THE CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS.

THE following paper is a preliminary examination of a large amount of material collected during the past three years with the help of a set of questions.¹ They were primarily formulated to bring to light the motives of the religious life of our contemporaries and were thus to contribute to a wider investigation in religious dynamics, a field of research too long neglected in favor of historical studies.

It has seemed to me desirable before submitting the collected material to a detailed analysis and, for that purpose, breaking into fragments the individual biographies, to consider and compare them together in their integrity with the unpretentious purpose of gathering a few general impressions which may serve as a preparation for the more systematic investigation to come. It is accordingly little more than samples of the data collected, accompanied with a few comments, which is now placed before the reader.

The reader will note that although the investigation was not

¹ See my introductory paper in *The Monist* for January, p. 194. The illegitimate and illogical use made of late of information secured by means of printed questions has cast more or less obloquy upon the method itself. Yet, it is clear that the *questionnaire* method of collecting data is not in itself open to any objection: it brings information, and that is the end to be attained. It is only the interpretation and the use made of the material which may be illegitimate or misleading. Each particular investigation is therefore to be judged separately according to the use made in it of the collected answers. The questions circulated inquired into the reasons for the religious practices (public and private); for the circumstances, places, etc., exercising particular religious influence; for the most characteristically religious experience and for a discrimination between religious and non-religious feelings, thoughts, and actions.

limited to Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, the material now presented is almost entirely from that source.

I do not hesitate to give in full a number of the more typical or interesting answers, for if we know well enough what the individuals among whom we live are *supposed* to believe and what they *pretend* to believe, we are but very indefinitely acquainted with their *real* beliefs, hopes, expectations, and private practices. The reader will, I trust, agree with me in thinking that a student of human nature—and who is not, or would not be, a student of human nature—could not easily find objects more worthy of his attention than sincere, careful, and relatively minute autobiographical descriptions of inner religious life. Moreover, if he has learned from the teachings of science what is the source of true knowledge and the foundation of reliable philosophy, and has in consequence become weary of the long-winded, loftily-worded discourses upon religion from theologians and philosophers who have strayed away from the fulness of life into a narrow intellectualism and have thereby become in some measure artificial creatures, he will surely welcome the publication of the human documents contained in this paper.

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The frequent inconsistencies, the unmeaning explanations given by people from whom one has learned to expect rational behavior, and the oft-recurring negative answers, indicate how little reflexion is given to religion, how much it is a matter of uncontrolled impulse. To this same conclusion, as well as to the dependence of the intellect upon the will, points also the very astonishing indifference to objective truth—to the objective reality of God, for instance—to rational proof, to logical inconsistency, in people who, in other spheres of life, do not lack scientific sense. The supremacy of the fundamental life-impulses over the directions of the intellect, of the unconscious over the conscious, affirms itself with uncontested significance in these records: not what is objectively real or what is logical, but that which ministers to the approved needs and desires, is the “religiously” true. These records show also how the affective relations of man to the divinity

have changed. Freedom and equality are in modern society the key-note of the relation of the individual to his fellow men; it seems to be becoming also the key-note of his relations to God. The feeling of freedom towards God has largely supplanted the duty-motive which the Catechisms continue to inculcate: action in obedience to God's command is out of fashion; it is what is right and what is best which is now the favorite reason for conduct. Even a certain feeling of equality, monstrous as this may seem, has passed into the attitude of the people to God: awe, reverence, worship, appear only dimly and not as frequently as is assumed, in the religious consciousness of the democratic Anglo-Saxon.

The startling diversity displayed in these records which, after all, come from people of the same civilisation, is probably what first arrests the attention. What a disparity between religion according to the councils and religion as the infinitely larger breath of life has made it! The discrepancies are not only in the externals of religious life, they show themselves in the inmost consciousness of the individual; it is often a question of different hopes and different affective needs: what is "bread of life" to one is dregs to the other. If this fundamental diversity comes to us as a surprise, it is in part, no doubt, because we have been accustomed to the uniformity of outward religious conformity. The stoutness and persistency with which theologians have guaranteed the same spiritual food to agree with everyone of the children of men, if only they would try it, has also helped to obscure the fact. The widest and deepest difference obtains, of course, between the religious and the non-religious—for there are among us non-religious individuals, as we shall see presently. We begin with the former.

The records of those who make claim to some kind of religious life might be classified in several ways. They might be distributed, for instance, among the four groups of the following affecto-motor classification: 1. The active, aggressive, and non-emotional. 2. The active, aggressive, and emotional. 3. The active and emotional. 4. The passive and non-emotional.

We prefer however a freer order of presentation.

If we have introduced in the following cases three only repre-

senting official, traditional religion, it is because it seems a sufficient, although not a proportional, representation. The "Independents" evince more spontaneity; they express real and not conventional, or artificially acquired, needs and ideas. It is therefore to them that he who desires to know and understand the individual forces directing the evolution of religious life, will give his chief attention.¹

CASE I.

Case I. is a young woman of college and university training, communicant member of the Presbyterian Church; a very intelligent, rightly ambitious and proudly confident person, with an unusually exalted idea of herself and a correspondingly high sense of her responsibilities. How little use she has for God and, generally, for the saving institutions of the Christian religion, although she maintains a close affiliation with an evangelical Church, and yet, what a passion for moral growth! Is her "religious" life anything more than the expression of a will striving to realise a moral ideal? The conviction of sin—guilt—so essential in theoretical Christianity, is not to be found in her consciousness any more than in that of most of the following cases. Awe and adoration hardly appear; and what there is in her experience deserving of these names might be removed without substantially modifying her "religious" life. As to intellectual doubts, they stand outside and do not interfere with it. She says:

"My idea of religious practices may be divided into two classes: (1) Those developed by associations of early training and home life. They include acts connected with ordinances (i. e., aroused by them) or performed during, or preparatory to, them. (2) Those performed to satisfy a desire for *things of permanent value*; they are not exclusive of (1) but are not always identical with them.

"As to (1) I realise the motives; they are habit, the desire for peace on that subject at home, sometimes a willingness to influence others towards a spiritual life, a feeling that it is good moral discipline to conform to the wishes of others. As to (2) I am not conscious of the motive at the time of performing them. But I

¹ When we have had several communications from the same person, we have combined them; here and there we have abbreviated; in other places we have supplied a few words in order to avoid repeating a question. For the rest the statements of our correspondents are reproduced verbatim in small type.

can often reason out afterwards the chain of succession. They simply appear in the course of events as the outcome of a desire for the *eternally good*. This will appear more fully below.

"I perform public religious exercises often simply because others are doing so and I do not wish to appear refractory. Frequently it is because of a will to come into relation with a loftier personality, to make my own particular will identical with a universal will, to get away from my own selfish thoughts. As to my regular evening devotional exercises, they are partly carried on because of habit, but in a larger measure because of a feeling of need for communicating with a higher personality, or perhaps, rather, because of an intense longing for a higher experience, a purer and larger existence. The spontaneous private devotional outbreaks (not 'exercises,' exactly) are described later.

"Neither public nor private practices are usually, at the time, done with a conscious end or purpose. But afterwards an end or purpose may be reflected upon and the conclusion reached has probably a large share in moulding my attitude for the next similar act. The implicit purpose or end, except when the actions are merely imitative or politic, is a purification of the feelings, a steadying of the intellect, a discipline of the will.

"I never feel inclined to religious practices in the sense of (1) unless they also include (2), although, when at home, I teach a Sunday School class, play the piano at Sunday School, and act on Church committees and sometimes sing in a choir.

"The circumstances and objects which prompt me most powerfully to religious activity are the following: when I am very tired of myself; the unselfish act of another person; the climax in the character development of an analytical novel; the finest parts of a piece of music; a strong dramatic presentation; when the hero or heroine commits the decisive deed for good or evil,—in short, anything which loosens one's feelings, when these are followed by a *decision* to be a person, to stand for the right sort of things, to cultivate an influence for self-control.

"The religious inclination seized me when I was 25. This was the result of discovering the true meaning of a fact which I had previously misinterpreted. This discovery led to my most characteristically religious experience. It may be described as an earnest and continued effort, during about two weeks and then gradually abating in intensity, to cultivate a sudden virtue, the lack of which had been suddenly and luminously revealed to me during a state of strong emotional excitement, and to suppress some evil tendencies of which I became aware. Emotionally it was characterised by a loosening of the feelings and great nervous disturbance; intellectually, by a tremendous rush of ideas. The circumstances were such as to bring a complete distrust of my own powers and the consequent determination to give myself over to the Divine Will, whatever that might be."

In answer to further questioning regarding this experience, she wrote:

"As to telling more explicitly what I mean by 'a determination to give myself over to the Divine Will,' perhaps you can get my meaning from the following, although this is only an account of the significant part and does not include a description of marginal and background emotions; neither is it in any sense intended to describe the occasion.

"As far back in my life as I can remember I was afflicted with a peculiar (insane, if I had not been so young) idea that I was destined to be the greatest person, excepting Christ, who had ever or would ever live. I just took the fact for granted. This inherent notion of mine, however, never showed itself in any particularly conceited action or utterance. On the other hand, I was excessively shy. When, at the age of about five, I learned from the infant-class teacher at the Sunday School that Solomon was the wisest person, I felt dreadfully jealous and forsaken. For several nights I prayed very earnestly that God would reveal to me by sign whether the Bible meant that Solomon was the wisest person or only the wisest man. For in the latter case my brilliant destiny would be saved. I got no sign, but yet hoped with great tenacity that I would discover that the teacher had made a mistake. This inner assurance of my future greatness lived with me until after I had graduated from college, although at a greatly decreasing rate. I looked upon such names as Sir Isaac Newton, Shakespeare, Goethe, with a condescending tone of mind because their fame was quite inadequate to that which I had set for myself. Even as late as the age of twenty-five, I still believed that somehow (it seemed very visionary, though) the time *must* come when the world would feel me. But at that age, by a very simple incident, the worthlessness and folly of all my previous ideals were flashed up to me. I saw that I had simply passed by the most important thing in life, and had been the most intensely selfish, egoistic, conceited person who ever lived. In the misery which followed I promised God (there was a question in my mind what or who God was, but 'Divine Will' seemed to express it best) that henceforth I would live for the every-day use I could be to human beings, even if my intellectual development suffered in consequence. I began to feign ignorance before people whose opinion I valued, in order to discipline myself against intellectual vanity. I felt that if I could succeed in doing even one useful deed, I ought to be grateful, for the blackness and emptiness of what I was was extremely humiliating. But there was no remorse in all this. It seemed that what I had done was an inevitable part of my former nature, and that without the little incident which revealed me to myself, I should have continued in the same road to pursue evil, through no intelligent choice on my part. My misery was simply the accompaniment of a very unflattering self-illumination. This, then, the decision to live for the good of others rather than for my own fame, and sealing the decision by a promise to a vaguely apprehended supreme personality, constructed according to my need,—was what constituted a yielding to the Divine Will.

"The foregoing explains my present attitude, but in childhood God was a very real person to me; that is, I thoroughly believed He existed in human shape,

only larger and more beautiful, and that He took a very personal interest in my affairs, although I was always disappointed in not receiving signs from Him. I believed that He loved me enough to overlook my faults. Everything I intended doing was confided to Him, and even before doing that which I knew to be wrong I would sometimes kneel down and tell Him that He knew I was a miserable creature and could not help it. However, I never loved Him, because I secretly doubted the character of a Being who was so cruel as to send His only son to suffer for the sins of the world instead of coming himself. I had many other grievances against Him. These, of course, were all the result of childish ignorance.

"Religious and non-religious thoughts and feelings differ only in degree and in a conviction—always emotional, and very often intellectual—of the eternal significance and genuineness of value of the former. Other thoughts, feelings, and acts may seem desirable and valuable, but those I call religious carry a conviction along with them of their pure eternal worth and (whether as a result, I do not know) they are more intense. Religious experiences are also accompanied by a longing to feel the bonds between our own personality and a supreme personality.

"Here are some concrete examples of the difference between a religious and a non-religious experience: I see Henry Irving's presentation of Robespierre. In the prison scene, for instance, I appreciate his splendid acting and find pleasure in the realistic stage setting. I shudder at the awfulness of the situation. I run over the events of Robespierre's life which led him to this dreadful doom. But these thoughts and feelings are not religious experiences unless they induce, or are interwoven with, a will on my part to live for the best in life myself, to surrender my own private interests to the common welfare, to yield myself over to a larger experience. If this will is valid, it will carry me over into a useful, an eternally valuable, action. Or, in considering a treatise on physiology, I think over fact after fact with no perceptible result as to overt acts,—there is nothing religious in this. But if I chance upon a thought which attacks me unmercifully, which shows me that my previous acts were unhygienic, then, straightway, at the first opportunity, I leave off those things which I had previously done and do those necessary things to health which I had not done,—this, introducing a willingness toward permanently useful actions, would be a religious thought.

"To sum up, I think that the religious experiences always involve a will to live according to the eternally valuable on the conative side; on the side of feeling, a longing for a felt bond between one's own will and a universal will, and on the cognitive side, a conviction of a desire or act. In my own case, there must also be a preceding truth which seizes me with great force.

"My most intense religious experiences always come on after discovering that my ways have not fallen in with the general harmony of things. There is an inward blush of humiliation and then, or perhaps at the same time with it, a desire to be better; this desire gradually increases until it ends in prayer. When alone I

often kneel in prayer and then often arise to my feet and, after the feeling has subsided, I have found my right arm, or both arms, pointing upward."

I had inquired how it happened that the word God did not appear in her first answers. To this remark she replied :

"Nothing concerning God, in so many words, appearing in an introspective view of my religious consciousness does not show that an idea of God is entirely lacking in it, but only that since the content of the idea is very hazy, I tried to resolve it into plainer terms and found that it could be interpreted into experiences of more common order. In my purely emotional experiences, I have no distinct realisation of communion with God. This, however, does not prove to me that there is no God, but rather that my development is not sufficiently advanced to realise Him as I wish. Reflectively, I use 'God' as that in reason behind which I cannot go, and I act as if I really believed in Him as a personality in order to satisfy my intellectual and æsthetic needs. But they never are completely satisfied. Here I would make a distinction between the religious and the other kinds of consciousness, namely, that the former is that refractory residue of any other which refuses to be satisfied. The purely æsthetic temperament is not religious, for it can find satisfaction in an end. But the religious soul merely stops to take a refreshing breath at æsthetic halting-places and reaches out for more. This is in opposition to the current religious claims which positively state that religion is the only satisfying thing in the universe. To me, its very virtue lies in the fact that it continually urges me onward to new efforts."

CASE II.

A School Supervisor in a small city, twenty-four years of age, belonging to an Episcopalian family. A true Knight of the Good Deed, representing, we believe, a large number of people. Some will probably say that with all her commendable passion for the good and the beautiful, she does not even know what religion means. God, worship, adoration are words apparently not to be found in her vocabulary. Whether the heavens be inhabited or not seems unessential to her. She finds a sure bottom in the joys and satisfactions to herself and to others of a pure life made increasingly valuable. Her faith rests on common-sense experience and is, to all appearances, in no need whatsoever of a supernatural sanction. She says :

"By the term 'religious practices' I do not necessarily understand anything connected with church devotions, prayer, Bible reading, etc. To me the term

means the doing of what seems the best and noblest thing possible at the right time, under the guidance of noble motives. Therefore, I generally realise the reasons for my religious actions, unless I act from sudden impulse or from sympathy. They are (1) The knowledge that only by schooling myself to do the right thing at the right time, can I build up a noble character, train my judgment, and assure myself of happiness. (2) I often feel my influence over others and know I can best help them by being myself what I desire them to be. (3) A continual desire to make my life of some real worth.

"I cannot say that I pray or perform devotional exercises in the accepted sense of the word. It is for the purpose of keeping my mind and soul alive to the numerous benefits and means of happiness open to me, of trying to be truly thankful, to appreciate, and to make the greatest possible use of what I have, that every day I spend a short time thinking about the noblest and best uses to which I may put my life under given circumstances and enumerating the many things I have to be thankful for.

"My religious needs are: to think without confusion clearly; to love my fellow men sincerely; to act from honest motives purely; and to have the power to give my life in order that I may find it. The only way in which I can satisfy my religious needs is by constant action in what, at the time, I consider the right direction, and by keeping a sharp outlook for a higher standard of comparison in all things and a higher ideal of life.

"Since to me all right actions accompanied with good spirit and intention are religious practices, the circumstances, places and objects which incline me especially to their performance are, the companionship with noble characters, great demand for service; beautiful and inspiring scenes, towering trees, great mountains, lofty architecture; works of art, beautiful pictures, statuary, etc.; books, music, etc.

"You ask why these circumstances and objects have a religious influence. The tendency to imitation accounts for the result of companionship with noble characters; lofty architecture, towering woods, etc., lead the mind upwards, giving a desire for higher things; great storms and the like are so wonderful and magnificent that the mind unconsciously turns from the petty side of life to the great. Nature in any form is so wonderful that it makes us feel how small and yet how great we are, and after studying nature we are filled anew with an overwhelming sense of our responsibilities and our place in the world.

"The period of life when I was most inclined to church-going, prayer, etc., was from the age of twelve to eighteen.

"My most characteristically religious experience was the great uplifting influence of the personality of a minister whose church I attended for a year. He is not a great nor an eloquent preacher, but intensely earnest and an untiring and enthusiastic worker. Under the inspiration of his example I felt able to undertake and accomplish anything. He gave me broad ideas of life, a new sense of social

service; the stimulus of his example has always remained with me. I think it was a Christ-like person whom I needed to meet rather than to read accounts of Christ. This experience took place during my last year of school; I realised then that my school-life was nearing its end and I was on the outlook for characters in which earning and action were well allied.

"All ennobling thoughts are to me religious thoughts. For example, any desire to aid and uplift mankind without hope of personal reward; a desire for improvement and progress; the search after truth, etc. A religious thought differs in experience from a non-religious thought in that it uplifts, ennobles and expands the mind and soul, that is, it leads to growth and to action for the good of oneself and of others."

CASE III.

A minister of a Quaker church, representing no doubt a very large portion of the cultured American church-going public. His statements offer nothing especially interesting unless it be the vagueness of the attempted differentiation of religious from non-religious life. He says:

"I usually realise the reasons which prompt me to religious practices. They are, the needs of others, my own hungering, God's command as revealed in the Bible.

"I perform religious practices in order to worship God as an example before others and for soul food.

"I have strong religious needs, such as a hungering after righteousness, a desire to know God and His will. I satisfy them by prayer, helping others, reading of Bible and wholesome literature, mingling with religious people, singing, beholding nature and beauty in art.

"My inclinations to religious practices arise almost wholly from subjective forces. As far as I can realise, place, objects, and periods of life have had but little influence in inclining me toward religious practices. Some of these at different times quicken my efforts, but that is about all. Why this is true can only be answered in a circle, I am naturally of a reflective disposition.

"In a limited way, there is a slight comparison between religious and non-religious emotions or feelings. For instance, a game of football will sometimes awaken a so-called enthusiasm. The difference seems to be in the trend of this sort of an enthusiasm and that quickened by a powerful sermon. The game will seem to pull toward the animal in man, while the sermon will tend to make forget the animal.

"Yes, there are thoughts which I would call religious, if a line may be drawn between secular and sacred. The lines can scarcely be drawn more closely than between mineral, vegetable, and animal; still there is a difference. Examples of

religious thoughts: those concerning the brotherhood of man, or, better, a personal thought concerning relationship with Jesus. The difference between a religious and a non-religious thought is about the same as concerning emotion; it is the difference that comes from having thoughts not on those things that are beneath but on that which is above.

"When in a religious attitude, I experience a feeling of self-helplessness, of utter dependence upon aid beyond self, a desire to obtain that aid and to rid myself of all hindrances to its coming, a sense of the great need of humanity, sadness that mankind is indifferent to its own need and to the need of others, a feeling of thankfulness and praise."

CASE IV.

A new motive comes to the front in Case IV. No more the strenuous mood, the readiness for the strife, the aggressive advance of Cases I and II: the tender emotion absorbs everything, stifles action and becomes an end in itself. It is an illustration of an extreme religious type not frequently met with in Anglo-Saxon communities. She was brought up in the atmosphere of the "old blue Presbyterian Calvinistic hell and the devil." She is now a communicant in the Episcopal Church, but it is merely to kneel with her daughter, for she does not like sects and creeds and "longs for the time when they will give place to one grand, loving worship of the Creator and love for our neighbor." There is no troublesome consciousness of sin in her experience, at least not after the early stirring of emotion under Presbyterian teaching. One of the several valuable points of this document is the light it throws on the relation of faith to intellectual conviction. Arguments seem little more than excuses or occasions for belief, or non-belief, in things toward which she is inclined by her affective needs. Concerning these points Cases I., V., VI., VII. are particularly interesting. Our present subject says:

"I realise the reasons which prompt me to religious practices: they are, love for my Creator. I perform public practices to please others and private devotions to please myself. To practice religion, as I take it, is to take each day as it comes and live by the spirit of love to all who cross my path. Now, why do I do that? Why do I strive to love the Lord, my God, with all my soul and my neighbor as myself? Because Christ, who came to teach us how to live and find peace under all circumstances, told me so to do. I obey Him in that because I am so grateful

to Him for telling me of a loving Father and giving me a rock to lean against when weary; because to feel that I have love and help from my Creator is so full of help and comfort. What other motive can I have than grateful love? I love this beautiful world, I love my Father who gave me so much. I can see His love in all creation. I love my home, I love my nation, I love my fellow-beings, I cannot live without an atmosphere of love surrounding me. . . . It is not fear of death which moves me, for there is no such thing as death, simply stepping out of this world of the soul into another life which will be what I have made it by the seed sown here. Love will carry me through all changes and keep me ever happy. Yes, I desire to be happy. But that is not the reason I love my Father, I love Him as a little child loves its father. A little child never asks why; I never did. I never can look up at the stars at night but adoring love and worship fill my soul. The same at early dawn when the beautiful new day comes fresh from the hand of God. Children, flowers, fruit, trees, everything is so full of God's love; why should not I love Him? If people only realised what love surrounds them, evil would cease to exist. I hope you will forgive me for writing so much on this subject, but I cannot help it.

"All circumstances, all objects not evil, all periods of my life incline me to worship. . . . I think it is a divine part of me that loves and recognises the Divine expressions I see all around me.

"I cannot write you my most characteristically religious experiences; they are too many. They began at seven years old when in the garden at play I kept saying over and over the word eternity till I grew dizzy and fell down. At fourteen I joined the Dutch Reformed Church on confession of faith; at thirty-six I became an agnostic; at forty-seven my faith, through an intellectual process, [the reader will be able to judge for himself whether it was really through an intellectual process or otherwise,] returned to me, and for ten years I have grown more spiritual than in all my previous life.

"My religious life has been strange, varied, and full of struggles. It began when only seven, as I just wrote. I never had what they call conviction of sin, only a longing for Heaven and to be loved of God. My parents were Presbyterians. Family worship night and morning was always observed; church three times a day on Sunday, prayer-meetings, Bible Class, etc. I had to read five chapters in the Bible every Sunday. I find in an old diary, written at twelve, while I was away at school, a resolution to assemble my little play-fellows in my room for prayer at noon, and we all knelt around my bed while I prayed for their souls. At fourteen I made up my mind one day that I would become a Christian, and I shut myself up in my room, praying and reading my Bible all day. That night I told my mother how I felt, and she said she thought from what I said that I was already a Christian. I buried my face in my pillow and sent up a strong prayer for acceptance, and I saw Jesus stretch out his hand to me. I was so excited and cried out so that I was a Christian that my mother had much ado to quiet me. I then asked for admittance into the church and was put on three months' probation.

During that time I was in an ecstasy of happiness. I had the love of God at last, my sins were forgiven. The day I was admitted to the communion-table was the blackest I ever knew, all my joy was gone, and I was irritable and wretched. Reaction, of course, but I did not know it then, and no one had the sense to explain to me my condition. I struggled along for years, never again feeling that Heavenly joy nor one moment of hope. I prayed constantly, but it was as if butting my head against a stone wall. My pastor used to tell me to look at Christ and not at myself, but I did not know how.

"Finally I married an agnostic and, after a long agonising struggle with bitter tearful arguments, I felt my faith going. Henry Draper in his *Intellectual Development of Europe* finally settled the question for me, by stating that it was a common thing in those times to deify any great personage, and that Pagan customs had crept into the Christian Church, one of them being the deifying of Jesus of Nazareth. That settled my mind; I gave up my belief in Christ as God, and I left off all outward semblance of religion. But one thing nestled close to my heart and actuated my daily life; it was Christ's teachings. I clung to that, and often, in spite of my unbelief, involuntarily I cried out, 'Oh, if there is a God, let me find Him!' In twenty years of this darkness I suffered as one without hope, yet never forgetting the words, 'Take no thought for the morrow; sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' Then my father died. Twelve hours after his death a strange, most wonderful thing happened: his face, which had been drawn and pinched, suddenly filled with glory, every line was . . . as we imagine angels to be in Heaven. Then I said, his soul has been glorified but still holds some mysterious connexion with his body. My agnosticism had a severe strain. Then my husband died, and again came a strange experience: I, as it were, passed out of my body for two hours. All was a blank, it seemed just as it is where one takes gas. I was aroused by some one speaking to me, and I was amazed to see the undertaker there and to be told that it was two hours since death entered the chamber. They said they thought I had not fainted, as I breathed quietly all the time, my head on his bosom. They had left me alone until obliged to speak to me. Then, after his body was prepared and I stood by his bier, something seemed to lift me up, and I felt again that mysterious ecstasy, and it never left me.

"Some time after I fell into a conversation with a friend upon the relation of the soul to the body. The question was, what becomes of the soul when the brain is disordered, when there is no more sensation, when the intelligence is gone? The answer made was this: you are a musician, suppose you find your instrument out of order and cannot elicit any harmony; is that any reason why you should say that you, the player, are not there? Now, the Ego is the player; your body is the instrument. Instantly I felt that I was immortal, that nothing is ever lost, no such thing as spontaneous generation takes place, I have lived always, I have just as much right to think that I have always lived as that I am going to live.

"I see by the laws of nature that what we call evil is only the dissonance that

leads into the perfect chord ; I see that this world is in a transition state and that where now the tendency is to evil some day the opposite will take place. I can see beautiful harmony in all things. I have found my God at last, the God of love, and am at rest. I am fifty-seven years old and it took me forty long years to find where I stood and to be at rest in this beautiful, flower-blooming, bird-singing world.

"I do not know how to answer your question as to the difference between religious and non-religious thoughts and feelings. The latter I take to be evil thoughts and the feeling that goes with them, either sin or worry. I never allow myself to worry. I know, now, what it means to trust. . . . Religion is trust and love.

"At church I feel restless, dissatisfied, worried, because not in sympathy. My attitude when in church is generally expressed by the prayer, 'God forgive me for not loving the church more,' and by constant effort to keep my attention upon the various long, and, to me, unnecessary prayers sent up and the 'vain repetitions,' as they seem to me. Doesn't every tree require a different soil? and so let those who enjoy it do so, but I cannot. In my private devotions I have no stated time. I pray when I need help, anywhere ; I praise and adore at all times. I am always saying to my Heavenly Father 'Oh, how good Thou art to me. How I love Thee for my home, my beautiful life, my work.'"

The coming and going of the "mysterious ecstasy" first experienced during the three months of her probation and interpreted by her as God dwelling in her, cannot be accounted for on intellectual grounds. Did it not leave her at the time of her first Communion, although her faith remained unchanged, and did it not return at the death of her husband, precisely when one might have expected to find her plunged in deeper depression? Neither at the time of its loss nor at the moment of its return had any new light appeared. "Reaction" is the word by which she herself accounts for its disappearance. The real sequence of events was this: she lost her happiness and then she thought God had withdrawn from her—not the reverse.

This interesting experience becomes readily intelligible, in a person afflicted with an unstable nervous system,¹ as soon as one seeks for a physiological instead of a psychical cause. We have here, on a smaller scale, the affective oscillations observed in "cir-

¹ The intensity and peculiarity of her earlier religious experiences, her hallucinations and her trance at the death of her husband, are sufficient indications of nervous instability.

cular insanity," a disorder characterised by alternating periods of depression and exaltation. Twenty-four hours frequently suffice for the transformation of a crouching, fearful, dejected patient into a lively, joyful, and hopeful person. Religious literature is replete with instances in point, coming not only from abnormal people like Bunyan, who confesses that to the end of his life there were times when he was "filled with darkness, lost all comfort and could not find the sweetness of Christ," but also from persons who must be accounted sound and healthy. Who does not have periods of inactivity, mental dullness, and comparative unhappiness more or less well differentiated from periods of greater activity and enjoyment? It is, for instance, a frequent complaint of revivalists that they have seasons of "dryness of heart." As to the case before us the trance determined by the shock sustained at the death of her husband is a clear indication of a nervous disturbance which we have, from analogy, the right to consider a sufficient cause, in a predisposed person, for the return of the ecstatic happiness. In so-called "multiple personalities" the new personality is frequently ushered in by a trance. It is not the place here to enter into an analysis and an explanation of the particular psycho-physiological state called "religious" ecstasy. We will only direct the attention of the reader to the extreme and abnormal forms of it, as, for instance, the case recently under the care of Pierre Janet at La Salpêtrière and the trances of some of the mystics.¹ The person referred to would lose the voluptuous happiness enjoyed in the trances as soon as she returned to a more normal physiological condition, i. e., when the contractures giving to her body the rigidity and the attitude of the crucifixion disappeared, when appetite returned and with it a superficially normal consciousness.

However repulsive it may be to see these perversions brought into relation with the trances of the mystics and, through them, with the condition called "communion with God," it is yet the clear duty of the student of religious life not to close his eyes to

¹ See, for instance, *Le traité de l'amour de dieu*, by François de Sales, a manual for the use of the aspirants after religious ecstasy.

the far-reaching analogies of these diverse experiences. In another place we shall have to consider this subject at greater length.

CASE V.

A practicing physician, in the prime of life. A well-balanced nature combining lively affective needs with a true regard for the rights of reason, this notwithstanding the lack of logical consistency manifest in his attitude towards God. He writes:

"The reasons which prompt me to religious practices are, the desire and the need for cultivating in me the divine. The motive of avoiding punishment never enters into account.

"I pray privately, morning and evening, in the belief that the practice is effective as a preparation to live the day in piety, and I am sure it does. I go to church Sunday morning and often in the evening also. Mixed motives lead me to church: (1) Spiritual culture; (2) intellectual pleasure—I enjoy hearing a sermon of a high degree of excellence, and the music; it often arouses in me the best emotions; (3) Social pleasure and opportunity for widening the circle of my acquaintances.

"My prayers and religious thoughts grow more ardent when I find myself on a lower level of piety—i. e., in open opposition against the dictates of my conscience. The struggle for rising above this unworthy condition may last long, but after all I do rise, and rise through the concurrence of such circumstances and thoughts that I am led to believe that Divine solicitude for my betterment is co-operating with me to achieve my new birth. Grandiose natural scenery often excites in me religious emotions; they take in me the form of prayers and religious worship, so does music of a high order.

"While I was young I sometimes gave myself up to private pious practices—the reading of the Bible, thinking and prayer, either in a room or out of town in a wild place. My endeavors centred in a desire to be like Christ. I regarded those hours as intensely religious and I experienced sometimes very strange feelings, for instance, the direct presence of Christ. But gradually, as I advanced in experience, religious thought tended to penetrate all my life and all my days, so that at present whatever I do, or say, or think, is more and more thought or done in a religious spirit, i. e., I feel a moral obligation to do all in the best way possible and in the kindest way, as God, the Giver of life and will and conscience, is good and kind.

"I might divide my feelings and thoughts into properly religious and religious in a second and third degree. When I am conscious of the presence of God, as is mostly the case when I am at private prayer, then my frame of being is very religious; during public worship it is so in a lower degree only. But, as I said above,

even in my intellectual activity there is often a religious color. Natural laws, scientific facts, become more and more frequently suggestive to me of moral laws, as if God had pictured moral principles in natural phenomena. From my present belief that the supreme purpose of my existence is the growth of Divine life in me, of more reason and more will power, results the fact that even my physical acts, and more so my intellectual activity, take a religious character. This is a growing tendency in my life; a walk for fresh air, going to bed in time, or, when necessary going to bed late, and such things, as far as I connect them with my moral obligations, become in some degree religious acts.

"My feelings when I am in a religious attitude, especially at prayer, are, *humility*—I mention my shortcomings in performing my duties, in not strictly following my reason—and *confidence*: a feeling of profound confidence in God, in the goodness of his schemes and in his ability to put them in execution in the universe. This is not merely an intellectual view, but it is a faith springing partly from scientific thought. It has a quieting, pacifying influence on my soul and makes me calm and happy and strong in practical life; it supplies me with patience and perseverance. I feel also the greatness and power of God in such a way as to admire and praise Him with gratitude and joy.

"As to bodily sensations, I, while younger, sometimes shed tears and cried at prayer; but now, for many years, it is rare that my emotions should reach a tearful intensity."

I had asked him to define his conception of God, to say whether he really believed in God's interference in his life in answer to his prayers, and several other questions; his answer follows:

"I am far from having the narrowly anthropomorphic conception of God of my youthful years. I call God the power, the principle (I do not know what it is, really, but the power, I should say), which works out in the universe all developments toward a higher order of being, which by its laws raises the standard of existence from the insensible to the sensible, from the brutal to the rational, from the transient to the immortal. So I call in me "divine" all the desires, tendencies, efforts, tending to develop in me more sensibility to beauty and truth and justice, more reason and greater power of rising to a higher level of moral life. Accordingly, reason, conscience, harmony in life, are more or less divine; the more developed they are, the more divine I regard them.

"Although I am aware that it is beyond my power to know how God is organized, and although I am sure He is not a person like me, I pray to Him nevertheless, as if he were a person, because I am sure that He is more than me; and if He is not personal, He must be more than personal, i. e., He must be able to receive communications from me and must be able to communicate to me something of Himself. When I realise that the Eternal Power of Progress is receiving my

communication, I feel His presence; that is what I mean when I speak of feeling His presence. It is a subjective state, not at all a feeling as if God were nearer or around me. In praying, I thank God every time for my existence with a pleasant sense of gratitude. I ask His assistance in my efforts for good, feeling sure that it is His supreme solicitude that I may succeed and become better.

“ ‘How does He help me and does He at all help me?’ I do not know, I sometimes believe that He does. It may be that the very act of praying is the way in which I am assisted by the Divine Power,—when I am speaking to God, it is God who speaks in me. It is strange that although I do not believe in miracles, past or present, still I persist in believing that God must have some way to help me to realise more and more my ideal of divine humanity,—these spiritual thoughts and sentiments I do not regard as merely ethical, because I intimately connect them with my faith in God, to whom I feel grateful and responsible.”

“*I do not know, I sometimes believe that He does!*” Is not this, coming from a man of scientific training who prays morning and evening, a startling confession of indifference to objective truth and logical consistency and a disclosure of the supremacy of the will to believe? The case is well worth closer scrutiny.

In his first communication he stated that he prays morning and evening, asking God's assistance and returning grateful thanks for His goodness to him, *in the belief that the practice is effective as a preparation to live the day in piety*, and he added, “*I am sure it does.*” He did not, then, try to explain how the help was secured. The end of his religious practices is to obtain help when he finds himself in open opposition to the dictates of his conscience, and more generally, to further the growth of “Divine life” in him. Divine life, it should be noted, is defined by him in terms of reason, will and sensibility to beauty, to truth, and to justice. As far as the goal to be attained is concerned, there is therefore nothing in his “religious” aspirations in any way transcending natural ethics. It is only the belief that it is with the help of God that he rises to a high “level of piety,” and the emotions and sentiments dependent upon this belief, which entitle his experience to be classed among the religious. But when called upon to state and explain more definitely his conception of God and of his relation to Him, it then appears that his belief in God as a personal power, able to respond to his prayers, is merely a working hypothesis acted upon as if true, be-

cause it helps him to "live the day in piety." His last paragraph leaves no doubt upon this point.

Case V. is not alone in betraying this want of regard for the stringent demands of reason and in refusing to have his actions limited within the narrow bounds of the rationally proved. Case I., who "gives herself over to the Divine Will" (although nothing is to her more obscure than the existence of an objective something represented by this appellation) and who, constructed *according to her needs*, the supreme personality she vaguely apprehended, behaves according to the same tendency. It is in evidence also in Case VII., particularly in the passage concerning her faith in immortality: the arguments she adduces as convincing have really very little weight: she believes in immortality because she wants to. It appears very clearly again in Case IV., and still more clearly, if possible, in Case VI., a Doctor of Philosophy, head of an important educational institution. In the last case, the "possibly," "apparently," "I find myself," etc., indicate not only a serious lack of intellectual conviction as to the existence of God and the possibility of His entering into communication with man, but also the non-necessity of that conviction for him. VII. believes in God about as seriously as he believes in the presence around him, in the spirit world, of his father and of his mother. Of this belief he says, "It is possibly the result of a desire that it might be so, and a feeling that it would be so if they had the power." These, and similar facts, show how far religious life is impulsive, partakes of the nature of instinct, and confirm some of the claims of the Philosophy of the Unconscious.¹ Belief, faith, are teleological attitudes. Truth, for the natural man, is that which secures the result wanted; its criterion is affecto-motor efficiency. Whatever regard we have for objective truth and logical consistency is evidently due to the practical benefits derived by conforming our conduct to their requirements. Therefore they are set aside in favor of the satisfying belief whenever there appears an incongruity between

¹ See as to the relation of faith to intellectual proof my "Studies in the Psychology of Religion," *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. VII. (1896), p. 337 ff.

objective truth and subjective needs: to live is, after all, the first business of life. Prof. William James, in one of his late works,¹ maintains the thesis that when intellectually doubtful, we have the right, and perhaps the duty, to act as if we believed that which seems best. Whether we have the right or not, it is surely what men of all classes do, not only in religion but in the whole range of human activities, the philosophical systems not excepted. What are, for instance, theological systems but clumsy attempts to give an air of logical consistency to cherished beliefs and to provide a plausible foundation in objective facts for practices which have grown up and been maintained chiefly on account of their usefulness, real or imaginary? It is not because creeds are logically true that they are believed, but the reverse: it is the belief in them which makes them *true*; and if they are believed, it is because of the advantageous results following upon—or supposed to follow upon—action according to them. Men have endeavored to prove the existence of God, but is it really necessary that it should be done? Do we not get along just as well without the proof? With the proof many of us would continue to do as if He did not exist; just as without the proof thousands upon thousands behave as if living in His presence. It is reason which is the servant of action and not *vice versa*.

CASE VI.

A Doctor in Philosophy, at the head of an institution of learning of the higher grade; about forty years of age. Thanksgiving takes here a foremost place. It seems totally absent in the religious consciousness of so many persons that Case VI. is made particularly interesting by its prominence. That and the relation of belief to intellectual conviction are the two points most deserving of attention in this document, which reads as follows:

¹ *The Will to Believe, and Other Essays*. See also in the *International Journal of Ethics*, D. S. Miller's criticism of Prof. James's essay. Balfour, in his "Defence of Philosophic Doubt," concludes that science is accepted not from adequate reason but from a "practical need," and that, therefore, we are equally warranted in accepting the Christian religion if we have for it an inward inclination, or impulse.

"Yes, I usually realise the reasons which prompt me to religious practices. In public it is habit, or it is a desire to set a good example. In private, however, it is never so; prayer and thanksgiving, always mental, are apparently spontaneous and are prompted by the thought of some labor before me or of some success achieved.

"My motive for public worship is largely the desire to set a good example. I never got much out of public worship that I could designate as religious. Private thanksgiving is performed for no purpose, it is spontaneous; this is the largest part of my religious practice and is probably due to an optimistic nature. Prayer is performed apparently with a feeling that it strengthens me for some labor; I do not think it is influenced by fear of failure. I sometimes find myself seriously and earnestly talking to God as I would talk over a business proposition with any one—this usually at nights, on retiring.

"At the best, this seems to be the sum of my thoughts and feelings when at church: 'What a wealth of beauty, what an uplifting of soul in all this.' But quite as frequently I am not in a religious attitude. In private I experience a buoyancy, usually accompanied by evident change in the circulation. Quite frequently my thoughts find vent in conversation with God over something to be done; recently this, 'Help me get a grip on T.; the fellow has got it in him to be somebody; I don't want him to go to the devil.' My thoughts are then likely to run off on the problem in mind.

"I have religious needs, but not highly developed.

"Solitude, night, silence, incline me to prayer and thanksgiving. I feel this inclination, for instance, when alone in the forest, or at night in my bed. I think it comes from the natural awe induced by such circumstances.

"I prefer a religious service of much formalism. I have no religious feelings in public except as I am surrounded by the noble in architecture, in colored glass, in the pageantry of the church. I have knelt at some shrine in walking through the country abroad, with religious feeling, and I have done likewise in some altar in a cathedral. I prefer the Romish worship to any other on this account; but I refrain from having anything to do with it because I think it dangerous to liberty.

"My most characteristically religious experiences are feelings, mentally expressed in words, of thanksgiving to God for His goodness. Not long ago, I had occasion to work very hard to bring about a certain educational reform in a class of schools. I worked a year on it against odds that, it was said, could not be overcome. I overcame them, and the night that the matter was settled I found myself saying, in substance, this, 'Oh, God, Thou art very good to me to give me the strength to carry this through. Why should I have this success? Is it because mother or father is there and looking out for me?' Analysed, this is probably the result of a certain egotism, a spontaneous joy at success. The thought that my parents influenced my life has been always present with me; it is possibly the re-

sult of a desire that it might be so and a feeling that it would be so if they had the power.

"Yes, I have taken for religious thoughts and emotions that were not so. I joined the Methodist Church once. For a few days I thought I was quite religious. Later I thought I had yielded to emotional efforts and had lost my mental poise. I remained in the Church for a number of years and worked as I could, but I always looked at my feelings for those few days as a matter for regret. I was then a boy."

The rest was written in answer to inquiries prompted by his first communication. He had written, "Prayers are performed *apparently* with a feeling that it strengthens me." I asked why "Apparently?" The reply was:

"I have at times wondered whether it might not be performed through fear, or through a desire to get on the right side of God. But it appears to me that there is no foundation for this interpretation; it rather seems to me that I feel stronger from prayer. The word is inserted to indicate doubts that have occurred to me.

"You inquire whether I believe (1) that a personal Divinity in answer to my prayer gives me strength, or (2) if I think that the increased power is a psychological, subjective effect of the prayer, or (3) whether I have any decided opinion as to this, or (4) whether I prefer to behave as if I believed in the intervention of God although theoretically I do not—of course, one's beliefs change. I have for some time felt as stated in (1). I see no reason why God should not act upon us, communicate with us, by perfectly natural means. Why should not our material brains be sensitive to certain little understood (perhaps little understandable) quasi-telepathic waves? I see no reason for thinking it particularly strange that a strong mental activity producing violent cerebral action should start waves reaching some governing mind and be communicated thence or directly to other minds, thus leading to an 'answer to prayer.' This is doubtless a feeble effort of my mind to put the whole matter on a kind of natural basis; to avoid any break in natural laws. I have not given much thought to the Bible miracles, not considering them of any moment in the great questions of Christ's teachings. I have looked upon them as stories of an ignorant and unscientific age, useless in our life. Not to put prayer into this category my mind has come to seek this natural base on which to build.

"As to the expression which caught your attention, 'I find myself talking to God,' which seems to indicate that my religious actions are instinctive, I can only say that I do not know how far they are instinctive. Who can?

"You ask also, 'Is not the feeling of thankfulness and thanksgiving the same when referring to a human being as when referring to God?' No. If I am thankful to a human being there is the feeling of being able to help him in return; sometimes, too, the feeling of his motive. In the case of God this is all wanting and this puts an entirely different coloring on the whole matter.

"Don't you find it strange how we all hesitate in stating our beliefs, as if (possibly) we feared that God might take our answers out of a pigeon-hole on the Day of Judgment and ask us what we meant?"

CASE VII.

A woman in the prime of life, living with her husband and one child on a "run-down plantation," fighting poverty. The religious atmosphere of her youth was, "family prayer and high temper." She is a remarkable instance of triumphant optimism. Christianity is here transcended, in her estimation at least, by an admirable pagan love, nay, worship, of nature and trust in its laws. What a comment upon certain ossified forms of Christianity this record is!

"The reasons that prompt me to 'religious practices' are an inherent love of life and beauty and the belief that there is no religion but Truth, and that my greatest happiness and well-being depends on making as much of it as possible my own. My 'religious practices' are my efforts to embody in myself, my home and my children the above belief, to learn every day more of the meaning of Life and to give the Life in me the best expression. To be an inspired mother, is the highest religious state I know. The most devotional life to me is to seek for the deeper meaning in every experience, reading and work, to find the message in everything. Ignorance is sin and to fear is evil. A mind continually open and ready to understand; the faith that all that comes to me is mine, to be understood and used; the belief that I am growing every day by being alive to Truth, these have superseded the childish groping called prayer. I do not ask for anything because I know all I need will come to me. All the strength, power, and wisdom of my life is within; growth is the law of my being.

"I have said that religion is Truth, and you ask what I mean by Truth. By Truth I mean the laws that govern our being. These laws are just as authoritative to me as a personal God. I believe they will be to all who are free from fear and the doctrines of fear as preached by orthodoxy. My religion is to learn the laws that govern my being and to live in harmony with them.

"When I say God I mean the Good, the law of my being. The question of a personal God concerns me little. The 'First Cause' and 'Our Father' mean the same thing to me. I can only explain my former statement that 'the most devotional life to me is to seek for the deeper meaning in everything, to find the message in everything,' by giving you some idea of my conception of life. I believe that life is development, growth; that death is only a form of life; that we have heaven and hell as much here in this world as we ever will; that all is Good—that is, all is ultimately Good. Good and evil bear the same relation to each other as light and darkness. The Good is our ideal; evil is our teacher to make us under-

stand the Good. The object of life is not to be happy nor to save our souls, but to live; that means, to grow. All who do this truly learn that it brings the only happiness and saves the soul from the only sin there is—ignorance. People are not divided into the good and the bad, but the developed and the undeveloped. The power of growth is more or less vital in different ones. Those for whom there is no religion but Truth, who are willing to receive any lesson unfaltering in the faith that all is well, may be called the elect; they 'walk with God,' to use the traditional expression. To find in experience needed food for growth is to find the deeper meaning in things. The value of this meaning is that it teaches how to grow, and growth is life, vitality, while not to grow is stagnation, death.

"I cannot answer your question concerning the most characteristically religious experience, as I know of no 'religious practice' but living—every day living. The time in my life when I most fully realised that all is good was some months ago when death came for my beautiful, radiant little daughter, the soul of my life and the joy of my heart. I knew all must be well on the 'other side' or she would not go there, that infinite goodness encompassed us both. I did not pray for her to be spared; it was better for her to go or she would have stayed with me. I have not prayed for years for I have no need to. Perhaps my nearest approach to religious experience was when I first realised that I was free, free from creed and doctrine and form and cant; free to grow and be all that is in my nature. Hardly a day passes that I do not think of this and feel happy.

"Behold I build me a nest on the greatness of God;
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh hen flies
In the freedom that fills all space 'twixt the marsh and the skies.'

—*Sidney Lanier.*

If you do not find any religion in that you will hardly find any in me.

"You inquire whence came the comforting assurance I felt at the death of my daughter. From within. Every assurance of Truth comes from within; all growth is from within. All the evidence the mind can get confirms the belief that all is well on the 'other side,' until I feel that I know. It is not a matter of reason perhaps, but of a higher authority: the voice within, inner consciousness. Here is an example or two of such authoritative evidence as confirms this belief: When death approached Miss Willard, she said, 'How beautiful it is to be with God.' Mr. Moody said, 'If this is death it is glorious!' (that is the only thing I ever saw from Mr. Moody that was a message to me). It is impossible for us to solve the mystery of death now, but I believe that for those who are developed and true, at that hour when the spirit is on the threshold of another world the veil is lifted, 'Death plucks the curtain apart and awakens the sleeper with light.' I believe in immortality and for the awakened soul in individual immortality. Where the new-born soul comes from and whither it goes at the call of death, we know not. All that concerns us is to understand what we can of this part of eternity that is given us now: one world at a time is enough.

"I am now on the conscious plane of development. I grow and know that I grow. So vital is my mental life, so decidedly am I individualised, that I cannot conceive of losing my identity. The vast majority of mankind live unconsciously. I can only say for myself that I expect to enter the next world with open eyes and a conscious mind. I do not fear death. Where my child is gone I believe I will go some time; my love tells me this. But if I should learn after a while that it cannot be, then I will know that it is better otherwise: a belief in immortality is not necessary to my happiness. My love for my beautiful child is the strongest human love I can know, but we are not dependent on any human tie, we who belong by choice to truth, to Infinite Good. I trust the laws that govern my destiny."

She had said in her first letter "The most pernicious thing in so-called Christianity is the Imitation of Christ doctrine." I asked for an explanation and received the following:

"I object to imitation because it is opposed to original thought, and mental and spiritual development depend on original thought. As well let another person eat for us as think for us. One soul can inspire another, but cannot *be* for another. We must strip down to the reality. Any sane person ought to know that all he can do is to be himself; how much of that self there is, depends on his development. Whatever Christ may have been and taught, he wanted to be understood rather than worshipped. All great and honest thinkers have found that to be is better than worship, or sacrifice, or praise. Christianity has been a great factor in the evolution of the human mind, but the Christianity of creeds is fast being outgrown. One by one, men join the great minority of originals. We are not losing our religion, we are finding ourselves; we are conquering fear and learning to trust the Divine Laws that govern life. I think it is a great thing not to be afraid to be yourself.

"I am never in an orthodox religious attitude. The view from my window, as I write, of fields and trees and sunshine, upturned soil that will soon give us another lesson in growth, thrills me with joy, so does a new thought, for instance, the consciousness that I am alive and growing. When my husband puts his arms around me and tells me that he loves me I feel a thrill of joy, for love is good and passion pure. Perhaps I am happiest when we look into each other's eyes and see the same truth. The love of man and woman is the greatest power in the world and inspired nativity is the hope of human regeneration. Every child conceived in love is a child of 'immaculate conception'—all these thoughts and feelings are religious to me."

CASE VIII.

The answers of a Methodist clergyman will bring us back to familiar statements and show how far from the old, narrow, traditional currents we have wandered.

"I feel that the performance of religious practices is a duty which I owe to God as the author of my being, the redeemer of my soul and the source of innumerable benefits, both present and prospective. But it is also a joyous privilege to serve Him and to realise His gracious approval.

"I engage in devotional exercises for the glory of God, the cultivation of personal religion and for the benefit of others.

"I have strong religious needs : (1) I need clear and rational views of theological questions. I secure them by close and critical study of the Bible with the best helps I can get ; but I always think for myself and, hence, I have some thoughts and theories of my own ; they are not visionary but logical and true, as I confidently believe. (2) I have need of much grace to keep my heart right and to go steadily forward in the path of duty and the service of God. I do this by diligently waiting upon God in the appointed means of grace and especially in secret devotion."

In answer to the question touching the circumstances, etc., which incline most to religious practices, he says :

" 'What circumstances?' Under the faithful and efficient preaching of the Gospel ; in a genuine revival service and often in private meditation. 'What places?' In the House of God, at a really good camp meeting, or in an earnest, enthusiastic religious service of any kind. 'What objects?' The development of my own Christian character, the edification of the church and the salvation of sinners. 'What periods?' Always when I have a deep, rich, happy religious experience, or whenever there appears to be a special demand for Christian activity and religious effort."

His most characteristically religious experience is his "conversion." He relates it at length. The reader will find cases similar to this one in the Appendix to my "Studies in the Psychology of Religious Life," in the *American Journal of Psychology* for 1896. As to the distinction to be made between religious and non-religious thoughts and feelings, he has but little to say :

"I have sometimes prayed for certain blessings and felt impressed that my prayer would be granted, but it was not. I thought at times that it was a sin to do any kind of work on Sunday, but I find now that if it is to some religious purpose it does not matter."

CASE IX.

A man born and brought up in France, not yet forty, who has had an intellectually and emotionally eventful life. Here again the hand of needs has evidently been at work fashioning beliefs. In

his understanding of what constitutes religion and of what differentiates it from secular activity he is in substantial agreement with Cases I., VI., VII., V. On this point we shall have something to say at the end of the paper. Case IX. is as follows:

"The unique reason which prompts me to religious practices is a need, a sensation of emptiness of soul, of moral imperfections, of lack of power.

"My religious practices have no other purpose than the satisfaction of the needs just mentioned. My religious needs are so intense that I feel unhappy if I have been out of communion for a few hours in a day with some noble thought or been without some good feeling or emotion. I satisfy them by communion and sympathy with all that is pure, noble and most beautiful in the moral and spiritual possibilities of man.

"No peculiar circumstance, place, object or period of life inclines me to religious practices, for I have reached a state of almost continuous communion with all that is good. I am at almost every hour of my life in a religious attitude. However, I feel more inclined in the first hour after rising and in the evening when I am tired, and also, in general, whenever I am alone with myself.

"For the reasons above stated, my religious life has been, since my conversion, devoid of very characteristic or pronounced effervescences.

"I have given up attempting to represent God to myself; I do not feel any more the need of any image or embodiment of the Divine Principle,—a belief which is necessary to me. I can define all my religious relations with what is called God under the following two heads: (1) I feel in my deepest consciousness the need of being one with some great principle, of being in unity with some one I cannot define, but who surrounds me, in whom I am bathed and with whom I desire to be in harmony,—an all-filling Presence. There seems to take place between this Principle and me an exchange and an unification: something goes up from me, adoration, spiritual aspirations; and something comes back from the Unknown; some love goes up and love comes down multiplied richly. The effect upon me of communion with this all-pervading Presence seems to be the generation and the increase of love. (2) I have almost incessantly the deep consciousness that I am inferior to some inner ideal, to a type pre-established in me and always kept in sight. That type constantly dwelling in me and trying to guide me, I feel I *must* realise. Experience has taught me that to follow these leadings makes one happy, and to discard them causes unhappiness. I have brought down all my religious conceptions to the two above-stated fundamental instincts or intuitions. Of course, I am a follower of Christ and an imitator of His life; my ideal is to become one with the Divine, as He was one. Yet, many of the beliefs of the great Christian bodies I do not share.

"This being said, it will appear clearly that I could not do without the belief in God or the Divine, implied in what precedes without denying what seems to me

the very law and fundamental organisation of my being; neither can I find any satisfactory substitute for it.

"The difference between religious and non-religious emotions and feelings is that the latter do not proceed from the same want, or need, of the conscience, and more especially that they do not give the same satisfaction, the same feeling of peace. For example, the satisfaction of love, success in life, the contemplation of the beautiful in art, poetry or literature, does not strike in me the same chord as the inner contemplation of, or the communion with, the ideals connected with the word God.

"I class as religious all thoughts that are conducive to the aggrandisement of the inner self and to the good of humanity. I go even to the point of including purely ethical or æsthetic feelings if they promote in me a sentiment of unselfish love for the source of all that is beautiful. I would, for example, call religious the thought that this or that work carried on amongst the unfortunates deserves a share of my sympathy and, consequently, of my money, because obedience to such an impulse leads to the same feeling of inner peace as the yielding to the need for religious satisfaction.

"My experience when in a religious attitude may be summarised thus: A feeling of need, of want; a desire tending to the satisfaction of the need and thoughts oriented in the same direction. Next comes a response to desire and its satisfaction,—a sensation of peace arises."

CASE X.

As the last of the positively religious cases, let us choose one that will carry us back to the days of Jonathan Edwards and Calvin. Case X. is a French clergyman with long years of service behind him and, as it appears in his communication, afflicted by some bodily disorder which must be taken into account in interpreting his old-style Calvinism. His letter begins with general remarks:

"I feel very much that my letter will disappoint you. I know my century, and I feel that I am not in the spirit of the times. The feeling of Divine justice and of its exigencies has much weakened in pious persons. In me it has continually grown stronger. The principles are neglected, and sentimentality is put in their place. . . . Belief in the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures is weakening. . . . Moreover, I have suffered dreadfully, physically and morally: the history of Job is constantly present to my mind. I have seen the evil spirits at work trying to injure me. I have seen Satan displaying his utmost ingenuity to make me suffer the inexpressible. You will therefore readily understand that my usual mood is not one of superficial lightheartedness, that I cannot be an optimist in the

common acceptation of the word. I believe that the just will be saved,—without that certitude there can be but despair and death; but he is to be saved painfully, as by fire."

He then passes to the questions:

"I am moved to religious practices by a feeling of duty and to appease the wrath of God which rises against sinful humanity.

"I need a God who will bandage my moral wounds, who will comfort and strengthen me. I also, naturally, need to be washed of my moral uncleanness.

"Places of worship, austere and even sad things, and especially proofs of affection and manifestations of friendship (so rare and often so unreliable) incline me to religious practices. . . .

"For many people the most characteristic religious experience is the feeling of God's love, of His goodness, compassion and readiness to succor those who call upon Him. I would not say that this is false, but its onesidedness brings it near to being false. There are wrong conceptions of Divine goodness and benevolence; those, for instance, which do not include the austere side of religion, that in it which is dark and frightful. Both feelings are beautifully expressed in the Psalms . . . there is in them infinite sweetness and also infinite fear. My experience is that, man being sinful, he must suffer, suffer much, drink also of the bitter cup of Jesus Christ.

"In my religious exercises I always experience fear towards the Holy God, who must inexorably avenge His broken law and His majesty outraged by sin."

From these people, positively religious—at least in their own estimation,—one passes gradually to the positively non-religious through a number of types differing but slightly one from the next. There is, first, the pathetic doubter, who *will* believe and who systematically closes his eyes when any doubt-breeding light comes in sight. Illustrations of this type will be given in another place. There is, further, the "unbeliever," who does not find the fountain which would quench the vague, soul-worrying thirst which remains after belief in the framework of Christianity has gone. It is a truly melancholy spectacle, the sight of a person yearning after a bright and peaceful haven and believing in its existence somewhere, but never finding the way. The best these poor people know is an occasional "thrilling of the soul, a sort of preparation for a message" . . . which never comes. These people are legion. Here is what one of them writes concerning her most characteristically religious experience:

CASE XI.

A middle-aged, unmarried lady who used to be a communicant member of a Unitarian church and is now, as to religion, quite at sea; she questions whether she is or is not religious:

"Once when walking in the wild woods in the country, on a morning with blue sky, with breeze blowing from the sea and birds and flowers around me, an exhilaration came to me that was Heavenly,—a raising of the whole spirits and nature within me through perfect joy. Only twice in life before have I had such an experience of Heaven. Once when alone I had, at seventeen years of age, a rather religious experience. It was an inclining towards prayer—but I had no prayer—a sort of receiving of the spirit, a kind of love ecstasy before love had touched me. I had to kneel. It was religion as far as I (poor me!) *know religion*."

There is in this hardly more than a moment of exuberant life, a transient phenomenon of excess in a generally depressed spirit. Even the animal frolicking in the early sunshine knows the exhilaration that comes with the vigor of the morning.

CASE XII.

This case is in some respects similar to the preceding. It is a married woman who suggests that she may be only "emotional, hyper-sensitive." What comes nearest to being religion in her life is a gentle "stirring of the soul by something in the stars and the night, something in the gold of the sun, something in the low, sad music, something in the stillness." She writes:

"Probably there is not that in me which can rightly be called religious. There is only an occasional sweet emotion of the soul, with no apparent cause and of no practical value; yet it is all that is left to me. I have not discarded my idols at once. One by one they have fallen, and their fragments are scattered along the half-broken path I have trodden. Without a God, without a Christ, looking forward to annihilation at death. What then comforts me through all the weary years? Only this; when soul-troubled I turn to the stars, or the soft tinted skies, to a picture, a statue, or book. Thoughts of the good and the true come to me. It is as though I had paused awhile in some sacred beautiful place. It also develops the soul more than the orthodox prayer. Still, it does not satisfy entirely the great, deep need of the soul, for that cannot be satisfied. Ah, these restless spirits, trying to steal away where they could partake of the highest and gratify the un-

utterable longing for things that cannot be named. If this reaching out for the beautiful, the good, and the true is a religious impulse, then, am I not religious?"

Who shall say what part of the unsatisfied cravings with which so many of us are afflicted is merely the protesting voice of an ill-used or un-used body? When the faults of our progenitors, our own faults, the circumstances of life, have led us away from a natural course of life, have frustrated the organism from its rightful functions, then some among us appeal to religion, they want it to do substitute work; they exclaim, "Oh, if I could only believe!" Even the penetrating, self-introspective Amiel mistakes the aches of a dyspeptic stomach for a yearning after God! He writes in his *Journal*¹ under date of the 31st of March (4 P. M.): "For an hour past I have been the prey of a vague anxiety. I recognise my old enemy. . . . It is a sense of void and anguish; a sense of something lacking: what? Love, peace,—God, perhaps. The feeling is one of pure want unmixed with hope, and there is anguish in it because I can clearly distinguish neither the evil nor its remedy. Of all the hours of the day, in fine weather, the afternoon about three o'clock is the time which to me is most difficult to bear. I never feel more strongly than I do then "*le vide effrayant de la vie*," the stress of mental anxiety or the painful thirst for happiness." This "vague anxiety" of mid-afternoon hours is the curse of many. The hour of lowest psycho-physiological activity is in general from three to four P. M. Amiel need not have taken the name of God in vain on this occasion.

CASE XIII.

In case XIII. we have a type in striking contrast both to the immediately preceding and also to the positively religious cases. There is here no craving after unnamable things, no panting heart sighing after the starry heaven. Life with its parental and social duties is enough to fill her heart and mind with stolid contentment. Post-mundane matters will take care of themselves. It is a case not very far removed from the non-religious. We read:

¹ *Amiel's Journal*, tr. by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, p. 200.

"I never had any special 'religious experience' that I am aware of. I come of a line of French Huguenots who, of course, were Calvinists. They came to New York about 1680. In the next generation they were 'Church of England.' Long before the Revolution they were wardens and vestrymen. Coming from such a line, I was *born* to certain religious observances and beliefs and never troubled myself about the matter at all especially. As I grew older some dogmas were a stumbling-block to me, and as I read and became familiar with some truly great writers—Renan, for one—I grew more and more sceptical in a way. But I never analysed my thoughts or dwelt very long on any of these matters. I fulfilled my duties as a church member, as I understood them; brought up my children according to the Book of Common Prayer; they knew from my oral teachings 'Thy duty towards God' and 'Thy duty towards thy neighbor' long before they could read. They were baptised and confirmed, taught to visit and help the poor, teach the ignorant, tell no lies, do the fair, unselfish, and honorable thing always, as far as they knew it.

"The æsthetic aspects of outward religious (Faith) practice have always appealed to one side of my nature. I scratch out 'Faith' because during the last fifteen or twenty years I have read so much, seen and learned so much, that I am not sure what amount of faith I may have left in anything. I don't trouble about it, life is really too short to spend in dwelling much upon merely speculative thoughts. I had no idea when I commenced writing of saying more than a few sentences on these subjects; it does not interest me much. I've half a mind to tear all this 'stuff' up; you can."

It would be interesting to know how many of our Church "pillars" belong to this category.

The Non-Religious.

A widely prevalent opinion will have it that there is no room in human nature for non-religious individuals. Those who hold to this view maintain that some kind of religion—they are ready to admit that it is usually the wrong kind—is a constituent part of every human being, and they find support for their claim in the fact that there is no people, or tribe, without at least some rudimentary religion. But neither the claim that the term religion has been unduly narrowed, or that the person has not shown his inmost soul, or that it is a case of braggadocio, can account for the many cases on record of individuals who disclaim any part in religious life. It is impossible after careful investigation not to come to the conclusion that there is a large number of individuals who, although

living in the shadows of our churches, are and remain to the end non-religious persons. Their attitude cannot be brought into the religious category—stretch the sense of the word as you please.

CASE XIV.

A successful business man in middle life, ardent advocate of Henry George's Single Tax Reform, is a fair illustration of the non-religious type, when it has become conscious of itself.

"I do not perform religious exercises, public or private. To me such practices are incomprehensible, childish, and absurd. I have no religious needs. I am devoid of religious feelings. I never had any religious experience.

"I am very seldom in church. When in one, I wonder at the phenomenon of otherwise intelligent persons acting like a lot of heathens. My principal feeling is one of contempt; I also feel ashamed for them for being such monkeys. My physical state at such times is great uneasiness and a feeling of restraint and an intense desire to get in the open air.

"Religion, to my conception, is another name for superstition; it is one kind of superstition. I consider it to be utterly useless and superfluous if not positively harmful. I know many people who are more or less unhappy because of religion. . . . The Churches are mixed superstition and hypocrisy: mostly superstition among the women and hypocrisy among the men. I deny their moral superiority. They never take the lead in any so-called moral reform. They were on the wrong side of the slavery question; they are cowardly and pusillanimous and mercenary and subservient on the present great industrial questions. . . .

"I have given conscientious replies to your questions.

"My grandfather was a Presbyterian minister. My mother was a strong Presbyterian. She believed literally. She taught me her faith diligently from my earliest childhood. She was not severe or strict, but taught in a loving and charming way. I attended church and Sunday-school until fourteen. All my early associations tended to make me an orthodox Christian. I have never met a more conscientious person than my mother was. I suppose I accepted her teachings as a matter of course, without reflexion when very young. When old enough to study physical geography, I learned that some things she believed were not true. Later, in biology, that many more things she believed were not true, and I have been learning ever since what an immense mass of superstition her belief was."

To help him to discover in himself the aspirations, feelings, and attitudes which are generally deemed religious by high-minded, liberal Christians, I sent him a copy of the answers of a person re-

sembling very much Case IX. He returned it with a letter the essential part of which follows :

"I know many persons such as you describe, but I feel no hesitancy in declaring that I am not of them. I have for several years questioned myself closely upon this very point and feel no doubt about it. I might add that I have twice been consciously at the point of death with sickness without experiencing any religious feeling, be it fear or anything else.

"You ask what I think of the attitude you describe. I regard it as the undissolved residue of a grosser superstition. I believe myself to have no feelings such as you describe, and cannot possibly stretch the term religion to cover anything that I need or crave for. I find no reason for believing in a power in any sense divine ; I see no evidence that the universe is permeated with a moral principle. I think the theory of a supreme diabolical being far more plausible than the theory of a supreme beneficent being, although the evidence in favor of either is wholly insufficient to make either theory of any importance in my estimation.

"I can use more of your circulars, if you care to send them, as I know several people who are just as curious bugs, from my standpoint, as I undoubtedly am from yours."

The number of non-religious persons is very much greater than it appears. If they form only a very small proportion of our returns, it is because our questions were not framed to find their way among them ; if they did, they were, in most cases, instantly thrown into the waste-basket. Moreover the majority of these persons are, doubtless, not endowed with the vigorous mental initiative which would make possible a clear realisation of their condition. They usually conform, cold-heartedly, to some of the religious customs of the circle in which they happen to live and no one ever knows the truth, not even themselves. On favorable occasions they may wonder at their religious indifference, yet never reach the revolutionary conclusion that religion is for them a mere fiction. They are legion, the men in whose life God—any kind of God—is a *quantité négligable*; they live without Him, satisfied ; they die without Him, happy. The philosopher of religion forgets too easily, much to the detriment of his theories, that if there are Romanes who bemoan the day when "with the virtual negation of God the universe lost its soul of loveliness,"¹ there are also Cliffords for whom "the

¹ *Thoughts on Religion*, page 28, 29.

fruition of human love and the fulfilment of human duties" are sufficient to happiness.¹

Whether the differences between the religious and the non-religious are merely superficial, or whether and in what sense they are fundamental differences; whether the education of home and other circumstances can of themselves account for them, or whether they have deeper roots in particular native endowments; whether yet one is destined to supplant the other and is its necessary lower step or not, are questions that must be passed by in silence in this preliminary paper. This alone we desire to emphasise here: there are, even among individuals of the same community and approximately of the same intelligence and culture, differences sufficient to make of one a person to whom religion is the "all of life" and leave the other absolutely indifferent and impervious to it, however broadly it may be interpreted.

The key of deep, at times even tragic, earnestness to which most of our documents are pitched would force even the ironical sceptic into a reverential mood. It is when the intellectual beliefs on which religious life is supposed to depend are threatened, that the real price ascribed to religion is revealed. Persecution is in part a way of defending one's religious treasures. There is another, less aggressive, way of dealing with doubt-breeding persons and facts, which is perhaps as good a witness as persecution to the inestimable value of religion to certain persons. A lady of our acquaintance to whom we handed a copy of the *Questionnaire* recoiled in evident distress when she had read the first queries. Her confused apologetic refusal implied that she did not dare look her beliefs squarely in the face; only to think of it threw her into a panic.² Another person who had refused with startling violence a personal request for answers wrote, of her own accord, about a year later to explain her conduct. Her faith was at the time of the request in a precarious state and she was fighting with the energy of despair to keep God in her Heaven. Her chief means of defense was to reso-

¹ See page 79, Pollock's preface to Clifford's *Lectures and Essays*.

² See "The Personifying Passion in Youth," *Monist*, Vol. X., p. 548.

lutely put away from her mind any and every thing threatening her beliefs. My suggested critical examination struck her as the unkindest cut of all.

These pathetic instances of a class of our fellow-men who prefer to bury their heads in the sand rather than permit the hard facts to rob their universe of its "soul of loveliness," suggest valuable reflexions on the relation of belief to desire.

Of all the impressions which arise from a rapid reading of the documents before us, the most constant and the one of greatest philosophical import concerns the religious impulse. The end of religion is not the worship of God as some like to put it. He is frequently not even present to the mind of our correspondents during the moments they call religious, and, when present, He is not usually worshipped. No, if we are to judge by our records, it would seem that the God who rises up before the Protestant Anglo-Saxon in his religious moods does not ordinarily throw him on his knees. That stage appears now transcended. God has remained for him the bestower of the things he wants, but the belief that adoration is an effective means of obtaining satisfaction has been to a very large extent forgotten. Could this be the result of experience? However that may be, the fact is that when God, conjured up by his needs, appears before him, his hands stretch forth in request for power or mercy, not in adoration. And, preposterous as it may seem, it is yet true that he cares very little who God is, or even whether He is at all. But *he uses Him*, instinctively, from habit if not from a rational conviction in His existence, for the satisfaction of his better desires, and this he does ordinarily with the directness and the bluntness of the aggressive child of a domineering century, well-nigh stranger to the emotions of fear, of awe, and of reverence. The truth of the matter may be put this way: *God is not known, He is not understood; He is used*—used a good deal and with an admirable disregard of logical consistency, sometimes as meat purveyor, sometimes as moral support, sometimes as friend, sometimes as an object of love. If He proves himself useful, His right to remain in the service of man is thereby vindicated. The religious con-

sciousness asks for no more than that, it does not embarrass itself with further questions: does God really exist? how does He exist? what is He? etc., are to it as so many irrelevant questions, or, if one prefers to turn the matter otherwise, they are questions which for the time being transform the religious into a philosophic consciousness. Not God but life, more life, a larger, richer, more satisfying life, is in last analysis the end of religion. The love of life at any and every level of development, or, to use another phraseology, the instinct for preservation and increase, is the religious impulse. It would appear, then, that there is at bottom no specifically "religious" impulse; the preservation and increase of life is the moving impulse as well of religious as of secular activity. The point of difference between religious and non-religious life would, therefore, have to be sought for elsewhere than in the impulse and the goal.

How could men have come to think that "the vital element in all religions is the conviction that the existence of the world, with all it contains and all which surrounds it, is a mystery ever pressing for interpretation"?¹ On the contrary, the mystery of the world is resolutely thrust aside by consciousness in so far as it is, and as long as it remains, religious. Religious consciousness as such *refuses* to deal with intellectual problems; if they are forced upon it, it refuses to see them; it will not, if it can, make religious life wait upon rational solutions, but instead it adopts "working hypotheses" and leaves philosophy to unravel the endless puzzles.

This is one of the points which receive the general support of our investigation. The pious soul may, and often does, leave its supplicating attitude to turn, for a while, to philosophy, but it then ceases to be religious and becomes philosophic. For a moment it yearns, it desires, it supplicates, it wills; for another moment it is critical and asks whys and wherefores,—then religious, now philosophic, in as close succession as you please. In the twinkling of an eye it passes from the one to the other attitude; they alternate

¹ H. Spencer in *First Principles*. See for a summary and criticism of his conception of religion, the Appendix to my paper "Introduction to the Psychology of Religion," *The Monist*, Vol. IX., p. 217 ff.

but they cannot coexist. They differ just as much and in the same way as desiring differs from thinking, or willing from reasoning. Considered merely from its intellectual side, the religious attitude postulates, the other inquires. Or, if it be argued that desire lurks at the origin of both activities, the distinction may then be expressed thus: the religious consciousness wants *to be*, the philosophic consciousness wants *to know*. The result of this twofold, interwoven activity is, on the one hand, the creation of religious, on the other, the establishment of philosophic, systems. Both are normal and necessary functions; we are so made that we cannot help passing incessantly from the one to the other, not even the least philosophically minded person among us; but this is not an argument for refusing to admit their fundamental difference. Do we not incessantly pass from desire to reflexion and from thought to action, and are not these two classes of activities essentially different?

The faulty conception of religion entertained by the intellectualistic school is the result of a failure to clearly separate religion from philosophy.¹ And here the efforts of our correspondents to differentiate religious from secular thoughts and feelings is highly instructive. They find the *differentiæ* in the fact that religious thoughts and feelings lead, or refer to *action according to the highest desires*—actions which would therefore satisfy the highest needs.

But we are anticipating; these and other considerations touching the religious impulse and the religious motive will find a more legitimate place after the detailed examination of the evidence.

The differentiation we have been making, if clearly and firmly grasped, becomes a powerful solvent for several of the problems of the philosophy of religion.

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¹ See the author's criticism of the intellectualistic definitions of religion, in *The Monist*, Vol. XI., pp. 202-211.