory address the following extracts are made:

"The difference between the civilized and the barbarous world is the difference between educated and uneducated man. Even the man of mere money may see that all values are raised indefinitely by education. It is the man civilized by education who appreciates things, and gives high prices for paint and canvas, architecture, fine locations, comforts, everything. Property is worth nothing to cattle, very little more to savages, and a great deal to civilized men. Plato was poor, but Plato was worth more to Greece in hard drachmas than a hundred Midases. And yet education can afford to forego all claims to such financial value, and urge simply the men and women and children that it produces as its chief success. One Aristotle is of more value than a whole continent of ordinary men. The truth is, man himself is the only wealth, and all other things have value only in relation to him. What were the worlds worth if no man inhabited them? All values rise as man rises, and fall as he falls; and the thought that discerns man's infinite value is the truest, tenderest, and richest thought of the world. Not that all else is worthless—philosophy would instantly correct that partial truth—but that all else has value only when this thought is at the heart of things.

"To take a given principle—say, thought itself—to grasp it firmly, see it clearly, and watch it blossom out into an infinitude of thoughts, thus revealing its own infinitude; to see each and every one of these thoughts perpetually referring itself to, and holding its vital relation with, the universal thought, thus revealing its own reality and truth; and, furthermore, to distinguish, define, and clearly differentiate thought from thought without confusion (thus respecting the principle of difference); and, finally, to set all thoughts in right relation to each other and to the total thought in living and eternal synthesis—this is philosophy. And this is the highest form of intellectual education. And the function of philosophy is, in its peculiar, high, and perfect method, to educate the educated and the educators, and, through these, the world. It is educating and self-educating thought. In this, philosophy but echoes the voice of all true religion, which finds the true man to be not the natural man at all, but the spiritual man, and the perfect and eternal idea of that man it declares to be the Divine Man."

At the morning session of the Philosophical Congress, Tuesday, August 22, the first speaker was William T. Harris, LL. D., United States Commissioner of Education, whose subject was Kant's Third Antinomy and his Fallacy regarding the First Cause. He said:

"There has descended to us from Plato and Aristotle an ontological proof of the existence of God as the first cause. The proof consists in showing the presuppositions of finite, dependent being. The presupposition is of a whole or total, when something incomplete is given. The partial, incomplete, or imperfect is understood by Plato only in the sense of dependent being, that which in its very nature implies the existence of something else on which it depends.

"Of course we can speak of a thing as imperfect or incomplete when we regard it as lacking something which we arbitrarily associate with it as a purpose or end. We can speak of a broken nail as an imperfect one, or call an unbroken one a perfect one. But a perfect nail is not by any means a complete or perfect being. It owes to outside causes its shape and its substance; it is thoroughly a dependent being. Whatever derives its being from another is a dependent being, and presupposes the existence of that on which it depends. All beings in space are limited in extent and have environments upon which they depend or with which they stand in relation. All beings in time—that is to say, all beings that undergo change—are similarly dependent and have derived their being from antecedent being. Plato and Aristotle reach this idea of dependence through the idea of motion. Motion, in its various forms of locomotion, change, increase, diminution, and the like, is motion through another. Motion in the form of life and mind is self-motion, according to Plato; but, according to Aristotle, life and mind are unmoved producers of movement.

"Dependent being presupposes independent being as its source and producer. Deny the existence of an independent being and you deny the existence of all that depends on it. The existence of the dependent being is contingent and may or may not be, but if it is, then the independent being on which it depends *must* be.

"What differences in Nature are necessarily implied between dependent and independent beings? It is evident that the independent being contains the explanation of the dependent being. It is its origin, shaper, and mover. It causes it to begin, to change, and to cease. Fastening the attention of the mind upon these two orders of being, the dependent and the independent, two general characteristics become obvious as essential to describe them. Everything that exists is either determined or made what it is by itself or by some other being. It is clear that the characteristic of dependent being is found in the fact that something else determines or makes it to be what it is. That which determines itself is independent, because it possesses existence derived only from itself.

"These two orders of being, the self-determined and the determined-through-another, must both exist if dependent being exists. Independent or self-determined being must be both cause and effect, or *causa sui*—the cause of its own determinations. It must, too, have the power of modifying its determinations. Its nature, then, must be that of a self as pure subject, which is the general possibility of all determinations, and a self as object, which realizes some or all of those determinations. These traits of character are identified by Plato, Aristotle, and their competent disciples as the phases of subject and object in conscious being. Independent being must have the form of mind, or it must be conscious. The form of any total or whole being, the form of all independent being, is that of intelligent personality.

"All ultimate explanation is to be found in independent being ; hence, in personal being. This great doctrine follows from the insight here described. It is the doctrine of theism, the doctrine explicitly taught in the religions of Judaism and Christianity. It is a doctrine that elevates and ennobles human life, because it makes man to be of the same nature as the Absolute, though not completed in his act of self-determination. The Absolute self-determined has made his object perfectly a subject-object—the finite self-determined has not yet made his object perfectly self-active, but partially passive. The explanation of man and of the several ranks of being below him in nature is accessible on this line : there is a harmony between philosophy and religion.

"But this ontological proof, after standing criticism for two thousand years and getting translated into various forms of expression—such, for example, as demonstrations of the existence of God by St. Anselm and Descartes, and the doctrine of the Monad by Leibnitz—was at last attacked by Immanuel Kant in his Critique of Pure Reason from the standpoint of psychology, and its validity was questioned in such a manner that modern philosophy since Kant has furnished few thinkers who have attempted its defense against the new criticism.

"It is plain that the old doctrine of independent, self-determined being as the presupposition of dependent or derivative being centers in the principle of causality. This principle of causality has been so treated by Hume that nothing remained of it except invariable sequence. This amounts to a denial of causality altogether as ordinarily understood. For a cause should be a being that by its own activity transfers its influence to another being, thereby giving rise to new modifications in it. Cause signifies origination of new determinations, and the root of it is self-determination. Thus Plato could ask after the source of motion (The Laws, Book X), and assert that the self-moved must be the cause of motion in everything that is moved by something else than itself.

"Kant's chief inquiry is directed to the explanation of the certainty we have in the use of the category of cause to give us knowledge of what transcends experience. It is evident enough that experience can not furnish us a knowledge of any universality in the facts of time or space and still less of any necessity of existence as prevailing among such facts. It can only say : 'So far as observed, this or that prevails.'

"Kant has done the cause of affirmative philosophy an incalculable service in showing the method of discovering the *a priori* elements in knowledge. But the use he made of his discoveries in rational psychology was to destroy the very foundations of philosophy and discourage any and all attempts to solve the great problems of human thought ; for he held, first, that the considerable store of *a priori* knowledge which we have in possession is entirely subjective in its character. We do not know things in themselves, but only phenomena and our own mental forms. We know the forms of our know-

ing to be the necessary forms for the existence of phenomena, because we impose those forms on the data of sensation.

"Second, he held that our supposed transcendental knowledge by which we reach the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality is all an illusion. It is, in fact, only one side of a twofold argument—a conflict or antinomy of ideas either side of which seems to be irrefutably established when regarded by itself alone.

"For instance, the doctrine of causality seemed to contain the necessary implication of an original source of movement. That which causes, originates. That which receives and transmits the causality is not a true cause, but only an effect, or, at best, an instrument or agent of the cause. Hence Plato and his school of thinkers could hold that a causality of mind or personality is involved as the ultimate presupposition of the least and most mechanical movement in the world.

"Kant shows in his third antinomy that the line of thought which ends in discovering a free personality as the ultimate presupposition (the thesis), although it proceeds by logically necessary steps and is not fallacious, yet it stands side by side with another line of thought equally necessary and logical and yet leading to the opposite conclusions (the antithesis). The validity of each argument and their mutual contradiction destroy both.

"The thesis states that Platonic insight which has been such a solid comfort to the race for the past twenty centuries. It says: 'Causality, according to the laws of Nature, is not the only causality from which the phenomena of the world can be deduced. There is besides a causality, that of freedom, which is necessary to account for those phenomena.' Kant leads to this insight by showing what is involved in the other theory. Every event presupposes a previous condition from which, if existent, it must follow as a necessary result. Now, if that state or condition had always been, this event would also have always existed. Hence the causality of a cause that produces an event must be itself an event, or, in other words, it must be something that has just now come to be. Hence we are compelled to look beyond it for another cause, and thus again forever. But, says Kant, 'There would be no completeness of the series of causes' at this rate. For he sees that the cause which we reach in our search is never the originator of any determination or effect. It is, in fact, only a transmitter. Hence it belongs to the effect and not to the true cause. We are discovering only agents and passive instruments, and therefore adding only to the effect in our search for the cause. No one of this series of antecedent events can be the first cause; hence the whole series consists of effects that do not originate any new impulse whatever. Let each one of them originate something and we could soon come to the end of our series and explain the origination of the entire event. But since no previous event originates anything, it is clear that the entire series is empty of causality.

"This last result, however, Kant does not see; he sees only that 'the

causality of Nature can not be the only kind of causality,' and is willing to admit that the series of events devoid of all origination of new determinations, is one kind of causality. He concludes, therefore, that there is a second species of causality—namely, 'an absolute spontaneity of causes that of itself begins a series of phenomena that proceeds according to natural laws, hence we must admit transcendental freedom, without which even in the course of Nature the succession of phenomena would never be complete as to causes'—or, in other words, the series of phenomena in Nature would lack causality if spontaneity or self-activity is denied.

"In his remarks on this demonstration Kant shows further that he does not see quite fully this need of a spontaneity or pure self-activity in the true cause, because he speaks more explicitly of all successive states and conditions of events as 'resulting according to mere laws of Nature.' The idea of a cause that could set things going and then leave them to go on of themselves belongs to an inconsistent dualism. But it implies that the spontaneous factor of causality is transmitted to the series of phenomena in Nature so that the things created have become real and true causes and can originate new distinctions. In that case, as already shown, the infinite regress of causes would not be necessary to explain any given event.

"But the defect in Kant's conception of true cause will be apparent in the proof of the antithesis, which reads as follows: 'There is no freedom, but everything in the world takes place solely according to the laws of Nature.' The proof of this antithesis is not so satisfactory; or it points out merely the fact that a first beginning of action—i. e., the spontaneity of a true cause—breaks the continuity of the natural law of cause and effect and 'is opposed to the law of causality,' and therefore destructive of the unity of experience. If we admit that there is freedom in the transcendental meaning of the term as a particular species of causality producing occurrences in the world—that is to say, a capacity to begin a new condition of things and a new series of results that flow from it—it would follow that not only the new condition, but even the determination of the spontaneity to the production of the series—that is to say, the causality would have an absolute beginning such that nothing precedes it to determine this action according to constant laws. But every beginning of an action presupposes a preceding state of inaction in the cause, and a dynamically first beginning of action presupposes a state or condition that has no causal relation with the preceding state of the cause and in nowise results from it. Transcendental freedom, therefore, is opposed to the law of causality, and it is such a combination of successive states or conditions of active causes that no unity of experience is possible with it, and consequently it is not found in experience and hence is an empty fiction of the mind.

"The alternative here is either fixed laws of Nature—everything predetermined necessarily—or transcendental freedom, which means, as he informs us further on, lawlessness without the guidance of rules. But the thesis had



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not rested on the question of preference for law or lawlessness, but on a deeper necessity underlying the principle of causality itself, namely, the necessity that an adequate (and not a confessedly incomplete) cause should be posited as existing for each effect. If it shall be found that an adequate cause is necessarily a personal cause, and hence one not under necessity but under freedom, then we must accept the causality of freedom or else deny causality altogether. This will appear, if we recall the thesis, which showed the following points :

“ 1. The series of phenomena in Nature do not originate new determinations ; they are not true causes, but they merely transmit causality.

“ 2. Hence, unless the whole series receives causality from a ‘transcendental freedom’ or from a cause that originates new determinations, there is only an effect and no cause.

“ 3. But an effect without a cause is no effect. Herewith the entire series falls asunder into independent members, and each member becomes a *causa sui*. For if the change in each member of the series is not derived from a true cause it is self-originated.

“ 4. Hence, too, the conformity in law which is admired in Nature would vanish unless there exists a transcendental freedom.

“ 5. Because the ‘unity of experience’ is secured through the law of causality, and according to it the mind always seeks an adequate cause. But, according to Kant, it destroys experience to find an adequate cause—experience must always seek and never find, or else its unity will be destroyed.

“ 6. The thesis asserts that self-activity or self-determination is the basis of all causality, and that without it causality or the origination of new determinations can not be. The antithesis, on the other hand, sets up the law of causality and proceeds to seek a cause for any event that is not self-originated. Thus it affirms the thesis in so far as it asks for an adequate cause. The impulse that leads it to ask for a cause certainly demands an adequate cause, since it is aroused only by the sight of dependence or incompleteness in a phenomenon.

“ 7. But a self-active or self-determined being is not a phenomenon ; it is not a thing or an event, but a living being. Although it can manifest itself in things and events, it is not either of them. It can organize matter into a body and can perform deeds. It can have an internal life of consciousness—perceiving internally feelings, ideas, and volitions—three forms of self-activity. The form of the object of our external senses is thing and environment—everything is made what it is by its environment—no freedom in that realm, but only necessity.

“ 8. Hence we see that experience has two phases, outer and inner, or sense-perception and consciousness, and consequently two orders of objects of experience. We perceive things in space as mechanical aggregates and moved by external influences. We perceive internally feelings, ideas, and

volitions, each one of these being a determination of a self-active subject—our own ego. The form of the external object of the senses is fate—outside necessity ; the form of the internal object of sense is subject-object, or self-determination.

“ 9. But Kant's Antinomy assumes that there is but one phase of experience, namely, the outer or external, whose object takes the form of mechanism. Since mechanism is devoid of self-activity, all changes and arrangements have to be explained by outside causes, and hence Kant is correct in affirming that experience in this field must find every event conditioned by another event, *ad infinitum*. Moreover, such search for a mechanical cause is and must be forever futile, because no mechanism can originate a new determination in anything else. This is of course implied in Kant's statement that the regressive series of causes, or rather links of transmittal, is infinite. If any origination of new determinations were left in the members of the series it need not be infinite.

“ 10. But it is singular that Kant did not call attention to the appearance of the second phase, that of internal observation, as a factor of actual experience. He must have admitted that this factor is constantly borrowed to interpret the phenomena of the outward world. Within ourselves we are conscious of originating determinations in the acts of thinking and feeling, and especially of willing. These determinations presuppose a state of previous inaction in their cause—that is to say, they are not mechanically caused by previous events, but are originated by the self-activity of the ego. Now, as far as mechanical causes go, we do not seek, nor does the unity of experience ever prompt us to seek, for a thing or event that constrains an idea or volition. We rest contented when we have discovered a living being as the cause, and at once transfer our inquiry from the realm of efficient causes to that of final causes or motives. A motive exists only for a self-determined being or living being. By a stretch of meaning we may regard action from motives or teleological action as common to all living beings—conscious motives in man and some animals, unconscious in other animals except in the dim form of desire, unconscious in plants, but guiding only as life principle or instinct.

“ 11. We observe in the external world only forms of matter and motion—purely mechanical things and events. But to certain of these things we add, by inference from analogy with our inward experience, the concept of life or soul and call such things endowed with soul, organisms—say plants, animals, men. These objects are acknowledged to be a part of our experience, but it is clear that objects to which we attribute internal self-activity—namely, all living beings—are partly perceived externally and partly known by inference based on the analogy of our inward consciousness. We can never perceive by external sense either a feeling, or a thought, or a volition : we can only infer these by external signs interpreted by analogy.

“ 12. But here we come to the fact that overthrows Kant's antithesis,

which rests for its validity on a question of fact : So soon as we trace a series of mechanical causes back to a vital cause, whether of plant, animal, or man, then the unity of our experience is completed ; we are satisfied and do not seek further mechanical causes. We change our ground now and inquire into motives or purposes and seek the ideal end and aim which the self-activity of the living being seeks to attain.

“ 13. A motive is an ideal and not a real. It is the thought of a possible determination opposed to some real determination. Even if we say that a conscious being always is controlled by the strongest motive, we are as far as possible from asserting external necessity, or what Kant calls the “natural law of causality.” For to be constrained by a motive is to be constrained not by a real but by an ideal—not by a previous event but by a future event, a mere possible event. This ideal or possibility arises in the conscious soul as a product of abstraction and constructive imagination—it is created in place of the remembered reality. In the unconscious soul it arises not by abstraction but by the simplest form of self-seeking and self-reproduction, using its environment as means of self-reproduction.

“ 14. Kant in this antinomy apparently observes only one kind of search for causes in experience—that for mechanical causes—elsewhere as in the Critiques of Judgment and the Practical Reason he notes with special attention the idea of teleological causes. But here he seems to assume that motives and purposes, the causes which are precisely in accordance with transcendental freedom, are identical with mechanical causes or agencies which are in conflict with transcendental freedom. In this he is inconsistent and undermines the whole antinomy, for he in effect identifies transcendental freedom which moves to achieve purposes, motives, or final causes with passive things and events caused by other things or events. According to this there would be no collision, of course. But the alternative open to him or to us is to admit transcendental freedom as a settled fact of experience—but not of external experience pure and simple. It is an immediate fact of internal experience and an inferred or mediated fact of external experience. We know first the ego with the maximum of certainty ; second, we know by inference from analogy selfhood or self-determination in plants, animals, and our fellow-men, interpreting their movements and changes by aid of our inward experience.

“ Better known in England and America than Kant's Antinomy is Sir William Hamilton's Law of the Conditioned. It is enounced by him in the form of an antinomy. We can know only the conditioned. Our attempt to know the unconditioned leads us into two contradictory theses, both of which seem necessary. Space is the example given. Space is not bounded, because its bounds would require space to exist in and thus posit space beyond the bounds—thus continue or affirm space instead of negate or limit it. On the other hand, try to realize, comprehend—or, better, imagine—space as a whole, and we are completely baffled, inasmuch as we always find space

beyond the frame of our mental picture, and our imagination finally 'sinks exhausted' in the attempt.

"Here we have a more easily solved antinomy than that of Kant, for it is evident at first glance that the thesis to Hamilton's antinomy—namely, the proposition that space is infinite—is proved, while the antithesis—namely, the proposition that space is finite—is not sustained. Space is infinite because all boundaries or limits would require space to exist in and hence affirm instead of negate space.



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Space is therefore only continued by its environment, and thus is infinite. But imagination or mental representation can not picture what is infinite; the infinite always escapes from its grasp. This is precisely what happens in Hamilton's antithesis. If he showed that the imagination *could* grasp the whole of space, it would then establish the antithesis and there would be a real contradiction. As it is, the failure of the imagination to grasp space as a whole is a negative proof of the thesis, which therefore is left with two proofs and no refutation.

"The best proof of the truth is always drawn from the attempted refutation. Hamilton's thesis is presupposed as true even by the argument in the antithesis—for we could never affirm that the attempt to imagine

space would in all cases fail unless we knew that it (space) extended beyond all possible limits and always is 'its own other or beyond.'

"So, too, Kant's thesis is in reality presupposed and thus indirectly proved by the argument of the antithesis. The unity of experience demands the search for causes of events. This happens because events are seen to be incomplete and derivative, thus presupposing a complementary being that originates them. To find this complementary being that originates them is the purpose of the further inquiry which prompts observation and leads to further experience. Were the mind convinced at the start that it is impossible to find the cause, it would not give further attention to the phenomenon. The Brahman knows by his doctrine of the Absolute that the world is an illusion, and hence he abstains from investigation and never discovers the relations of facts and events to each other. The Christian European, being convinced that the world is a revelation of divine Wisdom, seeks the traces of Personal Reason in the concatenation of things and events. It asks for the relations of natural things and forces to each other and inquires into personal motives of the beings that possess transcendental freedom.

"We are prepared now to say that the main purpose of Kant—namely,

to show a necessary contradiction in the mind in its thought of a first cause—is not fulfilled, inasmuch as all causality has to do with the origination of movements or changes, and hence with transcendental freedom. There are not two kinds of search for causes, but only one. But Kant has done great service in showing by this antinomy in the clearest manner that true causes are all transcendental, and not to be met with in the realm of mechanically related things and events. Freedom is not phenomenal but noumenal. His failure to take account of the transcendental factors of our experience is the source of his errors. These transcendental factors include first the self or ego, and second the inferred selfhoods of organic beings, including plants, animals, men, and the first cause, and to understand how Kant failed to recognize them one must study the Paralogisms of Pure Reason in connection with these antinomies. Internal experience, he thinks, does not transcend the category of time and relates only to events. All mental facts are events. This, too, was the doctrine of Hume. The self-identity of the ego must be denied on this hypothesis. By its admission we are led to the absurd conclusion of the antithesis to the third antinomy—namely, that in experience we find no case of transcendental freedom, but only of mechanical causation. Hence we must deny that we know our own identity and that we know any such beings as plants, animals, and our fellow-men—we know only mechanical combinations and relations, and must not suppose that we know any spontaneity or transcendental freedom in connection with such organisms, for the recognition of such spontaneity would destroy the unity of our experience. We seek for causes, it is true, but we must be careful not to find any real causes, because we should then cease to inquire further in the line of experience, and that would be a great calamity. The supposed calamity would consist in a change from the study of a mechanical series for the study of motives, purposes, or final causes. In other words, we should here change from the study of matter to the study of mind."

Dr. Harris's address was followed by one on Teleology in the Modern Philosophy of Nature, by Prof. H. N. Gardner, of Smith College, Northampton, Mass. And next in order was a paper by Prof. W. Lutoslawski, of the University of Kayan, Russia, on The Difference between Knowledge and Belief as to the Immortality of the Soul. From this paper the following passages are taken :

"There is one thing in which almost all religions agree—the common hope of the immortality of the soul. It should be better named the continuance of the individual after the death of the body, because immortality is a negative idea which does not include the indefinite continuation of existence. Death is known to us only by the observation of bodies, and therefore the assertion of the immortality of the soul is a truism. We see only bodies dying, and so it is superfluous to assert that the soul is immortal. But usually by immortality is meant more than the negation of death. The general acceptance of this word includes not only absence of death, but also continuation

of full and conscious existence, and I shall use the word 'immortality' in this positive sense. Still, the positive sense of immortality varies according to individual belief. Many believers consider themselves as accepting immortality while supposing that after death they will be quite indifferent to everything that interested them in the earthly life, and that they will be changed in every respect to such a degree that the question arises, Why should they then be held for the same persons that they now are? According to the different representations of the state of the soul after death, the word immortality has a very different meaning in different churches, though all the religions of earth agree that man does not cease to exist when he dies. Not only do religious persons agree in recognizing this truth, but also most of the eminent philosophers, from Plato to Kant, accept it as an important part of their teaching.

"There is a strange contrast between the general religious and philosophical acceptance of the immortality of the soul and the quite as general practical contempt for the consequences of this belief. I dare say that the large majority of religious people of all denominations in the world do not have a perfect certainty of their existence after death. It seems strange at first, and may be controverted by many clergymen, but it is a fact that requires a psychological explanation and deserves the attention of all religious people. It is interesting to find out by what kind of efforts could be produced more harmony between theoretical religious teaching and practical life.

"My argument as to the fact of general indifference or want of certainty about the immortality of the soul is based upon the observation that among all the divergencies of opinions between men, no difference can be greater and more pronounced than the difference between a man who has an absolute and undeniable knowledge that he can not cease to exist and a man who either has no sure conviction about this matter or who openly denies the existence of man after death. The first will look at life on earth as only a very small part of existence, and will endure the toil of this life as a training for a more perfect state. He will not be afraid to die, nor will he think that death or physical misery is a great evil. He will do his duty with a calm, fixed mind, and will find the true aim of life in the moral perfection of the individual, not in the material prosperity of the community. The individual will seem to him more important than the city, the state, the Church. All communities are to him only abstract ideas, while only the living soul is an eternal reality. He may be taxed with egotism by his countrymen, because he is without political ambition, indifferent to social distinctions, a foe to all external show, to titles and honors—only interested in the moral perfection and progress of himself and his friends. He looks to death as to a happy event, but he would not shorten his days, because he believes the duties and labors of this life make him better prepared to enjoy the work of a future life.

"Quite another character is the man who denies the continuation of his

existence after death. He finds in the earthly life the only scope for all his actions. He endures here only to obtain and enjoy immediate results of his labor. He dreads to think of death, because his thought of it as the greatest evil deprives him of his activity and spoils his enjoyment of life. He may love mankind, but if he works for mankind, he seeks above all to create better material conditions of life, to perfect material existence, leaving moral perfection to the individual conscience and believing that the only source of crime is misery. He does his duty in the hope of some reward. If he is of a noble mind, he will not strive for riches but for recognition, honors, glory. He will not hesitate to expose the life of the individual for what he considers the benefit of the community, because for him the individual has only an apparent or ephemeral existence, while the true enduring entities are the city, the state, and all social organizations. He identifies himself with these complex bodies and lends them his soul. He desires the gratitude of his countrymen, and cherishes the idea of living on in their memory.

“Of course I have taken the extreme types of two opposite tendencies. But if we look at mankind at large, we find that at least on the Continent of Europe the second type is far more frequent, and not only among the positivists, who frankly profess with Mrs. Ackermann :

“Eternité de l'homme, illusion, chimère,
 Mensonge de l'amour et de l'orgueil humain,
 Il n'a point eu d'hier ce phantôme éphémère
 Il lui faut un demain !
 Elle se dissoudra, cette argile légère
 Qu'ont émue un instant la joie et la douleur.
 Les vents vont disperser cette noble poussière
 Qui fut jadis un cœur.

“I have also seen devout people attending church, abstaining from meat on Friday, confessing monthly their sins, and affirming their belief in the future life, who nevertheless act in every particular as if this life were the only life they had to live. If we look at their constant craving for material advantages without any regard for their training to another life, we must admit that they do not believe that every act of this life has an eternal influence on the future life. I find only one explanation of this divergence between the religious teaching and the practical life of the majority of mankind. I find it only in the psychological difference between a hope and a certainty, between belief and knowledge. Every religion, so far as it is based on revelation or the testimony of witnesses, can not afford to give to the masses more than a mere *hope* of immortality. I have often heard immortality spoken of as a promise of God to mankind. Granting this, it is easy to understand why this hope does not rule the actions of practical life. It is because in practical life we have, almost at every step, a certain knowledge of the immediate consequences of our actions. If this knowledge shows us that a certain action leads immediately to a certain pleasure, then the mere

hope or fear of a responsibility after death can not overcome this immediate knowledge, and men act in conformity with their knowledge of the nearest consequences, without caring about what may occur after death.

"The only way to bring more conformity between human life and religious teaching is to change this hope or weak belief into a strong conviction based on exact knowledge. One of the greatest thinkers of modern ages, Kant, denied the possibility of a perfectly scientific proof of the immortality of the soul. But if I look at the development of philosophy after Kant, I must affirm that such a scientific proof of man's permanent existence can be given, and that the statement of this truth surpasses in certainty and evidence the truths of all other sciences. It will not be exaggeration to say that we have no better logical foundation for believing that to-morrow the sun will rise than for affirming that millions of years hence we shall still remain the same persons and be able to remember our limited experience of to-day. In other words, the law of gravitation can not claim to be better proved than the law of infinite and permanent existence of every single human being.

"To give the full proof of it would require a long dialectical discussion, but it is easy to show in a few words what seems to be the only right way of obtaining a scientific proof of this most important truth. We must start from the logical investigation into the conditions of obtaining truth. In the theory of human knowledge we find the basis for a true metaphysics. It is unthinkable that nothing exists, and if anything among the many existing appearances has real existence, then this true being can not cease to exist, because if it could decay it would not be true being. Now among all things which seem to exist there is only one of which we know certainly that it does exist. That one certainly existing thing, as Descartes stated, is ourselves. The external material world can not be of a more certain existence than ourselves, because, as physiological and psychological inquiry shows, every external quality depends entirely upon our own conception. Our eye is the source of colors, our ear the source of sounds; and by closer investigation we find that the eye and the ear are also external to ourselves, and do not form any essential part of our person. I can lose my eyes and my ears, and almost every part of my body, and still remain always the same entire person. Therefore I have a right to claim that I am a really existing being, more than any part of the material world around me.

"The idealistic school of philosophy, while acknowledging this fact, still asserted that there is something else which has more certain existence than the human person—the universal ideas which enforce themselves upon all minds in the same way. But even this view can not be accepted by a psychologist. The ideas have no existence out of our own minds; they are only existing in our soul, and their existence only emphasizes our own existence.

"If neither bodies nor universal ideas have an independent existence, nothing is left to be a true being save persons like ourselves. Only such per-

sons—and I mean by person only the soul, not the body—have the privilege of knowing themselves that they do exist. Then, if spiritual existence is the only true existence known to me, and I am the only thing that has indubitable existence, this existence can never cease, and must continue eternally, if anything exists. But I can not imagine a time in which there is nothing, and so I must continue to exist for all time and must have existed always in some way.

“This reasoning, if filled out with the detailed arguments given by special inquiry, is quite as sound and strong as any other reasoning in science. Nay, it is the strongest argument in favor of the most certain truth. Only by such philosophical reasoning we come to a true knowledge of immortality, far above all hopes and beliefs. If I am right, the only way to secure more harmony between human actions and the teaching of religions is to associate religion with philosophy and to dare to prove, without any other authority than reason, what is assumed to be believed on various historical authorities.”

Prof. Lutoslawski's paper was followed by one on Faith as a Faculty of the Mind, by Prof. Thomas Davidson, of Keene, N. Y. The morning session closed with the reading of a paper by Sir Francis Galton, F. R. S., which bore the title *Inquiries into Relations between Form of Hand and Character*. We give it here in full :

“Physical measures of students have been collected and discussed in many colleges of the United States, but serious attempts do not seem to have been made to trace relations between those measures and mental characteristics. Yet professors at colleges enjoy singularly good opportunities for conducting these inquiries. They possess the measures, and it is part of their profession to study the characters of their pupils, who pass many hours daily during a considerable part of some years in succession under their own eyes or under those of their colleagues. They have opportunities of gathering the judgment passed on each student by the generality of his fellows, and of revising their own opinion thereby. Greater facilities exist in large colleges than anywhere else for studying character and rightly estimating the dispositions of individuals. Knowing these, and possessing the physical measures, it seems a straightforward task to investigate such relations as may exist between them.

“The inquiry I am about to suggest as suitable to be made at colleges does not, however, utilize any of the existing physical data, but requires new ones. Nevertheless I think that it would on the whole serve better than any other for a first attempt, as it ought to go a long way toward settling an interesting question, upon which confident opinions have been freely expressed, but on which very little is certainly known—namely, the relation between the form of the hand and various well-marked mental characteristics.

“For the purpose of this inquiry it is necessary to form collections of hand prints of various sets of contrasted groups of students, one group in each set consisting of those who are *exceptionally* remarkable for possessing

a large amount of some specified mental characteristics, and the other group consisting of those who are equally remarkable for the want of it. The first step toward obtaining such collections is to select the right individuals; the second step is to print their hands in an appropriate manner. I will begin by explaining how to do the latter.

"I do not recommend an attempt to take ordinary photographs of the hand, because the trouble and expense of doing them well would be so onerous as to prevent the desired inquiry from being conducted on an adequately large scale. It seems far better at first to be contented with mere silhouettes, which are easily made and will amply suffice for preliminary conclusions.

"There is no simpler photographic process than that of putting argentobromide paper under glass in a printing frame in a dark room; of laying the right hand flat upon the glass, and then turning on the flame from a gas jet above during a few seconds. On developing the paper, a white image of the hand will appear on a densely black ground. A scale of inches and of centimetres drawn on transparent paper should be pasted upon the glass of the frame down one of its sides, and a strip of ground glass on which the register number of the student is written should be laid across its top. After all the prints have been made they can be mounted on a board in sets of sixteen—four in row and four in column. Each set, if it be photographed to one sixth of its natural size, will then fit into an ordinary octavo page, and be very suitable for study and for publication.

"The same end would be achieved with much less waste of material and almost equal simplicity by using a camera arranged to throw an image of one sixth of the natural size on a portion of a ribbon of sensitized film or paper. Should this method be employed, the axis of the camera would be horizontal, and the hand would be pressed against a vertical pane of ground glass, illuminated evenly from behind.

"The hands of those students only should be selected who are *exceptionally* remarkable for any one of the dispositions or aptitudes under consideration, whether in excess or in deficiency, meaning by "exceptional" a grade that is reached by only five per cent of all the students. Thus a college of two hundred students would yield ten cases, and no more, of exceptional energy, and ten cases of the reverse. It would also yield ten cases of exceptional dexterity, whether in drawing or in any other more suitable test of manual skill, and ten cases of exceptional clumsiness, and so forth. Of course the same student may sometimes appear in more than one of the categories.

"I purposely abstain from enumerating the qualities that seem to myself most suitable for experiment, and from defining more closely the two that have been mentioned, believing it better that such professors of different colleges as were disposed to combine in this inquiry should consult together and fix upon such common course of action as might appear to them to be the most feasible. If the total number of students in the co-operating colleges



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should amount to one thousand, the resulting fifty examples in each group would be amply large enough to afford grounds for trustworthy conclusions.

"Every care should be taken to select the sample cases with the utmost fairness. Those who have made such inquiries as these are painfully aware of the many insidious ways in which bias is apt to creep in. Thus a preconceived idea of a relation between delicacy of feature and artistic skill might favor the selection of students who had delicate features, instead of relying solely upon their artistic performances. Temptations to be diverted by alien influences must be sedulously guarded against, because the object is not to support a theory but to discover a truth."

At the third session of the Congress the first paper presented was by Brother Azarias, of La Salle Institute, New York city, on *The Synthetic Principle of Philosophy*. From it we take these passages:

"Philosophy results from the limited nature of man's intelligence. He asks the why and the wherefore of things because he comprehends not. He cavils not about the question that he understands in all its bearings. He would be informed upon what he does not know. Man's first philosophic act was that in which he recognized self-consciousness. Then all things stood out before him asking for a solution. Then he found that he understood not himself, nor the universe, nor the Creator with whose presence he felt penetrated. He endeavored to rid himself of his ignorance, and to solve the enigmas; and he is still working at their solution. This is yet the problem of philosophy. It would understand the mutual relation of all things. In their essences it would discover these relations, and thence ascend to their principles. It would understand society, the individual, God. In the individual it would determine the laws of his thought, the nature of his existence, his relative position in the universe, his origin, his destiny. In society it would discover the laws of its organization, its rights, the source of its power, its modifications as acted upon by external influences. In God it would learn his attributes and perfections as revealed in the universe, his nature, his relation with the cosmos. 'It would discover,' says De Gerando, 'in each phenomenon the cause that produces it, in each law the end to which it tends.' It is, as Cicero defines it, the science of the things, human and divine, and of their causes.

"But it is alleged that philosophy has not shown itself worthy of this high function; that it is a synonym for Babel; that it carries with it no weight, for no two agree upon the same question. The fact that man is so anxious to penetrate the symbol, to rend the veil of philosophy, shows that beneath the symbol, behind the veil, there is something worth the knowing. The individual may be deceived, but humanity is correct in its instincts; and in all ages the choice spirits of humanity have devoted themselves to philosophical pursuits. Individual minds may give different solutions of the problem, but that invalidates not its existence. Philosophy is discussed by means of reflex acts; and man is averse to reflection. The natural tendency

of his mind is for direct acts of thought ; but when he does reflect, his ideas will be tinged by his education. A different train of reasoning satisfies each mind. But when the solution is correct, the results will agree ; for truth is one, and as many individuals as there are, so many ways are there for expressing the same idea.

“Philosophy is no Babel. It has its principles, and its method as determined by these principles. It is therefore a science ; and it is its province to investigate the nature of all sciences. It establishes for each of them a basis. It looks to the precision of terms, the legitimacy of reasoning, the soundness of premises, the value of principles. It educates the mind into the habit of looking beyond appearances, and of determining things by their essences. In its present state there is mingled with it a great deal of speculation as fruitless as it is unnecessary. But this must not be confounded with true philosophy. The one may be easily distinguished from the other, for philosophy is based upon the unerring instincts of humanity, the first principles of pure reason, common sense, and the traditionary truths that belong to all nations and ages. In seeking this basis the philosopher must beware of the absolute. He must consider things as they are. No object is rightly understood when withdrawn from its connections. To isolate is to misapprehend. Man is a creature of education. He commits intellectual suicide when, forgetting the fact, he breaks loose from all traditions and attempts to set up an absolute philosophy. Only the Absolute Being knows absolute truth. Human reason can be relied on ; it is in its own sphere and acting in its normal condition infallible ; but man has never been obliged to stand alone on the platform it builds. He is supported by tradition and revelation. Christianity has opened to him new fields of thought, and it has not only proposed questions, it has solved problems of which antiquity could have had but the vaguest notion. Religion is no hindrance to philosophical discussion ; it is a great assistance. He who heeds not its well-defined marks finds himself drifting about on a chartless sea of speculation, with no compass of certainty to determine his bearing, no polar star of truth to steer his course by, and death engulfs him, an intellectual and moral wreck :

“An infant crying in the night—
An infant crying for the light ;
And with no language but a cry.

“The philosopher must set down theories at their true worth. A theory is only a highly probable hypothesis. It may fully account for all the facts known to-day, but to-morrow may bring with it a discovery that will shatter it to pieces as being absolutely false. At most it is only a personal view of certain phenomena. But it is not science, for science is objective. As soon as a philosopher begins to trim facts to make them suit his hypothesis, he finds it an obstacle rather than an aid to the knowing of the truth ; he then prefers fancy to fact, and prefers to build up his knowledge upon ficti-

tious notions. Ignorance is far preferable to such knowledge, for much has to be unlearned, and divesting one's self of erroneous impressions is a slow process. Indeed, there are few men of thought who can not say that one half their lives is devoted to the unlearning of what they had acquired during the other half. When a man is aware of his ignorance, he has removed the greatest obstacle in the way of his arriving at the truth. Let him, then, not cling too closely to an hypothesis. It is at best but a temporary scaffolding made use of in building up the structure of knowledge, and ought to be abandoned as soon as it is found to hamper thought. Philosophic schools are the bane of philosophy. The man abandoned to them does not think; he remembers, repeats; he becomes a routinist. He lacks the first quality of a good philosopher, which is to love truth for truth's sake; for he loves it only as it tallies with the teachings of his school. He becomes partisan in his views. His eyes are veiled to the real condition of things. His intellectual vision is diseased. In his zeal to defend one opinion at the expense of the other, he rushes to an opposite extreme and falls into an error equally great with that he would avoid. Therefore the expression of Pascal's, 'to laugh at philosophy is to philosophize truly,' when applied to philosophic schools, loses its exaggeration and becomes one of the characteristics of a true philosopher. Truth is simple, and when presented in its naked reality the mind embraces it, holds to it, and makes it the fruitful source of a large offspring of new ideas. And when the presentation of a subject lacks this character of simplicity, when it abounds in ingenious thoughts and fine-spun arguments, when it is enveloped in a cloud of words, the recipient may well doubt its claim to veracity; with caution ought he to examine it, and reduce what is in it to the language of common sense. Truth asks not to be propped up by partisan views, by distorted systems, by party abuse. It requires of human intelligence but one thing—viz., to be presented as it is.

"Philosophy suffers because system mongers abuse one another; and thus thought remains undeveloped, the truth untold, and philosophy is dragged from her eminence to degradation. Accusation is not refutation. When passion cries out, reason ceases to speak. True, in developing philosophy men cease not to be human. Therefore it is that the history of philosophy contains so much that is unphilosophic mixed up with so many partial truths. Philosophy appeals to the reason, not to the taste, the memory, or the educational prejudices.

"Conclusions and convictions are not altogether based on a syllogism, which, as Bacon remarks, 'gives assents, not things.' More subtle influences are at work drawing for us our conclusions. Likings and dislikings, prejudices of education, and degrees of delicacy of organization are all effectual in converging their forces upon a thought and determining its direction and character. Its roots seem entwined in every fold of the brain, every fiber of the heart, and every nerve of the body. 'There is,' says Balmes, 'not only the intercourse of mind with mind, but of heart with heart; besides the recipro-

cal influence of ideas, there is also that of sentiments.' It behooves the philosopher to be cautious in reasoning and to take into account all these determining elements of thought.

"But reason is not alone in the exercise of its functions. All the other faculties of the soul accompany it, and while some help, others impede the progress of thought. Men strongly imaginative are easily led into error, for their language abounds in figurative expressions, and it not infrequently happens that the figure is an inadequate representation of the thought. In the heat of reasoning they forget this fact; they become involved in their subject, mistake the figure for the idea, and in the end they find themselves landed upon conclusions that their premises never warranted. In philosophy the meaning and import of terms must be thoroughly understood. It is only the consummate philosopher that knows how to define well. For that rare acuteness of mind and complete mastery of language is required. Many, perhaps all, the erroneous systems of the world might be traced to bad defining. Spinoza builds up a colossal system of pantheism on the misapprehension of a term. But were the good and pious Monseigneur Bouvier consistent with the fundamental ideas he lays down in his little work on philosophy—as when he includes being in the idea of genus—he would have been an equally great pantheist. And so it is with the majority of good and well-meaning writers on philosophical treatises. Their faith is one thing, their philosophy another; and both their faith and philosophy are in their first principles or last results either contrary or contradictory. This antagonism between forms of faith and philosophic systems has led men to recoil from all philosophy and live either in despair of skepticism or in the ardent exercise of mysticism.

"Let us glance at the underlying principles of some of our modern philosophers. The history of philosophy may be divided into three periods: first, the period of religious revelation; second, that of natural philosophy; and third, that of ideistic rationalism. All three periods are good, and become an evil only when one of the others attempts to monopolize the whole of philosophy. It is well that we know ourselves—the faculties of our soul, the desires of our heart, even the organism of our brain; well also is it that we reason according to secondary causes and consider the nature of things; and it is equally well that we reconcile reason with revelation.

"There is a period of religious revelation. This begins with the primitive man. But as his descendants departed from the original source, they retained only broken fragments of the first tradition in which the race was educated. All the great truths relating to man's origin and destiny were then present to him, and if he asked, 'Who is God to whom we shall offer our sacrifices?' it was only to assert more positively the eternal existence of the great Divinity. 'It is very remarkable,' says Kant, 'though naturally it could not have been otherwise, that in the infancy of philosophy the study of the nature of God, and the hope as well as the constitution of a future

world, formed the commencement rather than the conclusion, as we should have it, of the speculative methods of the human mind.' Not alone in the Mosaic account is the revelation to be found. It runs in silent and feeble rills through the traditions of all nations ; it forms the undercurrent of their sacred books ; and, tinged though it be with individual feelings and adulterated by the fictions of national fancy, it is still in its essence the same divine knowledge that was revealed to Adam and preserved by Noah. In this period men knew not what it was to doubt. To live and to believe was for them one and the same act. All the great religious and philosophic truths—the greatness and goodness of God, the spiritual nature of the soul, its immortality, a future life—were as intimately present to these men as their own existence. And as with the advance of ages they felt the growth of human corruption, the one great problem with them was how to stay their downward course and propitiate the Divinity. Their humanity still seemed to vibrate under the touch of the creative fiat with which it had lately been launched into existence. Hence their sacrifices. Hence that lingering regret with which they looked back to the golden period that had passed from them forever. That man's first conception of the Divinity was that of 'an awful Power' terrible in its might, vague in its outline, and mysterious in its nature, is a mistaken notion opposed by the primitive writings of all nations. In Genesis we read that after God had created all forms of life he 'blessed them,' which is not the action of an angry God, 'an awful power, terrible in its might.' So too in the Rig-Veda it is written, 'Varuna is merciful even to him who has sinned.' The conception of man acquiring the idea of God through fear is based upon the mistaken notion that the primitive condition of man was that of a savage, and that he is but a development of some of the lower forms of life—a notion warranted neither by history nor traditions of nations, by the nature of things, nor by true science. The great primitive truths, preserved in the traditions of all nations, have a common source. 'So then,' says Clement of Alexandria, 'the barbarian and the Greek philosophy has torn off a fragment of eternal truth, not from the mythological of Dionysius, but from the theology of the ever-living word.'

"There is the period of natural philosophy. As the stream of tradition grew more adulterated with human thought, and the ages became more secularized, the religious sentiment, becoming weaker, entered philosophy less as



JACOB G. SCHURMAN,
a speaker at the Congress.

an element than formerly. Progress in the material arts gave rise to the observation of physical phenomena, and men sought rather to consider secondary causes than the great first and final cause. Thales makes water the principle of all things. Anaximenes endeavors to account for the basis of matter by considering the gaseous, solid, and liquid states as so many conditions of air. Heraclitus makes fire the principle of existence. But it is already found necessary to prove the existence and immortality of the soul. This Pherecydes attempts. The philosophy based on physics necessarily gravitates to materialism. And such was the case with the Ionic school until Anaxagoras asserted the duality of matter and spirit. But whether the philosophers of this period assert or deny the Divinity, they seek causes in the nature of things and independent of him ; while those believing in him make him external to the universe—a master artist with Plato, or with Anaxagoras, a *vous* outside of His creation.

“And as in Greece so it is in other countries. In India, after the *Mimamsa* of Vyasa with its interpretations of the Vedas according to tradition, we find the *Sankhya* of Kapila with its twofold principle of things, matter and intelligence, and its various branches, some material, some spiritual, some mystical, as one or other principle was exclusively considered. But among the twenty-five principles of things laid down in the *Sankhya* philosophy, we look in vain for a Divinity. Things are there considered to stand on their own basis.

“There is the principle of ideistic rationalism. When God was left outside as an element, he soon became ignored. Philosophy ceased to be a science of principles in their relation with things, ceased to be a serious accounting for the cosmos, its origin and destiny, or of man, his position and relations, and narrowed down with the ancients to a system of knowing. Planted in their speculations upon their own existence, these men ceased to be certain of their own explanations. They became skeptics. They assert with Protagoras the relativity of all truth. With the *Nyaya* system of India, they build up dialectics, and reduce all philosophy to the problem of knowing.

“These three periods have had their cycles. With the introduction of Christianity we find the first period again revive. Christian philosophers sought to reconcile the pagan cosmogony and science with Christian teachings. Hence the effort of Jerome, Basil, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine. Then came the Scholastic period, when all science and religion were built up on the natural basis of the Aristotelian philosophy. Finally, we are still struggling through the Cartesian period, with its one problem of knowing. The fruits of this last period are already making their appearance. The skepticism of Hume is redolent of it ; so is the atheism of Mill ; so is the materialism of Bain ; and the evolution of Spencer, which merges this problem of knowing into the unknowable, is racy of the soil. Philosophic principles that lead the mind to these results must have somewhere a flaw. It

were of advantage to examine those of the leading systems of this latter period.

"Descartes began by secularizing philosophy. He then reduced it to a method, after which he sought a principle that would be its basis. He undertook to doubt of many things which he believed with certainty. This was a grave error. There was already contradiction in his mind, for how doubt and be certain of the same thing at the same time? But let us hear him determine the fundamental principles of his philosophy: 'I afterward noticed that while I wished to think everything false, it became necessary for me, who so thought, to be something, and remarking that this truth, *I think and I therefore exist*, was so firmly established that the most extravagant suppositions of the skeptics could not shake it, I judged that I could without scruple accept it as the first principle of the philosophy I sought.' Now, this principle, while it is a necessary condition of all knowing, establishes the identity of him who thinks, and nothing more. 'The I think,' Kant properly remarks, 'must accompany all my speculations.' But, admitting nothing else than one's identity, it is impossible to rise beyond it. And as Descartes began in illusion, it was only by illusion that he got further. But a philosophy illusory in its beginning and illusory in its process must needs be illusory in its results. It then becomes a romance. But life is too short and too much hangs upon it to spend its most effectual part in unraveling the threads of a romance. Not in Descartes is the principle of philosophy.

"Locke also reduced all philosophy to the operations of the understanding. His fundamental principle he bases upon the origin of ideas. 'These two,' I say, 'viz., external material things, as the objects of sensation, and the operations of our own minds within, as the objects of reflection, are to me the only originals from whence all our ideas take their beginnings.' The whole of philosophy is within him only a question of knowing. Hence, throughout his book he speaks not of time and space, of substance and accident, of finiteness and infinity, but of their ideas. Upon such a basis it were natural to ask, How know we that there are external objects corresponding to the ideas we possess? And this question brings us to the ideism of Berkeley. And if we are not certain of the reality of external nature, what grounds have we for believing in the reality of our ideas—our soul? Then we are simply subjects of impressions. This reasoning lands us at the skepticism of Hume. Again, since reflection is based upon sensation, and gives nothing that is not found in sensation, for all reflex acts assert the primitive act, and neither more nor less, why is not sensation the sole origin of all our knowledge? Here is the sensism of Condillac: 'By their fruits you shall know them.' The principle logically running into such extremes can not be the true principle of philosophy. 'After all,' says Reid, 'the improvements made by Malebranche, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume may still be called the Cartesian system.' It is still the one problem of knowing. How is it with Reid himself? Reid is in the same sense a Cartesian. While refuting

Locke, often in a masterly manner, he himself runs in a parallel groove. He has but a philosophy of the human mind and its intellectual powers. It is still a philosophy of knowing. It is the principle of common sense. Of the judgments that make up this principle he says: 'Such original and natural judgments are therefore a part of that furniture which Nature hath given to the human understanding. They are the inspirations of the Almighty, no less than our notions of simple apprehensions. They serve to direct us in the common affairs of life, when our reasoning faculties would leave us in the dark. They are a part of our constitution, and all the discoveries of our reason are grounded upon them. They make up what is called the common sense of mankind, and what is manifestly contrary to any of these first principles is what we call absurd. This principle has been recognized by Fénelon and Buffier. But it is simply a motive of certitude, and can not therefore be called a principle of philosophy, with its basis in the nature of things. Kant undertook to revolutionize philosophy. His system is that of judgment and reason, pure and practical. It is still the philosophy of knowing. Now he thus sums up his philosophy and its use: 'The greatest and perhaps the only advantage of all philosophy of pure reason is but of a negative character, inasmuch as it is not an *organon* for the extension, but a discipline for the determination of limits, and instead of discovering truth, it simply guards against error.' It is well that we possess safeguards against error and that we know the limits of thought, but the whole of philosophy can not consist in this knowledge. Moreover, while in points of detail Kant is often admirable in his reflections, it must be confessed that his Critique of Pure Reason is the destruction of all reason; for when it attempts to show that the reasons for truth and error are equally convincing, and that on the most vital questions, it breaks down the foundation of all certainty. Balmes vindicated its existence and laid down its principles in a masterly way. With an ardent love for truth and a burning zeal to defend it, with a brilliant and well-trained philosophic genius, this man attacked all the great problems of philosophy, and he spoke upon no subject that he did not say something worth remembering. Surely with Balmes we ought to find the basis of true philosophy. But whether he wished to fight the errors of the age on their own grounds, or whether unconsciously he was influenced by the philosophic atmosphere of his day, the fact is that he, too, bases all philosophy upon the problem of knowing. 'The study of philosophy,' he says, 'ought to begin with the examination of the question of certainty; before raising the edifice, the foundation must be laid.' Balmes has done much for philosophy. He has overthrown many of its idols; he has thoroughly explored some of the most interesting problems of intelligence; he has cleared the grounds of the weeds and briers of errors. He knew much philosophic truth, but he evidently missed the principle of philosophy. He admits that all truths have a unity of origin, and that there is 'in the order of beings' a truth the source of all others. That truth he calls God. But a

few pages after that he truly asserts that from the idea of God no man can infer either the reality or possibility of creation. Were the truths of the finite order to flow from God, as a necessary consequence, pantheism were good philosophy. To assert God is to assert that God is, or God is being, which is that he is himself; and as he is infinite and necessary, he is self-sufficient, and nothing is necessary for himself but his own essence. Such an ideal formula gives but God. It is a reactionary extreme against the other error of Cartesianism which asserts only man's self.

"Gioberti, feeling the force of such reasoning, undertook to establish an ideal formula that would include the proper relations of the finite with the infinite. He begins by asserting that 'to-day in Europe there is no longer any philosophy,' and that 'true philosophy no longer lives anywhere outside of religion.' He consequently goes to religion for philosophy. That principle he rightly conceives to express the true relation of the finite with the infinite. He finds that relation admirably expressed in the opening words of the Scriptures: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.' He considers the source of philosophical errors to lie in the natural. The latter 'expresses,' says Gioberti, 'in the order of facts what by the other is signified in the order of ideas.' But man can not attain to the knowledge of the supernatural by himself. The light of faith strengthens all his natural faculties to apprehend the mysterious truths it presents for their acceptance. No special faculty is given, but those already possessed are enabled by a supernatural means to know the supernatural. Grace supposes Nature. And it were confounding the one with the other to make grace an essential part of man's nature. Had God so wished, man were complete without the supernatural order, because, being finite, a finite happiness would have sufficed him. But being raised to the plane of the supernatural, a capacity for the enjoyment of the infinite has been given him. And it is this capacity that Gioberti misapprehends as a distinct faculty, for he defines it to be the sentiment of intellective power inexplicable in the course of time, and before the event of the second creative cycle, or the passing into the other life. And the note of the superintelligible consists in our inaptitude to comprehend it. We know this feeling, this yearning, not of one faculty, but of our whole nature, after a good superior to any that finiteness can offer. It is the note of our predestination to the supernatural. Let us recognize it for what it is. The age is but too prone to ignore it altogether. The supernatural is; in its vivifying rays we live, move, and are. Gioberti's principle was a step in the right direction; the great fault to be found with it is its inadequacy. And now let us endeavor to find a principle embodied in a formula that will include both the natural and the supernatural orders.

"Truth is actuality. All generalization is based thereon. The generalizations of reasoning, therefore, have their foundations in actuality. But the primary element of all reasoning is the proposition. Its right use and application is explained in logic. Logic, then, is based upon actuality. Its origin

and life it receives from the divine Word. And as it is the same Word that speaks in the misapprehension of the creative act. He therefore establishes as the philosophical principle the ideal formula, Being creates existences. It is a sublime philosophical truth ; and it were the adequate embodiment of the whole truth were there no other than the natural order ; but there is also the supernatural order, of which it is the province of philosophy to take cognizance ; otherwise it would be supposing man to be what he is not. The formula of Gioberti is adequate for the creation prior to the appearance of a man upon the arena of existence. But since he is destined to a supernatural end, and lives and moves in the atmosphere of grace, the philosophical formula that will embody the real relations of things must contain another term expressive of the supernatural. Gioberti felt the weakness of his position on this point, and therefore for the apprehension of the supernatural gave man a distinct faculty, which he called *sovrintelligenza*. Schlegel imagines a similar faculty which he calls 'the sense for divine things.' Gioberti identifies it in substance with the *noumenon* of Kant, so far as regards the subjective nature of its principle and the impenetrable reality of its object. He explains its necessity by telling us that the superintelligible being, an object intrinsically different from other objects of knowing, ought to be referred to a special faculty, which differs from the other powers, not only by the nature of its aim, but also by the special manner in which it takes and possesses it. This establishes the faculty of *sovrintelligenza* as a natural one. Now, if man has a faculty adapted to know any truth, it is natural for him to know it ; it is within the sphere of his intelligence to know it ; and the principles of his nature are sufficient for its knowing. But the superintelligible is the knowledge of the supercreation, and in the incarnation all logic has its foundation in these acts. But synthetic logic is the basis of philosophy. Its fundamental principle stands upon these acts in its expression. The principle sought must therefore express both acts, and can not possibly consist of one predicate, for each act is distinct. Therefore the first principle of philosophy is : God actualizes cosmos by the Word and completes its end in the Word. Here is a formula embodying the natural and supernatural elements of philosophy—that which is of reason as well as that which is of revelation—in their proper order and relation. Let us examine it piecemeal.

"Without God there is no philosophy, no science, no existence. He is the principle and source of all things. In him we live, move, and are. And men know it, 'because that which is known of God is manifest in them, for God hath manifested it to them.'

"That which from all eternity was in the divine ideal of his essence as a thing possible he made actual by his creative act. Everything outside of his essence—and that is all Nature, animate and inanimate, spiritual and material, the cosmos—he drew from nothing. 'I beseech thee, my son,' said the mother of the Maccabees, 'look upon heaven and earth and all that is in them, and consider that God made them out of nothing, and mankind also.'



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‘For,’ says St. Paul, ‘the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his eternal power also and divinity.’

“He drew all things from nothingness by means of his divine Word, for he spoke and they were made, he commanded and they were created. This word is his own nature, the second person of his triune divinity, and the medium of his creative act.

“It has been seen that as an infinitely intelligent being God creates for a purpose. That purpose must necessarily be himself. No other is worthy of him. Therefore, to have a finite effort worthy of an infinite first and final cause—to have cosmos worthy of its creator—God raised it above the limited plane on which it stood, and gave it a significance that rendered it adequate to its infinitude. As the first act was by the Word, it was proper that the same Word should bring that act to its completion, which was done by the union of the Word with cosmos through man—‘and the Word was made flesh.’ Thus in this principle we have a formula into which God and his creation—its origin and destiny, its alpha and omega—are all condensed. It is the sum of all philosophy.

“In the term ‘God’ we have the subject of theodicy and natural theology. In the term cosmos we have the idea that gives us the ideas of space and time, with all their concomitant ideas of number, extension, mathematics, natural history, and physics.

“In the term ‘the Word’ is contained the title of creation, the basis of history, the ideal of literature and art. ‘There is but one Word, and that Word all things speak.’ In the term ‘completes its destiny in the Word,’ we have the whole supernatural order—a Church, its means of sanctification.

“In the term ‘actualizes,’ we have the idea of pure and supreme Cause expressed, and the real relations of the Creator to his creature.

“When John the Evangelist, after gazing with love and reverence upon the infinity of God’s being, burst forth into the sublime words that are the opening of his gospel, he not only gave us the relations of the Son to his eternal Father, but in words of divine inspiration he summed up the whole of philosophy. We have only sought to embody his idea in a philosophic terminology. Traces of it are found everywhere. They exist in the marred beauties of literature and in the broken harmonies of the universe. The philosophy that would preserve Christianity must cling to the Word, and it will find itself more enlightened than the atheistic speculations that would reject the one or the other. All science begins and ends in mystery. The atheist shuts out from the horizon of his knowledge the mysteries both of Christianity and the Word, while the Christian philosopher takes them into account and endeavors to explain them. In doing so he is more consistent. That would be an inadequate theory of light that would refuse to explain the phenomena of darkness.”

Following Brother Azarias, Prof. Josiah Royce, of Harvard University,

presented a paper on The Twofold Nature of Knowledge, which we give herewith :

“ If you wish to understand your relation to the world, first understand the nature of your own thinking process ; such is the principle of all critical philosophy, as it has existed in the world ever since the time of Socrates. The present paper is an effort to contribute toward this general end of our self-comprehension of the business and the processes of thinking. I shall discuss certain aspects of the nature of knowledge, because of the light that such a discussion may throw upon the discoverable constitution of the world of truth.

“ Human thinking is in every individual case an effort, made by an intelligent being, to imitate in his own way the form and structure of the truth that exists beyond this particular thinking. Consequently the business of knowing is essentially an imitative business. But human thinking is also an effort, made by this same being, to give his own ideas a certain inner clearness, self-consistency, assurance, self-possession—in a word, to give himself a genuine self-consciousness. Hence the business of knowing is also essentially a reflective undertaking. But I imitate when I give myself over to a relatively foreign authority, whose constitution or activity I submissively try to reproduce in myself. On the other hand, so it would very obviously seem, I reflect when I retire into my own inner world, and there, with a certain relative independence, endeavor not merely to re-embody what an external authority suggests, but to construct for myself what shall, in the outcome, seem good in my own eyes. But now all our rational thinking is somehow an effort to accomplish both these ends at once. The question arises, How are the two ends related ? How are these two equally necessary undertakings of our thought to be harmonized ? On the answer to this question as to the relation of the imitative and the reflective aspects of thought a great deal depends as regards our philosophical definition of the world of truth. I therefore need make no apology for asking the attention of this Congress to a topic so ancient and yet so perennially fresh.

“ The life of our consciousness, the mental life that you and I experience from moment to moment, and so the whole world of the knowledge that you and I possess of anything in heaven or earth, may be regarded, with respect to the various individual moments of our inner lives, from three points of view—namely, as the object of an immediate knowledge, as the object of a reflective knowledge, and as the embodiment of what I shall call an imitative knowledge.

“ In the first place, your whole inner life, and mine too, is a mass of present experience, which is whatever it happens to be, and so has what may be called its immediate character. In this immediate character our mental life consists of present sensations, memories, feelings—in a word, of content, of *Bewusstseinsinhalt*, as several German writers have recently called it, or, again, of what Hume defined as impressions and ideas. Our knowledge,

then, in so far as it is merely a knowledge of the content of this moment, may be called immediate knowledge. Your present pain or pleasure, the peculiar and indescribable quality of any sensation—of the odor of a rose, or of the tones of a violin, or of a private grief, or of a personal love of your own—such experience, I say, is of this immediate character. And such immediate knowledge enters, as we know, into all our most elaborate and scientific knowledge. Without feeling, no insight; without direct experience, no reflection or other thought; without immediacy, no mediation. There is something peculiar and individual, meanwhile, about this immediate content of each moment, something unique, which can never be repeated. The moment dies and its flavor is gone. This feeling you shall never feel again, this immediate knowledge you shall never repeat. In the phrase of Heraclitus: Into the same stream no one twice descends. And consciousness, in so far as it is immediate, is this sort of Heraclitean flux. Each of its moments must be appreciated alone by itself, and, so to speak, is not public property. Nor can this feeling, as *this* feeling, ever be exhaustively described. Our moments are isolated like our hearts. The heart knoweth its own heaviness, and each moment its own incommunicable inner content of sensations, emotions, interests. How does the shock of a Leyden jar feel? What is the taste of olives? The moment of experience knows, and in certain respects it can never articulately tell this which it knows to any other moment. Memory we say preserves the flavor of a moment for the future. But each moment of memory is once more an individual moment—here and not there in time—present as a memory of the past, but still a memory not in so far as its content is past, but in so far as its own peculiar experience once more is here in time, and, as it were, simply undertakes or pretends to be a representation of the past. Representations of past events are themselves present events; they are therefore not the past events represented. And the past events themselves are dead when they are represented. And so in its immediate character each moment of life, whether it is called a representation or not, stands alone, and is, strictly speaking, never repeated. Such is the world of immediate knowledge in so far as it is immediate. I say now that all your mental life and mine, no matter what we do or think—high or low, wise or foolish—has always, in one aspect, this immediate character.

“On the other hand, however, all immediate knowledge is essentially incomplete knowledge, and it is so just because it is, as immediate, inexpressible. Real and complete knowledge is never merely immediate, but is also what may be called, technically, derived or mediated knowledge—knowledge, namely, that can, so to speak, record itself, and can say for all time: This or this truth is true, this or this insight from this point of view is always to be stated thus and thus. Therefore, just in so far as each moment has a unique and incommunicable character, this character in being the object of an immediate knowledge is no object of a complete knowledge. Complete knowledge,

such as one aims to get in the scientifically or philosophically interpreted experience, involves indeed immediate knowledge as an organic part of itself and depends upon actual experience obtained in moments, but is itself more than such knowledge. There is nothing in heaven or earth, as Hegel pointed out, whose complete knowledge does not involve a union of mediacy and of immediateness.

“Such completer knowledge is itself of two kinds, to be expressed in our second and third points of view. We obtain our articulate, our expressible insight, only by living through the immediate experiences of our various moments; but the articulate insights themselves take two shapes. They are, namely, either reflective insights or imitative insights. To be sure, as we shall see, the two sorts of knowledge are never sundered; but they are distinguishable, and are often opposed to each other, and it is well for the first to keep them asunder.

“In the next place, my knowledge is reflective in so far as at any moment or in successive moments I say: This experience or this expression of my experience means to me this or this. At one moment I feel a vague longing, and at the next I happen to think of some object, and thereupon I say to myself: ‘Ah, that object was what my longing unconsciously aimed at, that was what I wanted, only I did not know it.’ At one moment I am struggling to remember a certain musical theme, say the melody of the finale of the Heroic Symphony. At the next I recall a theme and then say: ‘Yes, that was what I all the time aimed at and meant, only I could not remember it until now.’ Or, once more, I have just had a thought, no matter whether true or false, and have stated it in a proposition. I have, for example, uttered the words ‘All men are mortal.’ Now, as I did this, my immediate experience was of the sounds of the words, and of various fleeting images and feelings as I uttered these words. But meanwhile for my reflection all this mass of feelings has meant something to me. And that it has meant something appears if I restate this meaning by immediate inference in another shape and say: ‘Ah, that means the same as saying that no immortals are men.’ If I clearly see the identity of meaning in the midst of the fleeting content of these two moments, I have a reflective knowledge—a knowledge which transcends the immediate, and which is such that its object is not a mere incommunicable mass of momentary experience, but a meaning that can remain identical in the midst of widely changing expressions.

“When I reflect thus on my meaning, what I hold before me, then, is the identity of this meaning through a series of actual or possible changes of immediate experience. When we wonder whether a man knows what he means, we ask him to restate his meaning in other language. If he can do this with a clear insight into the unity of the meaning in the midst of the changing and shifting of the immediate contents of his consciousness, then and then only can even he himself be sure that he grasps his own meaning.

“Observe, the object of reflective knowledge has always also its immediate aspect. No such thing exists as a wholly disembodied or unexpressed meaning. And the embodiment of a meaning is, as such, the object of an immediate experience. Observe, further, that, in so far as one reflects, the important thing is not that two successive moments of his life have a more or less similar content. The important thing is that he reflectively observes them to have, not similar, but actually identical meanings. One who hears the same melody many times repeated, and whose immediate experience therefore consists of a series of repeatedly similar, but numerically wholly different, contents, and who merely listens, or who even observes the mere similarity of his experiences—such a hearer is not, in so far, reflecting on his own meaning at all. But one who in mind tries to think of the forgotten melody, and who, after vain struggles, at last finds it, says to himself, not: ‘This melody now found is as an experience similar to the one which I sought’; he says: ‘This is the identical melody that I meant, or that I was looking for.’ Just so that the repeatedly similar experiences of melody should themselves all be experiences of the same melody, is again something which we know only by reflection upon what we mean by *the same*. In successive moments of immediate experience there can only be similarity, not sameness, for the moments are actually diverse.



JOSIAH ROYCE,
a speaker at the Congress.

Ten thousand shocks of a Leyden jar will not give you any notion of what you will call the same shock. But for one who reflects on his meaning, the word same, as applied to the jar as a permanent object, will have significance; for a permanent object, for me, is one that, at many moments, is meant by me as a permanent object.

“If by reflection we thus know the identity of our meaning at various moments of our experience, the question, of course, arises, How can we know this identity when the contents of immediate experience are themselves always changing? And it is an old idea in philosophy that this identity of meaning is to be somehow explained by saying, as Kant said in the Deduction of the Categories, something of the following sort: I, the Self, know myself as one, in the Unity of Apperception, through all my changing experiences. My immediate knowledge flits in moments. My meaning remains identical, because I, the thinking Subject, remain one, and because now, thus remaining one, I am able to recognize the identity of my own conscious acts in many successive moments. To reflect on the identity of my meaning

in various thoughts is to observe myself as one in act in the midst of the shifting floods of immediacy. This I do whenever I reflect. In reflecting on my meaning, I therefore presuppose and assume, as it were, the discovery of myself. It is then the Self, the Ego, the identical knower of meanings, that forms the true object of reflective knowledge.

"But by this assertion the problem of reflective knowledge is only introduced, not solved. No word has more manifold meanings than the word Self. This ambiguity is familiar and necessary, and, for my part, I can not regret what to my mind is simply a result of the nature of things. But this ambiguity of the word Self, and of the deliverances of Self-Consciousness, is, at all events, problematic. If in reflective knowledge I know myself, who then am I?

"As is well known, I am, at all events, not merely an object of reflective consciousness for myself. Not alone as the knower of meanings, the Self as Subject, do I exist in my own consciousness. I am also an object to myself in numerous far less exalted ways. As so-called Empirical Ego, I exist in all kinds of immediate and derived forms as an object. As an object of merely immediate knowledge, a mere mass of organic sensations, I exist for myself whenever I think of my own general state of personal well-being and of ill being. As Empirical Ego I include also, very often, this body as a part of me. My life, my calling, my fortunes, my powers, yes, my children, or even my country, I can regard as part of my Empirical Ego. And in such senses I am for myself a vast mass of empirical objects and conditions which form in a greater or less degree one whole. But the Self as thus determined, the Self as object in the strict sense, or the Empirical Ego, is not the Self whose exalted identity, as the knower of the identity of meanings amidst the flux of experiences, reflective knowledge is to recognize. The question is, Who is this true, this identical and knowing Self, and in what form is he known to exist?

"In answer it may be said, we know the true Self, this Subject-Object of reflective consciousness, this Kantian Unity of Apperception, merely through a direct observation of the actual connection which exists between the various contents of our consciousness, when once these contents have been presented in experiences. This connection, this unity of consciousness, it will next be said is notoriously something quite indescribable, and in itself it constitutes the most ultimate and obvious of facts to every being that, once possessing it, has somehow been led to notice it. At any moment the contents of my consciousness, whether they be a mere mass of sensations or a chance collection of perceptions, or again a collection of intelligent ideas derived from social intercourse, are shifting and fleeting. But nevertheless this shifting and fleeting mass of facts is observed by an observer who is more than the mere series itself, for he knows the series, or at least, at any instant, knows some portion of it.

"But here the problem of the nature of this knower of the unity of con-

sciousness returns upon us in a new shape. The essential character of this observer, this knowing subject, is expressed by a familiar passage in Hume—viz., the very passage where Hume was most endeavoring to rid himself of the idea of the unity of consciousness itself: ‘For my part,’ run the well-known words of Hume, ‘when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other—of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception. . . . The mind is a kind of theater, where several perceptions successively make their appearance, pass, repass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor identity in different, whatever natural propension we have to imagine that simplicity and identity.’

“These words of Hume are meant to be a reduction of the Self to the mere series of states that it knows, but it is indeed true that they are explicitly opposed in the very form of their statement to the assertion that Hume supposed them to embody. ‘When I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*,’ says Hume. ‘I enter,’ then—that is, I observe, I watch, I find, I know. But, adds Hume, *what* I know is always some content of consciousness, some impression or idea. Yes, indeed; but to say this is explicitly to say that, when I know this content as immediate, my knowing itself is not the content known, but is just precisely the knowing thereof. *That* I know, this truth is itself more than the content known. And so Hume, in the very act of asserting that the known is, as such, merely content, and never other than content, mere ideas, and never a peculiar thing, called a Self, and yet different from all other content even while it remains a content—Hume, I say, in asserting this about the known, implies, yes, in the words: ‘When I enter . . . I stumble on, I catch,’ he explicitly asserts that the knower *is*, and is more than the content known. I, as Subject of knowledge, am indeed never the known content; but that is the very proof that the Self is not, and can not be reduced to, the series of states that it knows. I am thus far indeed known only as knower, but that is precisely what, by definition, I ought to be.

“I may observe here that Hume’s phrases in this classical passage, in their very denial of the finding of a thing called an identical Self as a part or fact in the stream of immediate conscious states, are curiously near to those other and equally classic phrases whereby the early Hindu thinkers of the Upanishads loved to express their magnificent struggle to grasp the conception of the true Self and of its unique and transcendent existence. ‘The Seer,’ says Yājñavalkya, in the Brhadāranjakopanishad, ‘the Seer no one has seen, the Hearer no one has heard, the Thinker no one has thought, the Knower no one has known.’ So far we have, as you see, Hume, *nur mit ein Bischen anderen Worten*. Hume consequently declares, however, what his own words, in the very act of declaring it, have of necessity to contradict

—viz., that there therefore *is* no Self different from the series of the seen, heard, and felt states, the impressions and ideas. But Yâjnavalkya goes on, upon the basis of the very same observations, to say : ‘The one who, dwelling in the Self, is different from the Self, whom the Self knows not, who, dwelling within, guides the Self, he is, as thy [true] Self, the immortal inner guide. . . . There is no other Seer, no other Hearer, no other Thinker, no other Knower. That is, as thy [true] Self, the immortal inner guide ; whatever is other than this must suffer.’ Upon the basis, however, of a similar argument, the same Yâjnavalkya, in another section of the same Upanishad, argues to his wife Maitreyi as to the transcendent unity of the Self. Maitreyi has asked her husband to explain immortality to her. He first replies that the true Self is immortal, but that after death—that is, apart from the merely empirical series of conscious states, of impressions and ideas—after death, when the highest Self, for whose sake alone all is good that is good, has returned to itself, and dwells apart in its absolute perfection, then there can indeed be no consciousness whatever. The true Self is thus absolute and deathless, but unconscious. Maitreyi expresses doubts as to this result. It confuses her, she says. Yâjnavalkya replies : ‘This suffices, oh, dear one, to make the thing clear. For if there be in existence a second [that is, an object other than the subject], then one sees another, then one tastes another, then one greets another, then one hears another, then one thinks another, then one knows another. But when all has become to any one the Self, wherewith and whom should he then see ? Wherewith and whom should he then taste ? Wherewith and whom should he then greet ? Wherewith and whom should he then hear ? Wherewith and whom should he then think ? Wherewith and whom should he then know ? Wherewith should he know Him, through whom he knows all this ? Wherewith should he, oh, dear one, know the Knower ?’

“The antinomy is here, in its way, perfect. Hume and Yâjnavalkya agree as to the fundamental facts of the situation. No one has seen the Seer or known the Knower as part of the series of states of consciousness. Hume enters into himself only to observe that he, Hume, precisely in so far as he is the Subject, is not discoverable there in himself, as one of his own inner states, at all. Yâjnavalkya points out to Maitreyi and to his other interlocutors, that in a similar fashion, since one necessarily sees or hears another (i. e., an object) and not the Seer or Hearer, therefore one who is conscious must be conscious only of empirical stuff, must suffer in this bondage, as the Hindu likes to phrase it ; must have impressions, as Hume would say. The independent and self-possessed Self can not thus suffer. The form of the argument is in the two cases different ; the outcome is so far the same. I as I, or, as the metaphysicians like to define me, I the pure Subject, am thus never one of my own contents of consciousness. I have no immediate knowledge or inner experience of myself as Subject, for the Self of immediate knowledge or experience is nothing but a mass of organic sensa-

tions. Nor have I such mediate or derived knowledge of myself as pure Subject as I have of the objects of the physical world. The Self as physical object is, on the contrary, merely the body, and the sum total of its deeds and works, but never the true Self as Knower. Thus neither in the inner nor in the outer world do I ever find an object that can properly be called the identical Subject, the knower, the thinker, the seer, the hearer. So far, as you see, Hume and Yâjñavalkya, the shrewdly merciless modern skeptic and the dim and legendary mystic of the homilies of this Upanishad, are actually at one. They both alike say, When I appeal to experience, when with Hume I look for the 'original' of the idea myself, or when, in the mystical speech, I merely suffer from the facts of fleeting experience, I never find the so-called identical Self at all. When in an empirical search for my true Self I enter into myself, I discover, so to speak, that I am not at home, not to be found there, as identical Subject, in the world of experience. I have, so I find, simply gone out of that world of experience altogether before one can look for me there. Where, then, am I—the identical Subject, the unity of apperception, the true Self, the one Knower of the many fleeting facts? I am not here in this tomb of experience where I look for my true Self. They have taken my Lord away, and I know not where they have laid him. This, for both Hume and Yâjñavalkya, is the essence of this situation. But here indeed the two part company. Henceforward the two doctrines stand to each other as Thesis and Antithesis of a great antinomy.

"Such is the situation of reflective knowledge thus far. It must presuppose, yet can not find, the true Self, the identical subject for whom meanings are one in the world of fleeting immediate facts. How shall we deal with this antinomy?

"It is the rule that one tends to clarify situations of this sort if one first, for a while, turns one's attention away from a direct examination of the conflict, and considers, perhaps in a highly empirical and tentative way, the mental processes whereby the conflict has arisen. One solves, to be sure, no ultimate philosophical problems by a direct application of the methods of empirical psychology. But one often, by means of such methods, clarifies to one's own mind the situation, until it is ready for a philosophical solution.

"Let us, then, turn our attention for a little from the reflective problem of how we are able, through the unity of self-consciousness, to recognize the identity of our own meaning in the midst of the flood of fleeting immediate experience. Let us consider the other aspect of our knowledge. Let us examine the general relation between our thinking and the external objects that it thinks about.

"As a fact, my thought never has a meaning merely for the sake of having one. What I mean when I think has always to do with my relations to objects that exist outside of my thought. My thought is not only an object of my own reflective insight; it is also an effort to imitate the truth

of things. When I say that *all men are mortal*, I not only have a meaning which can be reflectively held as identical through a great variety of immediate expressions, but I intend that this thought of mine should be an expression of a truth which would remain true even if I, this individual, did not think of it. In this sense my thought is essentially imitative. Nor can it ever become reflective unless it first tries to be imitative. As a fact, as I shall show you in a moment, we come by the problem of reflection, by the question, Who am I? by a road which is essentially one of imitation. What we primarily endeavor, as socially disposed beings, to do, is to make our own thoughts agree with the manifested thoughts of our fellows, whose existence we believe in before we even learn to recognize our own existence. Our fellows, however, by sign, by word, and by all their efforts to educate us, attract our attention to the external physical world. Trying to imitate our fellows, we gradually get the idea of the objective world of universal truth, which all observers must imitate in the same way. Gradually, furthermore, we are led, through our very efforts to imitate, to the point where we begin to reflect; and thus it is that our problem of reflection itself arises. The lesson is that, just as we learn only through imitation the very existence of ourselves, so the solution of the problem of self-consciousness can only be reached by defining the Self as the Being whose life consists in imitating truth on the one hand, and on the other hand of being imitated as himself the principle and the very essence of the world of truth. In other words, the very essence of self-consciousness is such that no finite being can answer the problem, Who am I? except by saying: 'I am one who look for myself in something other than what I now am.' While, on the other hand, nobody can thus look for himself beyond himself without all the time asserting: 'I am in truth united with an ideal Self whose whole life consists in surrendering himself for the purpose of being imitated by finite selves, while his own being is identical with that of the whole world of truth.'

"Turning to purely empirical considerations, belonging in the main to the realm of psychology, it is at all events interesting to see how large a part our character as men, who are essentially imitative animals, plays in the natural history of human knowledge. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, explicitly recognized the far-reaching importance of the imitative functions in the life of man, and used them as furnishing the basis of his doctrine of art. Ever since, psychologists have more or less fully recognized the prevalence of imitation in human mental life. But, after all, how little seems to have been done toward analyzing the psychological mechanism of the imitative functions! Of late the study of hypnotism has afresh called attention to phenomena which belong in the region of the imitative functions, and which involve a surprising revelation of the plasticity of the human individual under certain curious conditions. Yet, as M. Tarde, the eminent French writer on psychological and sociological topics, pointed out in consequence of a suggestion of Taine's and early in the history of the hypnotic researches, hypnotism



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in a large measure but illustrates for us under relatively extraordinary conditions the most familiar fact that lies at the basis of all social life—the fact that the human subject is essentially a suggestible, a socially plastic, an imitative being. It is the conditions of the hypnotic experiment that are extraordinary; the suggestibility involved is in its principle a matter of daily observation. As M. Tarde remarked, what the hypnotic experimenter is to the sleeping subject, that is society to the waking man. This observation of M. Tarde has also influenced the recently published revised edition of a monograph by Sgr. Scipio Sighele, the Italian criminologist, entitled *La Foule Criminelle*, where the author, undertaking to explain in a measure the phenomena of the psychology of mobs, has used not only the facts of hypnotism but also those of the social imitations of all grades and classes, as furnishing analogies for the phenomena discussed in his book. Meanwhile, however, the psychological literature on imitation which Sgr. Sighele himself has brought together serves to remind us only the more obviously of the present inadequacy of our insight into the precise mechanism of this whole class of human functions. The brief treatment of the topic in Prof. James's *Psychology*, and the still more summary suggestions in Wundt's *Vorlesungen ueber Menschen und Thierseele*, also show how large and attractive this comparatively unknown realm of human psychology is. The highly important but still somewhat obscure theory of the relations of the '*Gesammtwille*' and the individual will in Wundt's *Ethik* bears in a highly stimulating way upon the same general topic. Quite recently Prof. Baldwin, our well-known American psychologist, has begun extremely promising researches in the psychology of imitation, and has published some important studies bearing upon the origin and the development of the imitative functions.

"Meanwhile, in the midst of all our ignorance, what results from even the most superficial study of the phenomena of our countless human social groups, whether these be the mobs of Sgr. Sighele's monograph or the organized nations of the world; from the study, too, of such social products as language, art, popular morality, religion, in their influence upon the minds of individual men; and from a consideration, in still another region, of the phenomena of hypnotism and of suggestion generally—what does result, I say, from all this, even in advance of better psychological comprehension of the true mechanism of our imitative motor functions, is the principle that positively all the natural life of our individual thinking about the universe and about the things in it is, on one side, the product of a sort of social suggestion, the embodiment of man's submissiveness to authority. Whatever ought to be the case, the natural human being does not primarily get the contents of his beliefs either from his own independent thinking or from what he has a right to regard as his personal interpretation of his own experience. He gets his beliefs by the imitation of the authority of his fellows, in so far as he finds the society of certain among them fascinating, the personalities of these his beloved guides impressive, their companionship indispen-

sable, their approval satisfying, their institutions majestic, their faiths soul-compelling. In one sense, to be sure, this dependence of the natural man on authority for the contents of his beliefs is very generally recognized by students of human nature. What psychologists, however, have failed sufficiently to take into account, what too many philosophers have still more signally omitted to recognize, is the result that is thus indicated concerning the fundamental presuppositions or assumptions of the natural intelligence. Despite this universal prevalence of social authority in one aspect of all our early thinking, it is too customary for psychologists and philosophers to regard man as if, after all, he first developed as a more or less self-conscious being, and then secondarily came to regard others beside himself as being also self-conscious persons. As a fact, however, while in the end the developed social consciousness, while my mature ideas of myself and my mature ideas of other selves (of my fellows, or of my guides, or of my enemies)—while both of these groups of ideas, I say, are inseparable constituents of rational life, so that the Ego can only be understood in relation to other Egos, and the other Egos can only be known by me in relation to my idea of myself, it is still true that in the order of development, *quoad nos*, one of these two classes of ideas, which are later so inseparable, is always one step in advance of the other. And, oddly enough, everything in the psychology of childhood and of the natural man indicates that it is not, as usually supposed, my idea of myself that is in advance in my own development, but my idea of other selves. Everything, I say, indicates that my idea of myself, as empirical Ego, is, on the whole, a social product, due, strangely enough, to my ideas of other people. Self-consciousness, as Hegel loved to point out, is, in fact, always a mutual affair. *Es ist ein Selbstbewusstsein für ein Selbstbewusstsein.* The idea 'I' is inseparable from the idea 'you.' I am, on the whole and in every definite aspect of my self-consciousness, I, in so far as I appeal to my fellow to recognize me. For example, I believe, and in believing conceive myself as demanding the approval of good judges; I esteem myself, and in so doing conceive myself as esteemed by others. But now it is further true, as Hegel did not rightly or sufficiently recognize that, in the order of my natural development, the one member of this inseparable pair, the 'I' and the 'you,' the one member, I say, that is always one step in advance in the process of consciousness is the so-called second member—the 'you.' The anthropological side of the speculations of Fichte will never become sound, from the psychological point of view, until they are some day rewritten with 'Das Du' instead of 'Das Ich' as the principle of developing human life. In the absolute order of Nature, *das Ich* is indeed in advance, since were not man from the start implicitly self-conscious he would never become explicitly such. But in the order of the phenomenology of consciousness I in general learn to notice about myself that which my fellows have taught me to notice. I learn who I am by first imitating what they are. And so I really, if vaguely and dimly, believe in my fellows before I learn

explicitly to believe in myself. In their will is my earnest peace, and in this peace my own strength grows, until I later learn to strive by myself. Imitation is the primary, originality the secondary, submission is the earlier, rebellion the later, authority is the natural, reflective independence the derived element in the social and in the cognitive life of man. If one dared to translate into falsely abstract speech the inner life of the naïvely growing childish or savage self, one would find it reasoning not '*Cogito, ergo sum,*' but 'You are, you, my master, my warrior, comrade, chief, my fascinating fellow, my mother, my nurse, my big brother; you think, I can learn to think after you, and so, even as you are it must be that I am.' This, I say, is the order of the natural evolution of self-consciousness roughly translated into terms that are confessedly too abstract, but that do, I believe, embody the spirit of the process. And it is this fact which, on the whole, justifies Wundt's insistence, above referred to, upon the *Gesammtwille* as the primary fact of the human practical consciousness—a fact to which the individual self-will is secondary. The definite concept of the Ego has, in each one of us, a social and imitative origin.

"The proof of this proposition is of the most manifold character. I have here no time to dwell upon the empirical aspect of the matter at length. But let me suggest a very simple analytical proof. Let me ask you to try the experiment of seeking for a moment to abstract in thought from all the knowledge whose content you have some time or other accepted, and first accepted, from other people. You will at once observe that all the knowledge embodied for you in the words, the structure, and all the essential traditions of your mother tongue and of every other language that you know, will at once vanish. In other words, as pure and naked private Ego you will be speechless. Language, as you first learned it, was never, for your consciousness, your independent invention. Always, even where you were actually original in speech, you were trying at the outset to speak as other people spoke. Well, now, nearly all our thinking, not only about the non-Ego, but also about the Ego, is notoriously carried on in language. I believe that there does unquestionably exist a wordless thought, although that too needs as its support imitatively acquired symbolic acts of another sort; but wordless thought aside, nearly all our thinking is done in language. Well, if so, this, I say, surely applies also to our thoughts about ourselves. Are these thoughts explicit, then they are very largely embodied in language which we have learned from others, and have first been taught by others to apply to ourselves. For example, '*I exist.*' Yes, indeed; but how came I by this idea of existence? Should I have this idea, as such, in my consciousness if I had not the word, or some equivalent symbol? And when I first learned the meaning of that symbol, I learned it by trying to imitate what I all the while took to be the thought of another man. Had I not been imitative, I should never have got the thought from him. He taught me to recognize what existence is. Later I learned, and again probably through social suggestion,

say by reading Descartes, to apply that idea to myself. The question, of course, is not now of the certainty, but of the origin for me, of the thought 'I exist.' I insist: This thought I do indeed verify by my own inner reflection; but it first took its origin for me in social intercourse with my fellows. Had they never taught me that I exist, I should never have come to take note of the now so obvious fact. Just so with the still more derived and empirical ideas that make up my idea of myself as this particular person. 'I am a man.' Yes, but what is a man? Have I not learned what a man is by observing my fellows, and by later accepting their traditions as to the nature, office, dignity, rights, duties, capacities, place, and destiny of manhood. These traditions I may indeed learn to revise; but the revision comes later. It has its time, and when its time comes, such revision may be for me of the most absolute significance. But I am here speaking still of the origin, not of the validity, of our self-knowledge. And I may say again: Abstract from all the content that directly or indirectly you first learned from others, and were thus first taught to apply to yourself, and you will abstract from all the ideas concerning yourself that you can now express in language; from all ideas of dignity, of worth, of truth, of duty, as applied to your person; yes, from all ideas of any explicit personal characteristic or possession of your own. For all these ideas, as definite conscious insights, have come to you as results of your social intercourse. Abstract from all these, however, and there would remain, as the core of your idea of yourself, not the *cogito, ergo sum*, not the proud sense, *I am free*, not even the empty identity, *I am I*, but at most a barren and barbarous longing for something that you now know to be self-consciousness, but that, in your isolation, you would know only as an idiot now knows it. So, then, my conscious idea of myself is derived, is secondary, for instance, to language, to which all my thinking is so deeply indebted, and is thus, oddly enough, a product of social intercourse. Who I am I have first learned from others before I can observe it for myself.

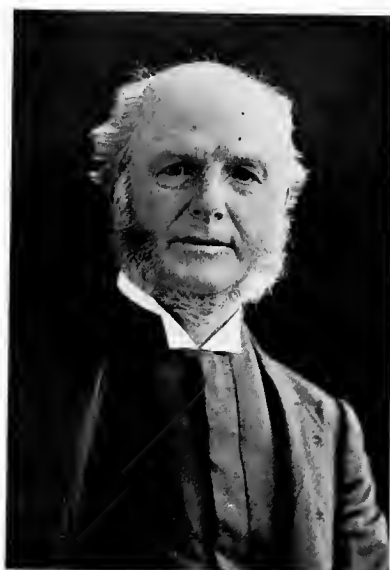
"We blind ourselves too often to these considerations by reason of a very artificial theory that is customary in popular and often in technical psychologies concerning the origin of our belief in the existence of our fellows. Many imagine this belief to be due to a process of induction from a single case—an induction whereby each man of us first, as it were, supposing himself to be alone in a still dead physical world, says to himself: 'I exist, having this body, I exist, too, in a world of real physical things. Now, in my external world there are bodies that move very much as mine does. Therefore they—these other bodies—must also be alive and self-conscious as I am.'

"But whoever imagines this extremely artificial and fictitious mental process to be the reasoning of an infant has surely failed to make proper use of even the most superficial observation of the imitative function in its early developments. The infant usually begins explicitly to imitate just before or during the last quarter of the first year of its life. Long before this time,

however, it has shown, as every observant mother knows, an interest in persons wholly different from the interest that it shows in other things. This interest is doubtless in part due to its deep experience of the importance of the persons of its environment for its welfare. They feed it, and supply all its other bodily comforts. By mere association it, of course, thus learns to regard their faces and movements as peculiarly noteworthy objects. But that, in addition to these results of mere association, there is a genuinely instinctive disposition in the infant, the instinctive disposition of the being destined to social life, the disposition to react to persons as it reacts to no other objects—this I can not doubt. The child's interest in expressions of face, its subtle unconscious responses to the moods and to the current general nervous conditions of its nurse or mother, its delights and later its terrors in the contemplation of strange persons—these things go far beyond what the mere association of ideas can warrant or explain. Instinct begins the social life—instinct that leads to responses of the keenest interest in persons, in advance of a time when the child can have any clear idea either of itself or of anybody else, as a conscious Self, or as a person at all.

“Then comes explicit imitation—an unquestionably complex process—in which several different instinctive factors are most subtly interwoven with the effects of experience in a way which psychology, as I have said, still but very ill comprehends. The child is now not only fascinated with the faces and movements of its elders. It tries to do what these elders do. The very uncertainty of its attempts shows how small an idea it yet has of itself or of its own powers.

Its consciousness in this early stage must be of the vaguest. But it surely must feel somehow that here are most attractive objects whose doings incite what we, the observers, call its own activities in such wise that the incited activities are observed ere long, and with great delight, to agree with the observed activities of the attractive objects themselves. But the activities imitated are not only interesting. They are, in general, for the beings who display them to the child, more or less intelligent activities. They are such activities as pointing out things, holding things up to be looked at or played with, using tools, pronouncing the names of things, or putting things together or taking them apart in ways such as reveal the qualities of the things themselves. As the infant slowly learns to imitate, he therefore also learns much more than to imitate. The intelligent



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activities imitated become, in the very act of imitating them, more or less intelligible to the child. Through his imitations he gets ideas of things—of the nature, for instance, of his playthings, or of the tools that he tries to employ—ideas that alone he could never have got. Now I affirm that these new ideas of things which he gets as he imitates—these intelligent and intelligible aspects which the activities imitated come to possess for him—that all these, I say, are from the first, for the child, new ideas that he tends to refer to the perceived organisms of the people whom he imitates, and little or not at all to what we call himself. For these new ideas come to him as embodying the meaning, the intelligible value, the purport, of the acts of which he is taught to imitate. But these acts are the acts of the beings imitated. The new ideas, therefore, tend from the outset to be thought of as their ideas. And so the order of the growth of the child's knowledge that there are minds here about him, behind these faces, is substantially this: Here in his world he perceives fascinating beings. It is not needful to suppose that he perceives them explicitly as beings in what we call the external world. The distinction between outer and inner is still, at best, only half developed in his mind. But he at least perceives these beings as facts imposed upon him; and he perceives, too, that they are fascinating. These beings act, and the child at length finds his own body imitating the acts of these beings, and takes delight in the knowledge of the agreement. But all this is largely the result of instinct. So far there is no clear thought either of Self or of other Selves. How could there be? The child so far knows not minds as such, but only what we now call objects. Even these he knows not as they are later to be known—i. e., as explicitly external objects. He perceives their interesting characters and their behavior. Among these interesting objects is, of course, his own body, which pleases and pains him so often. And now, as a fact, there are also those fascinating other objects whom we call persons. Well, the child's own body is perceived to imitate these fascinating guides. The child learns to play, to show things, to point at things, and later to speak of things and to use things as tools, and, as he does so (here is the essential matter), the child gets an endless flux of new and unexpectedly intelligible ideas about his world—ideas that are themselves the inseparable accompaniment and meaning of these very imitated activities. All these ideas, I say, the child, by mere association, must relate to the perceived beings whose intelligible activities he has been imitating when he gets the ideas. This game is papa's game. I play it as child, and so get new ideas that I at once associate with my father's face, voice, and whole body. That tool is the gardener's shears, and when I get hold of the shears I cut too, and so learn that clipping with the shears involves what I now take to be essentially the gardener's idea. The being whose activity, when I learn to imitate it, embodies for me such and such ideas is observed by me to have these ideas. The association is irresistible. Where else do the new ideas belong except to the perceived being who obviously suggests

them. But a person, for the child, comes to mean just such a body of ideas associated with the functions of one particular perceived organism. And it is thus, I affirm, through such imitation that a child learns what a person is.

“But thus it may well come to pass that the child long knows other persons far better than he consciously recognizes himself. Yes, this is in fact inevitable. A person, I insist, is a possessor of a body of definite ideas. And the child, being almost wholly without definite initiative and steady independent purpose of his own, and long remaining in this state, gets nearly all the activities which for him can embody intelligible plans, by means of imitations. Left to himself, he is on the whole a chaos, that plans, accomplishes, and thinks nothing in particular. His steady plans are all imitative plans, and he delights in them as such. Accordingly, his self-consciousness is, in the main, a vicarious selfhood. He concerns himself as another. He thinks and speaks in the characters of the beings whom he most loves to imitate. For the idea won in the course of an imitative act is, for the conscious imitator, an idea that originally belongs to and dwells in the interesting being imitated. The order of the child's reasoning about the minds of other beings is thus the precise reverse of the order supposed by the artificial theory before mentioned. The father, the gardener, and later the hero of a fairy tale, become real persons for the child, not because they move as the child has already observed himself to move, but because the imitative child finds himself disposed to act as they act, and in carrying out this disposition wins intelligible ideas which he at once refers to them, and which he makes his own only by first regarding them as originally another's.

“Hence, I repeat, the child may, and in fact must, conceive far more clearly of the reality of the mind of even a fictitious being in an interesting fairy tale, or in an established game that he plays, than he does of his own individual mind as such. For the latter, in so far as it is his own mind, is for him relatively planless and contentless. Therefore, nearly every child, in his moments of cheerful intellectual life, conceives himself as almost any one—a coachman, a horse, a giant, a fairy, a king, a bird—rather than as what we regard as his literal Self; and he knows himself chiefly in terms of such imitated play personalities. Even his more prosaic moments are still full of an affected selfhood, just at the very points when he most nearly approaches self-consciousness. At one time he is ‘mamma's boy,’ and accordingly behaves sentimentally as such. Or again he becomes a ‘big boy,’ and struts imitatively. Or he wants pity, and then deliberately poses as a ‘tired boy,’ imitates weakness, is artificially babyish. When, however, he is wholly naïve, as when he suffers or is angry, then he simply drops all attempts at self-consciousness, and is busy not with himself at all, but with the merely immediate experience—i. e., his pain or his passion. Then to be sure we observers talk of the narrow selfishness, the egoism of childhood; but this egoism is now far from implying self-consciousness.

“I have dwelt perhaps too long on the child's case. What I want is to

illustrate the essentially vicarious character of the primitive self-consciousness. Strange as the assertion seems, I am convinced that each one of us believed in the existence of other minds before he became conscious of his own mind as such. And for all our life I hold this to be true—namely, that we do not get at the existence of the minds of our fellows by an induction from our own individual case, nearly as much as we make use of precisely the reverse line of reasoning. I do not often say to myself, when thinking of my fellows: ‘Yonder people behave as I do; hence they must be alive as I am.’ The normal social consciousness runs rather thus: ‘When I imitate these people, when I get under the influence of their suggestions, listen receptively to their words, follow their gestures, conform to their customs, accept their authority—well, then I constantly get new ideas, and these new ideas are as such the revelations of yonder minds. But now, as this result proves, I am capable of getting these ideas. Hence I am as much a real person, as truly a thinker, as they are.’ In this way it is that I explicitly attain my self-consciousness.

“Our private self-consciousness, as a fact, needs this constant reassurance of its power to share the common intelligence, in order to support its own assurance of itself. When I utterly fail for a while to comprehend my fellows, I begin to wonder whether, after all, I am not myself mad. Self-confidence is always a dependent affair. We can only choose whether our dependence shall be rational or capricious. Self-consciousness needs constantly renewed draughts of that water of life, the imitated authority of other minds. Your vainest man is the one who, despite his explicit independence of the opinions of others, can least bear the shock of criticism from his fellow. Your wisest man is the one whose self-consciousness is most dependent upon his knowledge that the contents of his most original thinking are but recombinations of material that he first got by an imitation of authority.

“But, as a fact, the social order calls us in the end, not only to imitation, but to self-possession. In time we do learn to reflect. The question then returns again as to the nature of this our derived self-consciousness, and as to what is its proper interpretation of the world whose very existence it has first accepted largely as a matter of authority.

“If I have been right as to the origin of self-consciousness, then our own private self-consciousness will be found energizing itself in forms which still are in their whole structure, as in their origin, essentially imitative.

“In fact, then, as Hume says, and as Yājñavalkya agrees in saying, I never find myself as object in the inner life. The problem of reflection is, however, How, then, can I find myself as the Subject, as the Knower? The answer is, for the first, this: Primarily I do not find myself as the Knower at all. I find at the outset somebody else as the Knower, and am trying imitatively to conform to this Knower’s authority. My effort to think is determined by the *ought* of the imitative instinct. I in the beginning ex-

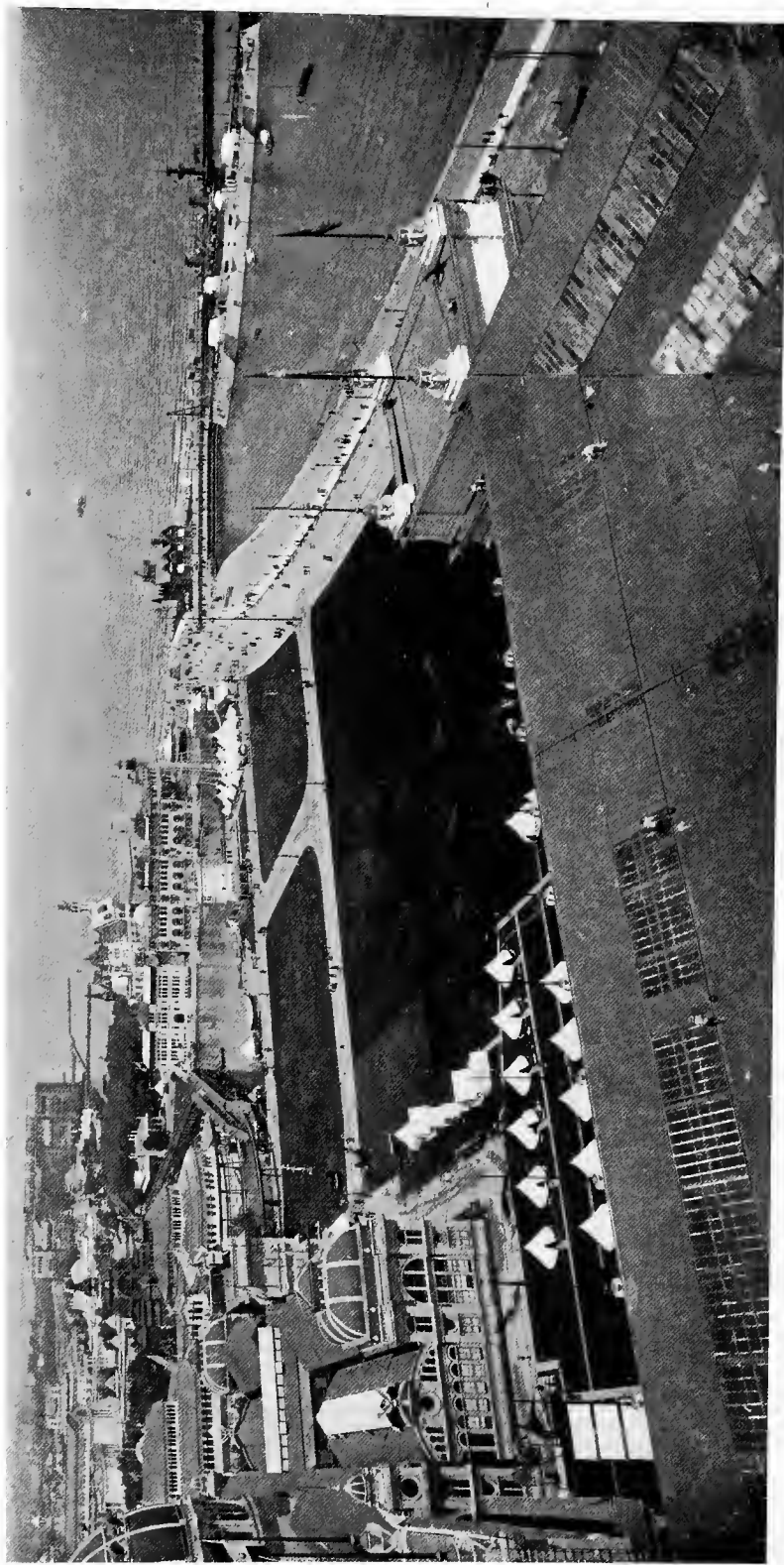
ist only as guided. The only person I know, and him but dimly, is my guide.

"Later, in the history of consciousness, my imitative instinct generalizes itself. The external world, the world of truth, comes to be conceived as something more impersonal. As a fact, however, the categories of this external world of truth have themselves an essentially social origin and determination. The external world is the world that all the observers, or at least all the truly wise guides, agree in conceiving thus or thus; it is the world of truth that is impersonal only because all the persons whom I have learned to imitate describe it to me in the same way, while I myself, when I verify their imitations by my own immediate experience, come, so far as I proceed on this track, to the same imitative results as they. Meanwhile, there is no definition of the external or impersonal truth higher than to say that it is the truth as the highest, the normal, the standard person would imitate or impart it; so that all our inquiries into this truth are efforts on our part to imitate such an ideal observer. So far, then, the work of my knowledge is an effort to imitate, either my fascinating human social guides or a certain ideal and unindividual Guide who is none the less a person, to my conception, because I identify him, the standard guide, with no one of my fallible actual guides.

"Meanwhile, when I come more and more nearly to self-consciousness, another aspect of the matter also appears. I am, in time, not only guided; I also gradually learn to guide, and once more by imitation. As father, as teacher, as leader of my fellows, and, finally, as person of individual initiative in general, I learn in my turn the office of imparting guidance, as well as of being guided. Just so, too, I learn to guide my own inner life, to have plans and opinions that my own inner life has to carry out by long and patiently submissive imitative activities, just as my pupils and followers have to do in the social world. But as guide, what self, what person do I best know? Answer: The selves or persons guided. 'Yes,' I say to myself, 'they meet my mind, they do my will, they imitate me. In them I see myself. In this way, however, my self-consciousness is still vicarious. My inner thoughts that embody my meaning, my faithful followers who do my will—these are the expression and the life of me, and apart from them, as before (when I followed), apart from my guides, I find not yet myself as the pure Subject. In brief, so far I know myself only in so far as my true self is elsewhere than here in my present insight. I know the other selves whom I follow or whom I lead, whom I imitate or who imitate me, whom I want to live up to as my ideal, or who make my plans and my words their ideal. These other Selves may be real outer persons or inner ideals or plans or thoughts of my own, for our inner life is but an epitomized copy and image of the social life, and within my private consciousness I have no categories other than those derived from my social intercourse.

"But this being so, can I ever, any more than Hume or than Yājñaval-

kya, define who the true Self is? I may best answer this question by a brief concluding dialogue with any one of you—a dialogue in which I ask you, for yourselves, to follow me. Let me ask once more of any one of you, ‘Who is the Self?’ The answer must be: ‘The Self is the Knower, for whom and in whom my thoughts have conscious unity and my meanings remain identical amidst their changing embodiments.’ ‘But what are your thoughts?’ ‘Efforts to imitate first the thoughts of my fellows, and then, because these thoughts are themselves but fleeting and fallible, efforts to imitate truth.’ ‘When have your thoughts, then, a meaning?’ ‘When they aim at or intend the truth.’ ‘But what is the truth?’ ‘That which an ideally knowing Self, the observer whom all observers aim to imitate in their meaning, would see, think, know.’ ‘What, then, once more, is your private Self?’ ‘I am one who keep my thoughts in unity and retain in the midst of changing embodiments my one meaning only in so far as I imitate some changeless ideal knower of the truth as it is.’ ‘Do you, then, in so far as you seek knowledge and really think, ever aim to know yourself solely as private Self, as this person here in time and space, changing, ignorant, unideal?’ ‘No, that knowledge is indeed impossible. I aim to know something, however little, of the true knower and his mind. Whether I succeed or fail, whenever I think of the truth, that is the object of all my thinking, just in so far as it is a sincere striving for truth.’ ‘Very well, then, could any finite Self as such ever completely know himself as a knower, as subject, while still remaining ignorant of the actual truth of things beyond him?’ ‘Plainly not. I neither do know, nor, if I am wise, try or desire to know myself merely as finite knower. What I aim to know is myself as I ought to be, my true self, the ideal knower.’ ‘So then all your finite self-knowledge is vicarious, is imitative. You seek to know yourself as another than what you now ignorantly are?’ ‘Yes, indeed, and this is true reflection, namely, reflective imitation. There is no other for us in so far as we are finite seekers for truth.’ ‘But now there is also the other aspect. Do you not often find yourself trying to be a guide to your fellows?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘And an ideal Self, if he existed, if he were real, if he had knowledge, he would find himself, would he not, as the guide of the seeking, of the imitating selves?’ ‘It seems so.’ ‘He too, then, would he know himself as Yājñavalkya said, without consciousness, because there would be for him no other than himself?’ ‘No, he would know himself as the guide of these seeking, of these imitative, of these imperfect, yes, of all these finite and fleeting selves.’ ‘And therein he would know, would he not, the unity, the identity of his meaning in all these fleeting imperfect embodiments of his thought, in so far, namely, as he knew them as imitations of himself?’ ‘Well then, finally, if so it appears, the solution of Hume’s problem for a true and complete self would be, that while possessing all the content of truth in its fullness, he knew the imitative selves as the imitators of himself, while they knew him as the ideal self whom they imitated; and thus solely in this communion of selves would the self-consciousness of



VIEW NORTHEAST, FROM THE ROOF OF THE MANUFACTURES BUILDING.

the world of truth consist. And thus, if the problem of self-consciousness has any solution whatever, such must be the actual constitution of the world of Truth.'

"I conceive, then, that since the external world, the world of what we call the impersonal truth, has to be conceived by us simply as the object of the knowledge of a perfect knower, whom we strive to imitate whenever we strive to know, the final metaphysic must take some such form as this: The whole realm of truth in its immediate, in its experienced aspect, in its character as datum, must be present as the object of his own perfect insight to an absolute, a timeless knower. This truth he, so to speak, first knows. Himself he knows, however, as the object imitated by the individuals of the world of time who are his own finite and imperfect embodiments, and who live in him as the momentary thoughts of any man who guides his own thoughts by his own purposes live in their more fully self-possessed thinking guide. We the finite beings, however, have our true selfhood only in him the guide. Whenever we imitate any ideal, be it a physical truth, or a human authority, or our own conscience, or our inner light, we are actually seeking, whether we know it or not, to find ourselves in him. In the communion of this infinite guide and of his finite followers the true self-consciousness of the universe consists. He dwells in us and we in him whenever we seek for the truth. His selfhood is the infinite self-sacrifice of living only to know and to guide us. Our selfhood we find only in the imitation of his truth."

Among the other papers read at this session were one on the Reconciliation of Science and Philosophy, by Prof. John Dewey, of the University of Michigan; one on The Debt of the Moderns to Plato, by Thomas M. Johnson, of Osceola, Mo.; and one on The Ethics of Hegel, by Prof. J. M. Sterrett, of Columbian University.

At the fourth session papers were presented on The Æsthetic Consciousness, by Prof. J. S. Kedney, of Faribault, Minn.; The Principles of Thomistic Philosophy, by Brother Chrysostom; Philosophy and Industrial Life, by Prof. J. Clark Murray, LL. D., of McGill College, Montreal; A New Non-tentative and Economic Method of solving Equations, by President J. W. Nicholson, of Louisiana University; and The Significance of the Realistic Movement in Art and Literature, by Louis J. Block, Ph. D., of Chicago. From the last-named we take the following passages:

"The old battle which has appeared in so many shapes is fought again in our own time. Probably it has engaged the courage of the best men and women in every time. Each age, it seems, must win the victory for itself. Error has a thousand forms, and one has only been fairly disposed of when another takes its place, more active than any of its predecessors. The negative we have always with us, and our life consists in its continuous negation. When we have built for ourselves one pleasure house, in which we hope permanently to dwell, we find before long that it is altogether too narrow, and we discover that we make limits for ourselves only to transcend them.

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

“The conflict between the classicists and romanticists is over ; we can see now that on the one side was a classicism that was not classic, and on the other a romanticism that was not romantic. Meanwhile, true art pursued the even tenor of its way, and produced works that serenely took their places in the memory and the reverence of the race. It was learned that art must be classic, inasmuch as it must have as its basis a unifying idea, which gives meaning and dignity to its every part ; and it may be romantic, inasmuch as all these parts are susceptible of a fullness of development that makes them complete reflections of the unifying idea. It must be classic, inasmuch as it displays the objective thought of the world as the genuine medium in which all life dwells, and it may be romantic in showing how the objective thought is mirrored and reproduced in the variant subjectivity of mankind.

“The battle to-day has assumed a different form, but it is much the same that it formerly was. According to immemorial custom, the great works of the past are brought in review, and they are irredeemably condemned. They were good enough for the immature days that brought them forth ; but for us they are no longer as full of significance as the more glowing successes of to-day. Even Shakespeare trembles on his throne, and, if prevalent modes of thought continue, he may soon be quite willing to resign into any contemporary hands that are content to take them, the unsatisfactory and extravagant plays to which he has so long and so obstinately laid claim. It has been over and over again proved that Goethe knew nothing about the right way to make a successful novel ; that in some of his tales he constructed mystifications which were not art, for art is always clear ; and that in the second part of Faust he indulged in fancies and vagaries which might be allowed a great poet in his old age, but which exhibit both the garrulity and the insecurity of that time of life.

“The demand nowadays is for reality, the representation of life just as it is, the reproduction in picture and prose of the things we see around us, the color of them, the stains on them, the odors of them, the commonplace speech of them. Poetry is still tolerated in a measure, but there are hints of its approaching decease, and its artificiality, so called, is a strong argument against it. The ordinary man, with his ordinary hopes and wants and desires, requires portrayal, and is to receive it in the ordinary fashion. One distinguished novelist of the day says he will put a perfect man or woman into his pages when he finds one ; but until then he is content to depict such mixtures as he knows and meets. The courage of the movement would be very small if it did not go as far as it could, and hence not only is the ordinary man to have his day of triumphant description, but the lowest stratum must give up its secrets for the behoof and instruction of the race. We

have the rowdy as he really is, the Magdalen in her various stages to her inevitable end, the noisomeness that constitutes a problem with which the progress of life must deal, but whose full-length picture, for its own sake, on the walls of art, suggest questions as to where it properly belongs and what end does its making after this manner subserve?

"The movement is toward reality, toward accumulation of infinite details, toward descent into the multiplicity of particularity. Everything is in itself worthy of being a subject of art, literary or other, and often the main question is only in regard to the execution of the picture. One writer, indeed, says there are favorite themes among the masters of so-called realism which he would not touch with a forty-foot pole, but at the same time he defends them, inveighs against the exclusiveness of those who would prefer to see them relegated to their proper abiding places, and implies that literature need not be overnice about the facts which the providence of the world is willing to have come into existence, and whose relative persistency and marvelous fecundity give them a pre-eminence over others that are less insistent and widespread.

"One naturally asks what is meant by this reality so pertinaciously thrust into view, and so heralded as the all of existence and the aim of portrayal. The ideal is, of course, the not real from this point of view; it is the fantastical which may give pleasure to children, although they too are to be deprived of their fairy tales and nursery rhymes, but making no appeal to maturity, which listens to the solemn music of humanity and shows its higher intellectual reach and strength by its satisfaction with the plain unembellished fact. What, then, is reality?

"Inasmuch as all ideal elements are to be strictly excluded from this reality, inasmuch as to put into it thoughts derived from the artist's consciousness is to give it a hue which is not its own but something foreign to it, inasmuch as it is to be seen and described in itself alone and just as it is, it is rather difficult to make out exactly what it is, unless it be the fleeting succession of mere sense impressions, which we greet as an old friend, whom we have met before with his claim to be the beginning and the end of all. And this conclusion is strengthened by the prevalent type of criticism and the character of the work that emanates from some of the toilers in the realistic field. The object is the thing we are after, the impression of the moment is the hard game we are trying to bag. The way in which we are affected by what we hear and see is the purpose of the delineation. The real thing is a procession of single sensations fleeting across the consciousness, and if we are to be modern and true, we must not allow any fancies or notions of our own to intervene between the object and its reproduction.

"The hopelessness of attempting to seize such abstractions as mere sensations ought to be clear without much examination; the perceiver is in relation to the sensation, and what he is makes a great difference in the latter; no two people see the same thing in the same way. What we get, there-

fore, by the effort to hold and reproduce the sensation is not the reality at all, but a series of empty vagaries which are hardly susceptible of transference from one consciousness to another. The trivial, the childish, the weakly sentimental, the fantastical, are the sole contest of art or poetry of this kind, and the realist finds himself at last, by a curious process, left stranded on the very shore which he has so vehemently sought to escape; he finds himself forced to a kind of work that is as far removed from reality as it can be, which is purely and exclusively the product of his finite brain, which has no objective validity, and no real significance for anybody.

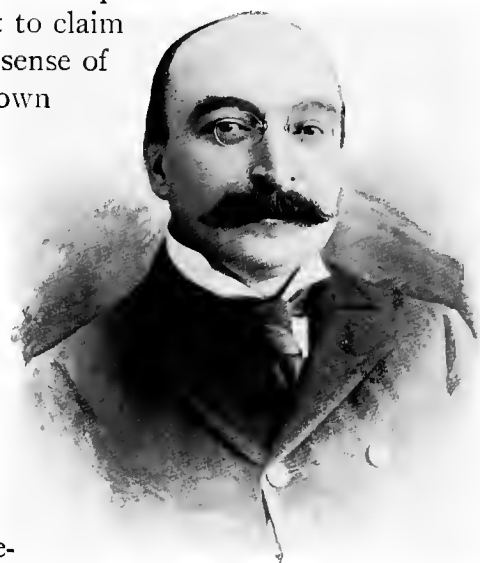
"Or he may take the elastic substance of his sensation and stretch it over the whole universe. In this process the differences in sensation are obliterated, and we have one even, wide-spreading, colorless, and emotionless emotion, in which all life is swallowed as the ripples disappear in the omnipresence of the sea. We get a sensational pantheism, which has such great attraction for certain phases of the poetical consciousness, and in which, as in a dark night, all faces are alike and all character dissipated in a meaningless sameness. Or we may take even the step further and, removing the last vestige of difference clinging to the fabric, find ourselves in the indescribable presence of the great inane, the vast Unknowable, to whom hymns of praise must indeed seem the very extravagance of self-contradiction. This is a razor's edge on which no intelligence can balance itself very long, and the inherent nugatoriness of the process forces effort on to something more valid and concrete.

"The position of the impressionist in literature is thus strictly untenable. He must perforce grow weary of the repetition of empty productions, and he finds himself at last with only the form of his art to manipulate for all his pains. The technical side of his labors asserts an extraordinary prominence, and he may discover new complications of tones and novel combinations of rhythm; but the whole is empty, and becomes in the end a weariness and a vexation. He may proceed to study the achievements of the past, and with careful and painstaking art restore measures that have been to some extent forgotten; but, inasmuch as the spirit that made these measures is wholly lacking, and his interest in them consists altogether in their formal structure, the result is again a failure. He may tell stories in the manner of Chaucer, or write plays in imitation of the Towneley mysteries, or assiduously bring to light the exterior peculiarities of Euripides; but he is still only the 'idle singer of an empty day.'

"The insidious ideal, which, like Nature, when driven out with a fork, persists in running back, finds somewhere a postern left uncared for, and enters again with her transforming potency in full endeavor and strength. Thought proceeds to put the world into shape and order. There is something like a systematic procedure in things; affairs follow each other in a natural way, and hang together in bringing forth results. Science discovers manifold relations between phenomena, and essays to reduce them to unity.

They are all manifestations of one force, which, while itself inapprehensible, blossoms into constant exhibitions of itself. The mind of man is only one of these exhibitions, closely connected with all the rest, and as destitute of permanence as any of them. Heredity, environment, a host of external conditions, make every man what he is, and to depict him truly we must give all these conditions and show him in them as a bubble that seems to spring from the surface of an infinite rush of waters, which, by an irresponsible, more energetic gust, is thrust back into the sameness from which it emerged.

"The realist, in expressing this theme, has several alternatives before him, and his choice will be in the main determined by his special mental bent. It would be perhaps superfluous to remind him that, as his point of view has thus been selected purely as an individual caprice of his finite organization, it has not much right to claim for itself the privilege of being 'real' in the sense of objection; it is again a specific turn of his own mind in its limited aspect, an attitude toward reality, which it is his pleasure to cultivate, but which does not necessarily belong to the race, and need not have great value for them. He may give himself up to beauty and culture as he understands them. He may find the work-a-day aspect of the world repellant, and fly to Africa or the tropics to save him from contact with the bitter necessities. Under warmer skies and amid a luxury of forest and wilderness of sea not native to him he can find much to describe, and satiate himself with reality. There is nothing in life worth believing in; a cultivated mind holds itself in supreme abeyance from the settlement of any of the disputes that vex the souls of lesser men; religion and morality are only mental attitudes, into which one may sometimes fall for the sake of the sensations that arise therefrom, but the enlightened and clear-sighted are fully aware that a receptivity toward the outer, complete and exquisite, is the one true course. The faith of the past is impossible to us; there is, in fact, nothing to believe in, and, besides, to believe puts bonds upon the spirit and shuts it up in a prison house which itself has made. If it were possible to go back to the youth of the world, when there were no disagreeable contractions to be met, when life and Nature were in delightful accord, and the ugly 'ought' had not dinned its monotony in men's ears, one might recover the lost happiness. That clearly can not be, but at least we can have the changing aspects of physical beauty and the refinements of an artificial culture, which is real because we feel it, and is the more perfect the less we think about it.



LOUIS J. BLOCK,
a speaker at the Congress.

"The busy world is, however, but little influenced by these gentle persuasions ; it is rather inclined to look upon all this as morbid and demanding the service of the expert in neurology more than the literary critic or the pleased reader. It sees very well that this superb refinement of sensation rests upon a solid foundation of growing labor somewhere, and that it can not be, except as a frail and somewhat unimportant blossom in a garden given up to hardier plants, and some of them needed for more humble and useful purposes. It understands that such productions rest upon the weakest of abstractions, and touch reality but with the tip of the little finger. A monotony of pleasure is no pleasure at all, and eventuates in securing the extreme of its own opposite, and Tennyson's heroine in his Palace of Art, after an experience of these marvelous delights quite apart from any associations with the mean or vulgar, exclaims truly :

" I am on fire within !
There comes no murmur of reply,
What is it that will take away my sin,
And save me lest I die ?

"Also, the determination not to be other than fleetingly and capriciously determined is itself a determination which must be held as fleetingly and capriciously as any other, and by its own force and movement must lead to a purpose deeper and larger than itself. Perhaps we can find that deeper and larger purpose in some of the conclusions that science so freely and lavishly holds out to us. That young giant has been wandering all over the earth and digging deep into its bowels and recesses ; it has turned its huge telescope eyes upon the skies, and has found there as in a primer made by—shall we say, God, or the Unknowable ?—it has found written everywhere in unmistakable characters the same legend ; it has repeatedly and with increasing cogency found the purport of Nature's hieroglyphs to be the same everywhere—in stars and suns, in earth and air. The necessity of law, mechanical necessity, the unalterable procession of phenomena, their fixed and unchangeable order, are evident wherever you may choose to look and ponder. Is the mind of man to escape from the inclusiveness of this final and destroying judgment ? Not by any means. The experimentalists come with their measurements and dissection of nerves and brains, dead or alive, and the conclusion is pressed to the uttermost. The freedom of intelligence is swept into the abyss, and the mechanical relation of the outer and inner, the dependence of the subject on the object, is part of the all-embracing theory. We have not been able to rest satisfied with the succession of cultivated delights in which we had hoped to remain permanently, and we may try now the delineation of a world in which reigns inflexible law, in which every event is strictly conditioned by all those preceding it, in which spontaneity or liberty is not to be found anywhere, and in which the mind of man appears as an unimportant link in a series that in its endlessness will ulti-

mately leave him behind, as it has already left vast and extraordinary productions in the past.

"I suppose we have the right to ask, What does it all mean? Is it anything more than a mere succession of dissolving views? Is the union between these vast representations something more than a wholly superficial and formal one? Is all that can be said about them, that one preceded the other in time, and that in such a place such events took place? The writer has subdued himself into a sort of photographic machine, and on the sensitive prepared plate of his consciousness picture after picture is reflected and rendered with the accuracy of the sun. He has no explanation to offer, no opinions to express, no ideas or ideals to intrude. And yet, as we demand a meaning from the world itself, we can hardly be satisfied unless we find a meaning here. By and by, too, a message comes from the tremendous maze, a voice seems to come from the heaving and intense activity, a tone rising into greater and greater clearness and having something to say with more and more distinctness.

"The message is not new. It was pronounced ages ago under very different conditions, beneath warmer skies, and with the same underlying melancholy. Against the indefinite multitude of phenomena not any one phenomenon can boast of superior validity. One member of the series has as much call to be as another, and, when its brief day is over, it vanishes perforce and beyond recall. If consciousness be only one link in such a chain, if mind be only one equal mutation of an endless host of mutations, each like it, arising from a dark abyss of potencies where right and light are not and unto which all return, the ridding ourselves of a number of delusions in which we have been indulging becomes urgent and paramount. We may as well face the truth first as last, and understand that the ascription of freedom to any of our acts is a bit of childishness which it will be well for us to outgrow. Antecedent conditions, physical and spiritual heredity, have done it all, and recognize it sooner or later we must. In a recent poem life is represented as the hopeless wandering of blind men who have lost their way, and are led by their sightless guide to the verge of the precipice, where the great sea roars in the darkness of the coming night. The only thing worth knowing is the worthlessness of knowing, and the only thing worth feeling is the pitiableness of all feeling. The significance of the portrayal is the demonstration of its own insignificance, and the value of being is to be found in the recognition of its own valuelessness. The misfortunes and the crimes of men are part of the inscrutable and inflexible totality, and their occurrence at all is the mystery that is only rendered the more mysterious by any attempt at explanation, that attempt itself being but the defeat which constantly expresses itself in the recurrence of the misery it seeks to explain. Caught in the vast web of things, wisdom must be to cease to struggle, to float with the stream, to be at one with the environment, to be free from hope or fear, and to submit to the inevitable.

"Every act of daily life contradicts the fine theory ; every minute thing must be done, and to do them implies a faith in a permanent somewhere and somehow. We will look for that which clearly everybody should submit to if life is to be at all possible ; it may signify vast sacrifices, much suffering, persistent effort, to make the habit of obedience our daily garment, but so much at least makes itself evident out of the roar and the confusion. There is a tendency in the world which we can see running all through it like a silver thread ; there is a course of conduct that seems to perpetuate itself, and gradually has the sanction of the majority of mankind on its side. We call it doing right, and if we have nothing else to which we can pin our faith, we certainly have that. We can unite ourselves with that movement in the world which demands heroic sacrifices, which enforces duties, which, as the years roll on, becomes more and more the mistress and arbiter of history."

Two other sessions were held, at which papers were read on Ethical Aspects of Pessimism, by Miss Louise Hannum, Ph. D., of Ithaca, N. Y. ; Insufficiency of the So-called Cosmic Philosophy, by Prof. George H. Howison, of the University of California ; Is there a Science of Psychology ? by Prof. Paul Shorey, of Chicago University ; The Illuminati, by Mrs. Mary H. Wilmarth, of Chicago ; The Idea and Purpose of Plato's Republic, by Prof. H. K. Jones, of Jacksonville, Ill. ; The Duty of Philosophy, by Paul Carus, Ph. D., of Chicago ; Common Sense, Science, and Philosophy, by Prof. B. C. Burt, of the University of Michigan ; The Notion of Duty in Modern Ethics, by President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University ; and The Philosophy of Education, by Prof. J. E. Bushnell, of Kee Mar College, Hagerstown, Md.



Base of Obelisk, in front of the Colonnade.

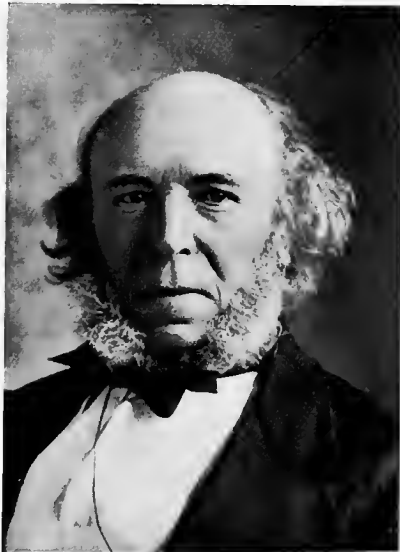


View on the Midway Plaisance, looking east.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONGRESS ON EVOLUTION.

President Bonney's opening address—A letter from Prof. Huxley—A letter from Herbert Spencer—Addresses by Sara A. Underwood, Rev. William J. Potter, Florence G. Buckstaff, James A. Skilton, Prof. Haeckel, Dr. R. G. Eccles, Rev. Minot J. Savage, Rev. H. M. Simmons, Rev. James T. Bixby, and others.



HERBERT SPENCER,
a contributor to the Congress.

IN opening the Congress on Evolution, which was held in September, President Bonney made an address, in which he said :

"There are some present who will remember the tremendous sensation produced by the publication of that remarkable book, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. The first edition was issued in October, 1844. In seven months four editions had been demanded, in 1846 another was called for, in 1847 two more, in 1851 two more, and in 1853 a revised edition, finely illustrated, which was reprinted in 1860. It was not till 1884 that the authorship of this remarkable book by Dr. Robert Chambers was disclosed in an introduction by Alexander Ireland to the twelfth edition. While this book attracted

special attention from the fact that the hypothesis of spontaneous generation was set forth with extraordinary skill, its chief aim was to show, as the writer did with very great ability, that creation by means of mighty laws operating through the ages is infinitely more rational, and at the same time

more honorable to the Creator, than creation by the exercise of arbitrary power.

"It is a curious fact that this doctrine of spontaneous generation received its practical quietus in 1887 at the hands of Prof. John Tyndall, who, as President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in his famous Belfast address in 1874, extolled the glories of the ultimate atom in the following language, which has since been familiar to the scientific world: 'Abandoning all disguises, the confession that I feel bound to make before you is that I prolong the vision backward across the boundary of experimental evidence, and discern in that matter which we, in our ignorance and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium the promise and potency of every form and quality of life.' But like a true scientist, faithful to the truth, when he found that without contact with life perfectly sterilized matter can produce no life, he boldly proclaimed that important discovery—the power of evolution is the power of indwelling activity.

"In 1872 Mr. B. G. Ferris, of Ithaca, N. Y., published *A Theory of the Origin of Species*, in which, after referring to Lamarck, to the *Vestiges of Creation*, to Charles Darwin, and to others, he declared his new theory that 'at each step in the creation of species a prior living organism was used by the Creator as an ovum or matrix to produce a new species without the aid of the ordinary paternity required in reproduction; and that thus the divine humanity of the Son of God was born in conformity with the law of the creation of all living beings.' Thus the orthodox Christian may find in the doctrine of evolution not only a scientific confirmation of his faith, but also the key that unlocks the great mystery of creation from monad to man, as the late Judge Arrington found in the *First Principles* of Herbert Spencer a reconciliation of philosophy and religion that satisfied his exacting mind.

"I have mentioned these circumstances on this occasion because of the wonderful changes that have occurred in recent years in the relations between science and religion, and because of the light they throw upon the question how it happened that a Congress on Evolution is held in the Department of Religion. The religious world has come to realize the grandeur and beauty of creation and orderly development in obedience to law, and the harmony of such creation and development with the doctrines of religion properly understood. When, therefore, it so happened that the arrangements for the Congress on Evolution were delayed until there was no place left for this Congress in the Department of Science and Philosophy, and the committee in charge of the Congress applied for a special assignment of time in order that the Congress might not fail, the General Committee on Religious Congresses, of which Dr. John Henry Barrows is chairman, more than willingly accepted the Congress on Evolution and made a place for it in the Department of Religion. It was not an easy matter to make such provision at that late date, but it was felt that there

were special reasons why, if possible, the Congress on Evolution should be welcomed and afforded an opportunity to present its work. We thought that this liberal action of the Department of Religion toward the Department of Science and Philosophy would tend to the mutual advantage of both, indicating the coming unity between science and religion and showing the marvelous advance of both scientific and religious thought, their elevation and strength, not their weakness and decline.

"For a long time the evolutionist seemed to overlook the necessary condition precedent of involution ; that, in the nature of things, nothing can be evolved which has not been previously *involved* from the creative source, as in the world of Nature nothing ascends toward the sun which was not originally derived from its boundless stores of light, heat, and energy. The great and splendid doctrine of evolution, which is the very crown of modern science, is now seen to apply as well to human relations as to the processes of the material creation. The true society and the true government ; wise laws, just jurisprudence, and effective executive administration ; art, literature, and invention—all must be the products of growth and development, each must have its germ, its quickening, its flower, its fruitage, its place in the wonderful succession of events.

"It is for the reasons thus briefly indicated that I now extend to you an especially cordial and hearty welcome to your place in the World's Congresses of 1893."

Thomas H. Huxley, the eminent English scientist, sent this letter in answer to the invitation to attend the Congress :

"I was so unfortunate as to be attacked by influenza last spring ; and while still very weak, I had to deliver the Romanes Lecture at Oxford. The result of the effort was disastrous, and in July I was sent off to the Engadine, whence I returned only a few days since. Discussion is all to the good everywhere, and I wish every success to your proposed Congress of Evolutionists at Chicago ; but, even if it were not now too late, I can contribute nothing. I am obliged to economize my time and strength, and have quite as much in hand as I can hope to do for some time to come. It is one of the conditions imposed upon the Romanes Lectures that there shall be no introduction of religion or politics into the discourse. The discussion of such a topic as evolution and ethics under these circumstances involved all the difficulties of an egg dance. And my unintentional omission to dot many of my i's and cross many of my t's has led to the oddest misinterpretations of my meaning. Before long I hope to remedy this state of things. In the meanwhile I am comforted by finding that both Mr. Mivart and Mr. Spencer find I am teaching just their doctrines ! Indeed, Mr. Spencer suggests that I copied the most I have to say out of his volume of Ethics, just published—I suppose prophetically—as my lecture was printed weeks before the said volume reached the public. Philosophers are curious people !"

At the first session, September 27, a paper contributed by Herbert Spencer, on Social Evolution and Social Duty, was read. We give it here entire :

“At a Congress which has for its chief purpose to advance ethics and politics by diffusing evolutionary ideas, it seems especially needful to dissipate a current misconception respecting the relation in which we stand individually toward the process of social evolution. Errors of a certain class may be grouped as errors of the uncultured ; but there are errors of another class which characterize the cultured, implying as they do a large amount of knowledge with a good deal of thought, but yet with thought not commensurate with the knowledge. The errors I refer to are of this class.

“The conception of evolution at large, as it exists in those who are aware that evolution includes much more than ‘natural selection,’ involves the belief that from beginning to end it goes on irresistibly and unconsciously. The concentration of nebulæ into stars and the formation of solar systems is determined entirely by certain properties of the matter previously diffused. Planets which were once gaseous, then liquid, and finally covered by their crusts, gradually undergo geological transformation in virtue of mechanical and chemical processes. Similarly, too, when we pass to organic bodies, plant and animal. Enabled to develop individually as they are by environing forces, and enabled to develop as species by processes which continue to adapt and readapt them to their changing environments, they are made to fit themselves to their respective lives, and along certain lines to reach higher lives purely by the involved play of forces of which they are unconscious. The conception of evolution at large, thus far correct, is by some extended to that highest form of evolution exhibited in societies. It is supposed that societies, too, passively evolve apart from any conscious agency, and the inference is that, according to the evolutionary doctrine, it is needless for individuals to have any care about progress, since progress will take care of itself. Hence the assertion that ‘evolution erected into the paramount law of man’s moral and social life becomes a paralyzing and immoral fatalism.’

“Here comes the error. Every one may see that throughout the lower forms of evolution the process goes on only because the various units concerned—molecules of matter in some cases and members of a species in another—respectively manifest their natures. It would be absurd to expect that inorganic evolution would continue if molecules ceased to attract or to combine, and it would be absurd to suppose that organic evolution would continue if the instincts and appetites of individuals of each species were wholly or even partially suspended. No less absurd is it to expect that social evolution will go on apart from the normal activities, bodily and mental, of the component individuals—apart from their desires and sentiments and those actions which they prompt. It is true that much social evolution is achieved without any intention on the part of citizens to achieve it and even without the consciousness that they are achieving it.’ The entire indus-

trial organization in all its marvelous complexity has arisen from the pursuit by each person of his own interests, subject to certain restraints imposed by the incorporated society ; and by this same spontaneous action have arisen also the multitudinous appliances of industry, science, and art, from flint knives up to automatic printing machines, from sledges up to locomotives—a fact which might teach politicians that there are at work far more potent social agencies than those which they control. But now observe that just as these astonishing results of social evolution under one of its aspects could never have arisen if men's egoistic activities had been absent ; so in the absence of their altruistic activities there could never have arisen, and can not further arise, certain higher results of social evolution. Just as the egoistic feelings are the needful factors in the one case, so the altruistic feelings are the needful factors in the other ; and whoever supposes the theory of evolution to imply that advanced forms of social life will be reached even if the sympathetic promptings of individuals cease to operate does not understand what the theory is.

“A simple analogy will make the matter clear. All admit that we have certain desires which insure the maintenance of the race ; that the instincts which prompt to the marital relation and afterward subserve the parental relation make it certain that without any injunction or compulsion each generation will produce the next. Now, suppose some one argued that since, in the order of Nature, continuance of the species was thus provided for, no one need do anything toward furthering the process by marrying. What should we think of his logic ? What should we think of his expectation that the effect would be produced when the causes of it were suspended ? Yet, absurd as he would be, he would not be more absurd than one who supposes that the higher phases of social evolution would come without the activity of those sympathetic feelings in men which are the factors of them, or, rather, he would not be more absurd than one who supposed that this is implied by the doctrine of evolution.

“The error results from failing to see that the citizen has to regard himself at once subjectively and objectively—subjectively as possessing sympathetic sentiments (which are themselves the products of evolution), objectively as one among many social units having like sentiments, by the combined operation of which certain social effects are produced. He has to look on himself individually as a being moved by emotions which prompt philanthropic actions, while as a member of society he has to look on himself as an agent through whom these emotions work out improvements in social life. So far, then, is the theory of evolution from implying a ‘paralyzing and immoral fatalism,’ it implies that for genesis of the highest social type and production of the greatest general happiness altruistic activities are essential as well as egoistic activities, and that a due share in them is obligatory upon each citizen.”

Edward P. Powell, of New York, presented a paper on The Constructive

Power of Evolution, and the subject was discussed by James A. Skilton, Mrs. Celia P. Woolley, and others. At the afternoon session Prof. Edward D. Cope presented a paper on The Effects of Use and Disuse, Dr. Martin L. Holbrook one on The Evolution of Striped Muscle Fiber, Prof. Edward S. Morse one on The Present Status of Biological Science, Prof. E. S. Bastin one on The Inheritance of Acquired Character, Dr. Edmund Montgomery a review of Weismann's theory, and the Rev. John C. Kimball a discussion of The Marvel of Heredity. The remainder of the session was devoted to a presentation of The Heroes of Evolution by seven speakers. Edwin Hayden paid a tribute to the work of Herbert Spencer, Dr. Duren J. H. Ward to that of Charles Darwin, Prof. Thomas J. Burril to that of Asa Gray, Hon. John A. Taylor to that of Edward L. Youmans, Miss Mary Proctor to that of her father, Richard A. Proctor, and Rev. William J. Potter to that of Ralph Waldo Emerson.



MRS. SARA A. UNDERWOOD,
a speaker at the Congress.

Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, of Illinois, read an interesting essay on The Poets of Evolution, of which we give here the greater part:

"Darwin was by no means the first author of the theory that bears his name. Like every great discovery in the domain of thought and science, it was in the air among thinkers long before his painstaking efforts established and formulated the development theory. Lamarck, Voltaire, Kant, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Goethe, and Dr. Erasmus Darwin, the poet grandfather of Charles, were among the precursors of the great scientist in a belief in the evolution of man from the lower animals, and further back we trace the idea in the writings of Aristotle, in the doctrines of Epicurus, get hints of it in the Eleusinian mysteries, and find it fairly set forth in the great poem of Lucretius, who

died a half century before the Christian era.

"Titus Lucretius Carus, best known as Lucretius, was born in the year 99 and died in the year 55 B. C. He was an earnest disciple of Epicurus, and left an enduring monument to himself in his great poem, *De Rerum Natura*, which is said to have been written for the purpose of converting his friend the poet Memmius to the Epicurean philosophy. Though of noble birth and a contemporary of Cicero and Cæsar, with all the opportunities for the attainment of wealth and power which were then open to a member of the Roman aristocracy, Lucretius led a life of contemplation and philosophic asceticism, preferring scholarly tranquillity and study to all the glittering glories of a martial career, such as the tem-

pestuous period of civil war in which he lived offered to more worldly ambitious men.

“The poem, which shows to later generations the fair and noble soul of him who composed it, was written, as one of his translators says, ‘as a protest against the degrading influence of impure superstitions; against the sham and increasing degeneracy of society; against the reckless, mad ambitions and ceaseless ferment of political life. In a period grossly material in tasks and enjoyments, when great fortunes were rapidly made and were ever bringing new luxuries in their train, it bids men take refuge and find true happiness in higher things—in pleasures of the soul rather than the body.’ And this is true, in spite of the fact that Lucretius believed and taught that the soul of man is moral, and though he missed the divine spiritual meaning of the law of Evolution, which later Emerson so fully caught and emphasized in his teachings. It is in the fifth book of his review of Nature that Lucretius brings out, as a logical conclusion derived from the study of natural phenomena, the evolutionary processes through which all material things progress, though the idea runs all through the great work. I can here only quote a few characteristic passages :

“ I treat of things abstruse—the deity ;
The vast and steady motions of the sky ;
The rise of things, how curious Nature joins
The various seed, and in one mass combines
The jarring principles ; what new supplies
Bring nourishment and strength ; how she unties
The Gordian knot and the poor compound dies ;
Of what she makes, to what she breaks the frame
Called seeds or principles, though either name
We use promiscuously, the thing's the same.

“That he believed in special creation of species is shown, however, in what follows :

“ Since constant Nature all things breeds
From matter fitly joined with proper seeds,
Their various shapes, their different properties,
Is the plain cause why all from all can't rise.
Wherefore 'tis better to conclude there are
Many first common bodies everywhere,
Which joined, as letters words, do things compose,
Than that from nothing everything arose.

“ He shows how imperceptibly changes are made in nature and man, and how powerful the unseen forces of the universe may be, as follows :

“ Know there are bodies which no eye can see,
But yet from their effects must grant to be.
For first the winds disturb the seas, and tear
The stoutest ships and chase clouds through the air.
The numerous odors, too, whose smells delight
And please the nose, are all too thin for sight.

We view not heat, nor sharpest colds which wound
 The tender nerves, nor can we see a sound.
 Yet these are bodies, for they move the sense
 And straight sweet pleasures, or quick pains commence.
 Drops wear out stones ; and whilst we plow, the share
 Grows less ; the streets by often treading wear ;
 Besides none, not the sharpest eye e'er sees
 What parts to make things grow by just degrees
 Nature doth add, nor what she takes away
 When age steals softly on and things decay.

“ He traces the gradual development of the race from savagery to civilization very clearly, thus :

“ First men content with the poor easy store
 That sun and earth bestowed, they wish no more.
 Soft acorns were their first and chiefest food,
 And those red apples that adorn the wood.
 When thirsty, then did purling stream invite
 To satisfy their eager appetite.
 Then strong and swift they did the beasts pursue ;
 Their arms were stones and clubs, and some they slew.
 Then poisonous herbs when plucked by chance did kill ;
 Now poisoning's grown an art improved by skill.
 Then neighbors by degrees familiar grown
 Made leagues and bonds and each secured his own.
 And then by signs and broken words agreed
 That they would keep, preserve, defend, and feed
 Defenseless infants and the women, too,
 As natural pity prompted them to do.

“ In view of the tardiness which formulated science has shown in reaching like conclusions in regard to the evolution of language, it seems wonderful to find a thinker of the time of Lucretius making so accurate a guess as this in regard to its evolution :

“ Kind Nature power of framing sounds affords
 To man, and then convenience taught us words,
 As infants now, for want of words, devise
 Expressive signs, they speak with hands and eyes ;
 Their speaking hand the want of words supplies,
 And then, since beasts and birds, though dumb, commence
 As various voices, as their various sense ;
 How easy was it, then, for men to frame,
 And give each different thing a different name.

“ He accounts for the knowledge of the use of fire in making food more palatable thus :

“ Now for the rise of fire : swift thunder thrown
 From broken sulphurous cloud first brought it down,
 Or the sun first taught them to prepare their meat,
 Because they had observed his quickening heat.

“Following this he indicates the causes which led to commercial activity and the accumulation of wealth, the wars following, and the evolution therefrom of government and laws, by which peace could be maintained. Then he traces the rise of the religious sentiment in this wise :

“Why do all bow to somewhat as divine?
 Why every nation hath its proper shrine?
 Why all do temples build—why altars raise?
 And why all sacrifice on sacred days?
 How this diffused, this lasting fame was spread
 Of powers above? Whence came that awful dread?
 In heaven they placed their seat, their stately throne,
 For there the sun, the stars, and various moon,
 And day and night their constant courses run;
 And hail, and rain, and through a broken cloud
 Swift lightning flies, and thunder roars aloud.
 Beside, when winds grow high, when storms increase
 And scatter warlike navies through the seas,
 When men for battle armed must now engage
 A stronger foe, and fight the waters' rage,
 Doth not the trembling general prostrate fall
 And beg a calm o' the gods, or prosperous gale?
 In vain—the storms drive on, no offering saves.
 All shipwrecked, drink cold death among the waves.
 And hence we fancy unseen powers in things
 Whose force and will such strange confusion brings.
 Again, when earthquakes shake this mighty ball
 And tottering cities fall, or seem to fall,
 What, then, if men, defenseless men, despise
 Their own weak selves, and look with anxious eyes
 For present help and pity from the skies?
 What wonder if they think some powers control
 And gods with mighty force do rule the whole!

“I have not time to quote further, but have offered sufficient to show that the theory of evolution is very clearly foreshadowed by this great thinker, who wrote before the time of Christ.

“Dr. Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of the great naturalist, was born in 1731 and died in 1802, before the birth of his famous grandson. He stood very high in his profession as a physician, but he was besides a naturalist, a philosopher, and a poet of no mean ability. He was the author of the *Botanic Garden*, a poetical treatise on botany, which he published in 1793, and which attained considerable popularity; also *The Temple of Nature*, a poem published in 1802, which embodies some of the leading ideas of the evolution theory since demonstrated more clearly and fully through the life work of Charles Darwin. It is to this poem I wish to draw attention, though he had written a prose work earlier, in which he presented his views in a more scientific way. Haeckel says that at that time, though the question of the descent of man was being discussed by German and French thinkers, in

England almost the only naturalist to do so was Erasmus Darwin. In 1795 he published, under the title of *Zoonomia*, or the Laws of Organic Life, a scientific work in which he expresses views very similar to those of Goethe and Lamarck, without, however, knowing anything about these two men. 'It is evident,' says Haeckel, 'that the theory of descent pervaded the intellectual atmosphere. Erasmus Darwin lays great stress upon the transformation of animal and vegetable species by their own vital action and by their becoming accustomed to changed conditions of existence,' etc.

"Of *The Temple of Nature* its author in the preface says: 'The poem which is here offered to the public does not pretend to instruct by deep researches of reasoning; its aim is simply to amuse by bringing distinctly to the imagination the beautiful and sublime images of the operations of Nature in the order, as the author believes, in which the progressive course of time presented them.' The poem opens thus:

"By firm, immutable, immortal laws,
Impressed on Nature by the Great First Cause,
Say, Muse! how rose from elemental strife
Organic forms and kindled into life?

"The beginnings of worlds are pictured thus:

"Ere Time began, from flaming Chaos hurl'd,
Rose the bright spheres which form the circling world,
Earths from each sun with quick explosions burst,
And second planets issued from the first.
Then whilst the seat at their coeval birth
Surge over surge involved the shoreless earth,
Nursed by warm sunbeams in primeval caves,
Organic life began beneath the waves.

"After describing minutely the protoplasmic beginnings of life, he declares his belief in spontaneous generation:

"Hence without parent by spontaneous birth
Rise the first specks of animated earth.
From Nature's womb the plant or insect swims,
And buds or breathes with microscopic limbs.

"Pages of descriptive verse, interlarded profusely by scientific notes, explain the varying processes of development toward man, which he sums up in these words:

"Organic life beneath the shoreless waves
Was born and nursed in Ocean's pearly caves:
First forms minutes, unseen by spheric glass,
Move on the mud or pierce the watery mass.
These, as successive generations bloom,
New powers acquire and larger limbs assume;
Whence countless groups of vegetation spring,
And breathing realms of fin, and feet, and wing.

“The dawn of emotion and reason in man is sketched in this charming way :

“Next the long nerves unite their silver train,
And young sensation permeates the brain ;
Through each new sense the keen emotions dart,
Flush the young cheek and swell the throbbing heart.
From pain and pleasure quick volitions rise,
Lift the strong arm or point the inquiring eyes ;
With Reason's light bewildered man direct
And right and wrong with balance nice detect.
Last in thick swarms associations spring,
Thoughts join to thoughts, to motions motions cling ;
Whence in long trains of catenation flow
Imagined joy and voluntary woe.

“So, through the long processes of ages, Dr. Darwin concludes that—

“Imperious man, who rules the bestial crowd,
Of language, reason, and reflection proud,
With brow erect, who scorns this earthy sod,
And styles himself the image of his God,
Arose from rudiments of form and sense
An embryo point, or microscopic ens !

“The growth of language is thus sketched :

“From the dumb gestures first the exchange began
Of viewless thought in bird and beast and man.
Thus the first language when we frowned or smiled
Rose from the cradle, Imitation's child ;
Next, to each thought associate sound accords
And forms the dulcet symphony of words ;
The tongue, the lips articulate ; the throat
With soft vibration modulates the note,
Love, pity, war, the shout, the song, the prayer,
Form quick concussions of elastic air.
Hence the first accents bear in airy rings
The vocal symbols of ideal things.

“Dr. Darwin describes at considerable length the struggle for existence among men and the lower forms of life. He begins thus :

“Herb, shrub, and tree, with strong emotions rise
For light and air, and battle in the skies ;
Whose roots, diverging with opposing toil,
Contend below for moisture and for soil ;
Round the tall elm the flattering ivies bend,
And strangle as they clasp their struggling friend.
Dense shadowy leaves on stems aspiring borne,
With blight and mildew thin the realms of corn.

" His conclusions in regard to the creation of the world are at last optimistically summed up in these words :

" High in golden characters record
The immense munificence of Nature's Lord !
He gives and guides the sun's attractive force,
And steers the planets in their silver course.
With heat and light revives the golden day,
And breathes his spirit on organic clay.
With hand unseen directs the general cause
By firm, immutable, immortal laws.

" More widely known than Erasmus Darwin was his distinguished contemporary Goethe, whose advanced views on evolution were, however, very much the same. Goethe was not only a prophetic poet of evolution, but himself contributed a most important link in the scientific demonstration of the truth of that theory by his discovery of the intermaxillary bone of the human upper jaw, which attests the continuity of the organic development between animals and man.

" Although unaware at that time of Darwin's later discoveries in regard to the forces that worked toward variation in species, yet he held to the most advanced theories of his time, and in the dispute which broke out in 1830 in the French Academy between the two eminent naturalists Cuvier and Geoffroy de St.-Hilaire on the question of mutability of species, in which Geoffroy represented the theory of natural development and the monistic conception of Nature, Goethe, then in his eighty-first year, took the deepest interest, siding with Geoffroy. How intense that interest was is shown by an anecdote related by one of his intimate friends under date of August 2, 1830. He writes : ' The news of the outbreak of the revolution of July arrived in Weimar to-day, and has caused general excitement. In the course of the afternoon I went to Goethe. " Well ! " he exclaimed as I entered, " what do you think of this great event ? The volcano has burst forth, all is in flames, and there are no more negotiations behind closed doors." " A dreadful affair ! " I answered ; " but what else could be expected under the circumstances, and with such a ministry, except that it end in the expulsion of the present royal family ? " " We do not seem to understand each other, my dear friend," replied Goethe ; " I am not speaking of these people at all ; I am interested in something very different—I mean the dispute between Cuvier and Geoffroy de St.-Hilaire, which has broken out in the Academy, and which is of such great importance to science." '

" In his *Metamorphosis of Animals*, written in 1819, occurs the following passage after a description of the contrast between two different organic constructive forms which, opposed to each other, by their interaction determine the form of the organism :

" All members develop themselves according to eternal laws,
And the rarest form mysteriously preserves the primitive type.



THE OHIO STATE BUILDING.



THE RHODE ISLAND STATE BUILDING.

Form, therefore, determines the animal's way of life,
 And in turn the way of life powerfully acts upon all form.
 Thus the orderly growth of form is seen to hold
 Whilst yielding to change from externally acting causes.

“ ‘In the Metamorphosis of Plants, which appeared in 1790,’ says Haeckel, ‘Goethe embodied the mature product of his botanical studies, which engaged his serious attention during many years.’ In this poem he deduces the whole wealth of forms in the vegetable world from one single proto-plant, and makes all its different organs come into being through manifold transformation and process of development on the part of one single fundamental organ—the leaf. This poem is in point of fact the first attempt ever made to refer the endless multiplicity of individual vegetable forms to one common original type. Goethe sums up the lesson he wished to convey through this metamorphosis in plant life in these words :

“ Every plant unto thee proclaiming the laws everlasting ;
 Every floweret speaks louder and louder to thee ;
 But if thou here canst decipher the mystic words of the goddess,
 Everywhere will they be seen e’en tho’ the features are changed.
 Creeping insects may linger, the eager butterfly hasten,
 Plastic and forming, may man change e’en the figure decreed !

“ His poems in many places hint of his views on the theory of Nature’s law of development from the lower to the higher, but I have not time to quote freely. In his lines to the Proteus Delphis he says :

“ Through myriad forms of being wending,
 To be a man in time thou’lt rise.

“ Somewhat in the same trend of thought with Emerson’s metaphor of man mounting through spiral rings is this from Goethe’s *Boundaries of Humanity* :

“ Small is the ring
 Enclosing our life,
 And whole generations
 Link themselves firmly
 On to Existence’s
 Chain never ending.

“ And somewhat similar is this sentence : ‘The wish of love which raises one to the All, the present to the eternal, the fleeting to the everlasting—that to fulfill is her godlike office.’ And the manifest intention of the whole poem of Faust is to portray evolution in character—a spiritual unfolding and development through spiritual forces working in man’s nature.

“ It has been an error on the part of some of the admirers of that admirable soul, Ralph Waldo Emerson, to claim for his wonderful poetic and spiritual insight the discovery of the law of evolution anterior to the care-

fully worked out discoveries of the patient scientist, Charles Darwin. No one would more readily disclaim any such claim than Emerson himself had he known of it. The law of evolution was *not* the discovery of either Emerson or Darwin, as I have already shown. It was guessed at and partially known and understood many years before either of these grand souls were born. Darwin's chief discovery was *not* the law of evolution from lower forms of life and intelligence to higher, but the great part which the law of 'natural selection' plays in that evolution. But Emerson's highly receptive mind, always open and hospitable to the truth, was among the first to welcome and acknowledge a law which made harmonious the bond between the physical and spiritual, and he was among the first to proclaim the relation thus shown between the two. In Emerson's Wood Notes, contributed to the Dial in 1839-'40, we find the following :

" Sweet the genesis of things,
Of tendency through endless ages,
Of star dust and star pilgrimages,
Of rounded worlds of space and time,
Of the old flood's subsiding slime,
Of chemic matter, force, and form,
Of poles and powers, cold, wet, and warm ;
The rushing metamorphosis,
Dissolving all that fixture is,
Melts things that be to things that seem,
And solid Nature to a dream.

" And this :

" Onward and onward the eternal Pan,
Who layeth the world's incessant plan,
Halteth never in one shape,
But forever doth escape,
Like wave or flame, into new forms
Of germ and air, of plants and worms.

" And again :

" He is the essence that inquires,
He is the axis of the star,
He is the sparkle of the spar,
He is the heart of every creature,
He is the meaning of each feature,
And his mind is the sky,
Than all it holds more deep, more high.

" Then comes the acknowledgment of the universal law :

" For the world was built in order ;
And the atoms march in tune,
Rhyme the pipe, and Time the warder,
The sun obeys them and the moon.
Orb and atom forth they prance
When they hear from far the rune.

"Prefaced to his essay on Nature was the following formula of man's being :

"A subtle chain of countless rings
The next unto the farthest brings;
The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose;
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.

"An acknowledgment of the oneness of man's spiritual with his physical evolution is contained in this extract: 'The history of Nature from first to last is incessant advance from less to more, from rude to finer organizations, the globe of matter thus conspiring with the principle of undying hope in man.'

"That the evolution theory conveyed to his loving soul the most optimistic views of being as a whole we perceive from this: 'If one shall read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, and the corresponding impulse to the better in the human being, we shall dare affirm that there is nothing he will not overcome and convert until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and Gehenna. He will convert the furies into muses, and the hells into benefits.' I would refer you also to his poem on Wealth for a summary of evolutionary processes, too long here to quote, beginning :

"Who shall tell what did befall
Far away in time when once
Over the lifeless ball
Hung idle stars and suns?

"In the Ode to Bacchus he says that while drinking 'wine that music is' he hopes he

"Shall hear far Chaos talk with me,
Kings unborn shall walk with me,
And the poor grass shall plot and plan
What it will do when it is man.

"In various other of his poems and essays does Emerson voice his belief in evolution and the promise and potency of things, but the limit of this paper forbids further quotation now.

"Tennyson early accepted the current but vaguely defined theories regarding man's development, though he did not often embody them in his verse. Still, even previous to the publication of Darwin's first startling book on the subject, *The Origin of Species*, which appeared in 1859, traces may be found of his acceptance of the main ideas, as when in Locksley Hall, first published in 1842, he declares :

"Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

"And again, in *The Two Voices*, published at the same time, a hint of evolution is held in the words :

" Or if through lower lives I came,
Though all experience past became
Consolidate in mind and frame.

"And also in this :

" Forerun thy peers, thy time, and let
Thy feet millenniums hence be set
In midst of knowledge dreamed not yet.
Thou hast not gained a real height,
Nor art thou nearer to the light,
Because the scale is infinite. •

"A happier note of the same trend is struck in *In Memoriam*, published in 1850, still nine years previous to the great evolution agitation which set the scientific and religious world in a ferment. In this he writes :

" They say
The solid earth whereon we tread

In tracts of fluent heat began,
And grew to seeming random forms,
The seeming prey of cycle storms,
Till at the last arose the man,

" Who throve and branched from clime to clime,
The herald of a higher race,
And of himself, in higher place,
If so he type this work of time

" Within himself, from more to more ;
Or crowned with attributes of woe
Like glories, move their course and show
That life is not as idle ore,

" But iron dug from central gloom
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipped in baths of hissing tears,
And battered with the shocks of doom,

" To shape and use, arise, and fly
The reeling faun, the sensual feast,
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die.

"Those whose hearts and hopes had been uplifted by such thoughts as these written by the poet laureate in earlier years, felt inclined to shrink shiveringly as at a spirit of pessimism shown in his *Locksley Hall—Sixty Years After*, in such words as these :

" Is there evil but on earth ? Or pain in every peopled sphere ?
Well, be grateful for the sounding watchword ' evolution ' here.

“ Evolution, ever climbing after some ideal good—
And reversion, ever dragging evolution in the mud.

“ But even in this poem a higher chord is struck in the following :

“ Only that which made us, meant us to be mightier by and by,
Set the sphere of all the boundless heavens within the human eye.

“ Set the shadow of himself, the Boundless, through the human soul,
Boundless inward in the atom—boundless outward in the whole.

“ In 1851, when the woman author whom we know best under the name of George Eliot was assistant editor of the *Westminster Review* and an inmate of the home of Mr. Chapman, the editor-in-chief, she became acquainted with Herbert Spencer, and through him with George Henry Lewes. It was doubtless through these friendships and about this time that she became interested in those scientific investigations in regard to the laws of man's development and being, the philosophical speculations concerning which became afterward interwoven in all her writings. In 1852 she writes to a friend in a private letter : ‘ Is it not cheering to think of the youthfulness of this little planet, and the immensely greater youthfulness of our race upon it? To think that the higher moral tendencies of human nature are yet only in their germ!’ It was not until 1859 that Darwin's work on the *Genesis of Species* came out. But when George Eliot read it she called it ‘ an epoch-making book.’ In her prose writings is especially seen her strong belief in evolution and all that it promises to humanity, but I confine myself to extracts from her poems showing that faith. In *A Minor Prophet* occur these lines :

“ I, too, rest in faith
That man's perfection is the crowning flower
Toward which the urgent sap in life's great tree
Is pressing—seen in puny blossoms now,
But in the world's great morrows to expand
With broadest petal and with deepest glow.

“ A College Breakfast Party consists mainly of a discussion in regard to evolutionary theories. One of the characters therein discusses thus :

“ Admit at least
A possible better in the seeds of earth,
Acknowledge debt to that laborious life,
Which sifting evermore the mingled seeds,
Testing the Possible with patient skill,
And daring ill in presence of a good
For futures to inherit.

“ Do boards and dirty-handed millionaires
Govern the planetary system? Sway
The pressure of the universe—decide
That man henceforth shall retrogress to ape,

Emptied of every sympathetic thrill
The All has wrought up in him ?

“ How, I pray,
Are odors made if not by gradual change
Of sense or substance ? Is your beautiful
A seedless, rootless flower, or has it grown
With human growth, which means the rising sun
Of human struggle, order, knowledge ? Sense
Trained to a fuller record, more exact—
To truer guidance of each passionate force ?
Get me your roseate flesh without the blood ;
Get fine aromas without structure, wrought
From simpler being into manifold ;
Then, and then only, flaunt your beautiful
As what can live apart from thought, creed, states,
Which mean life's structure.

“ Say you object ;
How came you by that lofty dissidence,
If not through changes in the social man,
Widening his consciousness from here and now
To larger wholes beyond the reach of sense ;
Controlling to a fuller harmony
The thrill of passion and the rule of fact ;
And paling false ideals in the light
Of full-rayed sensibilities which blend
Truth and desire ? Taste, beauty, what are they
But the soul's choice toward perfect bias wrought
By finer balance of a fuller growth—
Sense brought to subtlest metamorphosis
Through love, thought, joy—the general human store
Which grows from all life's functions ? As the plant
Holds its corolla, purple, delicate,
Solely as outflash of that energy
Which moves transformingly in root and branch.

“ Her poem, *The Spanish Gipsy*, like *Daniel Deronda*, was written solely to show the influence of heredity in the evolution of character. Speaking of the poem, she says : ‘ I saw it might be taken as a symbol of the part which is played in the general human lot by hereditary conditions in the largest sense, and of the fact that what we call duty is entirely made up of such conditions.’ From this poem I take this comprehensive summary of the thought pervading the whole work :

“ What ! shall the trick of nostrils and of lips
Descend through generations, and the soul
That moves within our frame like God in worlds
Imprint no record, leave no documents
Of her great history ? Shall men bequeath
The fancies of their palate to their sons,
And shall the shudder of restraining awe,

The slow-wept tears of contrite memory,
 Faith's prayerful labor, and the food divine
 Of fasts ecstatic—shall these pass away
 Like wind upon the waters, tracklessly?

“Describing the wonderful genius of a musician in the Spanish Gipsy, she says he played with rarest skill—

“That Pablo half had caught
 From an old, blind, and wandering Catalan,
 The other half was rather heritage
 From treasure stored by generations past
 In winding chambers of receptive sense.

“I have not taken into consideration the manifold uses made by our younger poets of the law of evolution in their work; but have confined myself to those who, prior to its demonstrated truth through the painstaking efforts of scientists like Darwin, Wallace, and Huxley, had caught a foregleam of its possibilities and promise for man's temporal and spiritual future.”

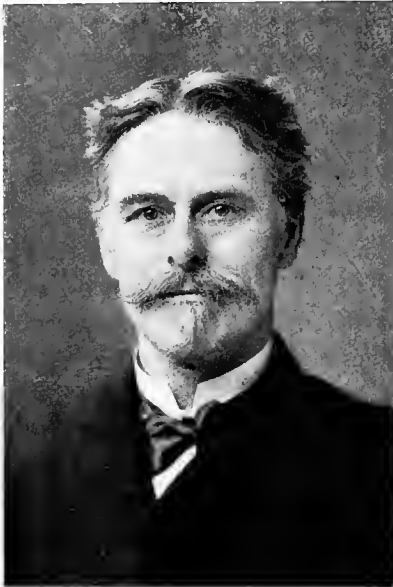
In his address on Emerson, the Prophet of Evolution, Mr. Potter said in part:

“To the patient, toiling men of science appropriately belong the chief honors of this occasion. They are the heroes in the world of study and thought who have made this occasion possible. Without them there would have been no foundation for any philosophy or doctrine of evolution, and this Congress of Evolutionists would never have assembled. They have unearthed the facts on which the whole doctrinal edifice of evolution rests.

“But it is not always those who have a genius for unearthing the facts of Nature who have also the mental qualities requisite for generalizing the facts, and thus revealing their practical application in the realms of thought and life. We have had one man in America who, though not a scientist, stood side by side with the scientists in the glad acceptance of whatever new discoveries in Nature's domain they could bring him, and who, though not the author of any elaborate system of philosophy, was possessed of a pre-eminent genius for seizing the salient points in both science and philosophy, and revealing their practical bearing on the highest problems of religion, ethics, and human civilization. So unique was this man's genius in this respect, and now so well recognized, that I hardly need to name him. Yet any roll-call of the heroes of evolution would be incomplete without the name of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Nay, he was proclaiming and applying the essential truths of the doctrine before science had demonstrated it. By gift of swift intellectual generalization he foresaw the issues of tendencies in scientific discovery and adopted them into his thought and speech, while the scientific men were still bending to the task, with many years of the work before them, for furnishing the proofs. And thus more than to any other

man on either continent the world is indebted to Ralph Waldo Emerson for preparing the way for the right acceptance of the evolution theory in its application to the high domain of religion and morals, when science brought demonstration of its truth.

"I like especially to couple together the names of Emerson and Darwin. And there was a parallelism in their characters and careers which invites the junction. The lives of these two remarkable men were nearly contemporaneous from the first decade of the century to the year 1882, when they



EDWARD D. COPE,
a contributor to the Congress.

died within nearly the same week. Five years later chosen biographers at the same time gave to the world the story of their lives, so that the reading world had the privilege of reviewing their great careers together. In their intellectual temperaments, as in their achievements, the two men were very different—Darwin, from his early manhood self-sacrificingly excluding other objects of pursuit for the scientific study of Nature; Emerson, a poet, philosopher, seer, devoting himself to problems of thought, to social ethics and letters. Yet in their moral temperaments and in the unfolding destiny of their years there was between them a striking similarity. They were both reformers—the one in science, the other in religion. They were both subjected to popular odium and abuse because of the fear in ecclesiastical circles that the views which they published

would undermine the ancient theological beliefs of Christendom. They both had the same high moral poise, serene and unmoved amid abuse and misrepresentation, and letting it pass without reply. They both attracted admiration by the gentleness of their manners, the transparent moral purity of their characters, and by their single-eyed devotion to truth for truth's sake and calm confidence that ultimately truth would prevail. And when they died they had for the most part conquered theological malice, outlived evil repute, won the moral homage of mankind, and went to their graves honored for the splendor of their achievements and beloved for their rare nobility of character. One might speak reservedly of these men as two in a group of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century. But I am strongly disposed to believe that the judgment of posterity will set these two men apart more decisively, and will affirm that Emerson and Darwin did more than any other two men of this century to shape the thought of the future.

"Of Emerson's relation to the doctrine of evolution, we may say, first and in general, that two fundamental postulates of the doctrine—the ulti-

mate unity of natural forces and the progressive ascent of organisms and life in Nature—are the two underlying principles conspicuously evident in his philosophy and in all forms of his literary work. So constantly do these two basic truths appear in his writings, either by specific statement or by implication, that any quotations to confirm this point are needless. Suffice it to refer to his exclamation in the essay on Fate: ‘Let us build altars to the blessed unity which holds Nature and souls in perfect solution and compels every atom to serve an universal end’; and to the following sentence in the essay on Culture: ‘If one shall read the future of the race hinted in the organic effort of Nature to mount and meliorate, and the corresponding impulse to the better in the human being, we shall dare affirm that there is nothing he will not overcome and convert, until at last culture shall absorb the chaos and Gehenna.’

“But of the specially distinguishing features of the evolution doctrine Emerson made more specific statements than this—made them years before any scientific man had authoritatively declared the doctrine on the ground of observation and experiment. And these statements were so amazingly like the subsequent conclusions of professional scientists that he may fairly be called the anticipator of this great scientific discovery. He certainly made positive declaration of the essential phases of the doctrine earlier than any other public teacher, whether scientist or philosopher, whose name has been prominently connected with it. Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859 and the *Descent of Man* in 1871. Wallace, at about the same time with Darwin, had been arriving independently at the same conclusions. Huxley, Mivart, Haeckel, and others were soon afterward in the field laboring to substantiate the theory. Spencer issued the *Prospectus* of his philosophical system in 1860. But many years previously Emerson had prefixed to his first publication, the little book entitled *Nature*, those poetical lines as a motto which repeated quotations has now made so familiar:

“A subtle chain of countless rings
The next unto the farthest brings;
The eye reads omens where it goes,
And speaks all languages the rose;
And, striving to be man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.

“*Nature* was first published in 1836. The first edition, however, did not have this motto, but instead a sentence from Plotinus. The edition of 1849, the date of my own, has the new motto. This was ten years before *The Origin of Species* appeared and twenty-two years before its sequel came—*The Descent of Man*. A similar idea found expression in the poem *Bacchus*, in his first volume of poems, printed in 1846.

“And the poor grass shall plot and plan
What it will do when it is man.

"The Vestiges of Creation, a book now known to have been the work of Robert Chambers, but which was published anonymously in 1844, had set forth a view of creative processes, under the name of the Development Theory, similar to that of evolution. It has been customary to refer Emerson's early statements of the doctrine of evolution to the influence of this work. A coloring of phraseology may have had there its source. But Mr. Cabot's Memoir of Emerson brings to light an earlier extract from one of his first course of lectures in Boston, which announced essentially the same doctrine. Of one of these lectures the subject was The Relation of Man to the Globe, and in it he said: 'The most surprising, I may say the most sublime, fact is that man is no upstart in the creation, but has been prophesied in Nature for a thousand ages before he appeared; that from times incalculably remote there has been a progressive preparation for him, an effort to produce him, the meaner creatures containing the elements of his structure and pointing at it from every side. His limbs are only a more exquisite organization—say, rather, the finish—of the rudimental forms that have been already sweeping the sea and creeping in the mud; the brother of his hand is even now cleaving the Arctic Sea in the fin of the whale, and innumerable ages since was pawing the marsh in the flipper of the saurian.' This was spoken on a public platform in December, 1833.

"Lamarck, in France, in the earlier part of the century, had given hints and suggestions of this progressive development theory of creation. But these suggestions, as the surmises of others before him in the same direction, were more speculative than scientific. They were fruitful germs, however, for coming investigators and thinkers. They lodged in Emerson's mind as they did in Darwin's, and they furnished, probably, the seed corn which, growing and fructifying in these very different intellects, produced in both, in their different ways, the distinct and matured conception of the gradual creation of the world and of all its forms of life through patient processes of evolution. What Darwin arrived at only by long and laborious research, minutely verifying his conclusions at every step by scientific observation and experiment, Emerson, having got his scientific hints and taken a broad survey of Nature in its great sweeping movements, appeared to reach by a keen and sympathetic insight. And this theory of the universe and its forces was henceforth one of the impregnable articles of his intellectual faith. Adopted at the outset of his distinguished and epoch-making career as a public teacher, and before he has published a single book, the doctrine underlies, penetrates, and interprets all his speech and writing.

"But let me call your attention to certain of the more striking utterances of this belief to be found in some of the earlier of Emerson's essays. In an address given at Waterville College, Maine, in the summer of 1841, he pronounced this passage: 'We can point nowhere to anything final; but tendency appears on all hands—planet, system, constellation, total Nature is growing like a field of maize in July; is becoming somewhat else; is in rapid

metamorphosis. The embryo does not more strive to be man than yonder burr of light we call nebula tends to be a ring, a comet, a globe, and parent of new 'stars.' This was said in 1841. In the essay on Nature, one of the second series of essays (first published in 1844), the same thought is enlarged and also further specialized in a paragraph on Efficient Nature, of which he said: 'It publishes itself in creatures, reaching from particles and spicula, through transformation on transformation, to the highest symmetries, arriving at consummate results without a shock or a leap. A little heat—that is, a little motion [here a striking anticipation of Prof. Tyndall's famed book *Heat a Mode of Motion* can but be noted]—is all that differences the bald, dazzling white and deadly cold poles of the earth from the prolific climates. All changes pass without violence by reason of the two cardinal conditions of boundless space and boundless time. Geology has initiated us into the secularity of Nature, and taught us to disuse our dame-school measures and exchange our Mosaic and Ptolemaic schemes for her large style. We knew nothing rightly for want of perspective. Now we learn what patient periods must round themselves before the rock is formed, then before the rock is broken, and the first lichen race has disintegrated the thinnest external plate into soil, and opened the door for the remote Flora, Fauna, Ceres, and Pomona to come in. How far off yet is the trilobite! how far the quadruped! how inconceivably remote is man! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to the oyster; farther yet to Plato and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come as surely as the first atom has two sides.'

"One more extract, taken from a later lecture, the noble one on The Sovereignty of Ethics, shows how readily and clearly Emerson perceived the ascent of the evolutionary process from the fierce struggles of Nature with survival of the strongest or most cunning to the domain of ethics and humane sentiment, where finally right and goodness prevail: 'It is in the stomach of plants that development begins, and ends in the circles of the universe. 'Tis a long scale from the gorilla to the gentleman—from the gorilla to Plato, Newton, Shakespeare—to the sanctities of religion, the refinements of legislation, the summits of science, art, and poetry. The beginnings are slow and infirm, but it is an always accelerated march. The geologic world is chronicled by the growing ripeness of the strata from lower to higher, as it becomes the abode of more highly organized plants and animals. The civil history of men might be traced by the successive meliorations as marked in higher moral generalizations; virtue meaning physical courage, then chastity and temperance, then justice and love. In the preadamite, Nature bred valor only; by and by she gets on to man and adds tenderness, and thus raises virtue piecemeal. When we trace from the beginning, ferocity has uses; only so are the conditions of the then world met, and these monsters are the scavengers, executioners, diggers, pioneers, and fertilizers, destroying what is more destructive than they, and making better life possi-

ble. We see the steady aim of benefit in view from the first. Melioration is the law. The evils we suffer will at last end themselves through the incessant opposition of Nature to everything hurtful. These [the ills and crimes of earth] make the gloomy warp of ages. Humanity sits at the dread loom and throws the shuttle and fills it with joyful rainbows until the sable ground is flowered all over with a woof of human industry and wisdom, virtuous examples, symbols of useful and generous arts, with beauty and pure love, courage, and the victories of the just and wise over malice and wrong.'

"This last quotation will remind us that it was Emerson's habit not only to trace by processes of evolution the transformation of fierce forces into humane sentiments, but also to clothe the naked truth of the scientist in the garb of poetry. Whether he was writing prose or verse, the poetic genius dominated him, and the dry facts of science blossomed under his pen into ideal forms of beauty. Many of his poems, such as *Wood Notes*, *The Song of Nature*, *Wealth*, *May Day*, like his prose, might furnish abundant illustrations of the scientific doctrine of evolution. He has transmuted the generalizations of science into poetry, and may be called by pre-eminence the poet of modern science.

"It hardly needs to be said in the presence of those who have acquaintances with Emerson's philosophy and intellectual temperament that the doctrine of evolution with him has no shadow of mere materialism about it. In his interpretation of the doctrine, since the thinking principle, or mind, appears in the human being as product of the long-creative process, so there is involved all through and back to the very beginning the mental or spiritual element. Nature and mind, to Emerson, are never separated. Nature is the efflux of spiritual power, the outward world a precipitation of thought, and the inward mental life of man is in vital organic relation and correspondence with Nature and all its innermost powers. These principles of his philosophy may not be found in books of science, yet they may be necessary inferences from scientific facts. They are inferences which he did not hesitate to draw and did not doubt. It was a cardinal point in his view of the universe that matter and mind are unified, and neither is to be sacrificed to the other. We may say, in truth, that his philosophy was grounded in Nature, and that all the sciences were drawn upon to furnish him facts and illustrations. But under his touch the facts of Nature grow and flower into spiritual laws and necessities; into worlds of intelligent consciousness and moral purpose, where it is seen that 'the ought, that duty, is one thing with science, with beauty, and with joy.' Prof. Tyndall has written this judgment of Emerson: 'In him we have a poet and a profoundly religious man, who is really and entirely undaunted by the discoveries of science—past, present, and prospective. In his case Poetry, with the joy of a bacchanal, takes her graver brother Science by the hand and cheers him with immortal laughter. By Emerson scientific conceptions are continually transmuted into the finer forms and warmer lines of an ideal world.' Thus does science itself,

in the person of one of its most distinguished representatives, greet with grateful homage its philosopher, poet, and prophet."

The morning session of the 28th was devoted to the subject of Psychology as related to Evolution, with addresses by Benjamin F. Underwood, of Illinois, on *The Relativity of Knowledge*; Dr. Herman Gasser, of Wisconsin, on *The Relations of Feelings*; Prof. Almon G. Merwin, of New York, on *Evolutionary Psychology as related to Education*; Dr. John E. Purdon, of Dublin, Ireland, on *Constructive Forms of Intuition*; and Harvey C. Alford, of South Dakota, on *Evolution Psychology in its Relation to Æsthetics*.

The afternoon session was given to the subject of Sociology, the Science of Society. The papers presented were *The Evolution of the Social Body*, by the Rev. A. N. Somers, of Indiana; *Evolution as applied to Disease in the Progress of Social Development*, by Dr. Bayard Holmes, of Illinois; *The Evolution of the Modern Family*, by Mrs. Florence Griswold Buckstaff, of Wisconsin; *The Beastliness of Modern Civilization—Evolution the only Remedy*, by Gail Hamilton (Mary Abby Dodge), of Massachusetts; and *Evolution and the Fair*, by John H. Copeland, of Texas. We quote here the greater part of Mrs. Buckstaff's paper:

"I do not purpose to enter into the controversy as to the primitive form of the human family. It is enough to observe that the birds and the animals most nearly related to man have an admirable family relation. 'The male gorilla spends the night crouching at the foot of a tree, against which he places his back, and thus protects the female and her young, who are in the nest above, from the nocturnal attacks of leopards.' It is possible that the family group was found among the earliest men, and that even monogamy was common, together with various forms of group marriage, in which a group of men belong to a group of women, or a group of women to one man, or a group of men to one woman. Various attempts have been made to define the exact stages of evolution through which the family passed, Lewis H. Morgan having suggested fifteen normal stages. But it is a bold thing to assume that the entire human family has passed through the same experiences, and to map out all the vicissitudes of a universal institution in prehistoric times. This much we can say with certainty: The primitive family was held together primarily by the love and care of offspring. With some exceptions, the physical power of the man was the ruling force, and the wife and children were his property, his slaves, to be beaten, wounded, sold, even killed and eaten. The family was the unit, the individual was nothing.

"The speculations about the primitive family are full of instruction; but in treating of the evolution of the modern family it will be well to confine ourselves to historic times and to European civilization, and to begin, leaving out of consideration the claim that a matriarchal family preceded it, with the patriarchal family of Greece and Rome. We are very familiar with this

family, whose distinguishing feature is the power of the father. His was absolute control over every member of his family, over his children after their marriage, and even before their existence began ; for the father determined whether the newborn infant should live or not, and he had the right to terminate the life thus granted at any time. Obedience was the cordial virtue of both wife and child. The husband's powers extended even beyond his lifetime, for he could designate a guardian, and even a second husband for his wife. Fidelity and chastity were, of course, the rule, when a husband was allowed to kill his wife for adultery ; but fidelity and chastity were not required of men. Women were treated with the greatest respect. Men gave way to them on the streets. The rules of decorum were so strict that a senator was expelled from the senate for having kissed his wife in the presence of his grown daughter. The aim of marriage was the bringing of children into the world, and the first divorce recorded in Rome was that of a man of rank, who 'sacrificed his love for his wife to the sanctity of his oath, because he had sworn in the formula of marriage that he took her to wife in order to have children.' A wife could avoid becoming subject to her husband only by remaining subject to her father or guardian. Ancient law considered a woman as subordinate to her blood relations. Modern law has considered her subordinate to her husband. The change began, says Maine, far back in ancient Rome. A time came under the empire when a woman was subordinate to no one. She had control of her own person and of her own property. Maine says that at the time of Gaius, 150 A. D., 'the jurisconsults had evidently assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of their code of equity.'

"The power of the father grew less also in relation to his children. In the late imperial period 'the unqualified right of domestic chastisement has become a right of bringing domestic offenses under the cognizance of the civil magistrate ; the privilege of dictating marriage has declined into a conditional veto ; the liberty of selling has been virtually abolished.' Thus a great change had been made in the legal idea of a family. Instead of a body of inferiors dependent on the will of the head, a family was more nearly an alliance of two contracting equals, whose children were also recognized as having individual rights of no mean extent. But the society which developed so much freedom was, alas ! by this time, for many reasons, so corrupt and licentious that dissolution came ; and the reaction under Christianity was to the no less pernicious doctrines of celibacy and the sinfulness of marriage.

"The barbarian Teutonic family which prevailed among the conquerors of the Roman Empire had probably been a patriarchal family of the same type as the early Roman. Wives and children were considered as property, and were bought and sold. But at the time of the earliest recorded laws which belong to the period from the fifth to the ninth centuries, woman had attained a position, not equal by any means to that of the Roman woman, but still a position of individuality, in which her right to a share of the family



THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE BUILDING.

property was clearly allowed. The German woman had her *Gerade*, which was a peculiar species of property, consisting of her clothing, jewels, bedding, certain domestic utensils, and in some cases of the sheep and fowls which she tended. This was absolutely within her control, and at her death it passed to her daughter. In the Ripuarian law the wife was entitled to one third the joint acquisitions, and in Westphalia, if she bore children, she was an equal partner in the family property, a right which has endured to this day. Yet the authority of the husband was paramount. A man who had been beaten by his wife had the additional mortification of seeing his neighbors gather and unroof his house, saying, 'Who could not protect himself from his wife is not worthy to have shelter from wind and storm.' Children were of age in some districts at ten years old. Among the West Goths the father was obliged to give part of their inheritance to his sons and daughters on their reaching the age of twenty years. The Anglo-Saxon woman was also in ownership the equal partner of her husband, and many documents exist in which a husband and wife devise their property jointly. The widow who had had children was entitled absolutely to half of the property, and had the control of the persons, though not of the property, of her children. Thus in Teutonic as well as in Roman civilization we see the gradual evolution of the independent individual and the decay of the power of husband and father. But a great change took place under the feudal system. The power of the feudal lord demanded subservience not only from the widows and children of his vassals, but from the women and children of his own family. In order to build up and preserve noble families, the conservation of estates in the hands of one person was necessary. The share of the widow was restricted in England to the dower of one third which prevailed in Normandy. The doctrine of the wife's utter incapacity came into being. English common law took shape, by which the identity of a wife was merged in that of her husband. She could not own property, nor accordingly make a will, nor be the guardian of her children; in short, she was placed under so many disabilities that she was practically in the same position as the wife in early Rome under the strictest patriarchal rule. These disabilities are still a part of the English common law, and are in force wherever the common law has not been expressly changed by statute. Down to the present century it was allowable for a husband to beat a wife 'with a stick no bigger than his thumb,' and her right even to independent thought was not acknowledged.

"The influence of the Christian Church in this reversal of the evolution of the family is as hard to determine as it must always be hard to state the effect of the action of an immensely large number of differing minds, such as were found among the Church authorities, upon an immensely differing number of conditions. There is no doubt that the teaching of the Church that woman is a sinful creature by whom man's fall from grace occurred, therefore an inferior intercourse with whom is degrading, had an exceedingly pernicious

cious effect upon private morality and upon the position of women. The canon law, however, preserved so much of the traditions of the Roman law that under it women were protected in certain property rights, and the right of making a will was especially a privilege obtained for them in some countries by the Church. Hearn remarks with justice that the influence of the body of dignitaries who constituted the Church organization is to be distinguished from the influence of the Christian spirit. The democratic tendencies inherent in the teachings of Jesus have tended toward the recognition of individual conscience, and it is in this indirect way, if at all, in my opinion, that Christianity has improved the condition of women.

"All the victories of free thought have been victories for the higher ideal of the family ; all the victories of altruism, by which the stronger individual learned to subdue his passions and prejudices in favor of the weaker, have tended to give women and children the opportunities of growth they needed ; all the victories of the idea of equality have been victories for that more rational conception of the family which gives to humanity the benefit of the best and freest development in mothers as well as in fathers of the race.

"Thackeray makes Henry Esmond say : 'There's not a writer of my time of any note, with the exception of poor Dick Steele, that does not speak of a woman as of a slave, and use her as such. Mr. Pope, Mr. Congreve, Mr. Addison, Mr. Gay, every one of them, sing in this key, and louder and fouler than all in abuse is Dr. Swift, who spoke of them, as he treated them, worst of all.' Dr. Johnson 'thought portrait painting an improper employment for a woman. Public practice of any art, and staring in men's faces, is very indelicate in a female.' Rousseau said : 'To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young and take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable—these are the duties of women at all times, and what they should be taught in their infancy.'

"Mary Wollstonecraft dissected these ideas of her time regarding women with a keen and vigorous blade. She considers women, to use her own words, 'in the grand light of human creatures, who, in common with men, are placed on this earth to unfold their faculties.' She anticipates Ibsen when she says, 'Women's first duty is to themselves as rational creatures.'

"The new idea of marriage as an alliance of contracting equals has had its most favorable conditions in America. An aristocratic class in any community tends to preserve archaic family forms. In Rome the strict form of marriage under *manus* was only found among patrician families, the plebeian marriage having had from the first the free form which afterward prevailed among all classes. The worst perversions of the family that exist in modern monogamic civilization are to be found among the nobility and royalty of the Old World. Morganatic marriages are still contracted by royal personages, and primogeniture holds its ground. But in the United States no ancient institutions blocked the evolution of the family. Jefferson continu-

ally insisted that children who have attained maturity possess the right to their own bodies and the fruits of their own exertions. It did not occur to Jefferson, apparently, that women who have attained maturity possess the right to their own bodies and the fruits of their own exertions ; but the principle of human rights, having been accepted, gradually received application. Not until 1839 did the legal movement begin by which wives were allowed in many States, though not yet in all States of our Union, to be the owners of property and to control their own property. Since that date many legislatures have modified the severe provisions of the common law, with the effect, says Schouler, of bringing woman 'nearer to the plane of manhood, and advancing her condition from obedient wife to something like coequal marriage partner.' It is of course true that there are still very many provisions in our laws which are based upon the old doctrine of the coverture of women, but in a paper of this kind it is sufficiently accurate to treat as the modern family that idea of the family toward which historical development has tended, and which is already found in actual life, if not fully in any system of laws. We find commonly among the educated classes, not only in the United States but in Europe, families in which the old patriarchal system has fully and finally vanished ; households based on equality and mutual consideration,

" Whose inmates every one
On tranquil faces bear the light
Of duties beautifully done ;
And humbly, though they have few peers,
Keep their own laws, which seem to be
The fair sum of six thousand years'
Traditions of civility.

"This idea of obedience as the chief virtue even of children is giving way. Wise parents substitute advice for commands at as early an age as the child's judgment can be trusted, and self-reliance and conscientiousness are more valued in children than meekness and submission. Even the legal idea of a child's rights has become a radically different idea from that of the patriarchal family. Neither father nor mother in the United States has any rights that can be allowed to militate seriously against the welfare of the child.

"Obedience is also looked upon by the law as a duty of wives. Even the code of California, which is one of the most liberal in its treatment of women, giving them control of their separate property and an equal interest in, though no control of, the joint or communal property, nevertheless, expressly says that the husband is the head of the family. But public sentiment is in advance of law on this point. Many clergymen, even in the most orthodox denominations, now omit the word 'obey' in the marriage service. In financial matters perhaps least progress has been made, for even in our best society are many women who are allowed no spending money except

for purposes expressly approved by their husbands. But the custom of giving 'allowances' not only to wives, but to children who have reached years of discretion, is gradually spreading, and will result, within its limits, in cultivating good judgment, economy, and contentment in the family. In the twentieth century we may see a law prescribing the minimum ratio of these allowances, or we may see a universal custom of marriage contracts.

"A second great advance has been made in family ethics. The first advance was the substitution of self-reliance for obedience as the cardinal virtue of women and children. The second is the requirement of chastity from men as well as from women. Chastity was probably not a virtue at all in primitive times. It was first required by jealous man of his wife, and later of his bride. Adultery in men has been condoned to such an extent that until within the last decade (if, indeed, it is not so still) an English wife could not obtain a divorce for adultery unless it was coupled with some other grave cause, while adultery was an all-sufficient cause in the woman. Thus monogamy was more apparent than real. In the United States husband and wife are on the same legal footing, but public sentiment is even yet more severe upon the erring wife. The next step in evolution is the requirement of chastity from unmarried men as strictly as from unmarried women. Mr. Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* presents the present injustice of society most vigorously. None of us can hold up our heads in speaking of the modern family while girls are lured and trapped and enslaved for immoral purposes even in Chicago, or in the pineries, or in the Chinese quarters of the Pacific cities. The development of the family is sadly slow so long as society and mothers permit the pure young woman to marry the impure young man, while casting into outer darkness his victim or the partner of his crime.

"The evolution of the family began in the animal world ; and as man emerges from the beast the forms of family life grow less brutal, more 'altruistic'. There have always been marriages of affection, but in the course of evolution they have become more usual, and in time they will supersede marriages of convenience, the survivals of marriage by purchase. Monogamy among civilized nations has replaced the lower forms of marriage, and Westermarck says : 'We may without hesitation assert that if mankind advance in the same direction as hitherto, if, especially, altruism increases, and the feeling of love becomes more refined, and more exclusively directed to one, the laws of monogamy can never be changed, but must be followed much more strictly than they are now.' The absolute power of the husband and father has given place to a more nearly equal status of all members. We are very far, as yet, from embodying in our laws and customs all the corollaries from the principles of equality and individuality which have developed through 'six thousand years' traditions of civility.' But as life in the sightless sea shape was first dimly aware of moving waters and of shifting light, and as life through countless forms has gradually gained 'the vision of the glory of the world,' so the human conscience, responding at first only to motives of self-

preservation and self-gratification, is coming to respond to the delicate promptings of justice and mercy and love. The modern family, in its highest aspects, is an association of helpful, sympathetic friends. Its permanence is assured by the depth of its mutual tenderness. The further evolution can only be in the direction of past growth, away from injustice and tyranny on the one side, and meek or cunning submission on the other, toward independence on all sides, and on all sides sympathy and succor."

The evening session was assigned discussions of Economics as related to Evolution. The papers presented included one on *The Evolutionary Basis of Social Economics*, by Prof. George Gunton, of New York ; one on *The Relation of Evolution to Political Economy*, by Charles S. Ashley, of Ohio ; one on *The Future Civilization*, by James A. Skilton, of New York ; and one on *The Economic Theory of Evolution in Ethics*, by Alfred W. Smith, of Connecticut. There was also a symposium of brief papers on these two questions: 1. Does the doctrine of evolution, in its sociological aspects, in your opinion, offer wise suggestion for the solution of the grave social and economic problems of our time? 2. What, in your judgment, in accordance with such suggestion, should be the next step taken, in our own country, looking toward the solution of these problems? The participants in the symposium were : Prof. John Fiske, of Massachusetts ; Prof. William Graham, of Belfast, Ireland ; Dr. Edmund Montgomery, of Texas ; Rev. Orello Cone, D. D., of Ohio ; R. W. Shufeldt, of Washington, D. C. ; Judge A. N. Waterman, of Chicago ; Rev. Myron Adams, of New York ; Dr. Lester F. Ward, of Washington, D. C. ; Starr Hoyt Nichols, of New York ; F. M. Holland, of Massachusetts ; Benjamin B. Kingsbury, of Ohio ; T. B. Wakeman, of New York ; Robert Mathews, of New York ; Dr. L. R. Klemm, of Washington, D. C. ; Alfred Russell Wallace, of England ; and Bayard Holmes, of Illinois. We give most of Mr. Skilton's paper :

"Plain, simple, direct, and brief as is Mr. Spencer's paper [printed in full on page 414 *ante*], evolutionists will at once realize that it is sufficiently comprehensive to set forth the central and controlling principle of the gospel of evolution, and that, like an earlier declaration, it contains and fulfills all the law and the prophets on the subject of the evolution and the salvation of mankind and society. As such it needs no addition, comment, commendation, or explanation. It creates, however, an opportunity if not a necessity of explanation and justification of this Congress of Evolutionists and its motive, called at so late a day, and after the more strictly scientific and philosophical students of and believers in evolution had allowed the opportunity to pass in disuse, if not in neglect ; and also an opportunity of explaining and fitting to it the American, if not the world-wide, situation to which it here and now applies. It might be truly urged that in the papers presented to the Parliament and Congresses of Religion by the representatives of all the religions and races in attendance, no name of thinker and philosopher has been mentioned more frequently than that of Mr. Spencer,

and no great word more frequently than the word evolution, and it might be added that evolutionists should be therewith content.

"While this may be a source of gratification and encouragement to evolutionists, it furnishes no ground of excuse for their absence or silence on this greatest occasion of this age, and in some respects of any age, especially if it be true, as many of them believe, and as now seems assured by the extraordinary scenes and doings of these current days of which we are witnesses, that all the coming ages are, in a reasonable sense, to belong to them and be dominated by their philosophy. However it may be in other departments of evolutionary thought, it is to be remembered that in the field of socio-

logical, ethical, and religious evolution its work can hardly be said to have properly begun. This, then, is peculiarly the time, not for putting off, but for putting on the harness or the armor and planning for new work or new battles, as the circumstances may require.

"As for Mr. Spencer himself, his appreciation of the importance of this occasion is shown, first, in the careful consideration and long pondering of his topic and in his extended correspondence relating thereto, but as certainly in the careful attention he has given to little details, extending even to the handwriting of the paper itself.

"Like the earlier Gospel, this gospel finds its opportunity for promulgation in the era of peace between two sociological hurricanes, or rather in the vortex of a social cyclone that includes the whole of what is known as Western civilization, that brief and precious moment occupied by wise and experienced mariners in getting the ship into



JAMES A. SKILTON,
a speaker at the Congress.

condition to meet the storm that is soon to come from an opposite direction. For ages past—first in Asia, later in Europe—all organized societies and states have been maintained and permitted to survive only because and when iron-handed law has been strong enough to maintain existing institutions and to press the freer and less controllable spirits westward in search of freedom in the wilderness of new lands, countries, and continents. But just now this westward march of empire and freedom during the ages comes to an abrupt end. The Cherokee strip marks the spot where, after ages of continuous advance, this movement, during the current month, has dashed itself in pieces. Having no farther westward or wilderness outlet, the free and heretofore uncontrollable spirits of our time and future time must seemingly turn back upon and possibly

rend the civilization these spirits have created. Not simply in distant parts of our country, but lying and otherwise grouping themselves on the Lake Front in sight from the windows of this building, and at times disputing with its priests on the steps of this temple of art and religion, are to be seen those who represent such a class, which, let us not fail to remember, has not yet exhausted itself in what it has done in the streets of this great city. However it may seem to others, to intelligent evolutionists the slave problem of thirty years ago will seem mere childish amusement compared with this problem.

“Following mechanical and other laws, the subsequent movement should be reactionary and eastward, but must be entirely different in method, motive, and, let us hope, in many of its results. Singularly and unexpectedly, but not accidentally—for with evolutionists, more completely than with others, is the belief that there is a power ‘that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will’—at the same moment the Columbian Exposition, with its Parliament and Congresses of Religion, is being held and conducted in such fashion that we suddenly discover that we are in the midst of a great religious revolution, we have again presented, by the leading thinker and philosopher of the age, in a new form, yet with extreme simplicity that synthetically embodies the wisdom, knowledge, and philosophy of the ages, the complete solution of the problem of mankind and society and of our especial, immediate, American form of that problem.

“It has been said that when a thinker is let loose upon the world then all things are at risk. It might be added that when the thinker is accepted as the teacher, then all things are made safe and taken out of risk. Never in the history of the world had thinker and teacher better or more timely opportunity, or the world greater need for him than now. The Columbian Exposition of 1893 celebrates both the beginning and the end of the Columbian epoch. It also, but not intentionally, celebrates the end of the epoch of characteristic modern Western civilization and the beginning of a new epoch, in which the race is again to be tested as to its capacity to advance toward those higher possibilities from which it has always heretofore recoiled after more or less enduring effort. Whether in search of gold or wealth of other kinds, or of freedom, the movement from Asia into Europe and from Europe to America, has had in it a certain egoistic taint, frequently of the murderous, always of the predatory type, like a blood disease penetrating its entire system, none the less that in our time the robbery has consisted in first depriving the original owners, the Indians, of their land, and then permanently robbing the land of its fertility and capacity for supporting population, thereby literally cutting the ground from under its own feet and uncovering the abyss beneath. Out of this condition rises the Nemesis which is henceforth to confront us, the direct product and consequence of the egoistic crimes and vices with which modern civilization is everywhere tainted. Long since we were warned of what was to come, especially in the celebrated letter of Macaulay to Randall, but we have gone serenely or stu-

pidly on, paying no heed as the day of our trial and judgment approached. There are laws of physics as well as of biology that govern this world, and behind them a Power that if they are disobeyed will not stop to ask the reason why, but proceed to judgment and execution. This is the Power with which we have soon to reckon.

“Well within the time and knowledge of many of us has this great and typical American city been founded, grown, and reached the beginning of the end in this celebration of its characteristic epoch, whose termination is even now written all over its walls and pavements, showing that the characteristic Chicago is to pass away as surely as are the structures that illustrate its methods, its energy, and its power in Jackson Park. It is always when glorification is at its height that the words *Mene Tekel* appear upon the wall. In the Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, London, in the year 1851, were exhibited American machines the object of which was to make Chicago wheat, then unmarketable, acceptable on the sample tables of Mark Lane. It was one of my duties to have charge of those machines, and it has been my fortune to live long enough to witness the growth of this great city and the development of its trade of exporting wheat and other agricultural products, and also to witness the beginning of the end of the characteristic system of which it is the product, in the wild and eager occupation of what is substantially the last of the public domain. I saw and studied with interest the Chicago of 1855 and 1857, and, seeing that of 1893, I can testify that it has gone an appreciable distance on that change of grade and far enough to reach the beginning of its ‘steep place.’ Men of the next generation, business men, and even railroad men who have been made millionaires thereby, will come to know that the impoverishment of soils by the exportation of wheat and other crops was little less than a crime, because, as a food fit to supply brain substance to the evolved man of the coming civilization, wheat and the other transportable products, in proportion to their transportability, excel all others and have no substitutes; and to know that the permanent separation of these elements from the soil together with the commercial system of which it is a part, is a supreme and controlling violation of the cosmic law of progress, and threatens the life of the State and its civilization, as well as the survival of coming generations.

“It may well be, then, that the Congress of Evolutionists will justify itself if it merely raises the question, Who is or who is to be the Columbus of the new epoch, and show men the way of obedience to the whole cosmic law, whereby alone our race and its civilization can be saved? To evolutionists there is but one name to mention in answer, and that name requires no mention, for there is but one candidate, he who has discovered the unity of the universe and taught us how to make that discovery plain to others. Other men, some of them high in the councils of evolutionary science and sociology, have shown their lack of faith in the cosmic process and their distrust of cosmopoietic energy. Mr. Spencer shows his faith and his courage

by founding his system thereon, and declaring that that process and that energy may be so controlled and directed by intelligent human agency, one of their products, as to assure the upward progress of the race, and with it that of all the associated life and activities of the entire world. The principle of such control and direction to which he calls our attention, ignoring or notwithstanding the seeming paradox, is the modification of dominant egoistic action by an intelligent altruistic action. His message is: A too eager egoism destroys; an intelligent altruism saves. This message comes to us at the moment when, the supply of new lands having been exhausted, we are driven back upon the old but new and unexplored continent of cosmic supply to be found in the lands already occupied for ages by the intelligent management and improvement of what we have heretofore recklessly sought to exhaust and destroy, according to the cosmic plan established from the beginning of things. Hereafter, if we are to find the solution of our problem, we must completely change the method of treating the whole of Nature, but particularly land, so as to conform to evolutionary cosmic law and its processes, recognizing that the further evolution and survival of man and society are indissolubly bound up therewith.

"A generation long since passed away demanded a sign, and it was refused. The present generation demands some panacea, some patent machine or institution of one kind or another, whereby mankind may be at once saved and rescued from the ills and miseries of life. They can not be had. Evolution offers nothing of this kind. Persistent obedience to the cosmic law, and that not for a day or a generation, but for ages, is the only but sufficient remedy that evolution holds out to us.

"According to our accepted doctrines, early society grew out of status, later society out of contract. Contract society having now, according to the evidences cited, reached the end of its tether, must either find a stronger soil in which to grow or must inevitably retrograde. It is useless, if not criminal, longer to conceal the fact from ourselves and from the mass of mankind that, like the society of family or status before it, characteristic contract society has not simply failed, but in many parts utterly broken down, and now carries destruction in its bosom. That vast aggregate of evils over which reformers, patriots, and statesmen mourn and wear themselves out in Sisyphean labors, is due simply to the defects of contract society in its present form, and these defects are themselves due to the defects of the intellectual and moral natures of men, and these in turn to the defects of the teachers of men, primarily and most of all to those of the preachers of the religions of the world. For, as was never in the history of the world more evident than now, men can not be reconciled and brought into harmonious life with their fellow-men and with Nature until they are reconciled and brought into accord with the Divine Power that has made both men and Nature. And here we are brought face to face with what, employing modern terms, I may call cosmic status, as fitly characterizing the new society, at the head of which we

must place the Divine Fatherhood, with its code of beneficent cosmic law. Cosmic status must of course accept Nature fully, freely, and frankly, and, thus accepting, it will be found not far indeed from the very kingdom of heaven. And whatever society it may be that does not accept Nature, it can at best be only at an immaterial remove from the kingdom of darkness. For this is indeed the great world- and mankind-wrecking infidelity and the all crimes and villainies, that man can distrust and refuse to follow and obey sum of Nature and Nature's God.

"Here, too, candor is the only wisdom. Between contract society and the society of cosmic status a deep and wide gulf seems to be fixed which no bridge has ever spanned; nor can it be said that any living engineer will ever build that bridge and see men cross over by it. But it can be honestly said that whoever does build it must use the material and the principles provided to his hand by the philosophy of evolution.

"We need not mourn, however, as do those without hope. If it be the fault of religion and the teachers of religion that the world is still in so backward a condition, what may we not hope from the new epoch opened by the Parliament of Religions just closed, which, for the first time in the history of the world, has brought together, and at times almost united, the religious teachers of all races and all faiths on the very spot of ground occupied by this building—a temple of God, man, and Nature that it is to be hoped will hereafter be recognized as having played a part of greater usefulness than any other the world has ever seen.

"Probably the controlling defect of contract society is to be found in the excessive exercise of freedom regardless of the question whether the transaction concerning which the contract is made is in accord with cosmic law. This it is that gives to the strong and egoistic man his opportunity to overthrow the weaker and altruistic man, and thereby in the very article of success to bring both himself and his victim to injury or ruin by reason of unrighteousness and want of conformity to cosmic principle.

"As far back as the earliest promise and potency of life there must have been the promise and potency of a system of conduct of life. In other words, everywhere a moral law has existed in companionship with physical law—and that a dominant companionship according to its nature. Supreme-ly such is its relation to physical and all chemical and biological law as found active in land. If you rob land, you also by the same act rob the man whose function it is to work the land, through the effect of diminished return for labor and diminished opportunity for his own intellectual and moral development and that of his family. Under contract law you may bring action for waste, but not where waste is produced by public policy, by a system of commerce, or by that ingenious species of combined jugglery and thimblery now euphemistically known as 'the laws of trade.' In such cases the law of cosmic status would step in and forbid the transaction, defining the limits of freedom of contract. Perhaps some one whispers the word 'paternalism.'

But the situation with which I am at the moment dealing is an artificial environment that leaves the victim powerless to say nay, to alter the environment, or to control the contract except by a choice of evils. When, however, the system is such as to enrich the land from year to year, then the land worker may hope, first, for independence and control of his contract, and then for growth, development, and progress, for himself and for his family and also for the state.

"The line of cause and effect is too long to trace, but the city dweller suffers or benefits with the land worker, for, as the land grows poor, the farmer or his children seek the city, adding to those who wallow in its mire; and as the land grows richer the city dweller finds his way to the farm with his family, spreading abroad among his new neighbors the refinements acquired in the city, without undue competition. Improving land makes improving men, compels increased intelligence, and is the only way of progress. And here we have the solution of no end of city and country problems.

"To some Mr. Spencer's paper may seem colorless in itself, to others as being merely the golden rule extended over several pages, and that, they may say, we have had some hundreds of years with but little or no result. To the attention of such it is necessary to bring the accompanying implications. Mr. Spencer has written a system of philosophy contained in many volumes. He could not repeat it here, but we should imply it; and in so doing, we shall find, if I am not mistaken, further correspondencies with certain notable differences. The Sermon on the Mount begins with a few comprehensive beatitudes. The philosophy, in its development of industrial as compared with

militant society, contains or directly implies beatitudes enough to fill a volume. In the one the fulfillment of the law and the prophets is proposed; in the other, that of the entire range of cosmic law as well. In the one is embodied a brief but all-embracing prayer for the coming of the kingdom of the Father and the provision of the daily bread; in the other is embodied the work and sacrifices of more than forty years to bring in the same kingdom and other similar benefits, although Mr. Spencer calls it cosmic law, or cosmic process, etc. Passing over many other similar correspondencies, it may be noted that the Sermon on the Mount solves the problem of food and clothes, sometimes known as the Malthusian theory of population, seventeen hundred years, more or less, before Mr. Malthus was born, and in a single verse, by the suggestion that if men would seek and obey the king-



THOMAS H. HUXLEY,
a contributor to the Congress.

dom of God and its righteousness they would find these necessities provided, since it was originally understood that they would be needed. Mr. Spencer says : Obey the cosmic law, and the problem will solve itself. And it should be noted here that the consideration of this problem seems to have engaged both Spencer and Darwin at the beginning of their careers, if it has not practically controlled those careers. In the earlier Gospel much is said of the co-operating sonship of man to God the Father. In the later it is made clear, in the brief paper here offered, that only by the altruistic co-operation of man can the cosmic process be continued and brought to perfection. Whether the earlier of these solutions of the human problem was supernatural or intuitional in its origin or came in some other way I do not care to consider ; but as to the later solution it should be noted that it is the result of the employment of the scientific method, and can therefore be made use of in ways to satisfy, convince, and guide all men whose minds are of normal type. The earlier proposed gospel solution of the problem of man and society has had a prodigious effect upon both, although it had apparently fallen short of expectation. Being so similar in purposes, why can not the two systems be combined ? That is the crucial question fit for this time and place.

“ Perhaps the most important correspondence between the two systems remains for mention, in a common difficulty of understanding and acceptance, one which is common, in fact, to all religions—the intellectual difficulty. The moment the race began to abandon the god of stone or wood this difficulty began, and it still continues to bar its way. The Greek reached his solution with characteristic directness by setting up an altar to the Unknown God. When Paul saw such an altar at Athens he pointed out the imperfect nature of the solution in words of evolutionary meaning and force, and urged the acceptance of the metagnostic or metanoetic God, following strictly the language and principles of his Master.

“ The agnostic idea is negative, and no mere negation can serve as a foundation for an enduring religion, or furnish the salt that can save future society. That foundation must consist of something that has in it the virile force of a world-embracing affirmation. For this I wait in listening attitude, using meantime the best makeshift I can muster.

“ Employing status and contract society as patterns, largely by contrast and reversal, we may discern something of the character of the future civilization based on cosmic status. Institutions will become organs, the product and subject of growth. Constitutional and other law will be modified accordingly. Education will again aim to produce seers and prophets, and prophets will have high honor in their own country. Wise men will be the statesmen, and the state, not being acephalic, will be governed, not by its feet, but by its head. Commerce will cease to be predatory. The Church and the state will again become one, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men being a single, undivided fact constituting the new status. The ‘isms’ will disappear. Justice will rule in accordance with divine and cosmic

law. Health, morals, character, peace, temperance, true charity, religion, and the true woman will prevail. Animal and vegetable life will be brought fully within the codes of justice, together with all men. The tropics will give to other zones the results of their productive power in exchange for civilization. Men, nations, trade, and civilization will face north and south instead of east and west, and march as they face. Destructive competition will disappear and mutual benefit reappear. Nations will no longer hunger for each other's territory, and individual men will no longer gaze with selfish eye upon the neighbor's field, cattle, and possessions. And, finally, the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe shall rule his universe, and man shall occupy rightful place as his faithful prime minister and helper."

The session of the 29th was devoted to the general subject of Philosophy as affected by Evolution. The most notable paper was that contributed by Prof. Ernst Haeckel, of Jena, Germany, on *The Monistic Philosophy as the Bond between Religion and Science*. This paper was translated and condensed by John Fretwell, who read it to the Congress. We give here his version :

"The monistic philosophy belongs to a group which has been called mechanistic or pantheistic. Great as was the difference between the systems of Empedocles and Lucretius, Spinoza, Giordano Bruno, Lamarck and David Strauss, they agree in their fundamental idea of the cosmic unity of force and matter, or we may also say of God and the universe. The greatest of German thinkers and poets, Goethe, has given the same idea expression in his *Faust* and his wonderful poem *Gott und Welt*. Let us briefly trace the historic evolution of man's knowledge of Nature from the very earliest time. First we have the purely animal stage of the prehistoric man, who lived in the Tertiary age and was mentally very little in advance of his immediate progenitor, the anthropoid ape. Of the next stage, the lowest type of savages now in existence may possibly give us some idea. Then, step by step, they ascend through the barbarous and half-civilized races, to the civilized nations of to-day. Only two out of the twelve great ethnic divisions of modern humanity—the Mediterranean and the Mongolian—have made what we call national history. This history began only six thousand years ago—a very short time compared with the millions of years which the organized life of the globe required to reach its present stage of development. Among the earliest members of the human race there is no trace of causality or reasoning which may not also be found among the higher mammals and insects. In dogs and horses we see hereditary associations of ideas developed by their intercourse with man. Even training has become instinct with them, an irrefutable answer to those who, like Weissman and Galton, deny the hereditary transmission of acquired attributes. In the more highly developed vertebrates, the birds and mammals, we see the first traces of friendship, fidelity, love of their neighbors, and even conscience, consciousness, and the sense of duty, and they show to their masters the same obedience, the same desire for

protection, that savages show to their gods. But neither in savage nor in animal do we find that higher stage of consciousness which strives to understand the world about them and forms the beginning of all philosophy. In the early stages of primitive religion or philosophy man is very far removed from the monistic conception. He is always inclined to regard personal beings, gods like unto men, as the active factors in the incomprehensible phenomena of the world about him. As his knowledge increases, his indefinite consciousness of a personal god is developed into that of the great architect of the universe.

"The last of the great natural philosophers who constructed their theory of the cosmos on this hypothesis, though it was proved to be false more than two thousand years ago, was the great Swiss-American Louis Agassiz, who died in 1873. His remarkable *Essay on Classification*, published in 1857, proved to our satisfaction, if not to his own, all the absurdity of the anthropomorphic theory. All these ancient ideas and the philosophic systems founded on them (like those of Plato and the Church fathers) are antimonistic. Most of them are dualistic, since they regard God and the universe, force and matter, soul and body, as two perfectly separate substances. The three purest forms of monotheism—ascribed to Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed—are dualistic, and in some corruptions of these, as in the heathen religions, we find an outspoken pluralism to the good God (Osiris, Ormuzd, Vishnu), an evil one is opposed (Typhon, Ahriman, Siva).

"The fundamental thought in all these dualistic or pluralist religions is anthropomorphic. It is generally connected with the anthropocentric idea, making man the center of this world and the chief end of creation, and the geocentric, making this world, the abode of man, the center of the whole universe. The geocentric idea of the Hebrew Scriptures received its deathblow from Copernicus, in 1543, as our new Copernicus, Darwin, killed the anthropocentric idea in 1859. Every new stage of progress in human consciousness moves us farther from traditional dualism, and nearer to the monistic philosophy. More and more our reason is compelled to acknowledge that God is not separate from the universe, but that he is the moving soul of the cosmos. All the wonderful phenomena of organic and inorganic nature are only varying combinations of one and the same original matter, varying products of one and the same original force, and even the human soul is but a small part of the all-embracing cosmic soul, as the human body is but an individual part of the great organic world of matter.

"Robert Mayer and Helmholtz demonstrated the persistence of energy; Lavoisier demonstrated the persistence of matter; and we monists bring these two laws, physical and chemical, under one philosophic conception, the persistence of substance. An essential element in our purely monistic philosophy, the existence of 'ensouled atoms,' was taught by Empedocles two thousand years ago. The atomic theory of modern chemistry was first taught by Democritus; and we can not understand the alterations of organic or in-

organic nature if we regard these atoms as dead matter. They must be living beings, endowed with the power of attraction and repulsion.

“But if, on the one hand, we are obliged to regard all phenomena, without exception, as the product of the mechanics of atoms, we must, on the other, agree that we are unable to form a satisfactory idea of what those atoms are and in what relation they stand to the cosmic ether that fills all space. The chemists have long ago succeeded in reducing all matter to about seventy elements, and have made it appear probable that all these are but varying combinations of one original element. But what that original element is, we can not with certainty say. We believe that no space is altogether vacant, but that the atoms of ponderable matter are everywhere separated by the homogeneous cosmic ether, whose vibrations cause all the phenomena of light, heat, magnetism, and electricity.

“In 1888 Heinrich Hertz explained to us the nature of electric energy. His beautiful experiments confirmed the idea of the Englishman Faraday, that light and heat, electricity and magnetism, are all closely related functions of a single group of forces, and depend upon transversal vibrations of ether. The existence of this ether is no longer a mere hypothesis; it can be proved by electric and optical experiments. We have measured the length of electric waves and of light waves, and some investigators even assert that they can weigh the ether which has hitherto been declared to be without weight. This progress in our knowledge of ether is an enormous gain for the monistic philosophy, and even a reasonable form of religion can utilize the theory as an article of faith, regarding the moving cosmic ether as the creative divinity of the inert matter.

“Now other questions arise, In what relation does this ether stand to the inert matter, that we have chemically analyzed and regard as made up of atoms? Hitherto our chemists have discovered about seventy indecomposable elements. But after Mendelejeff and Lothar Meyer had discovered, in 1869, periodic law of these elements, Gustavus Wendt attempted to show that they were all combinations or stages of evolution of about seven fundamental elements, and these seven again only evolutionary products of one single element, to which the Englishman Crookes, in his *Genesis of the Elements*, had already given the name of protyle. Perhaps we may soon see the proof of this, and alchemists may then be able to produce gold or silver. Now comes the question, In what relation does this protyle stand to the cosmic ether? All sorts of hypotheses have been suggested in answer to this fundamental question. We can not prove them any more than we can prove Schlesinger's *Theory of the Function of Cosmic Space*. For a long time to come, if not forever, we must be content to acknowledge our ignorance on this matter. But it is something quite different if we turn our attention to the great progress which has been made in the last three decades in our certain knowledge of the evolution of our world.

“A hundred years ago Goethe published his first prophetic ideas of the

Theory of Evolution. At the beginning of our century Lamarck gave it scientific form in his doctrine of inheritance and adaptation. But he left one missing link to complete the chain of reasoning, and that was supplied by Charles Darwin in 1859, in his Theory of Selection. In 1830 Darwin's countryman, Lyell, had proved that the whole inorganic body of the world has gone through a course of evolution bound by eternal, unchangeable law. Darwin has proved the same of all organic life. We know now that the uncountable forms of plants and animals which in millions of years have lived on our planet are all branches of one genealogical tree; we know that the human race itself is but the youngest, the highest, and the most perfect twig on the branch of the vertebrate animals. A long chain of natural evolutionary processes, without a single missing link, leads the thoughtful mind through eons from chaos to the cosmic order of to-day. First of all there is nothing in all cosmic space but the vibrating elastic ether. Certain points of condensation form the first atoms of matter. These combine, forming our seventy chemical elements. According to the nebular hypothesis of Kant and Laplace, these form nebulae out of which the rotating worlds of the stellar space separate themselves. One of these is our sun. Its centrifugal activity hurls into space the planets of which our little globe is one. After its glowing sphere has partially cooled, the first drop of fluid water is condensed upon its hardened crust; and now we have the first condition of organic life. Atoms of carbon begin their creative work, uniting themselves with other elements to form combinations of expansible plasma. A bit of this plasma swells beyond the power of cohesion. It breaks, and with this first *moneron* begins organic life and its peculiar function, heredity. In the homogeneous *moneron*, a firm nucleus separates itself from the softer outer mass of plasma, and we have the first organic cell. Such protists or unicellular organisms have been for a long time the only inhabitants of our planet. Gradually they formed new combinations, from which arose the lowest histones, multicellular plants and animals.

"Led by the sure hand of the great empirical archives of creation—palæontology, comparative anatomy, and ontogeny—we now follow the genealogy of our race from the oldest *Metazoa*, the simplest multicellular animals, step by step to man himself. Among the roots of the long pedigree of the *Metazoa* are the gastreaids and sponges. Then come the lowest worms, and from the helminths or lower worms are developed four main branchiæ—the mollusks, radiates, articulates, and vertebrates. Only the last agree in all essential features with man. First come the lower aquatic vertebrates; then, in the Carboniferous age, the lung-breathing amphibia. In the Permian period come the first amniotes, the oldest reptiles, and from them, in the Triassic age, spring two branches, birds on the one side and mammals on the other. Comparative anatomy shows us that of all the mammals man is more closely related to the ape than to any other. The anatomic differences between man and the anthropoids—gorilla, chimpanzee,



THE SOUTH DAKOTA STATE BUILDING.



THE UTAH BUILDING.

orang-outang—are smaller than between them and the lower apes. The philogenetic value of this statement, proved by Huxley, is self-evident.

“The question of questions, the position of man in the scale of being, is now scientifically answered: ‘Man is descended from a race of apelike mammals.’ Spite of Agassiz, Hamann, and Virchow, this answer has penetrated and fructified all the modern literature of biology, zoölogy, botany, morphology, physiology, anthropology, and even psychology, the science of the human soul. If our human body has thus been, step by step, developed through a long chain of descent from the anthropoid apes, it is precisely the same with the human soul as a function of the brain. What we call the soul is only the sum of our volition, causation, sensation, of those physiological functions—in fact, whose elementary organs are the microscopic ganglionic cells of the human brain. That these were developed from the brain forms of lower organisms we are taught by comparative anatomy and ontogeny; that the soul, as the sum of their functions, was developed step by step with the brain itself, we know from comparative psychology, which also teaches us that a lower form of soul activity is observed even in the infusoria. I have devoted many years to studying the life of these unicellular protists, and am convinced that they possess a cell soul whose sensations, conceptions, and volitions differ from ours only in degree and not in kind. There is even a hereditary cell soul in the egg, out of which man, like every other animal, is developed. The real students of psychology will not in future waste their time in idle speculation about an immaterial soul which, like a pianist, plays the tune of life on a mortal piano, the human body, and returns at its death to the world of spirits, but will study first of all the organs of the soul and then their psychic functions. For scientific psychology is but a part of physiology, and, like that, must begin its studies with the soul functions of the cells. How important these are Max Verworn has shown us in his beautiful psycho-physiological studies of the protists, especially the rhizopods and the infusoria. In these unicellular beings, as in the lowest *Metazoa*, the invertebrate sponges and polyps, and in plants, there are no special differentiated organs of the soul. Every cell takes part in the soul activity of the whole. But in the higher animals there is a division of labor. The senses become the tools of sensation, the muscles of movement and volition, the ganglia the central organs of regulation and transmission, and as these latter become more highly developed, their functions reach that degree of consciousness which characterizes the existence of the soul.

“It is a peculiar irony of fate that in 1872, when David Frederick Strauss was demonstrating our power of investigating the soul by physiological methods, the celebrated Du Bois-Reymond, of Berlin, maintained the very opposite theory as the best proof of the existence of an immortal soul. If we could only understand what force and matter are we could also understand how their fundamental substance can feel, desire, think. The idea of immortality is capable of many definitions. The monist does not

deny immortality. On the contrary, for him the whole universe is immortal. But to believe in our personal immortality is absolutely incompatible with the proved results of modern science. That people still hold this belief is due partly to the physical law of inertia, partly to the idea that men have some special interest in a continuance of the individual life after death, and may find there some recompense for the disappointment of their hopes in this world. There is no belief in immortality in Buddhism or early Judaism, nor in the monistic philosophy of classic Greece, which flourished so wonderfully five hundred years before Christ. Plato and Jesus first developed the idea. Sixty years ago the belief was excusable. The ganglionic cells, the finer structure of the brain, and the cell soul of the protists were then almost, if not quite, unknown. That has now changed altogether. The most important agents in this change are the discoveries of the past two decades in regard to reproduction. We know that this consists in the union of two cells, the female egg and the male sperm. The moment in which the nuclei of these two sexual cells become one is the exact moment of the new birth, and the fructified egg cell has in it already the promise and the potency of all the physical and psychical attributes that the newborn individual inherits from its parents. We can no more conceive of the existence of the soul in this individual as independent of its organ, the brain, than we can conceive of a voluntary movement of the arm as independent of muscular contraction, or the circulation of the blood without the contraction of the heart muscles.

"Our strictly physiological conception of this question, like our whole monistic theory of the relation between force and matter, mind and body, is often called materialistic. Such words are used thoughtlessly and without exact meaning. I now come to the all-important question of the belief in God, for I hold the formation of a clear, philosophical conception of God to be supremely important. I will therefore make here my confession of faith, and I believe that it is shared by nine tenths of all the living scientific investigators. Our first business is to exclude from our faith all those religious conceptions which are irreconcilably opposed to the well-authenticated facts of natural science. Such are all mythologies, all miracles, all supernatural revelations. This is just as true of the Christian and Mosaic legends as of those of Mohammed and the Indian mythologies. There remains for us, after this, as the invaluable kernel of true religion, its purified system of ethics. The best of the ethical systems are those of Jesus and Buddha. They have much in common. A great part of the Christian religion has come direct from Buddhistic sources, as another part from Mosaic, and another from Platonic faiths. The ethical system of Jesus is the purest, but many of its noblest teachings were taught and practiced thousands of years before Christ. It is so with that which Jesus taught as the highest virtue, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' Darwin has shown that its first prehistoric source may be found in the social instincts of animals. Dogs,

horses, elephants, ants, bees, could not live in ordered communities without some observance of this commandment, and the necessities of such social life are for men the most important lever of intellectual and moral progress.

"Doubtless our present civilization owes much to the spread and improvement of Christian ethics, but we must not forget that a great part of our modern ethics has been developed independently of Christianity, especially by the study of Greek and Roman literature. Another mighty ethical factor in this, our century of natural science, has been the great progress of the very highest intellectual culture which we owe to our improved conceptions of Nature and to the monistic philosophy founded thereon. This has been clearly proved by Herbert Spencer and B. von Carneri. There is no antagonism between the ethics of evolution and those of Jesus. But it is quite otherwise with the Christian mythology and the old-fashioned conception of an anthropomorphic 'personal God.' The belief both in God and devil, or amphitheism, is far more consistent with a reasonable explanation of the universe than pure monotheism. This amphitheism explains the evil of the world as the work of the evil principle. A really good and perfect God would never produce so imperfect a world as ours. Our monistic philosophy recognizes the spirit of God in all things. It can never look upon God as a personal being. He is everywhere. As Giordano Bruno said, 'there is one spirit in all things, and nothing is so small as not to be ensouled by some part of the divine substance.' Every atom, then, is ensouled, and God is for us the infinite sum of all the powers of Nature, of all atomic energies, and all the vibrations of ether.

"The most perfect of all those pantheistic systems which have developed the monistic idea of God is that of Spinoza. Goethe regarded it with the highest admiration. Other great men whose natural religion was pantheistic have been two of the greatest poets, Shakespeare and Lessing; two of the greatest German princes, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and Frederick II of Hohenzollern; two of the greatest philosophers, Laplace and Darwin—and the ideas of these great men have received an unexpected empirical confirmation in the scientific discoveries of the past three decades. Monistic investigation as the recognition of truth, monistic ethics as education for goodness, monistic æsthetics as the culture of the beautiful—those are the chief phases of our monistic philosophy. Through their harmonious and connected development we shall attain that unity between religion and science which is now painfully missed by so many. The true, the beautiful, and the good are the three majestic deities before whom we bow the knee. In their natural union we recognize the pure conception of God. To this trinity the twentieth century will build its altars."

"Following the reading of Prof. Haeckel's paper, Dr. Robert G. Eccles, of New York, presented one on the Evolution of Cosmic Matter, which follows:

"From the so-called atoms of modern chemistry seems to emanate the directing energy of every cosmic process. They make possible those higher

groupings of matter wherein we find the manifestations of the law of evolution. It is therefore of great interest to know whether or not they too are subject to that law. Are atoms evolved, or did the Creator make and stamp them with the power to evolve worlds, while they themselves were not evolved? The importance of this question must be evident to every student of physics who has used as a text-book Prof. J. Clerk Maxwell's work on the Theory of Heat. In the closing chapter of this work occur the following words: 'In the case of the molecules each individual is permanent; there is no generation or destruction, and no variation, or rather no difference, between the individuals of each species. Hence the kind of speculation with which we have become so familiar under the name of theories of evolution is quite inapplicable to the case of molecules.' The great physicist certainly does not mince matters here. There is no uncertainty regarding what these words mean. They were written at a time when evolution theories in chemistry were under a cloud. The work of Stas on atomic weights had discounted the speculation of Prout, and shown that those elements having high atomic weights did not bear a simple relation to that of hydrogen, as for years had been believed. Every effort at decomposing the elements had signally failed, and the belief, though quite unwarranted, had gained ground that 'the molecules of the same substance are all exactly alike.' They were even compared to bullets out of a common mold, and pronounced to be manufactured articles. Not long ago this writer was told by a Baptist minister that for twenty years these words of Prof. Maxwell's had stood unchallenged, and that, however much comfort we might take from the limited variability displayed by plants and animals, chemistry certainly could offer no succor to the evolution heresy. It was useless to tell this gentleman that all chemists who had any thoughts on the subject tacitly favored evolution, for the simple reason that every positive fact of the science stood as a silent monitor pointing that way. Every objection urged against the doctrine within the domain of chemistry is of a purely negative character. We are still grossly ignorant on many important points, and on this ignorance hangs the sole evidence of every anti-evolution argument.

"When Prof. Maxwell wrote the words I have quoted, the assumption that the molecules of the same substance are all exactly alike had been made quite gratuitously. As no one had ever gained any evidence for or against this claim, it stood unchallenged. It was known that the general average among the millions of molecules dealt with in every operation maintained a decided sameness. Should we weigh or measure a million human beings at a time, we would be likely to find them average alike. But let us pick out a million of the smallest, and then a million of the largest, weighing each separately, and the two results will diverge very materially. When Prof. Maxwell wrote his book on the Theory of Heat he did not foresee the possibilities of chemical fractionation and spectroscopy. Had he done so, the last chapter of that volume never would have been written. The wonderful ex-

periments of Prof. Crookes on radiant matter have completely negated the assumption on which Prof. Maxwell's reasoning was based. Molecules of substances that all chemical methods pronounce elemental have been sifted into groups varying slightly from one another. By excessive fractionation of the rare metal yttrium, he has sorted it into six groups, giving unlike phosphorescent spectra. Work of the same kind on the few others of these rare metals enables him to assert that he believes they can be sifted into not fewer than sixty groups. The task of so separating them is slow and tedious. He says that to go over all the elements in this manner will require the combined labors of several generations of chemists. If the results prove anything like as fruitful among the more common elements, their numbers will be multiplied enormously. What, then, has become of the assumption that the molecules of the same substance are all exactly alike? It is literally buried out of sight. Just as men vary in size within certain limits, while averaging alike in multitudes, so the molecules of the same substances seem to vary in a corresponding manner, thereby giving ample opportunity for the very speculations that Prof. Maxwell pronounced inadmissible. When the Theory of Heat was first published the periodic law had been worked out by Newland, Mendelejeff, and Meyer; and this should have been sufficient to stay the author's hand.

"To see the entire list of known elements presented in one perfect system, like a musical octave, certainly indicated some sort of physical connection wonderfully like that called for by evolution. The atomic weights of all the elements are seen by this law to be the cause of the properties of these elements, as the weight of a piano string or the prongs of a tuning fork govern the note that shall be given forth when they are struck. If a spiral line is drawn round a cylinder and marks placed at eight separate intervals for each revolution, and each of these marks is made to represent an element in the order and relationship of its atomic weight, all the marks that coincide in a straight line down the cylinder will represent elements with kindred properties. Each mark will be just an octave away from the other, and the repetition will be like the repetition of a series of musical octaves. By aid of this law, Mendelejeff described two unknown missing elements that have since been discovered, and by its aid other elements of doubtful atomic weight have been properly placed in the system. Useful as this law has already proved itself to be, and acceptable as it is to all chemists, whether evolutionists or anti-evolutionists, the presence among the elements of bodies having closely related atomic weights which could not be perfectly assimilated with the law has always been a source of trouble. And now come the experiments of Crookes, already referred to, which at first glance seem to be wholly irreconcilable with it. With yttrium, beryllium, didymium, erbium, holmium, and others expanding themselves into scores of rare elements, and all existing within close range of each other, what becomes of these periods? We must either fly to the doctrine of evolution for an ex-

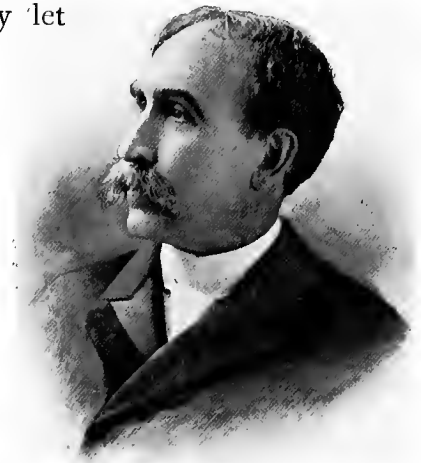
planation or give up further scientific investigation in that direction. The question resolves itself simply into evolution or nothing. Our so-called elements are harmonic groups of related bodies having very nearly the same molecular weights and properties, or else there is no meaning to the periodic law. The periods belong to groups rather than to individuals. Each group is a survival of those fitted for the conditions of that place, the fitness not being a sharply defined or rigid one, but varying within certain limits.

"In confirmation of this come the facts first pointed out by Prof. F. W. Clarke and later by Prof. Lockyer in his letter to Prof. Dumas. A comparison of the spectra of nebulæ, fixed stars, suns, and planets shows a gradual increase in the number of elements with the cooling of these bodies. The nebulæ show an excess of hydrogen with the absence of all elements having heavy atomic weights. The cooler a body is, the greater the proportion of heavy elements found in it. This harmonizes exactly with the conditions demanded by evolution, and is utterly meaningless if this conception is ruled out as an explanation. Still another fact that harmonizes with and gives emphasis to this is the relative abundance of the generality of elements compared with their atomic weights. The thirteen most abundant elements known are the thirteen lightest, and the very heavy ones are usually very rare. The lightest of all is the most abundant in the nebulæ and very hot stars. This is the exact arrangement of distribution according to time that evolved elements would be expected to assume. If we next turn to distribution in space, a similarly favorable correspondence confronts us. The nearer alike bodies are in their properties, the more akin we would expect them to be if evolved from each other. Conversely, the more unlike the less the kinship. Those that are close of kin would have had the least opportunity of being widely separated by changes in space. When bodies become so much unlike that they are electrically opposites, affinity will tend to bring them together. It is therefore not surprising, from a chemical standpoint, to find chlorine and sodium associated. But why should nickel and cobalt link their destinies so often within a common region? If they are evolved from each other, as their likeness of properties would indicate, there can be nothing mysterious in the association. They simply never have been parted since they were formed. If, however, there is no kinship between them, such association is wholly unreasonable and not what should be expected. Especially is this the case with such rare metals as yttrium, beryllium, and cerium, the platinum group, or that of rubidium and cæsium. So far as we know, the earth contains but a little of each. How came this little to a common region, leaving the rest of the earth without a supply? Why should chlorine, bromine, and iodine associate themselves together? And why zinc and cadmium? If evolution is true, these associations are all such as we would naturally expect. If special creation is true, then the Creator must have deliberately planned to deceive his creatures by these remarkable associations that mean evolution if they mean anything."

The remainder of the forenoon session was occupied with the reading of papers—The Law of Evolution in the Spiritual Realm, by William E. Coleman, of California ; The Knowable and the Unknowable, by Sylvan Drey, of Maryland ; Philosophy and the Doctrine of Evolution, by Raymond S. Perrin, of New York ; and Evolution Optimistic, by J. W. Alfred Cluett, of New York.

The afternoon session was devoted to the subject of Ethics : The Morals of Evolution, and the first paper presented was by the Rev. Minot J. Savage, of Boston, on Ethical Sanctions under Evolution, which we give entire :

“ ‘What a nice time we might have, papa, if it wasn’t for God and the policemen,’ said a small boy, after talking over with his father the question as to what would be done to him if he followed his own will and did certain things toward which he felt inclined. He saw no reason why he should not do as he pleased and so be supremely happy, provided certain outside and arbitrary powers would only let him alone. The small boy’s state of mind has been the common one of the world. Right and wrong have been regarded as arbitrarily determined by somebody’s will, and it has seemed as though the things one particularly desired to do have been just the ones that were forbidden. It is quite natural that this should have been so, and it is quite as natural that now, with our new and growing knowledge of the universe, this state of mind should pass away.



REV. MINOT J. SAVAGE,
a speaker at the Congress.

“ Amid the earliest conditions of human society with which we are acquainted there was no conception of any natural order, and so no thought of natural and necessary results as following certain courses of action. The little world with which they were superficially acquainted was a scene of caprice. Their one figure and measure of power was the personal will. That this supposed will was that of an invisible being only served to clothe it with mystery and expand it to limitless proportions. The god was only an unseen despot. If in some way the courses of conduct enjoined were supposed to accrue to the advantage of the tribe, still no natural connection, as of cause and effect, was discerned ; it was only the arbitrary will of the god, and the penalty attached to an infringement of the tribal customs was whatever the god in his anger might choose to inflict. Storm, lightning, disease, pestilence, even death itself, were not looked upon as natural happenings. The world was the playground or battlefield of invisible powers, and black magic or white was the method of dealing with them for either evil or good. Such a thing as ethics, then, in the modern sense of the word, could hardly be said to exist.

“ But by and by, as the natural and necessary result of experience, the distinction between ethics and religion begins to appear. There was by no means any clear separation. Still, certain rites and ceremonies had been handed down by tradition as things that the gods demanded in the way of service. And at the same time there was a growing sense of the necessity of certain courses of conduct in relation to others, in order that social life might go on. For example, if people were to live together, one man might not kill another. If they were to do business with each other, at least a certain degree of fairness and honesty must be maintained. If they were to keep up any amicable relations, they must be able to trust each other and reach some rough approximation to the truth. If any sort of family life was to exist, certain sexual relations must be established and maintained. It only needed that men should learn to think of other men as other selves, as equally capable of joy and sorrow, as having equal rights to all objects of human desire, and a conscience would be born of that imaginative sympathy which is able to put one's self in another's place.

“ So gradually men began to think of human duties as something separable from religious duties, or the service demanded in behalf of the gods. But still, for many ages, there was no conception of what we should mean to-day by natural ethics with natural sanctions. If a man were flagrantly wicked, it was supposed that the gods would wreak their vengeance on him. Also, in course of time, a code of human laws grows up for the defense of the social order. But if a man were only able to escape both God and the policeman, he was spoken of as not being punished at all. In such a case the only thing left was ‘the something after death,’ a belief in which grew up as a method of adjudicating the unrequited wrongs of this world.

“ But here still, it will be seen, the old idea of arbitrariness prevailed no less than it had before. The evils that were not punished here, either by God's judgment or by the civil law, became the sins of which a divine record was kept, and for which the penalty of eternal suffering was reserved in a future life. But this eternal punishment was purely arbitrary. God, if he chose (and for a wholly arbitrary reason, a reason that stood in no sort of natural or necessary relation to the wrong), could forgive, even at the last moment of life, and take the wrongdoer to his endless felicity above. In the meantime the victim of the wrong, unforgiven, might be suffering the eternal torments of hell.

“ It is plain, then, that so far ethical ideas and sanctions had not cleared themselves of the not only arbitrary but hideously unjust conceptions of primitive and barbaric man. Not only this but one other thing needs to be noted. Until quite recent times, and by most Churchmen even now, it has been claimed that right and wrong are matters of divine revelation; that only through such revelation do we know what duties we owe to each other. It is also claimed that, for the performance of such duties, there is no adequate sanction outside the penalties threatened by such revelation. The

Catholic tells you that the Church is the only ethical guide. The Protestant declares that outside the Bible man can not discover his duties to man or find any adequate reason for their performance. This is the ordinary doctrine of theologians; and the common Church member fears the critic as one who is undermining the very foundations of the social order. So superficial still is the ordinary thinker—if he may be called a thinker at all; so conventional is the ordinary Churchman!

“But a clearer and better thought is coming, and is beginning to show itself among the brighter and braver minds of the Church itself. So pronounced and strong in this direction are the utterances of our leading Roman Catholic writer that they are worthy of special attention as the starting point of a new era in the thought of the Church. William S. Lilly is among the most brilliant of living essayists. In an article published within the past two years he set forth with great clearness and force the natural independence of ethics. He declared that ethical ideas did not depend upon the Bible, and that the Bible was neither the teacher nor the foundation of ethics. He went so far as to say that, if not only the Old, but even the whole of the New Testament, were to be blotted out, not a single ethical principle would be touched or weakened. He held that the laws of ethics were inherent in the very nature of things. Still, Mr. Lilly is not yet ready to go to the extent of declaring that he who is only moral is safer in the universe. The Bible and the Church are necessary as supernaturally revealing to man something infinitely more important than ethics, and something on which man's eternal destiny still hangs. Important as conduct is for the regulation of this world, I suppose he would still claim that something else is necessary to reconciliation with God and salvation in another life. Yet it is much to have a Catholic Churchman and a clear thinker take so long a step in the direction of human progress.

“We are ready now to consider ethics as wholly natural, and as completely separated from any conventional form of religion. We shall see at the end that true religion and true ethics are one and inseparable. But for the present let us leave all reference to religion out of account. Morality, then, is born of the attempt on the part of men to live together, and its laws and sanctions are discovered through experience. Men have found out what is good and what is evil by trying it, as naturally as they have found out the difference between bread and poison. No revelation ever has revealed any higher standard of ethics than had already been discerned by the clearer thinkers as the result of human experience. The Golden Rule was discovered in other lands than Judea. It did not drop down from the skies, but was a product of the earth. Botanists tell us that at similar elevations all over the earth similar flora will be found—similar, but not identical. Like conditions naturally produce like results. So on similar levels of human civilization similar ethical ideals will be found. Like human experiences produce like, though not identical, results. If the supernaturalist undertakes

to deny this, he will involve himself in some curious contradictions. If good produces good results, and evil evil results, then these good and evil results may be naturally and rationally taken account of. If good does not produce good results and evil produce evil results, then—so far as this world is concerned—there is no difference between good and evil, and it makes no difference what a man's course of conduct may be.

“Let us now look for a little at the ethics of natural evolution, and see their independence of all save the nature of things, both as to standard and sanction. There is only one standard, there is only one sanction, and both are eternally necessary in the very constitution of the universe. This one and only standard is life ; and the one and only sanction is death. A few practical illustrations will show how certainly and inevitably this is true. A circle is a circle by virtue of the fact that each point of its circumference is equally distant from a point within called its center. If this law of a circle's life be broken, as a circle it straightway ceases to exist—it is dead. The human body, though so much more complex, has its limiting conditions as definite as the inclosing line of a circle. These conditions are the laws of its existence as a body. So long as these limiting conditions are perfectly observed, perfect physical life is the result. Any departure from these we call disease ; and disease, through how many soever generations, leads inevitably to death, the finished penalty of broken law. A similar thing is true of any one faculty or power, which may either partially or completely die while the rest continue to live. We speak of a man as intellectually, or morally, or spiritually dead, while the body is still completely or partially alive. This only means that the natural, inevitable conditions of these different kinds of life have not been complied with, the laws have not been obeyed. So when we come to deal with corporate forms of existence, like the life of a commercial company, an institution, a city, or a nation, the same principle holds good. Each has its limiting conditions, which are the laws of its life. Its chief good is continuous and fullness of life. Its evil is whatever threatens to destroy these. And this good and this evil are natural and necessary, springing out of the very conditions of its existence.

“Let us note the application of this principle to what are called moral good and evil in the history of the world. The one chief good of man is life, considered both as continuance and as content. Continued life and full life, ‘more life and fuller,’ as Tennyson sings, is the great object of human desire ; for on this hangs everything else. To say that man desires happiness, is only to say substantially the same thing in another way ; for happiness is the natural accompaniment of a full and satisfied life. If you make out a complete list of all that the civilized world agrees to call good, you will find it to consist of such thoughts, such words, such deeds, as contribute to life both in its length and fullness, the life of the individual and the life of the race. And what it agrees to call evil will be found to be such thoughts, words, and deeds as take away from life, either in its length or fullness, and



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tend to the death either of the individual or of society. And these tendencies toward either helping or hurting are inherent in the nature of things; they are so independently of any Bible or any religion. Any word or command of any god on the subject would not change these tendencies by one hair's breadth unless it could change the constitution of things. No forgiveness of any god can remit the natural and necessary sanctions of good or evil thought or action. The basis of ethics is as natural and as inherent as the force of gravitation. So, while the universe stands, the laws of right and wrong are secure. No man ever did or ever can escape the results of his own actions. Right is life, and wrong is death, in this world and in all worlds, now and for ever more.

"The instinct of the first men in regarding ethics and religion as one and inseparable was correct. Their error was in regarding either of them as external and arbitrary. They made the natural mistake of positioning their gods outside of the world, and of thinking of the divine government as arbitrarily imposed on mankind. So there arose an inevitable conflict between the claims of human society and the supposed claims of the gods. And as eternity is more important than time, so religion naturally superseded any rights of man. But the theistic evolutionist sees his God, not outside the universe, but in and through it. Its forces are the divine activities. So it follows of necessity that his religion can not be any traditional and irrational rites and ceremonies wholly divorced from all natural conditions of the world's life and well-being. To find the laws of the world's life and happiness is to find the laws of God. To obey these laws of God is to live out the truly religious life. To find and obey these laws is also and equally to realize the present good of the world. Ethics and religion, then, are essentially one and inseparable. Or, to put it in another way, ethics is the human side of religion, and religion is the divine side of ethics. The evolutionist finds in the great law of the universe, which is the glory of the modern world, a reconciliation of the age-long conflict between the claims of morals and of religion, and discovers that what is salvation for this world is salvation in all worlds and in all time."

Mr. Savage's paper was followed by one on The Intellectual Relations of Morality, by C. Staniland Wake; one on Herbert Spencer as a Teacher of Ethics, by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Illinois; one entitled Prof. Huxley's Surrender, by Dr. Lewis G. Janes, of New York; and one on The Evolution of Morality, by the Rev. H. M. Simmons, of Minneapolis. We give here the larger part of the last-named paper:

"In speaking of morality we ought first to define it. It means, of course, fidelity to duty. But duty to what? Chiefly to our fellow-beings. For though morality includes the idea of duty to one's self and to an ideal right, it is mainly social, referring to our obligations to each other and to the community, and may perhaps be best defined as the government of self for the good of society. This is the morality of which I shall try to trace

the growth. But where shall we begin? Evidently we must go behind the historic nations to savages; for though a savage tribe may be as cruel as the Inquisition toward all outsiders, it often cultivates the kindest feelings among its own members, and even the dreadful Dyaks were among themselves, according to Reclus, remarkably moral. Even behind savages we must go to trace the origin of morality; for what else is it when animals help each other, as in the cases told by Darwin of the blind crows fed by their companions, and the blind pelican kept fat by food brought by his benevolent bird brethren? Here seems to be something of the same humanity that builds hospitals. And lower still, among mere insects, we see something quite like morality. The ant, for instance, is a most faithful

member of her society, and if she has no conscience she does her duty a great deal better than many men who claim to have one. Entomologists say that an ant city, though sometimes counting its inhabitants by hundred thousands, is all harmony and peace within; that sometimes two such cities as populous as Minneapolis and St. Paul remain within a few rods of each other without the slightest quarrel. And with what exemplary virtues doth the little busy bee improve each shining hour, and, both as worker and soldier, she seems to be inspired with something like a sense of duty and with a spirit of self-sacrifice for her community, which is not always found in civilized society. A distinguished writer on bees alludes to their 'moral character,' and they do seem to have something like one.



REV. HENRY M. SIMMONS,
a speaker at the Congress.

"Even in life too low to show moral character we may still trace the fundamental principle of morality, which is the subordination of each individual to the service of the whole. This principle may be traced down the animal scale to the very sponge, which is a sort of social organization with all the individuals united for each other's health. It may be traced still lower to the vegetable world, where each plant is another such organization of cells for mutual service. It may be traced even back of plants to the very planets associated in the solar system as in a harmonious sisterhood, circling around their common mother, the sun. That mysterious force of gravity by which distant worlds attract and move each other like human hearts, with a sort of sympathy, seems to have almost a moral quality; and when we see how this force holds the heavens in harmony and shows in the spiral wreaths of many a nebula how it is gathering cosmic matter in closer association, it seems as

if this fundamental principle of ethics pervades the universe, and that a thorough study of morality ought to go back of the globes and begin with the very gas of which they are made.

"This instinct tends, of course, to strengthen; for the animals best endowed with it are best able to survive and propagate their qualities. The straggler from the flock is slain, but the more social members protect each other, and gain such power by union that a swarm of gnats can put a buffalo to flight, and a troop of ants can kill almost any animal. In many ways animals are helped by union—as in the case of pelicans combining to corner fish, and beetles joining to lift the load too heavy for one. Indeed, animal associations for co-operation of various kinds are now known to be so common and helpful that they are thought by many to have even a larger place in evolution than that struggle for existence of which we have heard so much, and Prof. Kessel thinks that the leading principle in the progress of the higher animals has been not 'mutual struggle' but this mutual support. With this habit peace takes the place of strife, and the instinct of self-sacrifice for the community is encouraged until it becomes in the bees and ants something like a conscience.

"But this insect conscience is very low, and seems to be without the element of sympathy which true morality must have. The beehive is nothing but a business corporation, based on mere prudential and economic principles, and so deficient in even the sense of justice that bees coolly kill off their brethren in autumn to save the cost of keeping them through the winter. The same hard utilitarianism is seen also in the ants and in most animal associations. We shall have to follow our principle into a higher phase to reach that sympathy that is so essential. This phase is the one which it assumes in the family. The family itself is very ancient in both the animal and the vegetable world, but its higher moral qualities were slow in growing. In the vegetable world it never got very far, although it is seen in every flower. Even in the animal world the family long remained in an undeveloped state. Among the lower animals conjugal love does not last long, and among so advanced creatures as spiders there are species where the bride slays her husband as soon as the nuptials are over. Nor is the mother's love for her own offspring highly developed among the lower orders.

"But natural selection tends to destroy habits fatal to the species, and to increase care for the young. Among birds and mammals the domestic virtues become highly developed. The parents, however cruel to outsiders, still between themselves keep most of the Commandments and show a high degree of sympathy. We see many instances where the mother's affection for the young has a humane and almost religious quality. She may not love her neighbor as herself, but she does love her offspring as herself, and so, to that extent, though but a crow, seems to have begun to be a Christian. Her love is, indeed, very limited, and limited not only in its breadth but in its duration, so that it is apt to last only during the infancy of her offspring, after

which she cares no more for them than for others. But within these limits her love seems much like ours, and in that mere bird's nest the Decalogue has begun to be declared, the Golden Rule to be revealed, and the highest morality of sympathy and self-sacrifice has started.

"Having started, it naturally increases, since the families having most of it are best protected and perpetuated. With this strengthening of the parental tie comes also its prolongation. For with the increasing complexity of structure and faculties, the period required for their growth is necessarily lengthened, and the parent's care with it. The chicken is quite competent when a day old, and quite independent before a week is over ; but the child can not so much as roll over at the end of a month, and at the end of fifty is still dependent. Hence the parental kindness and affection, which among the lower animals last but a few weeks, must in the human race last as many years, and so grow into a confirmed habit continuing through life. Sympathy becomes something permanent, and it is still further strengthened by permanence, and is broadened, too, by the same process. For this prolongation of the domestic tie keeps together parents and children and children's children, and extends the family into a widening circle of kinsmen. Hence comes one of those little tribes or clans, such as prove to have been the original form of society all over the world.

"Thus we reach a higher stage in our study. That principle of association which prevails from atoms up to animals, has at length unfolded its ethical meaning and borne fruit in moral virtues. The advance has been immense, but we need not assume in our study any supernatural change. Why suppose sympathy could come only by religious revelation, when it is found in a bird's nest ? Why think peace and good order impossible among the heathen, when they are found in every ant-hill ? Why think it impossible that a savage should be found faithful and tell the truth, when a still greater faithfulness is found in every element of which he is made, and truth is told by every ray of light from farthest space ? Why suppose revelation is needed to make a man keep negative rules like the Ten Commandments ? Morality may be miraculous, but, if so, then everything else is. Moral virtues are established in Nature and developed by its laws, and it is not at all strange that a savage tribe should show as many of them as the travelers tell. Honesty, justice, kindness come by necessity, for the tribe can not hold together without them. They are strengthened still further by natural selection, since the tribe having most of them is the strongest. They are further strengthened by the public sentiment of the tribe, which commends qualities so helpful to it. Hence belief in these virtues increases in the tribe until it comes to be a conscience, the common perception of those principles for the common good which must control the individual impulses.

"But we must not expect the savage tribe to have a conscience like ours, or to be always faithful to the one they do have. The same process that has

been strengthening the common moral sentiment has been also strengthening their individual impulses and passions in opposition to this sentiment. The very causes that unite the members of the tribe in mutual helpfulness and kindness make them all the more fierce against their enemies, so that the same men who are full of gentle virtues toward each other within the circle are very fiends toward outsiders. Those Dyaks whom Reclus describes as 'otherwise the most moral people in the whole of Indonesia,' yet make a sacred duty of killing their enemies, so that the gentle maiden looks with no favor on her lover until he can bring a skull to adorn their bridal chamber, and she must have another to give good omen to the birth of her babe. And the Caribs, who are described as a modest, courteous race, and strictly honest among themselves, were yet most cruel to their enemies, tortured them fiendishly, and gave us the word cannibal. Where such customs prevail life can have no sacred value, infanticide is quite common among savages, and often a tribe leaves its aged or infirm members to die, and sometimes even kills them off as the bees do their brothers, and seem to do it quite conscientiously. Notwithstanding that the virtues rise to such heights in many tribes, the general morality of savages remains very low. But its tendency is to improve, as we saw. Family affection grows, and marriage assumes importance. However such a tribe may rob and defraud its neighbors, it has to cultivate honesty among its members in order to hold them together. However much it may deceive and lie to its neighbors, it has to cultivate true speaking in its members, for it could not thrive unless they trusted each other. Thus morality tends to grow of itself in every tribe.

"And along with its improvement within came its extension without. For that principle of association continued to work, uniting hostile tribes into harmonious groups, these again in larger, and so establishing an historic nation. Such a union not only substituted peace for tribal strife within each nation, but gave the virtues a firmer character by making them not a mere personal duty which a man owed to his brother or neighbor, but a deeper one of principle which he owed to an unknown fellow-citizen far away. Morality began to acquire a force of general rules, and four centuries before Christ the Golden Rule had come to be expressed in one or another form, from Athens to the end of Asia, as where Plato makes the representative of Athens sum up duties by saying, 'May I, being of sound mind, do to others as I would that they should do to me?'

"In most cases this morality was indeed still confined to the national limits, and even Plato and Aristotle, with all their praise of justice, felt little of it toward barbarians. But that principle of association still worked, gathering nations themselves into new combinations with still greater enlargement of morality. The Chinese Empire may be considered such a combination, and perhaps its very size helped to bring the more charitable spirit seen in its sages. Out of great India came Buddhism, proclaiming a still

more humane brotherhood, opposing caste and all intolerance, and preaching benevolence not only to the oppressed but even to animals. In the West the larger association came through the Roman Empire, uniting in commercial and political bonds all the nations, from the British Isles to the banks of the Euphrates. Under that union morality began to show a cosmopolitan spirit. Stoicism broadened, and in the century before Christ began to teach the universal brotherhood of mankind. During the next three centuries Roman stoics, in the words of Lecky, 'taught in the most impassioned language the fraternity of all men,' and 'developed this doctrine in a series of detailed precepts which, for the range, depth, and beauty of their charity, have never been surpassed.' So far had morality advanced under heathen leaders, and the peace that had come to prevail so extensively seemed to confirm Lucan's prophecy that the warfare of the world would end and all nations learn to love.

"But though political union had thus come to the Western nations, other divisions remained, and morality could not be protected by a universal peace which covered that system of slavery and such social inequalities as had arisen. Slaves had increased until in the first century of our era, Gibbon estimates, those of the Roman Empire numbered sixty million. Property had become so unequal that millions were on the point of starving, while senators had such suppers; and the masses had but a tunic to wear in winter, while Lollia Paulina put on that dress crusted with pearls and emeralds and costing \$150,000, Pliny says, and that not her best dress either, he adds. Many of the stoics saw these wrongs and opposed them, but stoicism was powerless to cure them with all its noble principles, and even by reason of the loftiness of those principles. For stoicism was a system for strong and heroic souls, and had too little of that sympathy for suffering which was needed to save the masses and protect morality.

"But now a stream of more humane sentiment, which had been rising also in the little nation of Israel, was to be turned into that Roman Empire and to lead to the establishment of Christianity. The history of that little Jewish nation is itself so good an illustration of the moral evolution we have been tracing that we ought to notice it. It began, according to the Bible, with one of those primitive families which we saw—Jacob and his twelve children. Morality was already there, seen in many a beautiful feature, but still narrow and imperfect and easily upset by selfish impulses. Not even the family virtues were yet established. This Jacob had robbed his own twin brother of his birthright, and deceived his father on his deathbed, and his mother had conspired with him to do this wrong to her dying husband and her own son. Jacob's children were a little better, but hated their best brother and 'conspired against him to slay him.' With further growth and development families became more moral and united in tribes; but the tribes still quarreled with each other, and that of Benjamin had its cities burned and its people nearly all slain by the other tribes. With a further



THE VIRGINIA STATE BUILDING.

Reproduction of George Washington's home at Mount Vernon.

union of the tribes into a nation, such conflicts passed away and morality advanced to a broader justice ; the principles of the Decalogue were proclaimed, as among other ancient people. Still this morality was only national, and however well the Israelites may have kept that Decalogue among themselves, they believed in breaking it in their dealings with other nations, stealing territory and killing its occupants when they could ; so that the Bible says the sacred Joshua burned city after city, 'smote all the land' of Canaan and 'utterly destroyed all that breathed,' and that even the pious Samuel ordered the slaughter of those Amalekites—women, children, and all. Of course we are not obliged to believe that it was so bad as this, and it is always gratifying to notice how these same burned cities and killed peoples are wont to reappear in the Bible right afterward, with the houses unharmed and the inhabitants come to life again. But this enlargement of the stories shows all the more that the men who thus exaggerated them thought it was quite commendable for the Israelites to kill others, and to keep the Decalogue only among themselves. Even among themselves morality was still far from perfect. So late and revered a king as David is represented as not only having many wives of his own, but coveting the wife of another, stealing her, and getting her husband slain, and so breaking four of the Commandments at once. The still later Solomon is said to have kept a thousand wives and other women. Probably these, like the wars, are greatly exaggerated ; but not the less does it show the moral sentiment of the people who could tell such things and still consider David their most sacred psalmist and Solomon their wisest man, worthy to make the longest prayer in the Bible.

"But the moral evolution went on, and three centuries after David there was a morality vastly higher. A new sense of justice had come ; the writings of the prophets ring with denunciations of oppression. Rich men were rebuked, wrongs of all kinds condemned, and pity for the needy was preached in the most powerful and pathetic language. Justice and mercy were represented as the very substance of religion, and in comparison with them the old sacrifices and fasts were sometimes treated with a touch of ridicule by these prophets. These humane sentiments remained and grew among the better Israelites, as we see in the sayings of the later rabbis and of Jesus. Jesus made humanity and love his first principles, and lived for the poor. Lazarus he sends to heaven for no merit that is mentioned, except that he is a beggar and full of sores. Dives he sends to hell for no fault that is told, except that he is rich and fared sumptuously every day ; for the rich man, he says, can no more go into the kingdom of God than a camel through a needle's eye. So far did Jesus carry his sympathy for the poor and despised ; and when his religion became the established one of the Roman Empire it seemed as if morality was at last to blossom into a humanity that would embrace the Western nations and brotherhood. And probably it would have done so had the Church remained true to its first teachings. But it began to

neglect them and to make religion again a thing of creeds and ceremonies, and hence there was soon an arrest of moral growth, and even a relapse of morality almost into a savage stage. The Christian empire centered at Constantinople, though undisturbed by barbarians, became so corrupt that of that vast realm for the next thousand years Lecky says: 'The universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, without a single exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form which civilization has yet assumed.' The Western Empire, centered at Rome, was somewhat better, but still so bad that he says few persons except priests and monks would not have preferred to live in the best days of the Athenian or Roman republics. So did the disputes of theologians and ignorance of barbarians, and bigotry of both, arrest the moral evolution which had risen to such heights in the thoughts of the better heathen and in the feelings of Hebrew prophets and Christian apostles.

"But after many centuries of this arrest came the Renaissance, returning to that pagan literature and thought and to the natural humanity that had inspired pagans and apostles alike. Hence the moral evolution again went on, and it has continued with more or less interruption; an enlarged thought and broader sentiment in the Church have greatly aided it. Secular science has been destroying the narrow belief that had persecuted and slain so many millions, and even agnosticism has been showing how absurd it is for people to burn each other for theological beliefs about which neither side knows anything. Even this despised doctrine of evolution has been teaching, better than any historic religion ever did, that broad human kinship which is the foundation of the largest morality and loftiest religion; so that even our great Parliament of Religions has only been partially confessing those principles of human unity which evolutionists have been preaching for thirty years.

"Not that the moral evolution has yet reached perfection. War has not ended; even within the territory which the Roman Empire kept in comparative peace, Christian nations sometimes fight each other with fury and with an extent of slaughter that makes the battles of barbarians and beasts appear humane. But war is becoming so costly that it bids fair to kill itself; and if nations keep on thus spending millions to improve guns and destroy ships, then millions more to improve ships to resist the guns, and so on, the time will come when they will have to stop the fighting or have no revenue left for food. People are also more and more learning the barbarism of war, and will some time see that for the Dyaks to destroy a few savages does not begin to be so bad as for Christian cannon to slay half a million civilized men.

"Wrongs of property, too, still need to be remedied. We are far from the society which Jesus preached. Lazarus has not yet reached his heaven; Dives is no longer sent to hell, but is sometimes welcomed to the church with extra politeness and shown into the best pew to hear the preacher enlarge that needle's eye until the camel can get through. But the tendency of the times, outside the Church and in all churches, is toward the cure of

these inequalities and the establishment of justice on earth. There is little danger that the movement will end in any Bellamistic society which consolidates its members like the creatures in a sponge and destroys their freedom ; for evolution works not only toward love but toward liberty. But the morality that combines liberty and love is on the way, and I doubt not the time is coming when sympathy will unite freed nations and freed classes and freed men in one harmonious system, as gravity does the stars.

"So potent and all-pervading is this principle of association we have traced, joining atoms in worlds and worlds in systems, elements in compounds and compounds in cells, cells in individuals and individuals in society, societies in humanity and souls in sympathy. Much we hear of Kant's saying about the two things that filled him with reverent wonder—the stars above and the moral love within. But the two wonders are one, and all the more wonderful because one, bringing a higher reverence for the power that fills infinity with divine order. The moral law within is the higher music of the same law that shines in the stars and shaped the stars. This divine law works onward until it brings souls that outshine the stars and joins them in love which feels that it can outlast the stars. This law brings love ; it is love, and was love to begin with, and both morality and religion ought to be glad to learn it."

The session was closed with an address on Morality on a Scientific Basis, by the Rev. James T. Bixby, of New York.

"To the reader who is acquainted with the most prominent modern works on ethics—such as those of Spencer, Stephen, Janet, and Gizycki—it is evident that the theory of morals is undergoing a process of radical reconstruction. Take up any of these works, or even note the attitude of popular writers and speakers in dealing with any question of right and wrong, and it is plain that we have come to a momentous crisis in the conception and treatment of morals. The old foundations of duty are gravely suspected, and the rising generation are very much at sea as to what are the proper principles by which they should govern their conduct. The chief agent in this unsettling of ethics, it needs hardly to be said, is that same great theory that has already so disturbed or reconstructed most other branches of modern knowledge—the theory of evolution. That is a force that in every department to-day we must at least reckon with. And more than this : I am ready to admit that if the great laws of morality are to retain their hold upon modern men, they must be put, like all other laws, on a scientific basis ; and if we put them on a scientific basis, we can not fail to consider the bearing upon them of the principles of evolution.

"To what extent, then, does evolution demand that we reconstruct our old conceptions of duty ? In the face of this grave question we find two popular tendencies, two very different answers presented by two diverse but equally earnest schools of thought. One school, because of the revolutionary truths of evolution which they heartily embrace, find no moral quality except

in the results of our acts, and make the principles of morality variable qualities conditioned upon environment ; they admit no end and test of morals except happiness, and consider duty and right as substantially useful illusions, or echoes of ancestral alarms and pressures. The other school, holding up their hands in horror at these results, would, in the sacred name of duty, erect at the boundary line of ethics a sign, inscribed with solemn interdict to the advancing flood of evolution : ' Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.' Which of these courses ought modern thought to adopt ?

" I believe that neither would be wise or even feasible. If evolution has no seat of authority to grant to morals, then it is evident that there is a fatal defect somewhere in that theory, and it will fail to maintain permanently its hold over the heart of humanity. On the other hand, I am not so simple as to think that I, or any other critic of the present day, can play the part of Canute to this steadily rising tide of the evolution philosophy.



REV. JAMES T. BIXBY,
a speaker at the Congress.

Nor do I wish to, for I believe in it as the most probably true theory of the world's origin ; and I have no doubt that it is a law ruling and applicable in the field of morals as much as in botany or zoölogy. We need, therefore, to adopt a more excellent way ; and that is, to study independently the law of evolution and what it requires in the realm of morals. Let us employ that principle, not in a fashion partial, inappropriate, and inconsistent with itself ; let us use it logically and thoroughly ; and then, I believe, we shall find in evolution a solid basis for morals, an honorable origin for conscience, a wholesome and elevated standard of right, and a noble and inspiring end for our moral efforts.

" Candid scrutiny of the nature of happiness (which is the ultimate end and test of right and wrong presented by the Spencerian ethics) shows it to be low in its grade, shifty, dangerous, and unavailable as an immediate guide for conduct, and inconsistent with the law of evolution itself. But is this the only or the most appropriate end to which evolution points ? Let us turn and look at the law of evolution itself and see what it has to suggest as the aim and end of our being.

" What is its most conspicuous feature ? Is it not its constant upward tendency ? The universe has been steadily progressing from the inanimate to the animate ; from the sentient to the rational ; from the impersonal to the personal. This constant ascent of life is regarded by Darwin as a result of the selection by Nature of the higher form, better adapted to succeed in

the struggle of life. By Spencer, it is explained as an effect of the natural adaptation of the vital forces to an improved environment. But on either theory we have to suppose an original expansive power in the vital forces, ready, like an elastic gas, to rush in and improve every opportunity for larger life. This, indeed, is the very characteristic of life, that, wherever it is healthy, it possesses a superabundant fecundity, and is ever overflowing and begetting new life. The more it assimilates and acquires, the more it produces and multiplies. There is always, therefore, in living things a pressure toward larger and higher existence. Below the stage of humanity the more noticeable thing is the increasing perfection of the physical organism. But even in the animal kingdom every higher organized species shows an increase in the rational element, progressive penetration and saturation of flesh by spirit, molding the organism more perfectly to higher ends; and when, in man, the flexible hands and the erect attitude are reached and the climax of the bodily evolution seems to be attained, then the material and bodily progress gives place to an inward one. Thought and love, as they unfold so marvelously, carry man up to the heights of the spiritual life. And as the vital evolution thus reaches its climax in this splendid efflorescence of the spiritual activities, these higher qualities of the soul are recognized as superior to all that has preceded. As far as mere happiness goes, there may not be much gained, as we progress from the mollusk to the man. But in amplitude and intensity of consciousness, whether it be of pain or pleasure, in the elevation of the personal life, with its deeper emotions and clearer thought, the gain has been immense. The more we study the long story of evolution, the more we see that the thing which it has had at heart is to bring forth consciousness; to bring it forth in greatest fullness and harmonious development. All our thirst for possessions, our lower ambitions for place, power, success, are but the temporary scaffoldings, the unconscious and providential servants of this higher end. The more we better our outward life, the more clearly we see that it is of no value unless we better our inward life and improve ourselves. The man's ideal of how he may make the best of himself, and all his efforts to do so, may be at first very crude. But they keep him moving upward, and unless he strives after this fulfillment of all that becomes a man, he feels himself in woeful debt to that creative source which has endowed him with his higher faculties. Unless he improves and utilizes his nature to its highest possibilities, the spectacle of his wasted life is a spectacle of inconsistency and inequity that violates the unities of the universe, arousing the spectator to condemnation and the perpetrator to remorse.

"Any moral and rational being is therefore bound to aim at the development of his spiritual personality, his true being, to the fullest, noblest, and highest life possible. But is this self-perfection the ultimate end of human duty? If so, is it not a very selfish aim? It would be if sought alone. But its fundamental condition is that it can not be successfully gained alone. A second great lesson of the law of evolution, equally important in its bear-

ing on the principles of morals, is the solidarity of life. Through the great laws of descent and inheritance all the generations of life are bound together in a continuous vital chain. In the light of modern science humanity is one vast organism, and each individual is a cell in the social tissue into which he was born. As the habits, efforts, and even ideals of the youth live in the man, so the thoughts and deeds, the faithfulness or negligence, of our ancestors live in the spiritual life of to-day ; and ours shall live in the victories or disappointments of posterity. We have no more right than we have a possibility of living to ourselves alone or for the present, independent of the past and future. We are bound in our moral decisions to weigh our actions and motives with regard to their influence on the elevation or depression of the human race as a whole. The supreme and ultimate end of moral action, therefore, is the evolution of the completest and highest soul life of humanity ; not that of one individual cell or personal nerve of the body politic, but the great all-connected organism of our social life, lifting it to higher life, not merely in outward comfort and efficiency, but much more in the realms of higher spiritual perfection, in heart and head and conscience. Those motives are morally good which thus tend to elevate humanity ; those bad, which impede or degrade this spiritual development of our race. This is not a standard (as Mr. Spencer has admitted that of happiness to be) which must be set aside practically throughout a large part of conduct, but it is one that can everywhere be safely and advantageously applied.

“It is evident that all things are not equally conducive to this development of the higher life of humanity. Those which are antagonistic should be suppressed ; those which contribute little should be restrained or subordinated. Whenever there comes a conflict (as is usual in cases of moral decision or perplexity) there the law of morality is to sacrifice the lower to the higher. The right is not so much a fixed formula as the constant choice of the higher alternative, most promotive of humanity's spiritual progress, over the lower alternative, which impedes it. And it is evident how, without any change of its principle of decision, morality may yet, at different levels of civilization, dictate quite different outward acts, because of their different relation and bearing on the ultimate end (ever the same) of the elevation of our race and the perfection of our spiritual being. That variation in outward conduct and specific acts which moral codes show in different social conditions is, from this point of view, not a reproach to morality, but the wise diversity of the moral consciousness, ever constant in its purpose and principle, in best realizing its ideal. And, moreover, when we adopt this nobler standard of the right, the fact that an act involves with it some pain does not make it thereby in a certain measure wrong, as Mr. Spencer holds ; but pain itself is recognized as one of the chief and most valuable educational forces in developing the spiritual consciousness of our race.

“Again, let us look for ourselves and see what evolution and science have to tell us about the origin of duty and disinterestedness. In point of fact,

were the primitive instincts of man wholly egoistic? Was his normal state that of a free fight, each against all? Is it only by political and ecclesiastical coercions, by social and industrial pressures, and the magic chemistry of heredity, that these experiences of selfish utility have been transformed into our moral instincts and intuitions? This is not the teaching of science. It is an error, due not to tracing man's genealogy back too far, but not far enough. Spencer and Lubbock and their school go back to the imbruted savage of Africa or Australia, and say: 'Thus selfish and bloodthirsty and thoroughly immoral was the state of primitive man.' But this is inverting the real sequence of cause and effect. It is not civilization that produces the moral nature, but the moral nature that generates civilization; and it is precisely because such tribes have been deficient in average moral quality that they have failed to march upward on the path of civilization with the rest of mankind, and have switched off instead into these blind alleys of degradation. Natural history shows us that peaceful and well-ordered society does not have to wait for the later man, nor even the first man, before it could come into existence. It existed ages before man, and in ranks of life far below the scale of humanity. Among the bees, the ants, the beavers, the hundreds of different animal species that live together in communities, peaceful society exists in forms so highly developed as to excite the astonishment of all who have studied them. No animal, indeed, exists alone as a solitary individual. From the lowest to the highest the social environment is the condition of the renewal of existence and successful continuance of life.

"And as peaceful and well-organized society did not begin with man, so neither altruism nor the moral instincts had their beginning with him. It may be, as is said, that no creature, however high in the scale, is absolutely unselfish. But I may retort, with equal truth, no creature, however low, is absolutely selfish. For, even to perpetuate the species, there must come into play sexual and parental instincts whose outreach is far greater and higher than self. The solitary species whose members prey on one another are, as a rule, the species whose members are small, which are dying out. The animal species that are large and numerous are those that are gregarious, and wherever they are gregarious, there they are found (as with the migratory birds, the bands of seal, buffalo, prairie dogs, and monkeys, the communities of beetles, ants, and wasps), giving aid to one another—an aid that is a most essential element of their success in the struggle of existence. Natural science thus shows that it is not individual self-seeking, but social co-operation, that is the more effective factor in evolution.

"And, moreover, this social life is itself conditioned upon the instinctive altruism, the rudimentary moral sense of the species. All naturalists who have studied gregarious groups have noticed among them not merely instincts of mutual helpfulness, but a sense of personal rights and the duty of just dealing with their fellow-members in the group, as instincts more or less developed. In the villages of the prairie dogs and beavers each has its

own resting place, which the others respect. So with the sparrows and crows on returning from their migrations; and if a lazy sparrow tries to appropriate the nest that a comrade is building, the whole flock will interfere to punish him.

“Even in the animal kingdom, then, the moral sense, in a rudimentary form, exists. It is what keeps all social groups from falling to pieces, and promotes their upward evolution. And when we reach the human sphere, what else characterizes it than the greater restriction of the selfish impulses by the growing sense of justice and sympathy in the community? What else makes tribes the fittest to survive than the soundness and strength of their moral nature—the courage, temperance, virtue, and loyalty of its members? These are, in fact, inherent conditions of social welfare; while their opposites—licentiousness, drunkenness, cowardice, indolence, lack of patriotism—are inherent discords and violations of our normal social relations.

“It is evident, then, that our intuitions of justice and benevolence are far older than those political restraints, awe of ancestral ghosts, or calculations of utility, in which Mr. Spencer would find their beginning. Our moral intuitions are rather the uprisings into consciousness and into activity of the stable laws of social and progressive life; they are the natural manifestation of that expansive tendency, that constant overflow of life beyond the bounds of self, the commingling of its being and efforts with that of its fellows, which characterizes life itself wherever it is healthily active. The richest life always shows itself that which most tends to lavish itself and share its own with others. The impulses of disinterestedness, the outgoings of sympathy and largess, are therefore nothing artificial, nothing late and adventitious, but as native to human existence as it is for the mother of a newborn child to give her milk to the babe.

“That the moral nature of man has grown up from very crude beginnings I do not deny; but I contend that it has not been manufactured out of purely sensational or unmoral elements. It has grown from a genuinely moral germ, and has become a clear vision of genuinely moral laws and relations. If no creative fiat can be believed to have created something out of nothing, when the world began, still less is evolution able to perform such a contradiction. The moral fruits that humanity produces require a moral germ at the start; this is required even on the theory of evolution itself; for if the moral sense has been developed by natural selection, preserving and unfolding the good, then the good must have been already there, at least in embryo, to be thus chosen and ripened.

“There is no tribe of savages so degraded as not to exhibit such rudimentary moral traits. The most careful examination in this field that has been made is undoubtedly that of C. Staniland Wake, in his *Evolution of Morality*, and he finds everywhere, even in the most barbarous tribes, a sense of right. This manifests itself not only as a sense of the right to his own life which the savage feels—a right shown by the indignant passion with



THE WEST VIRGINIA STATE BUILDING.



THE WISCONSIN STATE BUILDING.

which he defends it—but also as a feeling of right to the game he has caught, the weapons he has made, the skins in which he clothes himself, and the cave or lair in which he sleeps. This sense of right to a man's own life and the fruit of his personal efforts no doubt goes back to the very beginning of man's career as man; for even in his Darwinian cousins, the apes, and in animals far lower in the scale, it already exists. Witness the bird's sense of lawful claim to its nest, the beast's to its den, the dog's to its bone.

“But is not all this, it may be asked, a form of selfishness? And can we explain the transition from this claim for one's own to that respect for others rights which constitutes justice and morality (in any proper sense) by any other forces than by such hereditary fears and political and ecclesiastical restraints as Mr. Spencer has suggested? On the contrary, this primitive indignation, which so often far transcends the bounds of prudence or policy, moves already on a higher plane than that of selfish interest, and it expands to impersonal amplitude by a much quicker and simpler method than by that soft solder of alarms and experienced utilities to which Mr. Spencer resorts; for, as plainly as we can not have two adjacent hills without a valley between them, so the logical corollary of my own right is, first, a corresponding duty in myself to maintain that right, and second, a corresponding duty in my neighbor to respect it; and as reason develops to form general notions of man as man, of right as right, the sense of right belonging to one's self would be extended to one's family, tribe, and nation. Whatever encroachment was regarded as a wrong when directed against one's self would, by mental generalization, be also looked on as a wrong when directed against a fellow-tribesman; and next, as reason developed, it would be seen that, to be consistent, we should respect these rights even against ourselves; and in obedience to the duty we owe to others, we should restrain our own desires when they injure our neighbor. If those we are dealing with are men like ourselves, and we are members of one social order with them, then the claims we make upon them for the security of our own rights become the measure of our own obligations in similar circumstances. This is the self-evident equation demanded by the impartial reason; and therefore, as reason develops and the sensibility with its selfish tendencies loses its earlier predominance over human nature, man looks at both conduct and character from an impersonal standpoint; reciprocity, that Golden Rule of morals, becomes an intuitive law of social intercourse; and morality enlarges its sway beyond all personal and tribal limitations till it recognizes all mankind as one family, each possessed of equal rights, and bound together in universal relations.

“And now we may consider that critical question in ethics, What sanction or binding power over man has duty? What is the source of the authority of righteousness? or has it, indeed, any real authority? In the Spencerian system of ethics the sense of duty possesses only an illusive independence. It is an echo of our ancestors' varied dreads and the social re-

straints by which humanity has been tied down till these restraints have become a second nature. We follow duty because it is, on the whole, more conducive to happiness, special and general. Such is Mr. Spencer's teaching. But such sanctions are mere ropes of sand. We need more binding ties, a more authoritative command, if the sense of duty is not to vanish from the earth as fast as such views spread abroad, and vanish, too, without waiting for that perfectly evolved man who, Mr. Spencer tells us, will no longer need it. Can evolution or science supply such a basis and authority? I believe it does. We need only to look at that great law, the solidarity of the universe, the vital unity of life, in view of which Mr. Spencer has called his system of thought the Synthetic Philosophy. Life on earth forms a continuous whole. Humanity is one great vital organism, where the interests of the individual and the community are inseparable. Egoistic pleasure is an illusion. I can reap no pleasure separate from that of others. Our social relations form therefore an intermeshed network, a vibrant vital tissue. These intimate relations are realities, and out of them naturally arise all those common rights and duties which must be recognized in order that the social organism may work normally and healthily. The moral law is seated in the very structure of the universe, for it is the natural concord which manifests the unity of being, and is as indispensable to social existence as the force of gravitation to the continuance of the planetary system. The moral necessity that man feels is but the full-blown blossom in our spiritual consciousness of this sacred unity and natural bond—a bond one and the same in essence with that which swings the planets in punctual rhythm round the sun and bends the mother's head in love and helpfulness over the cradle of her child.

"This idea of the right is undecomposable and unique. It pronounces not what is or may be, but what must be; and if cold facts oppose it, it retorts: 'So much the worse for the facts. If life is spared me, I will change those facts, and if I die in the effort my martyr blood shall found a new social order where that which ought to be shall be.' Its worth and authority are superior even to individual or social happiness. Before the tribunal of righteousness the iniquity on which a comfortable majority fattens is none the less an iniquity. To a true man—yes, even to the man who theoretically resolves duty into a mere evolution of the laws of comfort, as Prof. Huxley does—truth and right have a higher claim than any considerations of general welfare. For was it not this eminent scientist and professed utilitarian himself who said: 'Suppose theology established the existence of an evil deity (and some theologians, even Christian ones, have come very near this), is the religious affection to be transferred from the ethical idea to any such omnipotent demon? I trow not. Better a thousand times that the human race should perish under his thunderbolts than that it should say "Evil, be thou my good."' These are the instinctive sentiments of every heart that has discerned the sanctity of the moral ideal, and they plainly exhibit its supe-

rior authority to all calculation of the surplus of pleasure. The sovereignty of duty is a sovereignty as eternal and inherent as it is unbought.

"The crudeness of man's early moral perceptions and the long process of development through which they have been molded must be admitted. But must we say, therefore, that their testimony is untrustworthy and their sovereignty an illusion? One might as well say that the grape is not to be reckoned sweet or the rose beautiful because they began their life as bitter, unsightly buds. One might as well say that the vision of our eyes is not trustworthy because these organs were developed from inferior and imperfect ones, and the first rudiment of an eye that appeared was hardly worthy to be called an eye at all. There is a skepticism that doubts all knowledge because it accepts no objective realities. But it has been the precise work of modern science to vindicate the objective reality of things, and with it the trustworthiness of our faculties. It is because the air and its undulations exist and act upon us that they call the special organs of hearing into existence and mold them into harmony with the laws of acoustics. It is because there are actual physical relations between extended things that there have been developed in us the intuitive mathematic and geometric laws of space and matter, whose relations and properties they express.

"So it is because there are actual moral forces pressing upon and molding man, certain objective moral relations in the midst of which he is set, that his moral vision has perceived and affirmed these laws. The moral forces and conditions precede and mold society and awake the latent ethical sense, just as the magnetic forces group in symmetric forms the iron filings scattered on a paper held over a magnet. As we recognize our union for good or ill with our fellows, and that reason and honor both require us in self-consistency to give to others whatever rights we claim from them, justice and love become our sovereign laws. Man finds himself a part of a moral universe in which he has grown up—an inseparable part of a great organic web, by whose vital forces his moral nature has been molded.

"The power that manifests itself in the universe about us (and equally the power that rules within us) is a power that makes for righteousness. Vice and injustice ever go to pieces and to annihilation before it. The social life and the sympathetic forces gain steadily upon the isolated and the selfish life, so that the union of man with man and of humanity with all the rest of creation steadily increases. The ideals of beauty, truth, and virtue draw us upward and onward toward the goal of an ever-enlarging perfection.

"The infinite world organism is the body and manifestation of God, and the laws of that whole, then, are the eternal laws of God. Under the reiterated impressions of that world life in which we are environed and with the clarified vision of truth that is given where the impartial mind begins to look out on the world, the inherent principles of the universal reason reflect themselves in the mirror of the human reason. As the plastic tablets of the human heart vitally react to the constantly repeated imprints of the righteous cos-

mic life, the great eternal laws of that divine essence emerge at length in human consciousness as moral instincts and intuitions. Our higher aspirations have such spontaneous authority because they are revelations of our deepest needs and most essential nature—the prophetic voice of that destiny of which we are still, for the most part, unconscious. Morality is the victory of the divine life in us, ‘the inward sovereign spirit of the universe that has ever moved onward from chaos to cosmos, from lifelessness to life, from the outer to the inner.’ Whenever we do a right action we unite ourselves with that great tide which sweeps through eternity, through which every star keeps its orbit, every cell has its appointed place and honor, and the ‘most ancient heavens are fresh and strong.’ Through this universal unity all parts of the world and all its varied events, every obedient member of its great whole, are bound together in an orderly, interdependent divine life. This is what furnishes the scientific foundation of ethics; and it is the instinctive feeling of this vital and eternal solidarity of our life with the universal life which gives our sense of obligation its transcendent sacredness.

“A candid examination of evolution and the constitution of Nature and society does not overthrow duty, but restores to her her scepter and lawful sovereignty over human life. The true aim of human life is nothing less than the closest possible approximation we can reach in such a moral and intellectual perfection as is exhibited in the being from whom we emanate.

“Evolution from the lower to the higher, from the carnal to the spiritual, is not merely the path of man’s past pilgrimage, but the destiny to which the future calls him, for it is the path that brings his spirit into closest resemblance and most intimate union with the divine essence itself. It is to this, nothing lower than this, that both morality and religion summon man. It is to this that the Divine Spirit itself—not merely by these high yearnings after perfection which distinguish the chosen of our race, but alike by that common instinct for the betterment of our life, which is the condition of all material progress—it is, I say, to this resemblance to the divine and intimate union with him that that Holy Spirit itself summons us. For this instinct for the perfection of our life, whether in its material or in its spiritual form, is the abiding witness in man of that infinite spirit which is ever educing higher from lower and better from worse in infinite progression.”

The final session of this Congress was held in the evening of the 29th, and was devoted to the subject of Religion as affected by the Doctrine of Evolution. The papers presented were: The Relation of Evolutionary Thought to the Belief in Immortality, by Dr. Charles T. Stockwell, of Massachusetts; The Evolution of the Old Testament Religion, by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, of Illinois; The Evolution of Apostolic Christianity, by the Rev. Howard MacQueary, of Michigan; Christianity in the Evolution of Religious Thought, by the Rev. Frank N. Riale, of Iowa; The Future of Religious Evolution, by Edward P. Powell, of New York; and The Higher Evolution, by Celestia Root Lang, of Ohio.



The South Canal.

CHAPTER XII.

PRESIDENT BONNEY'S CLOSING ADDRESS.



ERNST HAECKEL,
a contributor to the Congress.

SATURDAY, October 28, President Bonney brought to a close the World's Congresses of 1893, with a farewell address and proclamation of fraternity, which we give here in full :

"The World's Congresses of 1893 were organized to establish fraternal relations among the leaders of mankind, to review the progress already achieved, to state the living problems now awaiting solution, and to suggest the means of future advancement. To promote these high ends, the World's Congress Auxiliary provided for the presentation of the intellectual and moral progress of mankind, in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, in a series of World's Congresses under the auspices of the Auxiliary, with the assistance of leaders in the various departments of human achievement.

"The work of organization began in October, 1889, was completed, and the first Congress of the series opened May 15, 1893. The last Congress embraced in the great scheme has been held during the present week, and we have now assembled to exchange our congratulations on the magnificent results of the World's Congress work ; to express our gratitude for the past, our hopes for the future, and our thanks to all whose aid has contributed to the success which we celebrate on this occasion.

"That these Congresses have been successful far beyond anticipation, that they have transformed into enduring realities the hopes of those who organized and conducted them, and that they will exercise a benign and potent influence on the welfare of mankind through the coming centuries, has been so often, so emphatically, and so eloquently declared by eminent representatives of different countries and peoples, that these statements may be accepted as established facts.

"That the material exhibit of the World's Columbian Exposition in Jackson Park is the most complete and magnificent ever presented to human view, is generally agreed, but a multitude of eminent witnesses have declared, after attendance on both, that the Intellectual and Moral Exposition of the Progress of Mankind presented in the World's Congresses of 1893 is greater and more imposing still. Thus the work of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition takes its enduring place in human history, an imperishable part of the progress of mankind.

"Although the press reports of the proceedings have in many cases been marvels of modern journalism, the general success of the Congresses has been much greater than has generally been understood. For the Congresses have been so many, and the sessions so numerous, that even that wonder of the age, the great daily newspaper, could not fully present the work of the Congresses without the suppression of other important news. It is with gratitude for the admirable service rendered that this explanation is made.

"As a general rule, what have been termed 'the minor Congresses' have been declared by those who conducted them, or otherwise participated in them, to have been the most important of the kind ever held, in the character, variety, and number of the subjects presented and the eminence and representative character of the speakers and writers. The very high quality of the papers read has been a subject of daily comment.

"Considering all the circumstances, it may be said that the programmes prepared have been executed with remarkable fidelity. A few of those whose names were announced have failed to appear or send their papers, but many others have come and more than filled the vacant places. Being human, the proceedings have, of course, not been perfect, but the wonder is that the imperfections have been so few and small, and the merits so conspicuous and so great.

"The genuineness of the attendance and participation deserves special mention. The World's Congress Auxiliary has had no funds for compensation, expenses, or entertainment of participants in the Congresses. In a few cases the Committees of Organization have raised funds for such purposes by private subscription, but, for the most part, the writers and speakers have come at their own expense, and without any pecuniary reward or assistance, to take part in the great Intellectual and Moral Exposition of 1893.

"No sign has ever been displayed on the walls of the Memorial Art Palace to draw the passing crowds. Those who have come to the Con-

gresses have found the place of holding them without any such aid. The aggregate attendance has been very large. While some of the Congresses have drawn audiences limited only by the size of the halls of meeting, others, perhaps equally important, have been attended by a comparatively small number of eminent representatives of the interests involved. But whether a double audience has filled both of the great audience rooms of Columbus and Washington to overflowing, or a small company has occupied one of the halls on the upper floor of the Memorial Art Palace, the high character of the proceedings has been maintained.

"Another feature of the Congresses deserves special mention. It is their self-governing quality. There has been little need for the enforcement of rules and regulations. Few speakers have given occasion for a call to order. The spirit of order, decorum, dignity, and peace has been sovereign during the sessions of these Congresses. This ruling spirit has so promptly rebuked any attempt to overstep the limits of propriety as to leave little occasion for presiding officers to exercise their authority ; little occasion to guard seats reserved for delegates, or to insist upon tickets or badges of admission.

"The machinery of organization and the general regulations adopted for the government of the Congresses have proved remarkably satisfactory. The exclusion of controversy, attack, and resolutions of judgment has secured a freedom, ease, and equality otherwise unattainable ; and has exalted the dignity of the proceedings by making the writers and speakers feel that their utterances were addressed to the deliberate judgment of the world, instead of the impulse that might control the assembly for an hour.

"The local Committees of Organization, the Committees of Co-operation on the part of participating organizations, the Advisory Councils of the various Congresses, selected from the different countries, and the General Honorary Members of the World's Congress Auxiliary, constitute a practical working machinery, which could hardly be improved, if other World's Congresses were to be arranged and conducted.

"The wisdom of the general plan of arrangements has been abundantly demonstrated. Without a definite organization in well-defined and strictly regulated departments, general divisions, and sections, no such success as we now celebrate would have been possible.

"If the so-called Secularists or Freethinkers were denied admission to the Religious Congresses, it was not from any personal ill-will, but because they had no religious faith to affirm and no religious achievements to set forth. If the Mormon Church was not admitted to the Parliament of Religions, it was not because of any discrimination against its religious faith, but for the reason that its disclaimer of a practice forbidden by the laws of the country had not become sufficiently established to warrant such admission. In both these cases, and in some others of a less conspicuous character, the action of the World's Congress Auxiliary was in conformity with the highest rules of

charity and justice. No attack was made on any excluded interest or organization.

“The extraordinary merit of the proceedings of the whole series of Congresses renews our confidence that the Government of the United States, which sent our publications and communications throughout the world, and gave the World's Congress Auxiliary an exalted position as the duly authorized agency to organize and conduct the World's Congresses of 1893, will furnish the means to publish the entire proceedings in an encyclopædic form, and send the same to the colleges, the universities, and the leading libraries of the countries which have participated in the World's Columbian Exposition, as the most appropriate, enduring, and valuable testimonial of the appreciation by the American people of the co-operation and aid of the other peoples of the world in the great events of this quadro-centennial year. To that end, let all who have been interested in the Congresses exert their influence in favor of such a publication and distribution.

“In one of the earlier publications of the World's Congress Auxiliary, it was declared to be our purpose to bring all the departments of human progress into harmonious relations with each other ; to crown the whole glorious work by the formation and adoption of better and more comprehensive plans than have hitherto been made to promote the progress, prosperity, unity, peace, and happiness of the world ; and to secure the effectual prosecution of such plans by the organization of a series of world-wide fraternities, through whose efforts and influence the moral and intellectual forces of mankind may be made dominant throughout the world.

“This declaration I now repeat, and in conformity with it proclaim the permanent establishment of The World's Congress Fraternity as the Universal Brotherhood of Learning and Virtue.

“The original membership of this fraternity will consist of the officers and members, the Committees of Organization, the Committees of Co-operation, the Advisory Councils, and the General Honorary Members of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and the participants in the proceedings of the several Congresses. The members of these several classes, in any country or city, or other appropriate locality, may organize and conduct local centers for the continuation, in any convenient form, of the World's Congress work, and may communicate with the corresponding classes in other countries or localities, and unite with them in furtherance of the ends in view, as occasion may from time to time require. In case of any future World's Congress, or International Congress, the organizations indicated may offer and give any appropriate and desired co-operation and aid, in conformity with the general principles and rules which have governed the Congresses of 1893. Additional committees and councils may be appointed, and further proceedings taken, if need therefor shall hereafter arise. The present organization will be continued for fraternal and historic purposes and for such further active work as can not otherwise be better accomplished.

"The time now at my command will not permit me even to name the many committees of organization by which the various Congresses were arranged. It is, however, both my duty and my pleasure to say of them that the fidelity, the patience and the zeal, the ability, the discrimination and the executive skill with which the chairmen and members of the more than two hundred committees of organization have conducted the correspondence, made the arrangements, and formed the programmes for more than two hundred Congresses which have been held in the twenty departments of the Auxiliary, constitute one of the marvels of the World's Congress work. The discipline and subordination which have attended the execution of the great and complicated scheme would do honor to the best organized department of any government. So efficiently and so silently have these committees done their work that the great public they have served needs to be reminded of their part in the splendid results achieved. A publication which will present the full membership of these and the other committees of the World's Congress Auxiliary is in contemplation.

"These words of praise are intended, quite explicitly, to apply to the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Many predictions were made at the outset that this branch would prove an unmanageable part of the organization. But these predictions have not been verified. More than sixty committees of women have taken part in the work. A part of one of those committees, acting under a misapprehension, resigned, but the action of the various committees, as a whole and in detail, has been most creditable. For conformity to the plan of the work, for subordination to executive authority, for economy of time, and for the wise and efficient arrangement of the programmes intrusted to their charge, the officers and committees of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary are entitled to the highest credit. It would be easy to specify cases in which these qualities were conspicuously displayed.

"The magnificent array of eminent thinkers and leaders who have contributed papers or addresses for the Congresses deserve whatever honors our own and other countries can bestow, for they have made the world their debtor. Those papers and addresses constitute such an encyclopædia of the best thoughts of all countries on the living questions of the age as can not elsewhere be found.

"The first attempt to bring all the departments of human progress into harmonious relations in a series of international congresses has triumphed. The World's Congress idea is established among the peoples of the earth. Every participating organization and interest has been exalted by its association with the others. 'Not things, but men! Not matter, but mind!' will henceforth rank among the commanding watchwords of mankind.

"The Parliament of Religions has emancipated the world from bigotry, and henceforth civil and religious liberty will have a larger and easier sway.

"Labor has found in religion and social science its strongest allies, and

will henceforth advance to victory along the lines of law and order and peace.

“ Woman’s progress will secure for her in the larger family of the school, the Church, and the state a position perfectly corresponding to that which she rightfully holds in the smaller school and church and state of the family.

“ Moral and social reform has adopted the methods of science, and charities will henceforth be administered for the prevention as well as for the relief of social evils.

“ Commerce, finance, production, transportation, and distribution have learned that the gilded piracy of destructive competition must be abandoned for the beneficent policy of co-operation, to secure the best results to all concerned.

“ Science and philosophy have learned the lesson of fraternity and human service ; and education, thoroughly humanized and exalted, offers its priceless treasures to ‘ all sorts and conditions of men,’ while the world applauds the new crusade against the evils of ignorance.

“ Let this suffice. The progress made in the World’s Congresses of 1893 will not be lost. The movement of which they are a part holds the whole world in its embrace, and will not cease till it shall have accomplished the mandate of God to unite all the peoples of the earth in ‘ the bonds of peace and in righteousness of life.’ It is because we have served his plans that success has crowned our efforts.

“ The last session of the World’s Congress season is now to close. As we say ‘ Good-by ’—that tenderest form of invocation, ‘ God be with you ’—let us recall with grateful hearts a few of the golden expressions in which judgment upon our work has been pronounced by judges competent to pass upon its merits : ‘ The World’s Congresses of 1893 have advanced the thought of the world fifty years.’ ‘ The proceedings of these Congresses mark a new era in literature by their wealth of thought and felicity of expression, gathered from all parts of the world.’ ‘ These Congresses will exercise a powerful influence on mankind for centuries to come.’ ‘ The Parliament of Religions is the most wonderful event since the time of Christ.’ ‘ A hundred years hence everybody will remember that there was a great Religious Congress of all peoples, held in Chicago in 1893.’ ‘ The results of these Congresses seem likely to be too vast and far-reaching to be easily specified.’ ‘ These Congresses are the most notable and valuable events of the time. They embody the best intelligence of the age upon all human interests.’ These expressions are but fair examples of those which we have heard from day to day, and in many forms during the sessions of the World’s Congresses. Rarely, indeed, does such swift fulfillment wait on prophecy as we have witnessed ; rarely, indeed, do those engaged in a new and great undertaking find such appreciation and encouragement as it has been our felicity to receive. But, above all, let us rejoice that our success has been achieved in a practical and earnest endeavor to help our fellow-men, and

that in all our labors fidelity to duty has been our guiding star. Four years have passed since we entered upon our undertaking—four wonderful years, whose great events make them seem like four centuries, and now the hour of parting has arrived.

“With warmest thanks to all who have taken part in the work we celebrate, and who, representing all the continents and most of the countries of the earth, now constitute the World's Congress Fraternity and the vanguard of human progress, especially to those who journeyed from distant lands to share our labors, and some of whom we rejoice again to meet in these closing ceremonies, and with an abiding faith that henceforth the armies of learning, virtue, industry, and peace will march triumphantly forward till the hosts of ignorance, vice, idleness, and strife shall everywhere be conquered and dispersed, and law, liberty, and justice reign supreme, I now declare the close of the World's Congresses of 1893.”



A gondolier.



View on State Avenue, looking west.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EDUCATIONAL AND MORAL VALUE OF THE EXPOSITION.

What individuals learned from it, and what nations learned—How it may affect home life, educational methods, public morals, and universal brotherhood.

BY SELIM HOBART PEABODY.



FREDERICK S. WINSTON,
Member of the Directory.

IN attempting to estimate the influences, material or spiritual, of this great enterprise, we must first consider the motives and purposes of its inception. Its character, like that of a living organism, was inherent in its germ. The beginning of an oak is an acorn. During the later centuries the people of lands widely remote have frequently assembled in large numbers, and for friendly purposes, but with results as widely divergent as were the inspirations that attracted them. Many of these gatherings have been essentially commercial.

To some central point, as Lower Novgorod, in central Russia, merchants brought from distant lands the wares they expected to exchange for other objects of utility or luxury, stimulated by the hope of gain. The question in the mind of the toiling traveler, outward bound, was, "Can I sell my burden at the Fair?"—homeward bound, "Can I sell my burden at my home?"—at all times, "What profit shall I gain?" As every impulse radiant from a thought has an educative force, be it never so small, such gatherings may not be denied any educative value, but that value is only incidental and casual. It

holds no important or recognized place. Such a World's Fair is only a wide world's market. The world's great expositions, held within the past half century, have differed essentially from such fairs in their inception, development, and personality of attendance, and therefore in their results. In them the commercial element, though never eliminated, has purposely been made subordinate. The manufacturer came not so much to sell as to learn the exact place of his wares in the swelling wave of competition—who could offer the best, and why. The buyer came not so much to buy as to learn what was most worthy of his investment. Individuals, communities, nations, met in friendly though earnest competition, each hoping to win the insignia of highest merit for quality of product or merit of design. Let the honor rest upon the most worthy. The motto of ruder days remains good: "Let him get who has the power; let him keep who can," but the significance is changed. For the gross supremacy of brute and material force is substituted the subtler, more ethereal, but even more masterful supremacy of divinely born intelligence.

The exposition has assumed a new aspect. The articles exposed become the best of their kind. Even the farmer, by Ayr or Tweed or by the Illinois, thinks far differently of the bullock he sends to the monthly fair to sell for what it will bring than of the head of his herd which he exposes at the annual display to exemplify his skill as a breeder of superior animals. By a natural process of selection, only the best is offered for competition. The exhibits come from wider and remoter regions. As the fittest survivors of many well-contested conflicts, they meet for final judgment before the court of last resort.

Mounting thus from one altitude to the next, we reach the elevated plateau where we find that a world's exposition has a function far higher than the discrimination of sweepstakes. The individual has become only a significant fragment occupying a place in a larger mosaic. The exposition stands at the meeting of the world's highways, where gather the nations of the earth, burdened each with the evidences of its newest and noblest achievements. It is an epitome of the world's progress, a history and a prophecy. The latest discoveries, the newest inventions, the triumphs in art, in science, in education, in the solution of social and even of religious problems, are here arrayed. Here stand the most effective dynamo, the swiftest locomotive, the telescope piercing the remotest heavens, the most productive printing press, the most destructive artillery; machines that spin, weave, set type, thrash grain, mine coal, drill rock, fashion railway bars; the artist's dream on canvas or in marble, in clustering column or aspiring dome, in woven fabric or in decorated vase; the flower's effulgence and the fruit's alluring blush; all products of the soil, the mine, the sea; whatever testifies to the industry, the skill, the creative and almost divine power of human thought when stimulated to its most earnest endeavors. Thus at each latest exposition doth Mother Earth make a new inventory of her acquisitions. Thus does

she erect at each station in her march toward the stars a monument inscribed with the records of her victories.

There is a fascination in the enumeration of such items. In a way, they are properly accepted as indices of the progress they are supposed to record. They are like the mountain summits towering above the masses that stand as their foundations. They are like the flashing waves that run along the sands before the surges of the advancing tide. They mark the day and the man to be recorded on the historic page. On such a day Galileo was the first to see the moons of Jupiter. On such a day Newton formulated the law of gravitation. On such a day Stephenson steamed away on the Rocket, Morse signaled "What hath God wrought?" Ericsson's Monitor fought her first battle, Bessemer cast his first ingot. They are the standard bearers who precede the embattled host, but the host constantly aligns itself upon the guidons as they are newly advanced. This upheaval of the mountain mass, this silent swelling of the tide, this surging push of the line of battle that will not be denied—each is significant of a vastly greater and more pervasive force.

It may be true that no essential change has been made in the steam engine that Watt devised more than a century ago, but the engines of the Majestic or the locomotive whose miles keep tally with the minutes have absorbed in their designs the fittest of a thousand improving devices. The daily paper that comes to us for a cent, the ring of the telephone and the click of the typewriter, the phosphor of the match and the oil of the rock, the rail of steel that insures safer and swifter transit beneath the throbbing steam or the viewless vibrations of the electric wave—these show how constantly the discovery of yesterday becomes the necessity of to-day, best serving the wants of a waiting world after it has received the improving analysis of an unnumbered host, whose labors for the most part will be unhonored and unsung.

In this presentation of the purposes of a great exposition, the subject has been viewed generically, without reference to specific examples. To none are these propositions more applicable than to the Columbian Exposition of 1893, an example as eminently typical as it was fully developed. The student devoted to any department of research found here his most coveted opportunity for investigation. The chart of the world's progress was spread before him. In certain instances, as in the Department of Transportation exhibits, there was an epitome, not merely of a condition of advanced superiority, but of all the successive periods passed through, from that of the Appian Way to that of the bridge over the Forth; from the experimental Rocket to the Pullman train and the Empress-Queen locomotive, with all the multitudinous appliances of present railway practice. Such objective instruction was never before so completely organized.

The world's progress was illustrated in yet another fashion. It has been said that the starlight of a cloudless sky consists of radiant beams that repre-

sent numberless historic ages. The light from one star occupies three years in its flight before it enters our eyes ; that from another has been journeying three thousand years ; each ray has been coming for a time determined by the remoteness of the celestial body where its vibrations began. Hence, if one of these rays should be conceived to bring a message from its distant star, that message would be determined by something that occurred at that star when the light set forth on its journey, perhaps ages ago, and the accumulation of these records would be the gathering of chapters of ancient history. At no former exposition were the earth's folk so numerous represented. Each quarter of the globe furnished its contingent. Aboriginal tribes came from the arctic zone and from the southern ocean ; from the heart of Africa and from the North American forests. The Aryan, the Mongolian, the Semitic, the Malaysian, met and mingled, until the Pentecostal miracle was repeated. From all these exhibits, each typical in its way, might have been arranged the gamut of civilization ; the Dahoman, Sitting Bull, and the Quackuls ; the Eskimo, the Laplander, the tiny Javanese, the Bedouin, the Brahman and the Parsee of India, Persians, Cingalese, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese ; Turk, Bulgarian, Greek, Pole, all peoples from Central and Southern America ; all peoples of Europe and of the United States. While the Exposition thus set forth the peculiarities of every land and every clime, it also illustrated every phase of human progress, from days before those of the Pharoahs and Confucius to the moment when the President of the United States, by a touch of his finger, released all the sprites that were awaiting his signal of emancipation.

Thus, by suggestion rather than by exhaustive analysis, do we discover the first phase of the educative value of the great Exposition. It was an epitome of all that was extant in the world as the outcome and the evidence of its advancement in every department of human effort ; it was a condensed history of the successive epochs through which the human race has pursued its long and toilsome march toward the realization of its nobler destinies. To this may be referred all that is implied in the phrase "acquisition of knowledge"—the boundless opportunity for laborious examination, notebook in hand, amid a bewildering infinity of exhibits, over which no human being ever won the mastery. Education is not instruction so much as it is inspiration. This doctrine is often stated, commonly accepted, and yet, apparently is but feebly appreciated. Educative values, educational results, are to be estimated not by facilities for imparting knowledge, but by the power of kindling in the soul its latent energies and of developing rightly balanced character. Knowledge is power, not *per se*, but as the stimulus of thought, or as the material on which the thinking mind may work. Prometheus bringing fire from heaven typified the true educator.

In numerous instances the history of the great expositions records their power to startle nations from a fancied security into new and vigorous action. The surprises of the exposition of 1851 are not yet forgotten. It was there

made evident that in certain particulars the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland did not maintain the supremacy which they had long fancied was their own, and a commission of Parliament was directed to report upon the facts and their causes. In due time important educational reforms were instituted, and the agitation found a responsive echo in the United States, to which may be attributed the foundation of so many great technological and industrial schools in our country.

The art exhibits at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 were a revelation to the masses of the American people, and from them flowed an inspiration that founded art schools and ingrafted art instruction upon many of our school systems, followed by a genuine revival of plastic, pictorial, and decorative art that beautifies and enriches all our life, public and private. To similar sources of inspiration, found also in the great expositions, may be traced the new renaissance, which now holds so strong a place in all enlightened nations.

In the face of well-remembered maxims that forbid premature reckonings it may be hazardous to predict any specific educational movement such as has been cited. But in certain aspects the Exposition was peculiar, and by its peculiarities its capacity for instruction and inspiration was augmented. Its scheme of organization was broadened and was carefully differentiated. As it was evident that no departing visitor could ever boast that he had compassed the whole, it was imperative that none should have occasion to lament that nothing therein concerned or interested him. Proper classification aided the student in finding what he sought, and that in such collocation as to make its lessons most impressive. Of the eleven exposition departments, five had not before been separately organized in a great exposition. These were the departments of Fisheries, Mines, Transportation, Electricity, and Ethnology. In each case, to the new department and to that from which it had been withdrawn, isolation lent an added dignity, a more elaborate administration, greater richness of detail, a completer presentation, and a much more impressive educative value. If by this arrangement exhibits were sometimes duplicated, it was only that relationships might be more clearly discerned, and that the *ensemble* of a department be more perfectly established. This movement was a step toward a more complete and therefore more desirable method of organization, which would arrange an exposition by subjects rather than by States or nations; which would collect in one group whatever the world has to offer in any special field of science, discovery, or invention. For a congeries of many displays it would substitute one grand and thoroughly organized exposition.

Another departure in exposition methods here first taken was the establishment of a department to which were admitted only such objects as had been produced by the thought or effort of women. In fact, this was a distinct and parallel exposition, comprising in its subdivisions most, if not all, of the same departments, similarly differentiated, the distinguishing feature

being not the nature of the articles but their sources of production. To this criterion of separation exceptions were taken by some women, who preferred to place their exhibits with others of the same class in the general display, courting comparison upon merit only. As an object lesson on a grand scale this exhibit achieved a great success, and it will probably have much weight in the solution of some of the social problems emphasized in the new departure.

The lessons that most impressed the millions who visited the wonders of the Exposition, which they accepted with greatest unanimity, and which they will most gladly recall as memory reproduces the events and the scenes of their pilgrimage, were those taught by the achievements of the landscape gardener and the architect. Entering upon a spacious area of virgin marsh, occupied only with alternate ridges of sand and lanes of water, vocal with the boom of the bittern, or rustling with the soft whirr of the mousing owl, these artists had absolutely *tabula rasa* for their work. There were no buildings to be removed, no trees to be preserved, no elevations to be leveled, no rocks to impede their progress. Did they wish for a lagoon, a steam dredge entering from the lake and floating in the channel made by itself readily transferred the sand from beneath to the adjacent shore, where the almost fluid material presently assumed the qualities of an unyielding foundation. Upon such foundations, with the swiftness of an exhalation, and with a simulated solidity that appeared to emulate the endurance of the Parthenon, they reared a city whose magnificent grandeur was the delight of all nations. Attuned to a perfect harmony, the different edifices were but the varied tones of one sympathetic chord. There was the deep diapason of the building for Manufactures and the Liberal Arts; the *vox humana* and the *celeste* of Agriculture and Machinery; the falsetto of Transportation; while the aspiring dome of the Administration Building, like the commanding resonance of a mighty clarion, dominated and subdued all into one grand accordant strain, whose reverberations still ring within the memories of man.

Designed under the influence of a common motive, the buildings presented that motive as interpreted by vigorous minds, acting independently under no restraints but those imposed by a style mutually accepted, a style already made glorious by the genius of two millenniums. The resulting group was such as might have been designed by the architects of the age of Pericles, builded of Pentelic marble, adorned by Phidias, and decorated by Apelles. To the visitor who, from the arch of the Water Gate, saw the Court of Honor under the light of the morning sun, or from the porches of the Administration Building when the steeds of the quadriga were gilded by his setting rays, or from any coign of vantage beneath the soft effulgence of the midnight moon, came a vision of artistic fitness, perfect, enduring, uplifting. And at the twilight hour, when the lengthening shadows were penciling the lagoons, when by sudden and successive impulses electric rays flashed along the water's edge, along uplifted architrave and gable, and climbed the ribs of

the great dome, crowning it with a coronet of glory ; when other lights burst into brilliance rivaling the sunshine ; when great searching beams, like spectral flails, thrashed the air, or poured upon groups of statuary a pure, cold whiteness like that of driven snow ; and then when from the caverns of the earth sprang streams of gleaming color, or the heavens throbbed with the coruscations of jewels that blazed forth like meteors—then the eager and delighted throngs awoke to a full appreciation of the wondrous things that science has revealed from the arcana of Nature, and has added to the joys as well as to the utilities of life.

Nor were such lessons to be learned only in the Court of Honor. By a turn of the flashing oar the gondola glided from a scene of artistic beauty, that was nevertheless wholly artificial, to another where Nature seemed

to work in her own free profusion. No longer within the restraint of marble walls, the waves washed grassy slopes and sedgy banks, where tangled thickets grew and wild flowers bloomed and water fowl concealed their nests. The Wooded Island was equally a creation of art.



JAMES C. PEASLEY,
Member of the Directory.

The millions who wandered through the thoroughfares of Jackson Park, who skimmed the lagoons in the electric boats and threaded the mazes of the Rose Garden, and consciously or unconsciously absorbed the beauty and the art revealed by decorated walls and towers and domes, must have carried to their homes impulses whose beneficial results can hardly be estimated. Everywhere will thought be given to the adornment of homes, whether palatial or humble, by planting here or there a noble tree, or sowing the seed of a trailing vine that may weave its decorative strands

over a shady porch or unsightly wall, or redeeming some neglected nook with the beauty and perfume of violets or arbutus. We shall learn how Nature and art, each the supplement of the other, may unite in the embellishment of an urban park or even of an unfrequented wayside. Thus everywhere will home and its environs become more homelike and more lovely.

The Exposition will revive among the people of our country, if not of the whole world, a clearer appreciation of the subtle and satisfying value of classic architecture and of its perfect adaptation to buildings erected for large public uses, where ample space may furnish the perspective necessary to an intelligent understanding of its harmonies.

In certain instances the immense concourses of humanity, gathered for a single purpose and inspired by similar feelings, lifted the observer into touch with the infinite, and produced an impression as lasting as it was profound. Two instances suggest themselves. The day of dedication gathered the largest audience ever assembled under one roof. It mattered not that the ostensible purpose of the occasion was absolutely defeated by the vastness of the multitude. The immense hall was filled with a resonant murmur, which resembled the sighing of the foliage in a boundless forest or the rhythmic laughter of unnumbered waves, and yet overpowered the reverberating hoof beats of a troop of cavalry riding through the adjacent aisles. The impressive ceremonies were duly observed; but the oracles were dumb, no voice rang through the arched roof. The audience only saw the prayer of the right reverend ecclesiastic, saw impassioned bursts of oratory and lofty strains of poetry; they heard but faintly strains of far-off music, swelling and receding; yet no one of that great assemblage will ever forget the sense of exultation that he was permitted a share in the grandeur of that unique and most impressive ceremony.

On the anniversary of an unprecedented calamity, rehabilitated Chicago showed that she remembered her destruction only as the day from which to reckon her grandest achievements, and on that day she passed more than three fourths of a million people through the portals of the Exposition. The avenues, the plazas, the buildings, every acre of the great inclosure, were filled with an ever-moving throng, which was thoroughly responsive to the inspiration of the occasion and the environment. There was no symbol of control, for no control was needed. There was no instance of excess, or intoxication, or disorder. There was no soldiery, and no police other than the uniformed servants of the Exposition, who were guides rather than guards. This vast multitude—intelligent, interested, happy—was itself an Exposition of the progress and the social status of an educated and free people, moving amid such scenes of beauty and such treasures of information.

The exhibits in the great buildings in Jackson Park illustrated in their several departments a portion of the noblest thoughts of men, but only after they had been clothed in material forms. But there is a universe of thought, feeling, aspiration, inspiration, which accepts no such avenue of expression. It can not be mounted, labeled, catalogued, or inclosed in glass. It touches the inmost fountains of life, reason, imagination, sensibility, will. It deals with the humanities, education, the organic life of nations, and religion. It lies deepest among the springs of human development, which it leads nearest to the summit of divine perfection. Each human soul, from the cradle to the grave, lives and moves within two distinct and separate realms. Between them only subtle influences pass, we know not how. Much there is in either that can have no counterpart in the other. No great exposition could present fully the exponents of the higher forms of human progress, if it made no provision for the intellectual and spiritual phase, and this phase, like every

other, will submit only to methods of presentation proper to itself. The spiritual can be only spiritually discerned. To this end an organization was provided bearing the modest title The World's Congress Auxiliary. Its significant motto was, "Not things, but men; not matter, but mind." From the opening of the Exposition until the close thereof the Auxiliary maintained many series of assemblages, often concurrent, each a practical exposition of advanced thought in some definite and important field. The spirit of high endeavor that pervaded these spiritual exhibits emulated the elevated standards that ruled the material collections; they were intended to show the furthest progress made in each specific field of research. These Congresses were attended by men of eminence, attracted from all parts of the world, and national lines of differentiation were most wisely erased.

As the dome of the Administration Building was the culmination of the architectural creations of the Exposition, so was the Parliament of Religions pre-eminent among the Congresses convened by the Auxiliary. For the first time, representatives of all the great creeds exchanged cordial greetings and discussed in friendly spirit, from the same platform, the cardinal doctrines of their respective beliefs. It did not follow that many, or any, went away convinced of material error; but all, as they departed, bore away to their homes, some of them antipodal, a larger respect for each other's honesty and integrity, a surer bond of sympathy in their common desire to banish evil passions from the human soul, and an abiding faith in the brotherhood of man, the offspring of the ever-living God.

And as with these, so, in some measure, with all the millions who found illumination at the World's Columbian Exposition. Each of the departing pilgrims bore with him some jewel, discovered during his exploration of the great buildings or acquired while listening at the sessions of the Auxiliary. More than all, he was filled with a livelier appreciation of the nationalities with which he had mingled, a higher respect for those dwelling in other climes, a kinder affection for all as sons of the same divine Father, a recognition that in a certain large sense he had been promoted to citizenship of the world. Who shall estimate the influences, near or remote, of these lessons in smoothing the asperities that arise between nations, in developing the hope of universal peace, founded in brotherly affection, and the substitution of reasonable concession for the arbitrament of war? Who shall estimate the stimulus which the Exposition has contributed to discovery, invention, the progress of science, wherever men search in the arcana of Nature for the laws that govern the material elements in the universe? Who shall estimate the inspiration which, imbibed at these fountains, shall burst forth as springs of living water at unexpected points all round the world, diffusing truth, right thinking, and a nobler and diviner life among all the children of men? Only in the infinite hereafter may the educational and moral values of the World's Columbian Exposition be adequately computed.



THE WASHINGTON STATE BUILDING.

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INDEX TO THE FOUR VOLUMES.

NOTE.—Only those names about which something distinctive is said are mentioned here. To enter every name in the four volumes every time it occurs would increase enormously the bulk of this Index and diminish its value. But names omitted here can generally be found by their connections. For instance, the name Ditson is not entered, but if the reader will turn to the entry Music, he can readily find the page on which the Oliver Ditson exhibit is mentioned.

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