SOME TYPICAL REFORMERS

AND

REFORMS.

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Hugh O. Pentecost's Review:

If any one wishes to be storm-beaten by a literary cyclone let him read "Valmond, the Crank," by Nero; published by the Twentieth Century Publishing Company. On the title page it is called the "forbidden book." I do not know who has forbidden it, but it is certainly a book that most people would forbid others to read if they knew what it contained; and if any one starts to read it he will know what it contains, for having begun it one can no more stop reading till he has finished it than he could let go of the handles of a highly charged galvanic battery. It is probably the most daring, impudent book that ever was written, and one of the most delightful to any one who enjoys being out in a tornado. Valmond is surely the king of cranks, and Margery is the queen of tomboy women, guilty of only one weakness, from which the most daring of authors was not quite daring enough to save her. She was brave enough to slap her lover, the terrible Valmond, in the face, to fight a duel with him, to shoot him dead, but not brave enough to face one of her own superstitions. The author of the book, whoever he is, is a genius. It is a pity he once or twice becomes commonplace, as where he makes Margery put a pistol to a policeman's head and say: "You quit," as if she were a heroine in a dime novel, instead of being a wonderfully powerful figure in a work of genius. "Valmond, the Crank," is the most outspoken and audacious attack on the Church and the present social system that ever was written, but it does not fail to smite "Infidel reformers" who would destroy everything and build nothing, as they deserve to be smitten, if there are any such. If the reader of this notice thinks he can endure the vulgarity of Swift, and not be frightened by more than the audacity of Shelley or Byron, he will be repaid by something of the genius of Balzac or Tolstoi if he reads "the forbidden book." But if he has no stomach for any but conventional literature he would better let it alone, for it might superinduce a paralytic stroke.

TWENTIETH CENTURY PUB. CO., NEW YORK.
Father Ignatius, the Self-made Monk.

BY HUGH O. PENTECOST.

I presume that you all know whom I mean when I speak of Father Ignatius. You must all have read or heard of him. He is a monk of the church of England who is conducting what is called a mission in this country. He has been on this side of the Atlantic for several months, preaching the gospel for the purpose of saving souls, and gathering money to help support his monastery in Wales. He has been preaching afternoons and evenings in New York for three weeks, and the papers have made him an object of prominence by reporting his sermons and describing his meetings and methods at considerable length. I have carefully read these reports, and last Tuesday I went to hear him explain why he became a monk.

In his lecture he made no allusions to his personal history. He merely developed an argument to justify his monastic life. I can tell you in a few words all of his history that it is necessary to know in order to follow me in what I shall say.

He was a clergyman in the English church. Like the rest of us, he had an ordinary name. I have forgotten what it was, but that is of no consequence. If
he could afford to renounce it, we can afford to forget it, or never know it.

About twenty-seven years ago he began to desire to be a monk. There were no orders of monks in the English church, and he did not wish to go into the Roman Catholic church, and so there was nothing for him to do but to become a monk on his own hook. That he did. He says his decision was finally made under the influence of a woman, who told him this was what he should do.

He adopted the rules of St. Benedict, the famous founder of monasticism in the western world, who died in 543. The woman who led him into monasticism gave him a little house in Wales, and there he went into seclusion. He succeeded in gathering about him some young enthusiasts—men and women—and became the founder of the Benedictines in the English church. The little house in Wales has become Llanthony Abbey, and there these English monks and nuns live the greater part of their time. The Abbey is not rich nor prosperous. Part of the time of Father Ignatius and others is spent in conducting missions, such as the present one, during which they mingle with the world’s people, preaching the gospel and collecting money.

The rule of St. Benedict, under which they live, requires them to take a vow of poverty which prohibits them as individuals from owning any property, to live virgin or celibate lives, to be absolutely obedient to God and their spiritual superiors, to be industrious, and not to laugh. This latter rule, however, does not prevent Father Ignatius from making his audience laugh, for at times he is quite humorous. The day I heard him he told a funny story about the Blessed Virgin Mary and her son.

The papers have described Father Ignatius as being gaunt and spare in form, as if he were half starved
from fasting and worn with holy vigils. But this is not true. He is quite plump and rosy. If it were not for his monkish garments, he would look like any other rather handsome, well-fed Englishman. He wears a monk's gown and hood, not altogether unlike a lady's waterproof coat. This gown is bound at the waist with a cord, from which depends a rosary, a string of beads, and a cross to which is attached a silver Christ in the attitude of crucifixion. As the monk is very animated when he speaks, moving his body in a sprightly way, this crucifix is constantly flapped about in a manner that struck me as being rather profane.

The monk wears sandals on his otherwise bare feet, and the tonsure; that is, there is a ring of iron grey hair about an inch wide and an inch long around the crown on his head, but in the language of the old song, "there is no hair on the top of his head in the place where the hair ought to grow."

If I have seemed to indulge in a little, I trust harmless and I know good natured, levity in thus describing the appearance of Father Ignatius, it is only because the gown, the bare feet, and the shaved head do not impress me with awe or reverence. Garments do not make the man, whether he is a monk, a dude, or a beggar. Father Ignatius is no better and no worse because he dresses in a gown instead of trousers, and goes barefoot, and shaves the top of his head.

The man o' independent mind
Can look and laugh at a' that!

But when I think of the man in the gown and under the shaved head I am not disposed to levity. Father Ignatius impressed me as being entirely free from cant. He was simple, straightforward, and earnest. I believe he is sincere. He says he became a monk because he had a direct call from the Holy Ghost, and I believe that he believes what he says. I do not think the Holy
Ghost ever spoke to him, but I think that he thinks it did.

He is an entirely different sort of man from those preachers who are manufactured in theological seminaries, and who go to the church that offers them the highest salary, and preach a gospel that they believe will not offend the persons who pay them to explain away the truth and make Jesus Christ mean the exact reverse of what he said.

Father Ignatius read in the New Testament: "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven;" "And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold and shall inherit eternal life." He read these passages, he believed them to be the words of God, and he acted on them. He gave up what most men seek because he believed his savior wished him to.

He read: "Every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already in his heart." He read: "There are eunuchs which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it let him receive it." He saw that Jesus encouraged men not to marry. He believed that he would please Jesus by living a virgin life, and so he took a vow of celibacy.

He read: "Behold, to obey is better than to sacrifice;" "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein." "The mind of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God." He saw that the New Testament discourages thinking. He understood that no man who does not stifle his reason can be a Christian; that a man who asks questions will wreck any system of theology; that the Holy Ghost never talks to the brain; that a thinker never can be a believer;
that reason and religion cannot thrive in the same person. He saw that if he was to be a perfect Christian he must bid farewell to his intellect, and so he took a vow of obedience and agreed to believe the dogmas of evangelical Christianity even though his common sense should declare that they cannot possibly be true.

Now, I do not say that Father Ignatius is right in having taken his vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. Far from it. In my opinion he is dead wrong. Poverty is a curse. It is a root of all evil, a cause of all misery. No sane person would be poor if he could help himself without losing his self-respect. No person should be poor. Poverty is the enemy of health, culture, and happiness. Poverty (not as an individual misfortune but as a social phenomena) is a disgrace and a crime. No man should glorify it. No man should voluntarily suffer it. Every man should hate it with a perfect hatred and seek to avoid it and destroy it by every honorable means.

The very worst thing Jesus ever said was: "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." That saying has been the lash in the hands of the rulers and the clergy by which the people have been whipped into servitude, or perhaps I would better say it is the subtle potion by which the proud spirit of men has been chloroformed into submission. When Jesus uttered those words he thought he was saying a kindly thing to the poor, whom he really loved, but he actually forged a ball and chain which have dragged on them for ages and I fear will hinder them for many years to come.

And as poverty is a curse, celibacy, in the present state of human development, except for a very few, is unnatural. I have not so much objection to Father Ignatius's doctrine of celibacy as to his doctrine of poverty. He does not teach that all men and women
should be celibates, but that only those should be who are able to completely dominate their sexual passions by the mind. If a man really can entirely eradicate his sexual instincts, and finds his highest happiness in doing so, I do not say that he does not thus achieve a kind of stoical grandeur. But I am skeptical as to any man's ability to do this, in the present state of human development, and if he fails in his task, a mere abstinence from women may leave him subject to more humiliating weaknesses.

I believe that Father Ignatius necessarily sins against himself in being voluntarily poor if he can be honorably rich, and it is altogether probable that he sins against himself in being a celibate, though this is not, as in the other case, necessarily true.

As for the vow of obedience, it, like the vow of poverty, is necessarily injurious to the person who lives up to it. Poverty is a curse. Celibacy, in the present state of human development, is unnatural. Obedience, in the sense in which Father Ignatius uses the word, is a disgrace.

There is every good reason why we should discover those movements of matter that we call the laws of nature, and conform ourselves to them, but there is no good reason why any one should obey a God, not a trace of whom can be found, and there is certainly no good reason why one human being should obey another. Monkish obedience involves the complete subjection of the mind and will to the mind and will of another. Such obedience should never be demanded or accorded. He who requires it, be he God or man, is a tyrant, and he who yields it is a slave.

If there were a God who demanded the subjection of the human mind and will, he would not be worthy of such a sacrifice of manhood and womanhood. If there are rulers who compel their subjects to obey them, they
thereby confess that they have to accomplish by brute force what they lack the wisdom and justice to achieve. If there are parents who exact obedience from their children, they are unfit to have children. If there are husbands who expect their wives to obey them, they ought to be ashamed of themselves. If there are wives who wish their husbands to obey them—well! they ought to be cursed by having milksops who would do it.

When a person is so situated that he is not allowed to think for himself and do what he likes, so long as he does not physically attack another, he is less than a man. And when a person voluntarily subjects his brain and will to another, he makes his disgrace deeper by regarding it as if it were a virtue. Monks and priests do this, and this is why it is commonly and truthfully said: "A priest is neither a man nor a woman."

From this you may gather that I do not approve of Father Ignatius's theories nor his manner of living, but I do admire him more than the priests and clergymen and Christian laymen who live more rationally, because he actually does try to do what the New Testament tells him to do; because he is a real Christian; because his religion, irrational as it is, means something to him. He does not profess to believe it is blessed to be poor and then indulge in all kinds of legal rascalities to accumulate riches. He does not profess to believe in personal purity and then, for financial or social reasons, marry some one he does not love, and enjoy some one he does not marry. He does not profess to believe in obedience to God and his superiors and then violate every law that a good God ought to make or a superior person approve.

It was a positive pleasure to me to listen to Father Ignatius, for while all the while I heard him, I was inwardly saying: "My dear fellow, what you believe and what you do are all wrong," I was also saying: "You
are honest, you are genuine, you are no wolf in sheep’s clothing, you are all right.”

That monk has “got religion,” genuine, old fashioned, mediæval religion; the only kind of religion that is worth having. He hasn’t much common sense, but he’s “got religion.” He says right out that God is three persons and yet he is only one person. He doesn’t try to explain away the Trinity. He believes it. He says that if you believe on the Lord Jesus Christ you will be saved and if you believe not you will be damned, and he does not try to make you believe that within the last hundred years hell has considerably cooled off. He says that God has a perfect right to damn him if he wants to, and that is a fact. If there is any God he has a perfect right to do whatever he likes, whether it is right or wrong. He believes there is a personal Devil. He says that the arguments to prove the existence of a personal Devil are precisely like those to prove the existence of a personal God; and that if there is no personal Devil there is no personal God; and he is perfectly right. He says that if a man will use his reason he cannot be a Christian, and in that he is right too.

He says that at Llanthony Abbey they have visions from heaven, and have seen the angels of God, and that the dead have appeared to them. He says that one of the novitiates at the monastery ridiculed these stories of visions, but that he, himself, saw a vision one day which frightened him so that he ran away and never returned. And, furthermore, he says he does not care whether people believe these stories or not, or whether they consider him a crazy fanatic or a lying enthusiast. For my part I believe the stories. Any one who will study the monk’s ecstatic face while he prays, or when he turns it up to heaven and sings, can readily believe that he is just the man to
see visions. Any one who can believe what he believes, in the way he believes, can see visions.

This man has a genuine case of religion—the kind that two or three hundred years ago was very catching. He has his mind in such a condition that if you positively prove to him that a thing is so he cannot believe it, and if you positively prove to him that a thing is impossible he cannot doubt it. He disbelieves things because they are true and believes things because they are false. In his optical world black is white; in his astronomical world the sun goes round the earth; in his mathematical world four and four make two; in his world of physics water runs up hill; his eyes are in the back of his head; he walks on his hands; like the Irishman who put his clothes on wrongside foremost, he is "fatally twisted," but unlike the Irishman he is not conscious of the calamity. He has a perfect religious mind, and we should all be thankful that in this day and generation, in which the perfect religious mind is almost as rare as the myth-making mind; in this day in which science has chained nearly all the clergymen to her car and is dragging them along in spite of their feeble protests—we ought to be thankful, I say, that this monk comes out from his monastery and lets us see what Christianity was before science broke into its darkened chambers and flooded them with light, a light that is even now all too strong for eyes accustomed to windowless dungeons.

It is the misfortune of Father Ignatius that he was born too late. Soon after St. Benedict founded the order of Benedictine monks there were thirty-seven thousand monasteries of that order in Europe. Father Ignatius has been struggling for twenty-seven years to keep his one little abbey going, and there will probably never be another. Darwin, Spencer, and Huxley got the ear of England before Father Ignatius began
his missionary tours, and the soil which produced these men is not favorable to the seed which Father Ignatius is planting. Men are too busy studying the stars to be attracted by visions of the angels of God. They are too much engaged in listening to the voices of the telephone and phonograph to hear the message from heaven. Calvin's God and Milton's devil are so shy about showing themselves that we do not fear them any more. Gravitation and chemical energy, steam plows and spinning jennies, do so much in the universe that there is no use for supernatural helpers. Father Ignatius has come too late. He is but the ghost of a power that once mightily moved the world. Other questions than those which interest him are now engaging the attention of men.

The question that millions are asking now is not: "How can I best devote myself to the service of God, to express my gratitude because he is not going to send me to hell?" but: "How can I best get out of the hell of poverty, ignorance, hunger, and nakedness into which rulers and clergymen have plunged me?" The question is not: "How can I bring my child to Jesus?" but, "How can I get enough for him to eat and save him from the horrors of the machine room and the tenement house; how can I be sure that my daughter will not be obliged to take bread from the hand of a libertine; how can I be sure that when I am dead my wife will not have to wear her fingers to the bone toiling for food and shelter?"

Father Ignatius has no answer to give to these questions. While others are starving he is enjoying visions in Llanthony Abbey. He is poor; he plays at starvation at certain times; but he has no word for the poor except to exhort them to partake of the holy sacrament and get ready for another world—where? Where is that other world?
I respect this monk because I believe he is sincere. But he is a back number. I do not deny his right to live as he likes, but the world has no use for him unless, like Jeremiah, and Isaiah, and Amos, he has something to say to those who “join house to house and lay field to field till there be no room.”

We do not need more monasteries. We need more homes in which men and women who labor may enjoy the fruits of their toil, and fewer in which ill gotten gains are squandered.

We do not need more monks to tell us of their visions of the angels of God. We need prophets who will rebuke hypocrisy and greed in high places, and harden the consciences and soften the hearts of those who rule us with a rod of iron and plunder us with statute laws.

We do not need men with shaved heads to tell us to shun this world and its rational pleasures, to stop thinking and submit to every unjust command of some political or ecclesiastical despot. We need men to tell us that this is positively the only world we know anything about, the only life that we know we have to live, and that it is our business to make it as bright, clean, charming, and happy as possible.

We do not want our atmosphere crowded again with contending angels and demons. We want it merry with the laughter of children who never hunger, with the songs of women who do not eat out their hearts with trouble, with the stout voices of men who strike the earth with the magic wand of happy labor and bring forth wealth, and then rise up to play; we want it crimson with the blushes of lovers, and perfumed with thought.

Turn away from the monks with their palsied brains, from the clergymen with their flabby consciences, from the politicians with their thimble-rig-
ging schemes, and listen to the prophets of today who preach to you of wealth fairly earned, of liberty and happiness. Turn away from the past with the gods and ghosts and tyrants. Turn to the future with its possibilities of labor, leisure, and joy—to that future in which men and women will live so sanely, so satisfied with this life, so unterrified by death, that each, when his days are numbered, may say with the philosopher who uttered with his latest breath, these words: "This is the end of earth. I am content."
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TWENTIETH CENTURY PUBLISHING CO.,
NEW YORK.
THOMAS PAINE.

BY HUGH O. PENTECOST.

Thomas Paine is one of the most maligned and least understood of men. One of the noblest minded of men in most respects, he has been represented for nearly a century as a groveling nature and a monster of iniquity. Supremely generous in all his public career, he is said to have been mean and self-seeking. Having refused to profit by the copyright of his religious and political works, he is called parsimonious. A rarely equalled friend of mankind he is scorned as the enemy of the race. Clean in his conversation, and unusually correct in his conduct, he is painted as the corrupter of youth and the poisoner of morals. Having served this country incalculably, everything has been done to conceal his great services and cheat him of the gratitude of posterity. Having worked for the purity of religion, he is traduced as a destroyer of every sacred truth and a spoiler of every hallowed sentiment.

Nor is it sure that the whole truth about him will ever be generally known, because prejudice has so hardened into dislike that unless his fame outlasts the Christian religion the majority of the people will never even wish to do him justice. Those who desire to know the truth about him may easily discover it by the expenditure of a few cents for books and the devotion of a few hours to their perusal; but the sadness of it is that there are so few who wish to know the truth about the man.

Nothing is more easily ruined than a reputation, and once ruined nobody cares to do the victim of misrepresentation and slander the justice to undeceive himself concerning him. But so lasting is
fame that it is among the possibilities that Thomas Paine will yet be
known to the world for what he was—in all his public life a stain-
less man and disinterested servant of his fellows; a lover of liberty
and an apostle of progress.

Thomas Paine is best known to the world as the author of a book
of which everybody has heard but comparatively few have read.
For nearly a hundred years "The Age of Reason" has been
selling by the many thousand copies every year, but few Christians
have read it. Preachers denounce it without having taken pains to
inform themselves of its contents. It is common to speak of it as an
Atheistical work, but it is really the product of a Deist. Thomas
Paine was a firm believer in a being whom he called his "Creator
God" and to whom he expected to answer for the deeds done in the
body in a future life; for this man, who is so constantly represented
as being utterly without religion, had a stronger belief in God and
immortality than many a preacher in some orthodox pulpits today.
"The Age of Reason" is almost universally believed to be a book
mainly directed against the Bible and the Christian religion, but it
was written not for the purpose, primarily, of destroying Christian-
ity, but to stem the tide of Atheism in France that swept over that
country in the unhappy days of the Revolution. It does, indeed,
combat the idea that the Bible is inspired and that the Bible God is
the real God, but it was more of a defense of religion, in the broad
sense of that word, than an attack upon any particular kind of re-
ligion. Far more dangerous attacks upon the inspiration of the
Bible are issuing from Christian pens today than Thomas Paine ever
made; more dangerous to the dogma of inspiration because the as-
saults upon that dogma that come today from Germany, and are re-
echoed in the Broad Church of England and Scotland and the Liberal
Church of America, are more scholarly and painstaking than it was
possible for Paine to make, because the science of historical criti-
cism had not in his day been developed as it now is.

"The Age of Reason" is a wonderful book, considering when it
was written and that part of it was composed while the author was
in prison and shut off from all access to books, not having even a
Bible from which he might correctly quote. It is customary for
ministers to tell their congregations that Paine's arguments against
our conventional religion are stale and outworn; that they have all
been demolished. But this is not true. They stand unanswered as
they have stood for nearly a hundred years. But the Dutch critics
of today are stronger in their arguments because they have the ad-
vantage of the learning of a century over Paine.

In thus speaking of Paine's religious views I wish to impress what
I have already said. "The Age of Reason" is a conservative book today. A minister, the active pastor of a Presbyterian church in New Jersey, walked into my office not very long ago and told me that, of course, he did not believe in a personal God. He is one of those peculiar Christians who believe in no kind of a God. They believe in God. Not a personal God nor an impersonal God. Not a God without a body nor a God with a body. Not a God who can do anything nor a God who cannot do anything. They believe in God. Not a God; but just God. There are any number of men in orthodox pulpits now who would agree with the minister I speak of—in private, you understand, not in public—but Thomas Paine would have looked upon these men as little better than Atheists. And I doubt whether Paine would have cared to join a radical Unitarian church of today, because the Unitarians are too uncertain about God and the future life to have suited Paine.

The significance of all this is that within a hundred years parts of the Church itself have outrun Paine and become more nearly Atheistic than he ever was. And yet there are persons who will listen to these half Atheistic preachers because they call themselves Christians, who would not have their children read "Tom" Paine's "Age of Reason" for the world. Such is the silliness of otherwise sensible people upon the subject of religion. It makes all the difference imaginable what you call things in this foolish world. If you call a man a Deist, as Thomas Paine was, he is under the ban of the whole Christian world, even though he believes in what few thinking persons can now accept: a personal God—and enjoys a hope of immortality. But if you call him a Progressively Orthodox Christian or a Unitarian he is all right, although he does not believe in a personal God and does not know whether to hope for immortality or not.

Thomas Paine was born in England on the 29th day of January, 1737—one hundred and fifty-three years ago last Wednesday. If he had died at the age of thirty-seven, before he left England to come to this country, he would never have been heard of outside of a small circle of friends, chiefly obscure people. Like General Grant he was a sort of jack-of-all-trades until he was nearly forty years of age. He was a staymaker, a grocer, a school teacher, an excise-man, a sailor; not sticking at anything very long. Nothing had fallen from his pen that was worth preserving or that gave much promise of what was in the man, except as we can read backward and see the tracks of a great man after he has become famous, in his early performances.

Everybody can now see what remarkable traits Lincoln had be-
fore he became great, but nobody would ever have thought of them if he had remained in obscurity.

Paine was nobody until more than half his life was passed. There must have been the making of a man in him, or he would not have been what he afterward became; but the Thomas Paine of the years between 1737 and 1774 is a person of little interest for his own sake and of no consequence to the world.

I speak of this because I would like to impress it upon you that life is not necessarily wasted when half its years are told. Because you have passed the meridian of life is no reason why you should say: "I am all I may ever be." To use the ringing phrase of Paine in one of his "Crisis" papers, written in the dark days of our War of Independence: "These are the times that try men's souls," and there is work just before us that calls not only for young blood but for the best energies of men and women who are no longer young. It is inspiring to reflect that more than one man has achieved distinction by being useful to the world who did not awake to his opportunities and responsibilities until at the time of life at which most persons have begun to slacken their working pace.

Many a man has won distinction before the age at which Thomas Paine remained unknown and not very useful in the world. But Paine began late in life and carved for himself a name in the temple of fame. If you can be useful early in life and all through life that is well, superlatively well; but if half your life is gone that is no reason why you should not arise and shake yourself and enter into the battle against the religious and political superstitions that still twine about the feet of men like wild vines of the jungle, holding back the race in barbarism.

In 1774 Paine came to America. The War of Independence was fast approaching. Our people were fretting under the injustices practiced upon them by England. Every educated American knows the history of that time; knows how insolent, how brutal England was; knows how the patience of the American was tried to the snapping point. But in all those trying days the sentiment of this country was strongly against breaking with England entirely. The American patriots were only clamoring to be put back where they were previous to 1763, before the heavy weight of taxation was forced upon them. The republican sentiment had not been born. The people of this country were heartily devoted to the king and were only demanding the preservation of their privileges as British subjects. They had not begun to talk or think of their rights as men. It was at this period, when only a few persons, here and
there, were talking of complete separation from England, and these few were looked upon as dangerous radicals, that Thomas Paine came to this country from England and wrote "Common Sense," the first of that wonderful series of pamphlets that so often roused this people to dare and do for their rights.

That mind-stirring pamphlet went through the country like a fire, and by the time the people had time to read it they were ready to cast off the yoke of the tyrant and be free.

It has been claimed by many respectable judges that Thomas Paine and not Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. I do not know whether this is so or not; but there is not a shadow of doubt that he inspired it. So far as we can see if it had not been for Thomas Paine the Declaration of Independence would not have been written as it was, when it was and by whom it was. And this is the debt of gratitude that the American people owe to Paine—an debt incalculable in its proportions and that has been repaid by heaping upon his name obloquy and contempt because he afterward wrote a book which offended the blind religious sentiment of the people. Of all the great men with whom Paine labored and suffered during the trying times of the war for independence Thomas Jefferson was the only one who remained faithful to his friendship after "The Age of Reason" was published. It is to the eternal shame of Washington, who owed so much to Paine, that he gave way to religious prejudice and neglected the author of "Common Sense" because he became the author of "The Age of Reason."

"Common Sense" was the largest of Paine's revolutionary tracts, but he continued to publish short papers from time to time, as they were needed throughout the war. These papers were called "Crises," and reached the number of twelve or thirteen. They were published when the courage of the soldiers was oozing away under their terrible sufferings and suspense or when it was necessary to stimulate the public mind to renewed confidence and zeal for the war. Never, perhaps, in all history is there such an illustration of the power of words in times of trial in practical affairs as is afforded by Paine's tracts. The fourth "Crisis" was published just after the defeat at Brandywine, and it is said that if the soldiers could have fought the battle over again after reading this pamphlet they would have won it.

Such was the invaluable service Thomas Paine rendered this country by writing while he served in the army, (for he was ever in the camps) that at the end of the war he was regarded as one of the foremost of the defenders of liberty and everywhere shared in
the honors that were accorded the heroes of the hour.

In 1787 he went to France, where he became an active participant in the thrilling affairs attending the Revolution in that country; for, unlike La Fayette, who said: "Wherever liberty is, there is my country," Paine said: "Wherever liberty is not, there is my country." We need not follow his career in France further than to say that he became a member of the House of Deputies and in one of the reactions that marked the period was thrown into the Bastile by the leaders of a faction which he denounced and who were in power for the time. It was while he was in the Bastile that he wrote the second part of "The Age of Reason," and it should always be remembered in reading this great book that it was written under the shadow of the guillotine, which speaks volumes for the sincerity of the author. Men do not write insincerely when they believe themselves to be dying men.

Paine narrowly missed the guillotine. His life was spared by what would be called a special providence if he had been a Christian engaged in writing a book in defense of the Bible. The story is well known. It was the custom to take out those who were to be killed by night, without trial and without being informed for what offense they were to die. A mark was placed upon the door of the cell of the unfortunate wretch who was to lose his head and the gendarmes passed through the prison and took those who occupied the cells the doors of which bore the fatal chalk mark. When Paine's door was marked it happened to be standing open, so that the inside of the door was marked. When the guard passed through the corridors of the prison for their victims the door happened to be shut and so the mark was not seen. Thus Paine escaped the fate of many of his companions.

He afterward went to England, then back to France, and finally returned to this country in 1802. Here he lived, most of the time, in and near New York until he died in 1809, in the seventy-second year of his life.

I pass over all of Paine's private life. Most persons are familiar with the calumnies that have been piled upon his memory. It has been said that he was a drunkard and that he bore improper relations with Mme. Bonneville, the widow of his friend, whom he brought to this country in order to care for her and her children in requital of M. Bonneville's friendship toward him while in France. The latter of these charges was completely disproved during Mr. Paine's life, and the first rests upon very doubtful evidence.

Nothing would be gained by trying to make Thomas Paine out better than he was. He may have taken too much liquor while in
France and in the troubled days when all his old friends were deser-ting him because of his religious views and political unpopularity, for there was a time when he was not popular in France. But if so it should be remembered that he lived in a day when clergymen were often under the table after dinner and when it was part of the accomplishment of a gentleman to do his host the honor of getting drunk to prove that he was being well entertained.

Paine was not an angel. He was a man of the world. But it is a good testimony to the correctness of his life that no charge was ever made against him that has not been totally disproved except that of occasional intoxication in an age when intoxication was much more common than now. There are spots on the sun, and it is quite true that Paine's domestic life in his last years were clouded by many unpleasant episodes that we could wish were not there. But in all his public career he is utterly stainless.

There are some reflections that I now wish to make about Thomas Paine. He was as brave as he was brilliant. I know that he was brave because a Frenchman once struck him at a dinner party and when he was a Deputy, which made the offense a capital crime. Paine not only did not strike the man in return, as any coward might have done, but he actually gave him money with which to get out of the country and so escape the dreadful punishment which would have befallen him.

But the prime characteristic of the man, that which made him great, was that he was capable of getting out of himself and living for the welfare of others. The ordinary man lives for bread and beef and beer. All his little thoughts are centered in his little self, his little destiny. He wonders how much money he can make, by any hook or crook; next year. He strives to push himself into prominence whether other people want him in a prominent place or not. He figures carefully upon everything he says or does as to what will be its effects upon his prospects in the world. Hence, he is orthodox in religion and social science. It does not pay to be a heretic; to believe and follow the truth, when the truth is unpopular. Such a man will desert his friends and abandon whatever principles he may happen to have for a mess of loaves and fishes at any time. Self-centred men; little men; ants; weathercocks; party howlers; religious devotees who make use of God because he can give them a lift in the political or business world. They would worship the Devil just as devotedly if the Devil were as popular as God is. They lift their eyes to heaven in ostentatious piety because the man who lifts his eyes to heaven has the best chance to be promoted in this world. Who could ever hope to be advanced in
the employ of some pious corporation or become an alderman if he did not lift his eyes to heaven?

The streets are lined with such men. You have jostled a dozen of them today. Men who would lie for a dollar and a half. Men who would buy themselves into office if they could. Men who would sell their mother's coffin if they could make anything by it. Men whose philosophy in life is to look out for number one. And nine out of ten of these men will tell you that "Tom" Paine was a very dangerous and bad man. And yet Thomas Paine never had a selfish thought when the good of all was concerned. He was capable of rising out of his personal affairs and becoming one in whom the interests of other people found a voice, a hand, and a heart.

I do not say that in doing this he was not pursuing his own happiness. No doubt he was. But that kind of selfishness that seeks happiness by promoting the happiness of others is far and away beyond the catch-penny greed that would let the country and the human race go to the dogs rather than devote a dollar or an hour's time to saving them. In time of war one man gives his life and another lends his money at a large rate of interest. Thomas Paine belonged to the class who give their lives, and is maligned by many whose patriotic zeal would be apt to take the form of trying to get a contract to furnish the army with shoddy.

There are always these two paths open before us. We may give ourselves up to "bread and cheese and kisses," or we may find our highest happiness in risking or suffering the loss of all that most men call dear. If we pursue the latter course we shall be in the track of the noble Infidel whom we now commemorate.

There is one thing in the life of Thomas Paine to which I especially wish to call the attention of Liberals. I see, or think I see, a disposition on the part of Liberals to confine themselves too much to the discussion of purely religious questions and ignore or taboo the discussion of the social question that is forcing itself to the front now as the question of separation from England forced itself to the front in Paine's day. More Liberals today, in my opinion, are interested in trying to demolish Calvinism than in trying to bring about human freedom through a fair distribution of wealth; in trying to destroy the Church than in trying to destroy the infamous monopolies of land and money that impoverish and imbrute the people.

I do not wish to underrate the iconoclastic work that Liberals are doing toward strictly religious superstitions, because, to my mind, the Church and State are essentially one, and as long as the Church survives men will be ruled by royal or political tyrants. But many
Liberals, it seems to me, do not understand that intertwined with religious superstitions are political superstitions just as real and far more practically hurtful to the people than any purely religious superstition can possibly be. Thus we have English and German Liberals who are intensely loyal to the royal ruler and the aristocracy; and we have French and American Liberals who are steeped in the belief that there is no way in which society can get along except by the majority ruling the minority with policemen and soldiers.

Now, these political superstitions are just as much superstitions as the belief in a God with a beard and a Devil with horns. And what I wish to call your attention to is that most of Thomas Paine's life was spent in fighting political superstitions. What John Most is doing today Thomas Paine did in his day. And if Thomas Paine's cause had been less well timed or had failed for any reason Thomas Paine would have died as Albert Parsons, August Spies and their comrades died. Liberals should not forget that. When you honor the memory of Thomas Paine you should remember that you are trying to lengthen out the fame of a man whose ideas of government were almost identical with those of the hated so-called Anarchists of today.

It seems to me that there is an incongruity between the man whom the Liberals so highly esteem and the Liberals themselves. What I say should not be taken in ill part by any Freethinker, but I wish to call your attention to the fact that while many a Liberal League of today is heartily in sympathy with the capitalists who grind the faces of the poor and the form of government that makes this sort of thing possible, Thomas Paine fought against the form of government under which he lived when he discovered that it was not conducive to liberty and happiness and did all he could to overthrow it. He would never have been content to see a great social battle going on between the toilers in slavery and the idlers in wealth while he met a few friends from week to week in a hall for the purpose of fulminating against a merely religious system.

While Paine was in France Camille Jordan made a report against the priests, public worship and bells. Thomas Paine wrote to him as follows:

> It is want of feeling to talk of priests and bells while so many infants are perishing in the hospitals, and aged and infirm poor in the streets, from want of necessaries. The abundance that France produces is sufficient for every want, if rightly applied; but priests and bells, like articles of luxury, ought to be the least articles of consideration.

These words of Paine ought to ring in every Liberal's ear. It is all well enough to fight the Church. I believe in doing that. But
I tell you that the sewing women and factory children of this land and the underpaid workmen in every trade are of more concern than all the priests and creeds, and the Liberal who does not jump into the struggle for the emancipation of man socially and industrially is not in the track of Thomas Paine, who was the friend of man first and after that the enemy of the Church. If the Church did not stand in the way of the redemption of the poor by enfeebling the mind and supporting every form of legal stealing I, for my part, would not bother my head about her. And I long to see the day when the professed friends of Thomas Paine will love their fellow men more than they hate the doctrines of John Calvin, and turn against the Church not so much because she teaches the fables of the past as because she enslaves the people of the present.

In a letter to a friend just before Paine came to America to die, and in which he expresses his love for this country, he says:

A thousand years hence, for I must indulge a few thoughts, perhaps in less, America may be what England now is. The innocence of her character, that won the hearts of all nations in her favor, may sound like a romance, and her inimitable virtue as if it had never been. The ruins of that liberty, which thousands bled to obtain, may just furnish materials for a village tale, or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility; while the fashionable of that day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the principle and deny the fact.

Not one tenth of a thousand years has passed since those words were written, and they are nearly fulfilled. The "fashionable" of today, "enveloped in dissipation," care nothing for that liberty for which our forefathers fought; they do deride the principles of the Declaration of Independence and deny the fact that all men should be free and equal as to opportunities and rights. National decay has already set in, and the true admirers of Thomas Paine will devote themselves to the very work which he loved and did.

To set the mind free from all that is false in religion and government was Paine's work, and that should be our work. While we strive to drive out the moles and bats of medieval Christianity, let us not forget the roaches and rats that infest the ship of State. Let us not cease to bow before Jehovah only to go down in worse bondage before a Land Lord, a banker, an alderman, or a policeman. When Jehovah abdicates his throne, earthly kings and queens should also go, and there should be an end of all that race of men who live in idleness upon the labor of others.
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"WHY DID YOU PROTEST AGAINST THE HANGING OF THE ANARCHISTS?"

BY REV. JOHN C. KIMBALL.

I am asked to give this question a brief answer through the Twentieth Century. Were the reasons those of a single individual with nothing more to be added to them, it would be presumptuous, now that the excitement about them has quieted down and other great issues are before the public, to rake them up again. But I was only one of a large number of persons, not Anarchists ourselves, or cranks of any kind, or sentimental young ladies with a penchant for sending flowers to brutal murderers, but sober, law-abiding American citizens, some of high literary, social and professional rank, who felt called upon to protest earnestly against the executions. There are many excellent people who have not yet got over their wonder and indignation at our "craze" in doing so; many who, with all their notoriety at the time, are still ignorant of the simplest facts of the case. And as new force has been given to our reasons by the developments of this past winter at Chicago, and as a matter like this is never over till justice is done, it is well, perhaps, to state them again and in this added light.

We protested, first, because the act for which they were condemned to death, even admitting their responsibility for it, was not murder; that is: "the killing of a human being with premeditated malice," and be-
cause, while some of us do not believe in capital punishment at all, those of us who do would reserve it for only the worst criminals—those whose motives are morally, not fanatically, bad. In this case the accused, whatever their general dislike, had no malice against the police or against society that they were seeking to gratify. They were simply holding a public meeting in an open square to discuss the wrongs of laboring men, the last place in the world where society was likely to be found—a meeting which the police went to break up. It was wrong for them to use violence in resisting the police; but it was equally wrong for the police to interfere with their discussions. This point, well known before, has been proclaimed afresh this past winter by Judge Tuley of the same city, with reference to other efforts of the police to break up their meetings. He said that “the Anarchists have the same rights as other citizens to assemble peaceably for the discussion of their views; that the police have no right to presume an intention on their part to break the laws; that their meetings must not be prohibited or interfered with until a breach of the law is actually committed; that in no other city of the United States except Chicago have the police officials attempted to prevent the right of free speech on such unwarranted pretences and assumptions of power, and that it is time to call a halt.” It is a most significant fact, also, that the three of the police who were most conspicuous at the time in working up the case against the executed men—Superintendent Bonfield, Captain Schaack and Chief Detective Lowenstein—have since been suspended from their duties by the Mayor of the city on the charge of being in league with gamblers, thieves and brothel-keepers, and, one of them, of robbing convicted prisoners—making it look as if their zeal against the Anarchists was only a trick to draw away public atten-
tion from their shortcomings in other respects. Without justifying, therefore, in any way the bomb-throwing, or lessening in any degree our sympathy for its victims who themselves were only doing as ordered, it seemed to us that an act committed in resisting an assault on the rights of free speech and free assemblage, and at a meeting held to bring about as its attendants thought, however fanatically, a better state of society, deserved a punishment widely different from that which is bestowed on the wretch who strikes down his victim out of avarice, revenge, and lust. To take such a ground is very far from committing us to a defense of everything which Anarchy does and says. When it is guilty of actual murder, we see no reason why it should not be treated as all other murderers are. We only say that each case should be judged by its own merits, and that some toleration should be exercised for the utterances of a poor woman like Mrs. Parsons, driven half wild by what she considers the legal murder of her husband. Were the cases reversed, the Anarchists in power and Jay Gould and his fellow-millionaires condemned to death for upholding their social system, and their wives barred out from a last interview with them until they dropped down swooning on the cold pavement, we should take precisely the same ground in their behalf.

Another reason for our protest was the doubt as to how far the condemned men were responsible even for such killing as this. It was not pretended by the Government that they actually threw the bomb, the person who did it having notoriously made his escape. Some of them were not present at the meeting; some did not know of it until the next morning; and one was so conscious of his innocence as voluntarily to go into
court and deliver himself up to trial. The only charges against them were those of conspiracy and of being accessory to the crime; the only way of proving these, that of indicting them all together instead of separately—a thing unheard of before either in American or English jurisprudence—so that a word or act proved against one counted against all, even though the other seven had never heard of it before. The whole country at the time was in a panic, making it oblivious of the ordinary first principles of justice; the real anarchy—"without law"—on the bench, in the jury-box and with the people, rather than among the prisoners. It was felt that society must be saved whatever became of statutes; its assailants punished, whatever legal barriers had to be broken down. As a prominent lawyer and citizen of Chicago wrote me just after the executions: "The law was strained and wrested from its true meaning, as all lawyers here admit, in order to destroy these unfortunate idealists." And seeing such to be the case, how could those of us who did not really believe in the supremacy of Anarchy anywhere, do otherwise than protest against it in the place where it really was?

Another consideration strong in itself and strengthening each of these other reasons, was the personal character of the condemned men. We have been accused of idealizing into heroes a set of coarse, brutal, beer-drinking, common-place agitators; but as a matter of fact the idealizing was entirely the other way—the turning into villains of men who were above the average in purity, temperance, intelligence, family attachments and all the domestic virtues. If there was an element of tawdry, ostentatious heroism in the newspaper accounts of them, who shall say how much of it was due
to the tawdry reportorial mind through which the newspaper accounts came? Who shall say that any of the world's acknowledged heroes, seen through the same medium would have appeared better? There certainly was nothing tawdry about the act of Parsons in going voluntarily to join his companions and to submit himself with them to trial; an act, that if done in classic Greece or Rome, would have come down to us, like that of Regulus, hallowed in story and clothed with honor. All of them mingled with their wild social theories the warm glow of a genuine humanitarianism—were Anarchists for the sake not of rapine and disorder, but, as they believed, of a higher order and more settled peace—had in them, if a dangerous fanaticism, yet the stuff, also, of which reformers in all lands are made. And to hang such men seemed to us too much in the line of the dark ages and of all tyrannies for the Nineteenth Century and an enlightened republic to be guilty of.

The reason, however, which moved us most of all was that their hanging did not and could not touch in any degree the real seat of our social troubles. Anarchy is not a disease but a symptom; is a rebellion not so much against society itself as against its undeniable evils and corruptions. It has its source in bad laws, bad social arrangements, bad politics; is what the whole people, not a few fanatics, are responsible for; and to punish the persons through whom its outbreaks came, as the means of its cure, is like attempting to cure a fever by punishing its victim for threshing around in his bed. What we need is to go back to its source in our laws and in our general social state and begin the healing there. This, too, is a view of it which every day is being more and more widely taken. A recent writer in the New York "Nation," Prof. Sidney Webb, lecturer
on Economics in a London College, declares that “the
words Anarchist and Socialist are the avowed designa-
tions of thousands of reputable European political
economists, historians and students of sociology,” and
that “the word Anarchist does not mean a worshipper
of Anarchy, but a believer in a particular tendency of
social evolution for which there is admittedly much to be said.”
The last number of the “Political Science Quarterly,”
edited by the professors of Columbia College, in New
York, devotes its leading article to an exposition of
“Scientific Anarchism,” declaring that “it is the na-
tural product of our economic and political conditions;”
that “the Anarchists ask for no better statement of
their premises than the opening sentences of the Decla-
ration of Independence,” and that “from the stand-
point of natural rights it is impossible to overthrow
their arguments.” And while tolerating teachings like
these in our libraries, professorships and even pulpits,
was it equal justice to hang the recipients of them who,
impatient with theorizing and with their slow natural
growth, attempted rashly to put them at once into
practice.

Such are the grounds on which we made our protest.
Are they not those of law, justice, humanity, philoso-
phy and religion? And if, mingled with them, there was
in some of us a little dash of chivalrous kindness for poor
wretches everybody else was dead against, irrespective
of their merits otherwise, was it anything to be ashamed
of, anything to bring upon us social reprobation and loss,
anything out of keeping with that gospel which identified
itself with the prisoner and the outcast and which said
to us all: “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least
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I am requested to give my idea as to the ways and means by which the transition from the present state of society to that described in "Looking Backward," is to be effected; in other words, to give my opinion as to "how to get there." The obvious reply is that we are already well on our way there. The keel of the Ship of State has long been in the grip of a current which only needs to be, intelligently co-operated with by us to bring us to our desired haven. The process of the nationalization of industry began, though not under that name, with the setting in of that tendency to the consolidation of industrial and commercial enterprises, which is the most remarkable feature of the contemporary business world. The most difficult and invidious part of the nationalization of industry is being done for us by the trusts and syndicates in clearing away the innumerable small concerns which formerly occupied the business field, and concentrating the industries of the country in comparatively few great concerns, which can be easily and simply reached and dealt with.

As to the future course of the process of nationalization, it will probably be largely determined by the disturbances or derangements which are likely from time to time to occur in the business of the country, co-operating with an aroused and excited public feeling.
For example, a repetition of the railroad strikes of 1877, or any equally extensive disturbance of the railroad communications of the country, would at once make the establishment of something like national control of the railroads a burning issue. Such a crisis would make Nationalists, to that extent, of half the business men of this country in a week. Let another severe coal famine arise, as the result of greed or mismanagement of the big operators, and the finger of destiny would point very plainly to the Pennsylvania and Ohio coal fields as the point at which the nation might fitly make a beginning of running its own business for itself. Again, the crisis in the meat supplying business, which is leading Western States to the enactment of unconstitutional legislation in self-defense, would need to be but very slightly aggravated to incline the country to insist on some sort of national control of that business. The cornering of the market in any great staple is an argument for the application of nationalism to the industry connected with it. The managers of the sugar trust seem determined to compel the nation in self-defense to assume charge of the sugar supply, and their present tactics, if kept up, may soon be crowned with success. With the managers of half the great businesses of the country running a race to get themselves taken in national charge, it is hard to say which will come in first.

Then there are the railroads, telegraphs, and various municipal public services. The nature of these businesses and the manner of their conduct, render them particularly promising candidates for nationalization. A large part of the railroads of the country are already managed by receivers, and none are more efficiently or honestly conducted. When sooner or later the rail-
roads are all taken into the hands of the nation as receiver, pending the complete introduction of the National plan, the million of men employed upon them will make a very compact nucleus for the coming industrial army.

No doubt the general popular acceptance of the belief that the nationalization of industry is the inevitable consummation of present tendencies, will operate greatly to accelerate the rapidity of the process. Given such a conviction on the part of a considerable portion of the people of the country, and the occurrence of a severe financial or period of business depression and consequent general hardship, would be likely to be attended with extraordinary effects.

In speaking of the period of transition from the present state of society to the complete realization of the National Plan, it should be kept in mind, that many characteristic and essential features of that plan as presented in "Looking Backward," would not appear until the new order of things had fully replaced the old. While the process of transformation was going on, compromises and makeshift adjustments between the ideas of the new and the old order would be everywhere necessary, and all the more because Nationalists are expressly pledged against violent or precipitate methods, taking for their motto: *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*

It is, of course, plain that the business departments which the progress of Nationalism will add to the government, should be organized on a purely business basis, non-political and non-partisan. By way of preparing the Government for its new functions, the complete application of non-partisan principles to the conduct of the purely business departments already under
its control, should be demanded. The partisan view of such offices is absolutely repugnant to the very essence of Nationalism. There is no more pressing or important preliminary work for Nationalists than to unite popular sentiment against this evil. Before the post-office department will be an entirely satisfactory argument for the practicability of Nationalism, we must root politics out of it. The Nationalist clubs of the country will, I trust, at an early period unite in a petition to the President of the United States upon this point and follow it up with suitable addresses to Congress. Good men of all parties have long opposed the "spoils" doctrine, but not with the reason which we, as Nationalists, have, for it stands squarely across our path. Between it and the National Plan there can be no possible compromise. This must be our first great battle and our first great victory.

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<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Light Science for Leisure Hours.</td>
<td>Rich'd A. Proctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Forms of Water in Clouds, Rivers, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Prof. John Tyndall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Physics and Politics.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Man's Place in Nature.</td>
<td>Prof. T. H. Huxley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Education: Intellectual, Moral, Physical.</td>
<td>Herbert Spencer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Town Geology.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>C. Marcel</td>
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<td>Herbert Spencer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Mind and Body.</td>
<td>C. Flammarion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The Wonders of the Heavens.</td>
<td>John Gardner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Longevity: Means of Prolonging Life, &amp;c.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>On the Origin of Species.</td>
<td>Herbert Spencer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Popular Scientific Lectures.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Grant Allen</td>
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<td>The Evolutionist at Large.</td>
<td>Joseph Fisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Fashion in Deformity.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Manners and Fashion.</td>
<td>Andrew Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>On the Study of Words. Part I.</td>
<td>Archbishop Trench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>On the Study of Words. Part II.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology sketches.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Origin of Species.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Child of the World.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Essays.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Progressive Morality.</td>
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  "  VI. " " " .......... 60—70
  "  VII. " " " .......... 71—80
  "  VIII. " " " .......... 81—91
  "  IX. " " " .......... 92—103
  "  X. " " " .......... 104—111
  "  XI. " " " .......... 112—118
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