

successful competitor in every vocation. And now, last of all, it is proposed to force upon her the ballot, not because it is a means of the highest usefulness, but because it is esteemed as the insignia of political equality. This whole conception is false in its root, and gives growth to error in all its branches. Equality in character does not involve identity in function. The sexes are not intended to duplicate each other's work. A great deal of nonsense has been written about woman's sphere; nevertheless, man and woman have different works to do in the world. Man is the natural protector; to him belongs the exercise of force; to him, therefore, the making of law: to her the more sacred and valuable nurturing of that life and directing of that liberty to secure which governments are established and maintained on the earth.

This is a fundamental and radical objection to woman's suffrage. Suffrage would lay upon woman a duty which does not belong to her—that of being a protector of the State. It requires of her that for which God and nature have not prepared her—to exercise and direct force over her brothers. It demands for her that from which she instinctively and rightly shrinks—the bearing of rule and the exercising of compulsion over the community. This is not her duty. Whether it is her right, we shall consider in a second article.



A Quality to be Cultivated

There are few qualities so often withheld by nature and so readily susceptible of development as dispassionateness. Most of us are prone to have strong feelings and take decided views about every open question. Our first impulse is to leap to a conclusion; we are constantly tempted to form opinions and pronounce judgments which have no other foundation than a passing and often mistaken impression. The steady use of intelligence in small things is by no means common, and to bring one's intelligence to bear calmly on every question that is presented is one of the finest results of genuine self-training. It is interesting to note, in any community where men and women are generally known to each other, how few people treat a new question dispassionately and how many confuse themselves and the question at the start by taking a position or developing a feeling before they have learned the facts. The most natural way would seem to be to look at all the matters involved with clear and cool intelligence, to give due weight to all the interests, and to reach a dispassionate judgment; but a great many people take sides before they know anything about the facts, often lose their tempers, and are henceforth forever shut out from the possibility of dispassionate judgment in the matter. Men and women of great ability, who are in the habit of dealing strongly with great matters, are often extremely lacking in dispassionateness of temper, and are continually led to commit egregious blunders by acting before they know why they are acting or what the result of their action is to be. In small things as in great, the power of judgment is given us in order that we may use it; but there is no judgment in a conclusion which is not the result of a dispassionate view of a situation or a dispassionate consideration of a question. The immense reserve power of such men as Washington is due very largely to the ability to see everything that comes up in a clear light, with a cool temper and a steady determination to get at the facts and to act in accordance with them. This is the masterly quality in obscure as in eminent lives, and it is a quality susceptible of almost infinite education.

Editorial Notes

—A branch Civil Service Reform Association was organized in Washington last week for the District of Columbia. Better missionary ground it would be hard to find.

—There are a great many people who are not averse to the general principle of an income tax, who would yet be glad to know on what theory the law now under debate taxes savings-bank earnings and exempts building associations.

—Mr. Croker's retirement from the Tammany leadership is said to be for his own comfort and pleasure, and it will certainly give pleasure to others as well. His political demise recalls the story of the death of a penurious old Dutchman. "What was the complaint?" was asked. "There were no complaints anywhere," was the reply.

—We have received two protests against a recent review of Dr. Heron's book. Our general rule is always to give a hearing to the other side. But if we published criticisms on our book reviews, the succession of replies, corrections, protests, commendations, and counter-criticisms would be endless. The book-reviewer is a judge; and his opinion closes the case in his court. This uniform rule of journalism has its reason in the very nature of the case.

—The mutations of human fortunes are often intensely pathetic. The very week when the Earl of Salisbury, in the English House of Commons, spoke of the Tammany bosses as the rulers of New York, tears were falling in Tammany Hall because Mr. Croker was retiring from his great position! It cannot be said that his going out of public life "eclipsed the gayety of nations," but, coming so soon after Mr. Gladstone's retirement, it cannot fail to make a deep impression!

—One of the most interesting things in our mail is a paper telling how one may go to Europe for next to nothing. To visit England, Scotland, France, Belgium, and Holland, spending nearly six weeks, would cost \$165. But, by the saving in purchasing clothes abroad and of the cost of board and incidental expenses at home, it is shown that the entire trip might cost but \$31.15. The purchase of a few more clothes, we should think, would bring that down and make a profit on the trip!

—"The Voice" indorses the proposition of The Outlook that the question of woman suffrage should be submitted to a vote of the women of the State, and adds: "Why not leave to the women the question whether they wish the right, and the duties, such as jury service, which the right entails? If they vote for it, it will show that the argument that women do not want the ballot is groundless. If they vote against it, it will at least remove from the edict all flavor of masculine tyranny."

—If in these "hard times" any generously disposed person feels inclined to part with twenty-five dollars, the Hampton Geography Department would like to make a suggestion to that individual. An old set of maps is giving out; they have done faithful service, but the cracks of old age represent new continents in a very confusing manner, while "Unexplored" is hardly a satisfactory representation of the interior of Africa nowadays. Please address Normal School, Hampton, Va.

—This is how it works in Wyoming:

Elsewhere, objectors persist in calling this statute of ours "an experiment." *We know it is not.* Under it we have better laws, better officers, better institutions, better morals, and a higher social condition in general. Not one of the predicted evils, such as loss of native delicacy and disturbance of home relations, has followed in its train.—*Ex-Gov. Hoyt.*

I do not recall a single act of legislation aimed at the betterment of the human race that has been passed through woman's influence. Public ground-floor gambling is not only tolerated but licensed, and all-night saloons close during the whole week only between the hours of 10 o'clock A.M. and 2 o'clock P.M. on Sundays.—*Jno. F. Carroll.*

How does it work?

—The will of the Hon. John Jay contains the following clause: "Regarding the extravagance in funerals and mourning as unseemly and burthensome, I wish my funeral to be severely simple, and I ask my children and grandchildren, whom I thank for their constant affection, to observe my wishes in this regard and to let any mourning they may wear for me be mild, inexpensive, and without crape." No one who realizes the burdens entailed upon the poor by the costliness of funerals in all ranks of society can count this one of the least of reforms with which the names of the old reformers will be associated.

—We are prone to think that the difficulties of the present are new, and that our forefathers were strangers to our perplexities. The condition of the poor, which is just now weighing heavily upon the heart of the world, has rarely been better stated than by the late Cardinal Manning, forty-nine years ago, in these words:

We have a people straitened by poverty. Worn down by toil, they labor from the rising to the setting of the sun. The human spirit will faint or break at last. It is to this unrelenting round of labor that the sourness so unnatural to our English poor, but now too often seen, is to be ascribed. There is something in humanity which pines for a season of brighter and fresher thoughts—becomes sharp and bitter if it be not satisfied. Time must be redeemed for the poor man. The world is too hard upon him, and makes him pay too heavy a toll of his short life.

Christian Missionary Work in India

By P. C. Mozoomdar



INDIA, I maintain, is daily receiving Christ in larger measures. But how much this is because of Christian missionary endeavor it is impossible to say. The whole atmosphere is so saturated with Christian influences, literary, historical, political, and personal, that the underlying spirit infects the whole land. There are two millions and a half of native Christians, and fifteen hundred missionaries of all sects. The Roman Catholic converts are most numerous, only it is to be regretted that the Protestant missionaries hardly recognize them as Christians at all. During the last ten years the increase of percentage in what is called the conversion of the heathen is large and noteworthy. But I do not count all this, though no doubt it has its value, when I say that India daily receives the spirit of Christ. I point to the great millions of unconverted Hindus, the leading castes and classes of thoughtful, educated men, the reformers and torch-bearers of multiform Indian society. These men are steadily imbibing the spirit of Christ, and it is useless to deny that their attitude to the Christian missionary is hostile. Their honor for the character of Jesus is ripening into personal love and spiritual acceptance, but their repugnance to what is known as popular Christian theology is complete. It would be unfair to omit to say, however, that the general respect for the majority of Christian missionaries is genuine, deepest always where the spirit of self-sacrifice is most prominent—otherwise about equally distributed among the representatives of all denominations. If the Christian missionary knew what use to make of this personal appreciation, it would be good for him as well as for those who entertain that feeling; perhaps good also for the interests of the Christian mission. But as nothing short of absolute conversion into dogmatic creed would satisfy the proselytizer, the friendly regard, not seldom mutual, ripens into nothing, and is always superficial, if it does not altogether disappear. In India personal relationship is of the highest religious consequence: rightly used, it might lead to anything; unwisely handled, it soon furnishes the cause of antagonism. The first Protestant missionary who ever came out to this country, Christian Schwartz, a Danish Lutheran, by this power of personal influence became the counselor of the King of Tanjore, the ambassador of the East India Company at Madras, and laid the foundations of the first Protestant Christian community in India. In our own days, great missionaries like Dr. Duff and Dr. Wilson found the secret of their success in the same personal influence; but in later times, I am sorry to find, this source of power among Christian workers is at its lowest ebb. Let the missionary try to spread and deepen his personal magnetism.

I must not be understood to mean that the Christian mission is for this reason devoid of importance. As an educational agency, the missionary body is next only to the Government; in some parts of the country the Government is next to it. In drawing attention to the low condition of the Indian woman the missionary is incessant. He establishes girl schools in far-off provincial villages; his wife visits the women of the Hindu household where even the members of the Zenana Mission would be inadmissible. The German Lutheran missions have civilized great inaccessible tracts of the country, not only preaching to the people the Gospel, but teaching them to bake their bread, to make their writing-paper, and to weave their clothes. The missionary is a philanthropist and a servant of the public. But is it that for which Christian missions are maintained? I would not be sorry if it were so. Nevertheless it is not so. They are to convert India; and in spite of the two million and a half native Christians, in spite of all the glowing reports and cheap engravings

of the paradisaical life of the converted heathen which one admires in the missionary journals, India is as far from receiving popular Christianity as is the planet Mars. Can we find out the causes?

Your excellent people seldom care to make a distinction between Christian theology and the spirit of Christianity. The latter, I take it, was left by Christ, and maintained by the humblest and worthiest of his followers in all ages. The former is the result of the controversies and accidents of the Christian Church, the result of law and logic and metaphysical and ethical speculations in the West. I feel no hesitation in saying that most of the Christian missionaries sent out make their theology the ultimate goal of their work. I do not wish to discuss the truth or otherwise of that theology, but only desire to point out that a man may be very theological without being spiritual, and a man may be very spiritual without being theological. And between the two, in Eastern lands, especially in India, the popular preference will be decidedly for the spiritual man. But who is the spiritual man? One with a profound sense of divine nearness, one with the sweetest dependence upon God, some healthy impulse of self-distrust, and the tenderest sympathy for the weaknesses as well as the sanctities of other people's life. The militancy of the Christian propaganda, boast of it as you may, is its fatal disqualification. The more muscular your aggressiveness, the more determined the resistance it will provoke. The resistance in India is seldom as loud as the attack, and the shouting may attract the least stable elements of society, but that does not signify much in the conversion of the land. Undeniably, Islam was more muscular than the American Board, and whole tracts of country became Mussulman; there are about sixty-six millions of Mussulmans to the two and a half millions of native Christians at the present day; the census reports prove a rapid increase of the Mohammedan population; all this does not admit of doubt. But I ask, What perceptible breach has Islam made in the solid stability of the Hindu religion? After the Great Mogul ceased to rule from the throne of Aurangzeb, Hinduism rose in greater organic strength and unrelenting orthodoxy than when the images of Benares had been desecrated and the wealth of the temples had been robbed. Mere muscular, or financial, or even dogmatic religion cannot make much headway in India. We need spiritual power, and we ask you to send out men who have the largest measure of that power.

Why does it so seldom occur in the missionary reports to state what spiritual or moral progress is observable in the vast community of native Christians? I have great esteem for men like the late Rev. Narain Scheshadrai, or Babu Kalicharan Baunerjea, and one or two others whom I could name. But what becomes of the rank and file of the two millions and a half? what reforms do they originate? what labors do they carry on? what advance do they make in the confidence of the great Hindu society? what contributions do they offer to the great world of Christian thought? Yet, truth to speak, I do not have the heart to blame these men. They learn what has been taught them; they preach the doctrines that are prescribed for them; they imitate the ways of life that are laid before them; and thus they live and die more as figures and ciphers in a statistical table than as living souls clothed in flesh and blood. I am grieved at the deplorable misdirection of their energy, for which the Christian missionary, and he alone, is responsible. In an occasional fit of disappointment, one is apt to quote the Scotch professor who, in defining untruth, said there were three species of that unwholesome article: "1. Black lies. 2. White lies. 3. Statistics." It is the spirit of Christ's life that we demand in India: charity, temperance, wisdom, holiness; but they cram us with the sawdust of theology, and rule us with the iron rod of ecclesiasticism. The legal, logical, historical