Chapter Four

RELIGION AND THE ARTS DURING THE GENERATION OF MATERIALISM

I. "WARFARE BETWEEN SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY"

THERE can be little doubt that the Christian religion, with its Jewish and Graeco-Roman background, had been the chief factor in creating and maintaining for centuries a sense of European solidarity, a sense of the essential oneness and distinctiveness of "European" or "Western" civilization. Without Christianity and its corollary of Christendom, "Europe" would have been an incidental geographical expression and "West" hardly distinguishable from "East." As it was, the rise and spread of Christianity during almost two millennia had provided Europe—and an extending European frontier overseas in America, South Africa, Australasia, and the Philippines—with a community of beliefs, ethics, customs, and loyalties.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the large majority of Europeans still professed some form of Christianity, but its champions were confronted with a wave, or swift succession of waves, of criticism and attack more varied and with deeper swell than any which had previously threatened it. Hitherto, the most threatening waves had rolled in from the outside, from pagan barbarians and from Moslem Arabs and Turks, but they had ebbed or been stilled. Internal surges had, of course, been recurrent and sometimes tempestuous, but while breaking the framework of Christendom into Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant parts, they had not seriously impaired its foundations. Throughout modern times, it is true, a secularizing process had been gradually transferring the control of one activity after another from church to state, but the states were all professedly Christian. Even the rationalism of the eighteenth century was directed less toward the subversion of Christianity than toward a simplification of theology, and it was more intimately

associated with deism, pietism, and anti-clericalism than with atheism or agnosticism. Now, however, a great tidal wave swelled up within Europe, menacing the very bases of Christianity, and of all supernatural and revealed religion. Of the outcome the otherwise skeptical Huxley was certain: "That this Christianity is doomed to fall is, to my mind, beyond a doubt."[1]

To science both the critics and the apologists of Christianity usually ascribed the source of the tidal wave. This was easy to say but hard to prove without precision in the use of the word "science." When the man in the street talked about science he probably thought mainly of its practical applications to technology and public health—steam engine, dynamo, electric lighting, inoculation against disease, etc.—which, after all, had no direct bearing on religious faith. At most, applied science could only indirectly weaken faith by centering attention upon marvels of human achievement, by exalting engineers above preachers or priests, and by stimulating a greater ambition for creature comforts than for personal holiness. On the other hand, what the specialist in physics or chemistry, biology or medicine, meant by science was a particular method of observation, experimentation, and logical deduction, which was applicable only to phenomena that could be seen or handled. The "unseen world" and all "ultimates" were within the province of philosophical speculation, not of pure science; and in practice some of the most eminent scientists of the era, including Schwann, Pasteur, and Mendel, perceived no inconsistency between their laboratory findings and their profession of Christianity.

The trouble was, then, not with "pure" or "applied" science. Rather, it was with philosophical assumptions about science, and especially with the carrying over of these assumptions from natural science to so-called social science. To accept the working hypotheses of science as of equal validity with its established facts and to explain the origin and end of man, and his behavior as well as his body, in terms of mechanical physics and evolutionary biology, might be plausible, but scarcely scientific. It involved philosophy—and a philosophy which left no room for God's creation or man's

[1] *Collected Essays* (1893-1894), V, 142.

soul and which repudiated therefore the fundamental postulates of Christianity.

Nor was the trouble rendered less acute by misguided and fanatical efforts of Christian apologists to avert it. Many of these failed to distinguish between the realm of scientific knowledge and that of religious faith, and in the latter between what was revealed dogma and what was merely conventional and demonstrably untenable belief. For example, they not only assailed naturalist speculation on well-authenticated facts about evolution but denied or made light of the facts themselves. Utterly forgetful of the argument of St. Augustine and other church fathers that it mattered little just how creation had occurred, they stubbornly clung to the idea of the separate creation of each species and dismissed all evidence to the contrary by heaping ridicule on anyone who would suppose that "men were descended from monkeys." Or again, many ardent Christians—especially many Protestants, who incidentally were in the habit of interpreting passages in the New Testament concerning the Lord's Supper and Peter's primacy in a figurative sense—insisted on a strict literalness in interpreting the first chapter of the Book of Genesis and accepted as equally "inspired" the biblical chronology which had been worked out by an Anglican archbishop in the seventeenth century and which precluded the existence of man prior to 4004 B.C. Scientific knowledge that man had existed long before that date was either ignored or met with some silly counter-claim such as that God had put misleading fossils into the rocks to test the faith of mankind![2]

In view of the intransigence or muddleheadedness of Christians who utilized what was imagined to be theology in order to combat what they regarded as the errors of science, it was but natural and probably inevitable that many scholars and more publicists should not only defend the substantial findings of pure science but carry a counter-offensive over into the questionable fields of philosophy and social science. Here, as we know, materialistic and deterministic assumptions were quite as impelling as the provocation of Christian

[2] Philip H. Gosse, *Omphalos, an Attempt to Untie the Geological Knot* (1857). Cf. Sir Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son* (1907), 108.

apologists, and here, then, was ample occasion for a queer sort of fight between "science" and "theology."

The fight began in earnest in the decade of the '60's over evolution and biblical criticism, and from 1871 to 1900 it raged on a wide front. The offensive passed early from "theology" to "science," whose heavy artillery was manned by such embattled Darwinians as Huxley, Tyndall, and Haeckel. Huxley neglected scientific research of his own from the '70's onward, so busy was he in the role of "Darwin's bulldog" barking and biting at theologians.[3] He rejected Christianity totally, pronouncing it "a varying compound of some of the best and some of the worst elements of paganism and Judaism, molded in practice by the innate character of certain peoples of the western world," and adding, for full measure, that "the actions we call sinful are part and parcel of the struggle for existence." Tyndall, Huxley's chief lieutenant in Britain, contended in a famous public address at Belfast in 1874 that "matter" was "the promise and potency of all terrestrial life," and pretty constantly kept up a fire against religious dogma and authority. Simultaneously another notable Briton, George Romanes, interspersed amateurish biological studies with cannon shots at basic religious beliefs; he published *A Candid Examination of Theism* in 1878, and in 1890 founded a celebrated lectureship at Cambridge to carry on the good work after his death.[4] In Germany the outstanding artilleryman was Haeckel. He was no mere agnostic. He was as sure of scientific atheism as any theologian was of Christianity, and he was neither tongue-tied nor pen-bound in proclaiming his faith.

While the big guns boomed, line after line of infantry—"higher critics," anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists—advanced unwaveringly with brand-new weapons against the old citadels of Christianity. After the initial assaults of Strauss and of the Tübingen school on the divinity and historicity of Jesus had come Renan's naturalistic explanation of Him, and then followed quickly a series of detailed destructive critiques of the Bible, the Jewish religion, and the origins of Christianity. There were Colenso's critiques in England, Kuenen's in Holland, Wellhausen's in Germany, Robertson

[3] *Collected Essays*, 9 vols. (1898).
[4] Romanes's last book, *Thoughts on Religion* (1895), verged strangely toward orthodoxy.

Smith's in Scotland. The last-named author, who gave wide currency to "higher criticism" in the article on the Bible which he wrote for the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, finally decided that while religion has some social utility it is indistinguishable from magic. A much more temperate though still essentially critical view was taken by the era's foremost authority on Christian origins, Adolf von Harnack, whose monumental *History of Dogma* (1885-1890) stressed the influence of Greek thought on evolving Christian organization, liturgy, creed, and morals. The upshot of all such study was a spreading conviction that neither Judaism nor Christianity was unique or "revealed," that both were transient stages in the evolution of religion and superstition, and that the Bible was no truer or more "inspired" than Homer's *Iliad*.

A typical popular reaction was expressed fairly early by Matthew Arnold in his *Literature and Dogma* (1873). "What is called theology is in fact an immense misunderstanding of the Bible due to the junction of a talent for abstract reasoning combined with much literary inexperience." The Bible, he thought, should be prized as good literature, like the *Iliad*; and although one would have to dismiss as mythical its recorded prophecies and miracles, and in particular the dogmatics of its Gospel according to St. John, one might still admire the "righteousness" running through it like a theme song. Arnold's reaction was carried further by his niece, Mrs. Humphry Ward, in her enormously popular novel of *Robert Elsmere* (1888), the tale of a young clergyman who, compelled by the evidences of higher criticism to throw over Christian theology and leave the Christian Church, was moved by the spirit of righteousness to go in for social uplift and set up a creedless church for workingmen.

"Higher criticism" of Bible and Christian origins was reinforced by the work of anthropologists on comparative religion. These, too, started with evolutionary assumptions, and the data which they amassed about curious cults and ceremonies of ancient peoples and primitive tribes they presented with a view to showing the original derivation and gradual development of all modern religions from remote animism and nature worship. Major contributions to this new "social science" were made, as we have elsewhere re-

marked, by the Englishmen Tylor and Frazer, but the climax was reached, at least quantitatively, by a French Jew, Salomon Reinach. Reinach, who did comparatively little investigating on his own account, was indefatigable in reporting and interpreting the discoveries of a host of field workers in archaeology and cultural anthropology; he published a hundred books and five thousand articles! With literary felicity as well as facility he read signs of totemism and taboo into all the cultures of antiquity, set forth the subsequently discredited "law" of "unilinear religious evolution," and pontifically defined religion as "a sum of scruples which interfere with the free exercise of our faculties."[5]

These anti-Christian interpretations of comparative religion were incorporated, along with the materialistic and evolutionary aspects of physics, biology, and physiological psychology, into most of the sociological and philosophical systems of the period. Eugen Dühring, the crotchety German author of the "philosophy of reality," as well as of a program of national socialism, was passionate in denunciation of everything which like mysticism might veil reality, and he was almost Lucretian in his anger against religion. The only explanation of conscious and physical states, he said, was reality, that is, matter. The sociology of Herbert Spencer was as dogmatically anti-religious as it was evolutionary; and both Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer attributed all human advance to a most un-Christian struggle between nations and races. The leading American sociologist of the time, Lester Ward, edited a violently anti-religious journal, *The Iconoclast,* and his masterpiece, the two-volume *Dynamic Sociology* (1883), contained a sweeping arraignment of religion as the chief impediment to science and progress. Marxism also, it is hardly necessary to add, was in flat contradiction with basic religious postulates, and its principal theorists, notably Engels and Kautsky, carried on, as a major operation in the class war, a strenuous campaign against traditional religion.

Social scientists are probably more inclined than physicists or biologists to step over the line separating them from mere publicists. They find it harder to subject their peculiar kind of speci-

[5] See, for summary, his *Cultes, mythes et religions,* 5 vols. (1905-1923), with an abridged English translation by Elizabeth Frost in 1 volume (1912), and his *Orphéus, histoire générale des religions* (1909).

mens—human beings—to severe laboratory tests, and easier and more tempting to lecture the specimens. At any rate, in the warfare between science and theology, it was sociologists and historians crossing back and forth between science and propaganda who most zealously urged popular enlistment against theology. Some were Marxists, seeking recruits from among a somewhat hypothetical proletariat. Many more were stalwart Positivists, with a much broader appeal. For example, John Draper, native of Liverpool and college president in New York, brought out in 1874 a stirring *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science.* Likewise, Andrew D. White, product of wealthy American parents and of study in France and Germany, and first president of Cornell University, expanded a popular lecture into a widely read booklet and eventually (in 1896) into a two-volume "best seller," *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.*[6] And while Bradlaugh preached atheism to the masses in England, Robert G. Ingersoll orated for thirty years in America on the "scientific" grounds for disbelief in God, in eternal punishment, and in the inspiration of the Bible. A like-minded publicist, writing shortly after the close of the period, thought the victory won by science. Once upon a time, he said, "the conception of a creative Being was simple—perhaps, in the mists of primitive ignorance, imaginable. This is true no longer. Our modern knowledge has pushed back immeasurably the limits of the world; it has disclosed the immeasurable duration of time. It has given us a rational account of the planet on which we live, the system of which we form a part. It has indicated a probable origin and a probable end."

On one important subject, that of practical ethics, there was surprisingly little conflict during the era between "scientists" and "theologians." In everyday life traditional Christian virtues were still generally held to be the highest virtues. Herbert Spencer reprobated egotism and lauded altruism and self-sacrifice with the fervor of a Franciscan friar. Karl Marx was as good a family man as any Christian bourgeois, and his apostles, who adhered to a fatalistic creed analogous to Calvinism, approached to a moral

[6] Cf. also W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe,* 2 vols. (London, 1866), new ed. (London, 1890).

puritanism reminiscent of Calvin's Geneva. Almost all the evolutionary philosophers imagined that progress was upward and on toward complete fulfillment of the "good life" already foreshadowed in the Christian myth. Almost everybody who shared Haeckel's conclusion that man must be an insignificant cog in the cosmic machine of matter, persisted in treating him practically as if he were endowed with the high dignity of personality and entitled to the justice and mercy explicit in the Sermon on the Mount.

This curious divorce of morals from beliefs, this paradoxical retention of the one and rejection of the other, represented what later sociologists have described as a time lag. Shift in moral attitudes did not keep pace with shift in religious beliefs. It was apparently easier to change one's ideas about the universe than to alter one's pattern of personal and social behavior.

It was not that ethical speculation was lacking or traditional morality spared from attack. Nietzsche, for instance, did not hesitate to follow up the assault on Christian theology with a polemic against Christian morality. This, he declared, was a slave morality, useless and outgrown. Its ideals of sacrifice, generosity, and gentleness had no foundation in nature; its extolling of "the good, the true, and the beautiful" was purely illusory. The appropriate morality for the future race of supermen, he prophesied, would be built on man's instinctive will to power and would require a ruthless trampling of the strong upon the weak. Nietzsche's gospel, however, made no big conquests immediately. Its converts were mainly confined, during the era, to a coterie of youthful writers who were enamored by the form of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* as much as by its philosophic content.

Most ethical speculation showed less concern with devising a new morality than with seeking a new and non-religious justification for the old morality. Spencer sought it in a naturalistic "moral sense" which had been evolved like any other feature of man. Henry Sidgwick, professor at Cambridge and easily the most influential moralist of the generation, sought it in a combination of Mill's utilitarianism with Kant's notion of conscience as an innate "categorical imperative."[7] The search in either direction was not

[7] *The Methods of Ethics* (1874), 7th ed. (1907).

very rewarding, and at the end of the era James Ward, Sidgwick's successor at Cambridge, who had studied physiological psychology under Wundt at Leipzig, confessed that the only solid and sane base he could find for ethics was an idealistic and theistic interpretation of the universe.[8]

Here, at the end, was disquieting revolt, on moral grounds, against that philosophy of materialism which had been ascendant for thirty years and more. The revolt refortified the idealistic castles of Thomas Hill Green in England and of Rudolf Eucken in Germany, and in turn it received fresh impetus from Henri Bergson's vitalism in France and Benedetto Croce's neo-Hegelianism in Italy. Though affording slight comfort to orthodox religion, it served, along with impending revolution in physical science, to arrest and to "date" the epochal "warfare of science and theology."

II. THE DRIFT AWAY FROM TRADITIONAL RELIGION AND THE RISE OF MODERNISM

Most front-line fighters under the banner of "science," flushed with initial successes, expected an utter rout of traditional religion, though Huxley cautioned that it would be "neither sudden nor speedy." Actually, no rout occurred; and to attribute the retreat which did take place solely to the campaign of science against theology is a gross exaggeration. The active campaigners were relatively few; they constituted a small professional force, not a conscript army, and although they partially compensated in quality for what they lacked in quantity, they had no monopoly of brains or prowess. They included many eminent scientists and literary men, but also a disproportionate share of pseudo-intellectuals whose self-esteem exceeded their competence and whose tendency to gallop gaily into untenable positions was the despair of soberer and more calculating comrades.[9]

[8] *Naturalism and Agnosticism* (1899).

[9] This despair must have possessed Huxley when he wrote in his last years: "It is the secret of the superiority of the best theological teachers to the majority of their opponents that they substantially recognize the realities of things, however strange the forms in which they clothe their conceptions. The doctrines of predestination, of original sin, of the innate depravity of man and the evil fate of the greater part of the race, of the primacy of Satan in this world, of the essential vileness of matter, of a malevolent Demiurgus subordinate to a benevolent Almighty, who has only lately revealed himself, faulty as they are, appear to me to be vastly nearer the truth than

The real significance of the campaign lay in the fact that it capped and gave timely direction to hostile or indifferent attitudes which had been engendered by quite other developments. It was a weather vane for a variety of winds which the circumambient *Zeitgeist* exhaled.

A secularizing development had long been manifest, a gradual transference of social functions from church to state, from clergymen to laymen. It had made big strides during the Reformation in Protestant countries, and since the French Revolution in Catholic countries. By the 1870's, throughout western and central Europe, it was reaching the goal of state-directed lay education and charity and was affecting organized religion in two deleterious ways. On the one hand it accustomed the masses to look to the secular state as the ultimate source of light and sustenance and to regard the church as a superfluity or luxury, like the theater, which one attended or stayed away from according to one's habit or whim. In other words it made for indifference toward religion. On the other hand, in branding as "clericals" those who attempted to arrest or reverse the secularizing trend and condemning them to a losing battle, it extended and invigorated "anti-clericalism."

Anti-clericalism, in some degree, had always been a natural reaction to historic Christianity's segregation of clergy from laity. Laymen who were taught to respect clergymen as divinely called to administer the sacraments, preach the Gospel, and govern the Church, who were not allowed to participate in their selection or counsel, and who at the same time observed their human frailties or differed with them about political and temporal affairs, such laymen were at least potential anti-clericals. They might be good practicing Christians, quite orthodox in theology, and yet be critical of priests and bishops and anxious to confine their activities within narrowly religious limits. And when, in modern times, many high-placed clergymen defended an unpopular political or social system

the 'liberal' popular illusions that babies are all born good, and that the example of a corrupt society is responsible for their failure to remain so; that it is given to everybody to reach the ethical ideal if he will only try; that all partial evil is universal good, and other optimistic figments, such as that which represents 'Providence' under the guise of a paternal philanthropist, and bids us believe that everything will come right (according to our notions) at last."—"An Apologetic Eirenicon," in *Fortnightly Review*, n.s., LII (1892), 569.

and opposed popularly supported legislation, anti-clericalism grew and took on new significance as a cause or a slogan which could be utilized by irreligious politicians to rally an increasing number of "born" Christians who seldom if ever went to church. Anti-clericalism, of course, by reason of the difference between Catholic and Protestant conceptions of the clergy, was more usual and disturbing in Catholic than in Protestant countries, although the attitude of non-conforming sectarians toward established Protestant churches, as in England and Prussia, surely savored of anti-clericalism.

With or without express anti-clericalism, there was a strong tendency in the nineteenth century to associate the fortunes of Christianity with those of outmoded political and social institutions. Whether in Catholic or in Protestant countries, the higher clergy were apt to come from aristocratic or plutocratic families and to direct a wistful thinking of their subordinates and of the faithful generally toward the "good old days" of the "union of throne and altar," and of the static agricultural society in which the masses had obediently followed the dictates of their superiors. Such "reactionary" tendency had been strengthened by the stand which all the major Christian bodies perforce took against "excesses" of the French Revolution and still more by the romantic religious revival of the early decades of the nineteenth century, which served to disinfect the nobility and a large part of the upper middle class of previous rationalist errors and to win them back to Christian faith and practice. By the 1870's organized Christianity seemed in clear and definite alliance with ultra-conservative against radical elements, with aristocracy and *haute bourgeoisie* against petty bourgeoisie and urban masses. The great majority of peasants still adhered to it from habit, but the alienation of industrial proletariat and lower middle class made rapid headway after 1871 in France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Russia, Britain, Scandinavia, and northern Germany.

Both the sectarian liberalism of the '60's and '70's and the socialism of Karl Marx proved powerful magnets in drawing urban dwellers away from traditional religion. In a sense they were substitute religions. Liberalism of the older ecumenical sort had at

least some of its roots in the Christian tradition, but the newer sectarian liberalism on the Continent was not merely anti-clerical but rampantly anti-Christian. Its philosophy was utilitarian and positivist, and its adepts warmly sympathetic to the evolutionary and materialistic aspects of natural and social science. Entrenched in radical political parties, in Continental Freemasonry, and in propagandist societies like the French *League of the Rights of Man*, it actuated much of that legislation looking toward the complete laicizing of the state and popular education and the minimizing of any ecclesiastical influence which we have outlined in a previous chapter.

However much Marxian socialists might assail the economic tenets of liberalism—its devotion to capitalism and its sanctification of the freedom of contract—and however much they might denounce its practical incitement to self-seeking and profiteering, they were blood brothers to the sectarian liberals in basic philosophy and trench comrades with them in warfare against "religious superstition." The only difference was that Marxians were a bit more valorous; they made frontal attacks, while Liberals were engaged in flanking movements. Marxian socialism was dogmatically materialist and determinist. Its goal was a strictly earthy paradise, and its declared method of reaching the goal was through class conflict and the abolition of private property. And its tactics involved counter missionary enterprise against religion as "opiate of the people" and against the churches as "tools of capitalism."

Both socialism and liberalism drew inspiration and weight from the development of machine industry and the attendant magnifying of urban centers. Indeed, this development, so thoroughly characteristic of the decades after 1870, was itself of prime importance in promoting indifference, if not hostility, to the claims of traditional religion. It made the marvels of technology seem greater and more useful than those of religion. It promised to assure human comfort and happiness without recourse to prayer or creed. It produced new forms of popular entertainment and diversion more alluring than the old round of church feasts and fasts. By stimulating extensive migration from field to factory, from countryside to city, it uprooted a large fraction of Europe's population and

broke it loose from ancestral traditions and usages, especially those of religion. Relatively few priests or pastors accompanied the emigrants from rural communities, and city churches were too few or too cold and strange to attract the host of new arrivals.

Finally, among major developments of the era was nationalism. It might conceivably have been compatible with historic Christianity, for the Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches had always been markedly national and the Catholic Church had recognized the principle of nationality and made frequent concessions to it. Nevertheless, in its emergent totalitarian form, nationalism was subversive of Christian teaching and tradition. Like Marxian socialism, it was a rival religion. Its concern was not with Christendom but with the nation, not with Christian ideals of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, but with the superiority and forceful expansion of a particular national "race." It was inordinately jealous of any international or supranational religion which might divide the allegiance of citizens and dampen their patriotic ardor, and hence it reinforced the anti-clericalism of Marxists and Liberals. Of course, wherever a long-established form of Christianity had taken on a national complexion, prominent nationalists were likely to entertain a sentimental regard for it and to encourage the masses to do likewise, but in such situations the appeal, for example of Barrès in France or D'Annunzio in Italy, was not to any absolute truth in Christianity but rather to its charm and value as a national asset.

Each of the developments here indicated—"science," secularization, industrialization, liberalism, Marxism, and nationalism—had originated before 1871, some of them several generations before; and it was only because they were pretty fully matured and producing joint effects that the generation of materialism from 1871 to 1900 stands out as marking a grave religious crisis, or rather the first stage in a crisis which has continued to the present day and which poses the fundamental question whether European or Western civilization can endure if cut off from its historic Christian roots. The net results of the whittling away at these roots during the generation from 1871 to 1900 were the outright repudiation of Christianity by a sizable minority of Europeans, the drift of a much

larger number away from any but the most perfunctory Christian observance, and the rise of conflict among the defenders of Christianity as to how much or little of it was reconcilable with the newer "modernist" developments.

The outright seceders from Christianity comprised, in the main, three groups: a comparatively large percentage of the "intellectual class," especially of professional literary men and of university scholars in the fields of natural and social science; a sprinkling of more or less influential persons among the learned professions of medicine, law, journalism, and education and among the petty bourgeoisie of booksellers and other shopkeepers; and a rapidly increasing quota of urban workingmen. Most of the last and a few in the other groups were converts to Marxian socialism. The rest sought refuge in a positivist "religion of humanity" or "religion of nationalism," in a creedless "ethical culture," in a vague pantheism, or, most commonly perhaps, in mere agnosticism. They gave substance as well as tone to Radical political parties throughout western and central Europe and swelled the forces of opposition to the Tsarist regime in Russia.

Outright secessionists, it must be borne in mind, constituted a minority of the total population of Europe, as did likewise the active defenders of dogmatic Christianity. The majority went their wonted way, evincing more and more interest in scientific achievement, in nationalism, in liberalism or socialism, but still adhering formally to the religion of their fathers. With many, such adherence grew lukewarm and tenuous. This was more noticeable among men than among women, in urban centers than in the countryside, and in France (even in rural districts of France), in Scandinavia, and in certain parts of Austria and Italy than in Russia, Ireland, Spain, or the Rhenish countries. Wherever it was in evidence, it involved a waning support of church activities, an access of anti-clerical sentiment, and a progressive abstention from ecclesiastical services except highly personal and ceremonial ones like christening, first communion, confirmation, marriages and funerals.

Among the active proponents of Christianity—those who busied themselves with warding off the attacks of seceders and overcoming the indifference of drifters—and consequently among the por-

tion of European population that still maintained a strong religious loyalty, differences appeared of tactics and of apologetic trend. Where a church was closely linked with a state and that state dominated by an ultra-conservative regime, as in the Russian Empire, the authority of the civil government was employed to safeguard religious orthodoxy and to penalize agnostics and dissenters. There, force or the threat of force obviated any argument.

In central and western Europe, however, where statesmen were more inclined to public neutrality, where the irreligious and anti-religious campaign was more vocal and vital, and where therefore churchmen had to rely pretty exclusively on argument and moral persuasion, the basic lines of Christian defense were thrown out in three directions. One was toward what for lack of a better title may be described by the later American term of "fundamentalism," a rigidly uncompromising position in support of conventional Christian beliefs, particularly an insistence on the absolute literal truth of the Bible and on the inherent falsity of Darwinian evolution and every other "scientific" theory at variance with it. This line was manned principally and most vociferously by members of evangelical Protestant sects, and with a kind of foolhardiness by some individual Lutherans, Calvinists, low-church Anglicans, and even Catholics whose zeal outstripped their knowledge.[10] Its ranks perceptibly thinned with the lapse of time.

The second—and more enduring—line aimed also at preserving historic dogmatic Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, but simultaneously at showing that it was not in conflict with actual findings of science and scholarship. The gist of the argument here was that current discoveries about the material universe and the antiquity of man did not disprove the existence of God and the spiritual universe; that Darwin's evolutionary hypothesis, if true, could explain only certain physical aspects of creation, not ultimate causes or the creation and functioning of man's soul; that contemporary higher criticism of the Bible and the church was destruc-

[10] An odd extension of this line was the Christian Science movement, which originated in America in the '70's and later secured some slight following in western Europe. Though "scientific" in name and "modern" in its practical solicitude for physical health, it was radically anti-materialist and in theology essentially fundamentalist. The Salvation Army, founded in England in 1880, in so far as it had a theology, was also fundamentalist.

tive and biased, but that, if pursued constructively in truly scholarly fashion, it would only confirm the uniqueness and validity of Christian teaching; and that the Bible, anyway, was not a textbook in science and that parts of it, as early church fathers had fully recognized, were susceptible of allegorical as well as literal interpretation. This was the line taken officially for the Catholic Church by the remarkable pope of the period—of whom we shall say more in the next section. It was likewise taken, with various deviations here and there, by thoughtful conservative theologians and sizeable groups of "orthodox" laymen in the major Protestant churches.

The third line was far more sensational. It looked toward a radical reorientation of Christianity in the light of modern science, a bringing of religion "up to date." This modernism, as it was called, would frankly accept Darwinism and the implications of current higher criticism. Accordingly, it would discard miracles, including the primary ones of Christ's incarnation and resurrection. It would stress the beauty rather than the truth of the Bible and the Christian religion, prizing the former as fine literature and the Founder of the latter as a poetical idealist or social reformer. It would do without dogmas and would derive Christian morals not from revelation but from experience.

Modernism eventually affected some Catholic priests and publicists to such an extent that shortly after the turn of the century the papacy felt obliged to anathematize it and to take drastic measures to repress it. But while it thus produced a brief and passing spasm within the Catholic Church, it found comfortable perduring lodgment and wrought a veritable revolution within Protestantism. To appreciate the nature and significance of this revolution, we may recall here certain peculiarities of Protestant Christianity, leaving those of Catholic Christianity for treatment in the next section.

Protestantism was more favorable than Catholicism to the rise of modernism, for in general it was more adaptable to the whole complex of intellectual and industrial developments during the era of materialism. Industrialism, which had begun in overwhelmingly Protestant England, permeated most thoroughly the predominantly Protestant countries of Germany and America, and Protestant

apologists delighted to identify the ideal of material progress and capitalistic prosperity with the rugged individualism and sober thrift of traditional Protestant ethics. Moreover, the individualism of Protestantism, especially of its more radical forms, seemed peculiarly harmonious with the individualism of economic liberalism and political democracy. Then, too, the major Protestant churches had always been national churches, subservient to secular government and responsive to patriotic emotion; they could foster and profit from the newer nationalism. But still greater incentives to adaptation were supplied by a curious paradox of Protestantism in the latest age. On one side, it was extraordinarily embarrassed and upset by the devastating higher criticism of the Bible, inasmuch as in rejecting the papacy and ecclesiastical authority it had exalted the Bible as the sole rule of individual faith and conduct. On the other side, it was enabled and driven to find ways out of the embarrassment by invoking the distinctively Protestant "right of private judgment," that is, by allowing each Protestant to put his own interpretation on the Bible as well as on "science."

It followed therefore that while many Protestants took the extreme "fundamentalist" position and many others the moderate conservative attitude, a gradually growing number became radically modernist. These remained Protestant Christians in name and actual church membership but they adapted church creeds and the Bible itself to the latest fashions in scientific speculation and higher criticism. They had their snuggest home in an intellectual sect like the Unitarian, but they gradually made fruitful gardens for themselves in leading theological seminaries, whether Lutheran, Anglican, Calvinist, or evangelical. And as there was no central authority in any of the Protestant churches capable of effectual opposition to modernism, it was fairly rapidly communicated from Protestant seminaries to the rising generation of Protestant clergymen and thence, ever more widely and deeply, to Protestant laymen. By the end of the nineteenth century, a modernist change was occurring in Protestantism far more revolutionary than that religious upheaval of the sixteenth century in which Protestantism had originated.

Innumerable, of course, were the gradations of modernism within

Protestant churches. What distinguished it as a whole was its evolutionary attitude toward religion in general and Christianity in particular. It perceived in history a steady, ever higher evolution of man's religious experience, from primitive myths to early Christianity and from "superstitious" Catholicism to "enlightened" Protestantism. Such an attitude was as antithetical to orthodox Protestant as to Catholic tradition. It involved a sharp reversal of the Protestant habit of seeking pure religion in an old volume and identifying ecclesiastical reform with a return to primitive Christianity.

It likewise involved a quaint shift of emphasis from "faith" to "good works." Protestants had previously been as dogmatic and theological as any Catholic about the central articles of Christian faith and extremely fond of Luther's "justification by faith," but now, to modernist Protestants, faith became nebulous and the words "dogma" and "theology" almost as repulsive as the word "superstition." Yet these same Protestants evinced extraordinary concern with justification by "good works," not the old theological ones, to be sure, but those of modern humanitarianism: social uplift, popular education, public health, and crusades against alcoholism, against juvenile delinquency, against cruelty to animals. And as dogmatic theology receded, moral theology retreated. "Good works" were to be judged less by any absolute standard proclaimed once for all from Sinai than by the relative standard of experimental utility.

Protestantism remained, with probably as many communicants in 1900 as in 1871, but almost all its numerous churches and sects were confronted with a rising tide of outside criticism and with a marked inside drift away from traditional beliefs and practices. It was becoming at the end of the nineteenth century a different thing from what it had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its one tight link with the past was the right of private judgment. By clinging to this a new modernist Protestantism could go on "protesting" against the Roman Church and do some novel "protesting" against fundamentalism and other survivals of historic Protestantism.

Developments of the era had analogous and equally disturbing

effects upon Judaism. Historically, Judaism was a tribal religion, based not only on the ancient Hebrew Bible but also on the progressive elaboration of an essentially tribal way of life—social, ceremonial, and dietary. Now it was confronted with two distinct yet related problems: how to preserve its tribal character and separate community life in the face of spreading liberalism and mounting nationalism; and how to preserve its religious faith against the flood of materialist philosophy, biblical criticism, and modernism. On these problems Jews divided into three camps. One consisted of those who, while still thinking of themselves as Jews in "race," drifted away from the Jewish religion, severed any connection with the synagogue, and, like the outright seceders from Christianity, became frankly agnostic or devotedly Marxian. The second camp, including the bulk of Jews in eastern Europe, remained severely orthodox, resisting higher criticism and holding to all the traditional Jewish laws and observances; they were comparable with the fundamentalists among Christians. The third, waxing strong in central and western Europe (and in America) became "reformed," which was another name for modernist; in various ways they rationalized and universalized their religion, abbreviating its ritual, softening or neglecting its special laws, and approximating it to the contemporary Unitarian and Ethical Culture movements in Protestantism.

It will be noted that religion was least disturbed in eastern Europe. Here, Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Judaism, and also Islam, held to their respective creeds and rites and retained the allegiance of their customary followers. In central and western Europe, on the other hand, the disturbance was acute and profound. It induced a surge of agnosticism and skepticism. It gave rise to modernistic Protestantism and Judaism. It immensely troubled the largest of Europe's religious communions, the Catholic Church.

III. PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII

When Pius IX died on February 7, 1878, after the longest and one of the stormiest pontificates in Christian history, the Catholic Church seemed to be at losing feud with the whole modern world, intellectually, politically, and morally. Its influence on the life and

thought of the fashioners of public opinion—leading men of letters, journalists, educators, and scholars—was fast disappearing, and its hold was gone on a large fraction of the bourgeoisie and on the bulk of the urban proletariat. It appeared impotent to dike anywhere the flood tide of "science," liberalism, Marxism, anti-clericalism, and secularization. Its foes had mastered Italy and despoiled the church of its age-old capital city and of a vast deal of popular prestige. They were dominant in Austria and Switzerland, and were waging in Germany a bitter Kulturkampf against it. They had recently assailed it with revolutionary ardor in Spain, and in Belgium they were just returning to power and battle. Likewise in France, "the eldest daughter of the church," foes of Catholicism in the guise of Radical Republicans were besting its friends, the Monarchists. And in England, the "second spring" which the Oxford movement once promised had proved disappointingly backward. The definition of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870 seemed a Pyrrhic victory for the papacy; if it closed the Catholic ranks, it also depleted them and aggravated enemy attacks.

With fear and trembling sixty-four elderly cardinals entered the conclave in the Vatican to choose Pius's successor. To forestall possible external interference, they acted quickly; and on the third scrutiny, on February 20, they chose Cardinal Pecci, the scion of an impoverished noble family,[11] who took the title of Leo XIII. He was already close to sixty-eight years of age and had been archbishop of Perugia for thirty-two years. He was almost unknown outside Italy, except by the few who recalled him as papal nuncio to Belgium back in the 1840's. His election was a makeshift. He was frail and not expected to live long.

Yet Leo XIII lived on a quarter century to the age of ninety-three, acquiring fame comparable with any medieval pope's. This unexpected outcome was a product of his personal qualities and of changing circumstances of his pontificate. Leo might be frail of physique, but within his emaciated body resided a brilliant mind and an iron will. He was, too, a humanist, at once artist and scholar, and cultured man of the world. A facile writer of Latin verse and

[11] His father had been a colonel in the Italian army of Napoleon Bonaparte, and his mother was descended from the medieval revolutionary, Cola di Rienzi!

Ciceronian prose, he also had sympathetic understanding of the intellectual problems of the modern age and a singular practicality in dealing with them. He was as determined as any of his predecessors to combat materialism, agnosticism, and indifferentism, but he was not content simply to repeat the anathemas of Pius IX. He must constructively expound Christian alternatives.

In almost the first of his long series of encyclicals—the *Æterni Patris* of 1879—Leo pointed to the medieval scholastic philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, with its reconciling of faith and reason, of theology and "science," as the fundamental corrective of the vagaries of modern philosophy, and urged its revival and extension. To this end he founded and endowed at Rome an academy bearing the great schoolman's name, directed the preparation and publication of a new edition of the *Summa*, and patronized centers for neo-Thomistic study at Louvain, Paris, Fribourg, and Salzburg, and also at the Catholic University of America which he personally chartered in 1889. Similarly, he encouraged the study of church history, opening the Vatican archives and library to historical research in 1883, and honoring such scholars as Newman and Hergenröther (whom he made cardinals in 1879), Denifle, Grisar, Pastor, Gasquet, Mancini, Ulysse Chevalier, Luchaire, Duchesne, and Baudrillart. He also fostered Christian archaeology and biblical studies; and to demonstrate his respect for natural science he procured an eminent staff of physicists and the most up-to-date instruments for the astronomical observatory at the Vatican.

Of the political principles of Pius IX, Leo XIII professed not to change an iota. He insisted that the Catholic Church is a perfect society in itself, whose authority in its own spiritual realm is, by divine institution, independent of and superior to the authority of any temporal state or sovereignty, and hence that it should occupy a privileged position in the state. Yet he was never a "reactionary" in the earlier sense. He contended, especially in the encyclicals *Immortale Dei* (1885) and *Libertas* (1888), that democracy is as compatible with Catholic philosophy and tradition as any other modes of civil government, and that real personal liberty, as distinct from sectarian liberalism, has its firmest base and surest

prop in Catholic Christianity. He would Christianize democracy and liberty.

Church support of the current trend toward democracy, Leo perceived, might be serviceable to the church. It would show the masses that they could expect the fulfillment of their political aspirations under Catholic as well as non-Catholic auspices, and it might thus bring them back to the faithful practice of their religion. A like policy, looking toward the same end, Leo pursued in respect of popular demands for social reform. He would Christianize modern industrial society; and for such a Catholic social movement his most famous encyclical, *Rerum novarum* (1891), supplied chart and inspiration. Against Marxian socialism this document defended private property as a natural right, emphasized the key importance of the family, protested against the exalting of the state, condemned the doctrines of economic materialism and determinism, and declared that "class is not naturally hostile to class." On the other hand, against economic liberalism, it held that "labor is not a commodity," that "it is shameful to treat men like chattels to make money by," that the state has both right and duty to prevent the exploitation of labor, to encourage collective bargaining, and to enact social legislation. Specifically the encyclical urged a wider distribution of private property, a fostering of industrial trade-unions and agricultural co-operative undertakings, a restriction of the hours of employment, especially of women and children, and the assurance of a "living family wage." It stressed the dignity of labor and stated that "everyone has the right to procure what is required to live." It dwelt upon the part which religion in general and Christianity in particular should perform in bringing about a better social order, and it besought the co-operation of Catholics everywhere.

The response to this as to other pleas of Leo XIII was not altogether gratifying. Many Catholic employers paid little attention to it and it did not stop the spread of Marxian socialism among workingmen, just as the Pope's democratic counsels went unheeded by numerous Catholic aristocrats and snobs, or just as, in the general intellectual life of Europe, there was no marked abatement of materialism and positivism. Yet the response was considerable. In

Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, and Holland, well-knit Catholic parties subscribed to Leo's platform of Christian democracy and Christian liberty, and gained large popular followings. In these countries, moreover, and also in France and elsewhere, the Leonine social movement gradually developed, with attendant Catholic trade-unions and Catholic propaganda among urban and rural workers. Thereby, new energy was infused into Catholic ranks, and the drift away from the church was checked among the masses as among the classes. "We must not have any illusions on this score," said a prominent French Marxist in 1898; "the only redoubtable adversary which confronts revolutionary socialism is organized Catholicism, which now has a social conscience and is a party of concessions."[12]

The organizing of Catholics on the religious, intellectual, social, and political *terrains* was an outstanding achievement of the pontificate of Leo XIII. Its climax was the series of Eucharistic Congresses, inaugurated in 1881, which, by bringing together in one city after another throughout Christendom ever vaster multitudes of worshipers, periodically testified in most impressive manner to the hold which their religion had upon them.

Certain circumstances in the Europe of the '80's and '90's aided Catholic activity. There was widespread reaction against economic liberalism and against the doctrinaire liberal parties which championed it and which had been the spearhead of anti-clericalism. There was a new concern with overseas imperialism and with the Christian missions which fortified it; as Gambetta pithily said, "anti-clericalism is not a proper export commodity." Besides, there was almost a panic among statesmen and propertied citizens over the advance of Marxian socialism and a consequent anxiety to oppose it with a coalition of conservative forces, including those of religion and especially those of well-organized Catholicism. All such circumstances made it easier for Leo XIII than it had been for Pius IX to come to terms with secular governments, and Leo was not slow to utilize for this purpose his notable diplomatic talents as well as his personal prestige.

In Italy alone no improvement was effected in the relations of

[12] Hubert Lagardelle, *Le Devenir social* (1898), 81.

church and state. Leo resolutely stuck to his predecessor's policy of denouncing the "usurpation" of Rome by the Italian government, immuring himself as a "prisoner of the Vatican," prohibiting the participation of Italian Catholics in Italian politics, and inviting foreign intervention. Such abiding intransigence was not without advantage abroad. It prevented the papacy from being subordinated to Italian national interests, and it stimulated ubiquitous sympathy for the pope as a "martyr" and attracted to him a stream of foreign visitors and funds. In Italy, however, it had serious disadvantages. It left the state entirely in the hands of radical anti-clericals, and although these did not quite venture to violate the Catholic conscience at home and abroad by carrying their hostility to its logical conclusion, they perpetually pinpricked the papacy and helped to alienate large numbers of the Italian people from all but the most casual observance of their religion.

There might have been—and eventually there was—equally serious trouble for the Catholic Church in France. Here its historic alliance with the royalist cause cost it much popular favor, and when republicans got control at the end of the '70's they proceeded forthwith to secularize education, to suppress religious congregations, and to enact other "laic laws." They would probably have gone still farther had it not been for the consistently conciliatory attitude of Leo XIII. He was pro-French in personal sentiment and eager not to embitter relations with a country most likely to back him in his quarrel with Italy. If his earnest entreaty of 1892 to French Catholics to support the Republic had been loyally obeyed by all of them instead of by a mere fraction—the so-called Ralliés —it is extremely doubtful whether the tide of French anti-clericalism would have risen to the height it did after his death.

The only other worsening of affairs for the church was in Hungary, where in the '90's a belatedly Liberal prime minister, Dr. Alexander Wekerle, against the expostulations of the pope and the strenuous opposition of the local Catholic party, put through some drastic anti-clerical measures; and in Austria, where a "Los von Rom" movement made progress among German and Czech nationalists in certain localities highly critical of the court-controlled hierarchy. In Austria, nevertheless, the losses were more than coun-

terbalanced by the rise of the Christian Socialist party and its success, under the inspiriting leadership of Karl Lueger, in enrolling large sections of the Viennese masses as well as of the peasantry and thus becoming the most numerous political party.

In Germany the ably led and well-disciplined Catholic Center party succeeded, through adroit combinations with other groups, in putting a stop to the Kulturkampf in 1880 and constraining Bismarck himself to "go to Canossa." He resumed full diplomatic relations with the Vatican in 1881, and consented in 1886 to the repeal of the most oppressive of the earlier anti-Catholic laws. In Belgium, the sectarian liberal regime was supplanted, following decisive elections of 1884, by a Catholic government, which re-established diplomatic relations with the papacy in 1885, and which only strengthened its continuing dominance by the democratic franchise it introduced in 1893. In Spain the restored Bourbon monarchy abrogated most of the anti-Catholic measures of the previous revolutionary period, and neither there nor in Portugal did any serious new crisis arise between church and state during Leo's pontificate.

Under Leo XIII, Catholics notably increased their numbers in Switzerland, in the Dutch Netherlands, and, most strikingly, in English-speaking countries. A Scottish hierarchy was re-established in 1878 after the lapse of three hundred years. In England the trickle of converts, particularly from Anglicanism, was steady; and, what was more curious, the rapid development of an Anglo-Catholic movement within the Church of England served not only to offset in part the drift of other Anglicans toward modernism but also to accustom Englishmen in general to Catholic practices and attitudes. And the continuously heavy migration from militantly Catholic Ireland laid foundations for a greatly enlarged and extended Catholic Church in the United States and throughout the British Empire.

Leo XIII hoped and labored for an ending of the schisms and divisions which had long existed in Christianity and which gravely handicapped it in the crucial conflict with irreligion. He appealed to Protestants in letters of 1893 on the Bible and of 1894 on Christian reunion. He addressed special pleas to the Eastern Orthodox

Church in 1894 and to Anglicans in 1895.[13] It was all unavailing. He neither would nor could contemplate any reunion which did not involve agreement with the dogmas of the Roman Church and acceptance of papal supremacy—and this the dissident churches quite as stubbornly refused. Christian disunion had had too long and too sore a history to be suddenly ended by a pope, even by the greatest pope of modern times.

IV. CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

If Christianity was on the defensive in Europe, it certainly conducted a vigorous offensive, during the generation of materialism, outside Europe. It had always been a zealously proselytizing religion; and in the last three decades of the nineteenth century it flung its outposts farther afield and won more converts than in any earlier period of like duration.

Paradoxically enough, contemporary materialism had an important share in this latest spiritual adventure. The very industrialization which nourished materialistic philosophy furnished unexampled means and opportunities for Christian missions. It made possible a wider and more effective organization of missionary societies within Europe (and America). It enabled these, by the cheap mechanical printing and transport which it proliferated, to flood the Christian population with propaganda favorable to foreign missions; and it provided them, from the wealth which it accumulated, with greatly increased financial support. Moreover, as industrialization led to a big expansion of European trade with, and capital-investment in, the other and more "backward" continents, and hence on to a climactic stage of European imperialism, it followed that Christian missionaries had special incentive and exceptional opportunity to establish themselves in those continents. Even the most materialistic statesmen and citizens, who were quite unsympathetic with Christianity or any supernatural religion and who directed or backed anti-clerical policies at home, were likely to abet Christian missions abroad as steppingstones or bulwarks

[13] There was much talk in the '90's, on the part of leading Anglo-Catholics and of some Continental Catholics, about "corporate reunion" of the Church of England with Rome. It was stilled by Leo XIII's pronouncement, in 1896, that Anglican orders, unlike those of the Eastern Orthodox Church, were invalid.

to the imperialism of their respective nations. Perhaps, also, many ardent Christians found in distant missionary activities a welcome relief from the materialism and indifferentism they met with in Europe. At any rate it is not without interest that France, supposedly the most de-Christianized of all the European nations, supplied more Catholic missionaries and larger funds for them than all other countries combined, or that the vast majority of Protestant missionaries came from the most highly industrialized and presumably the most materialistic nations, England and the United States.

In 1868 Lavigerie, the most famous Catholic missionary since Francis Xavier, began his labors in North Africa; and the order of White Fathers, which he founded shortly afterwards for the conversion of the Dark Continent, soon became a major auxiliary to the much older Société des Missions Étrangères and a prime stimulus to the multiplication of Catholic missions all over the world by other religious orders—Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, etc.—and also by the German Society of the Divine Word and the Belgian Society of Scheat. In December 1872 the Church of England inaugurated an annual "day of intercession for missions," and less than five months later the much-publicized death of David Livingstone on the faraway shore of Lake Tanganyika aroused all Protestantism to new missionary endeavors. In 1880 and again in 1884 Pope Leo XIII eloquently urged upon Catholics the "primary duty" of spreading the gospel. In 1885 Cambridge University, reputed the hub of materialistic science and philosophy, rolled a famous band of young Protestant graduates out to an "inland mission" in China; and in 1886 arose in America the "Student Volunteer Movement," which, with its watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation," spread presently to England and by 1900 enlisted from various colleges and universities some three thousand members, half of whom became active foreign missionaries. For Protestants an ecumenical missionary congress was held at New York in 1900, and for Catholics the concurrent celebration of a jubilee year was attended by an impressive missionary exhibition in the venerable offices of the Propaganda at Rome.

By 1900 the army of Christian missionaries in Africa, Asia, and Oceania was comparable in size and morale with the expeditionary forces of any great power. The Catholic contingent numbered about 41,000, comprising 8,000 European priests, 6,000 native priests, and 27,000 sisters and lay brothers. Protestants counted some 18,000, consisting of 5,700 European (and American) clergymen, 5,000 native clergymen, 2,800 laymen, and 4,500 unmarried women. The Orthodox added 2,000 priests and religious. The grand total of 61,000 was unprecedented in the long history of Christian missions, as was also the large proportion of medically trained missionaries who sought in heathen lands the cure of bodies as well as souls, and the still larger proportion of women. Feminism has usually been deemed a product of modern industrialism and "radical" philosophy, but the latter factor loses much of its cogency in minds that recall the tens of thousands of Catholic nuns and Protestant women workers who after 1870 made their way, unattended by mere males, on mission fields far distant from family and friends.

From large-scale planting, a considerable crop was harvested. The Catholic Church registered its growing gains by the establishment of full-fledged hierarchies for China in 1875, for northern Africa in 1884 (with Lavigerie as Cardinal Archbishop of "Carthage"), for India in 1886, and for Japan in 1891. When the century closed, Catholics numbered two and a quarter million in India, a million in China, sixty thousand in Japan and two and a half million in Africa; Protestants of one kind or another totaled one and a half million in India, a quarter of a million in China, eighty thousand in Japan, and two and a half million in Africa; while the Russian Orthodox Church had thirty thousand followers in Japan and as many more in China. Altogether, Christianity in 1900 was professed outside Europe and America—outside the traditional "West"—by some forty-one million persons, of whom the majority were the fruit of missionary activity during the last three decades.

But this activity had other and more incalculable fruits. For, while actual Christian converts constituted a very small proportion of the populations of India, China, Japan, and even Africa, Christian missionaries proved effective instruments (along with traders

and financiers) for spreading at least the externals of "Western" civilization among a large part of those populations and thus contributing to the "Europeanization" of the whole world. Particularly through the numerous schools and hospitals which missionaries founded, many natives who did not become Christian acquired at any rate a taste for the education, the science, the machinery, the clothing, and the pastimes of contemporary Europe.

Nor was the impact of Christianity and "Western" civilization on the "East" without influence on Hinduism and Buddhism. Some of the priests of these great indigenous religions sought to invest them with ethical principles borrowed more or less consciously from Christianity, while among intellectuals who traditionally professed them there was a rise of a kind of modernism or of outright agnosticism comparable with that in the Christian West. If Christian missionaries were helping to transform a European into a world civilization, it was becoming more dubious whether this world civilization would be based, as Europe's had been, on a common religious faith and experience, or whether it would be purely material.

V. SOCIOLOGICAL REALISM IN ART

That traditional religion seemed to be declining in Europe faster and more catastrophically than it actually was, may be attributed to the contemptuous if not hostile attitude toward it on the part of almost every first-rate literary man and almost every outstanding artist of the generation from 1871 to 1900. Immediately before, there had been Christian novelists like Dickens and Dostoevski and Christian painters like Millet and the pre-Raphaelites, and just afterwards there would be Undset and Chesterton, Meštrovic and Eric Gill; but in the meantime there was an obvious dearth of Christian pens, brushes, and chisels. The irreligion or anti-religion of the generations of materialism, while affecting many natural scientists and most social scientists, possessed practically all artists, and these, having extraordinary gifts of expression, were far more influential than the others in fashioning the thought and mood of the intellectual and would-be intellectual classes.

The early nineteenth-century conflict between classicism and

romanticism had already been superseded by one between idealism and realism; and the realism that gradually emerged victorious in the '50's and '60's was represented most characteristically by discursive novels, which either, like Thackeray's or Balzac's, portrayed the weakness of individuals and the shams of society, or, like Hugo's *Les Misérables*, Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the novels of Disraeli, Turgeniev, and Tolstoy, dealt in a spirit of humanitarian uplift with practical problems of poverty, slavery, crime, and war. After 1870 the discursive realistic novel was supplemented by the realistic drama, and both were given a powerful fillip—and a somewhat different slant—by the new generation's engrossment in evolutionary sociology and psychology and in positivistic factualness. To the literary lights of the period, social problems loomed very large and humanity's need of grappling with them appeared especially exigent. Yet it seemed worse than idle, in view of the "facts of modern science," to be romantic about contemporary problems or, on the other hand, to expect any help for them from pure reason or classical precedent. One must recognize facts and record them in photographic detail and exactness. One must not touch them up, as a Dickens or a Hugo had been wont to do, with a background of moral earnestness or with any transcendental trimmings. Rather, one must grasp the halting gradualness of man's ascent from the savage animal origins and the atavistic, pathological, and irrational features of his present existence; and one must let the facts speak for themselves.

Most of the dominant realistic literature of the era can be broadly classified as either sociological or psychological, and analogous categories are applicable to much of its pictorial and plastic art. We shall here indicate the nature and cite examples, first of the sociological and then (in the next section) of the psychological realism, though it should be borne in mind that the two sorts were synchronous and complementary and that only in combination did they express the ethos of the period.

In literature, sociological realism was concerned primarily with problems of family or class, nation or society at large—eugenics, feminism, democracy, labor, alcoholism, racial decadence, backward peoples, the White Man's burden. Of these it usually treated

in interminable quasi-journalistic prose, with a wealth of sordid and presumably scientific detail, with an underlying philosophy of naturalism and determinism and yet with an oddly sure and buoyant optimism that somehow through evolutionary processes everything must eventually turn out right.

Zola set the pace during the three decades after 1871 by relentlessly pursuing, through no fewer than twenty beefy tomes, the pathological case history of several generations of a sorry and degenerating French family, and by dashing off, in spells of perverted recreation, a somber novel on supposed Malthusian laws of population, a lugubrious one on labor conditions, and a very melodramatic one on hereditary drunkenness. Thomas Hardy devoted his much greater literary talents to exposition of the barnyard aspects of human life and particularly of the fateful workings of the struggle for existence in peasant and village life in the English countryside of Wessex. In Norway Björnson followed up his romantic sagas of a peasant nation with Zola-like didactic novels on heredity and environment. Even Tolstoy, who retained a hankering for Christianity and grew more illogically mystical, revealed in the communistic preachments of his later novels, *The Kreutzer Sonata* and *Resurrection*, a similar concern with sociological data.

The sociological drama was ushered in by Ibsen's grim diagnoses of hypocrisy and other woeful ills; and *A Doll's House* (1879) and *Ghosts* (1881) exerted profound influence on Hauptmann's murky *Before Sunrise*, on Sudermann's *Honor* (which should have been entitled *Dishonor*), on Chekhov's whimpering *Seagull* and *Cherry Orchard*, on the sex triangles of Pinero and the medico-salacity of Brieux and Schnitzler. Above all, Ibsen, in conjunction with Samuel Butler's mockery of religion and traditional morals,[14] swerved Bernard Shaw from art criticism and socialist pamphleteering to a career as the most shocking European dramatist at the turn of the century. Shaw was then the author of *Unpleasant Plays* and *Plays for Puritans* about prostitution, militarism, the Nietzschean superman, etc.

It is doubtful whether any of these dramas and novels had wide

[14] Butler's masterpiece, *The Way of All Flesh*, was written between 1872 and 1884 but was not given to the general public until 1903, the year after his death.

popular appeal. It was *de rigueur*, of course, for the sophisticated and the fashionable to give ear or eye to them and to buzz approval, but even in such rarefied ranks the buzzing may have concealed some of the boredom which elicited unabashed yawns from those whom social scientists dubbed the underprivileged classes. At any rate the cleavage between what intellectuals deemed great literature and what most people preferred to read was sharpened. Sociological realism was plentiful, but its spiciest and most smelly kind was caviar to the general public.

The taste of the more discriminating among the masses was served, half realistically, half romantically, by adventure stories of a Robert Louis Stevenson, by a Barrie's whimsical novels and plays, by a Daudet's quixotic *Tartarin*, by a Lewis Carroll's continuing excursions with a perplexed *Alice*; and that of a still wider public, by a profusion of exciting narratives concerning strange peoples and strange things which current science, geographical, archæological, and physical, was bringing to European consciousness. From the French naval officer who wrote under the pseudonym of Pierre Loti flowed a series of autobiographical romances about exotic Turks, Tahitians, and Senegalese. From Bret Harte, sojourning in Europe after 1878, emanated two score of blood-and-thunder stories about the American wild West which he had known in his youth. From Maxim Gorky came lurid tales of Russian tramps and outcasts; and from Rudyard Kipling, who spent his early years in India and some later ones in America, came *Plain Tales from the Hills*, *Jungle Books*, and that stirring yarn of deep-sea fishery, *Captains Courageous*. Like Kipling's denizens of the jungle, the storied birds and insects of John Burroughs and the "br'er rabbit" of Joel Chandler Harris appealed to a generation which was tempted to believe that humans are but compatriots with birds and beasts in a democratic animal kingdom.

The appeal was likewise enormous of the "archæological romance"—the fantastic accounts of the life and love, intrigue and doom, of ancient Egypt, for example, by George Ebers, or of ancient Mexico by General Lew Wallace, or of aboriginal (and amazingly rich and resourceful) Africa by Rider Haggard, or of Christian origins in Wallace's *Ben-Hur* and Sienkiewicz's *Quo*

Vadis. Quite as popular was the type of novel which looked into the future and gave to the wildest guesses concerning the further progress of technology and natural science an appearance of plausibility and an air of realism. This type, originally exemplified in the '60's and '70's by Jules Verne's thrilling travels down to the center of the earth, up to the moon, under the seas, and around the world, reached most perfect fruition in the '90's with H. G. Wells's "scientific" romances of *The Time Machine*, *The Stolen Bacillus*, *The War of the Worlds*. Presently and naturally Wells would soar from scientific to sociological (and messianic) futurism, and take myriads of readers along with him.

The age was prosy, if not prosaic. Sociology did not lend itself to verse, except to very free verse. Poetry languished or withdrew into waste spaces or second-class cafés. Walt Whitman, it is true, kept producing new and enlarged editions of his *Leaves of Grass* as sustaining fodder for manly democratic comrades, and William Morris composed rousing *Chants for Socialists*, but there was lingering doubt whether the *Leaves* and *Chants* were genuine poetry or hortatory prose that merely looked like poetry. Outside of the symbolists, who appeared late and were immune to social science, it was left to Swinburne, almost alone, to wear the laurels of a master poet. These he won by fitting pieces of classicism, humanitarianism, and romantic liberalism with patches of Darwinian and Nietzschean philosophy into a colorful quilt of alliterative rhetoric, peculiarly beguiling to youth. Not until the end of the century did Swinburne go out of fashion and Kipling the poet come in. Only then did melody pass from soprano to bass, from plaintive arias about "the pale Galilæan" to stentorian odes about "lesser breeds."

The art of caricature, which flourished throughout the nineteenth century as never before, broadened its appeal during the century's final era, in part because of the greater number and wider circulation of comic journals, and in part because of the continuing technical excellence of its practitioners and their utilization of a large range of timely subjects. Tenniel remained the premier caricaturist of *Punch* and marked with genial satire every major political event of the era. In succession to Daumier—the Balzac of French caricature—arose the incomparable Forain, whose merciless picturing of

the corruption of republican politicians and bourgeois capitalists added no little fuel to the Boulangist and Dreyfus fires.

The painting of the era was less distinguished and much less "sociological." Its total quantity greatly increased in response to growing demands for the adornment of public buildings, for the filling of museums, and for the cultural ostentation of wealthy industrialists (and their wives). But a good deal of it was second-rate, and among the superior was a bewildering variety of "schools." One, including Leighton and Alma-Tadema, stuck to tiresome imitation of classical models—gods and goddesses, fauns and nymphs, and all the rest. Another echoed the romanticism of a Delacroix or a Meissonier and employed it for some of the best (as well as the worst) of the nationalistic painting, with which the era abounded. The "schools" that came nearest to being original in technic and subject matter were the impressionist and post-impressionist; the latter was too introspective to be concerned with social problems; and only a humorless *savant* could perceive social significance in the pictures of chorus girls, prizefighters, workwomen, and jockeys which such impressionists as Degas and Lautrec loved to depict. What sociological realism there was in painting, comparable with that in literature, was most clearly represented by the horribly gruesome war pictures of Vereshchagin, himself a participant in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and a victim of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904. It should be added, however, that Puvis de Chavannes was moved by the social science of the time to make his murals in the Boston Public Library a pictorial tale of human evolution.

The sculpture of the period was prolific and much of it carried unmistakable social message, either nationalist or laborite. Meunier, with consummate craftsmanship, preached in stone the new gospel of the exceeding worth of industrial and agricultural workers, and Meunier inspired innumerable disciples. On the other hand, the gospel of nationalism was carved afresh, widely and with popular appeal, in the baroque outbursts of Begas at Berlin, in the florid sensuousness of Dalou, Falguière, and Bartholomé at Paris, and in the "realist" statues of Saint-Gaudens in America. It is noteworthy that Dalou, always radically minded, turned in his later days from

celebrating the triumph of Republican France to projecting an apotheosis of Marxism.

Of musical art the prevailing mood remained romantically nationalist. Such operatic geniuses of the preceding era as Gounod, Verdi, and Wagner survived well into, or even through, the new era, the last named with ever-increasing devotion to German mythology;[15] and the tradition of "national schools" thus established was preserved by Saint-Saëns and Massenet, Richard Strauss, and Puccini. Besides, there was a veritable epidemic of "folk music." Brahms followed up his *Song of Triumph* in honor of German military victories of 1870 with lively *Hungarian Dances*. Tschaikovsky based his *Eugen Onegin* on a folk story by Pushkin and composed his most famous overture in commemoration of Napoleon's repulse in 1812. Toward a distinctively Russian opera, Moussorgsky contributed the fateful *Boris Godunov*, and Rimski-Korsakov, *Sadko* and *Coq d'Or* with their modernist enshrinement of folk tunes. Smetana and Dvořák elaborated folk music for the Czechs, Grieg for the Norwegians. And the operettas of Sullivan, with Gilbert's indispensable librettos, were as British and as cleverly satirical as the drawings of Tenniel.

Architecture, the most enduring of the arts, was least affected by the intellectual fashions of the generation. Classical styles continued their predominance with eclectic variations, and even the romantic Gothic, which lost some favor, was still widely employed for church construction and was newly embodied in parliamentary buildings at Budapest and Ottawa. Yet there was the beginning of the revolutionary movement known as functionalism, which derived from Darwinian philosophy its cardinal principle that form must be rigorously adapted to environment and functions. Its first major fruits were the Eiffel Tower at Paris, the Bishopsgate Institute at London, the stations of the urban railway at Vienna, the Wertheim department store at Berlin. Its big crop would ripen in the twentieth century.

VI. PSYCHOLOGICAL REALISM

Next to social problems, the realism of the age was most concerned with psychological analyses of individuals, particularly with

[15] "Wagnerism," like "Marxism," was chiefly post-1880.

their "fated" response to domestic milieu and to traditional conventions and institutions. Unlike sociological realism, the psychological was likely to be pessimistic, or at least ironical, and to be meticulously expressed. Its prototype, in literature, was Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, which had been regarded as smutty when it first appeared in 1857 but which in the '80's was acclaimed as sound psychology and the finest art. By this time Maupassant's sardonic pornography was giving peculiar meaning to the "French" *conte d'amour* and making Flaubert seem tame.

In England flourished Meredith, whose *Egoist* and *Diana* were greeted in the '80's with kid-gloved applause for their keen dissection of feminine character and for their epigrams and brilliant dialogue. Followed Henry James, with a style still more involved and with plots and characters more shadowy; his business was to track members of the leisured class, like ghosts, into the cupboards of their minds.

A rather different and less baffling kind of mental study was supplied from the '80's by Anatole France, who had all of Voltaire's lucidity and wit and all his religious and moral skepticism, and in addition a disillusioning pessimism and a total lack, at least until 1900, of any reforming zeal. The novel of the French naturalist species was transplanted to British gardens in the '90's by the *Esther Waters* of that painter of moods, George Moore—Irishman by birth and Frenchman by choice.

Curiously enough, to a generation which doubted or denied the existence of souls in the theological sense, the existence of national and other group "souls" seemed more or less axiomatic, and as a special branch of psychological realism, these "souls" were duly and deftly portrayed. Historians and critics of literature, Taine and Matthew Arnold for example, laid bare the "souls" of Saxon, Norman, Celtic, and many another ethnic group. The Russian "soul" usually turned out to be melancholy, the German *gemütlich*, the Spanish passionate.

Collective psychoanalyzing was practiced by certain novelists and poets like Bourget and Verhaeren, who, not having cut themselves loose from Christianity, and feeling a nostalgia for rural communities where it was still rooted (and where there were no

factories or industrialists), discoursed in a minor key about the "soul" of countryside and its hapless fate in the "soulless city." But the main practitioners of the art were writers like Barrès and D'Annunzio, who began as frank disciples of Nietzsche and then, under the influence of Taine's alchemy, transmuted their base personal egotism into a precious soul-endowed national egotism. Barrès's first trilogy, *The Cult of Myself,* was published at the end of the '80's, and his second, *The Romance of National Energy,* at the end of the '90's. In view of the subsequent role of the psychological nationalism which he espoused, perhaps Barrès is less "dated" than contemporaries like Henry James and Anatole France.

The masses, it must be confessed, could not appreciate and would not read James or Meredith or even Flaubert, and Anatole France left them cold. But they did read and immensely enjoy a good detective story, to the production of which the general psychological interests of the era were especially conducive. Between criminal and detective was waged a battle of minds, with material wealth and success the stakes, and with new scientific weapons at hand. Wilkie Collins petered out in the '70's, but a greater than he, the matchless Conan Doyle, introduced Sherlock Holmes in the '80's. Already, in every European language, Nick Carter and countless other pennydreadfuls were selling like hot cakes.

All the arts were tinged with psychological realism. It showed in impressionist painting, in symbolist poetry, in the music of Debussy. It especially characterized the allegorical painting of Arnold Böcklin, the portraiture of Sargent and Lavery, and that outgrowth of impressionism which went under the name of post-impressionism. Cézanne, the stepfather of the last, belonged originally to the "school" of Manet and Pissarro, but, wishing to emphasize the "realistic" aspects of his art and to produce more striking psychological effects, he took to employing thick layers of paint for pictures at once simple, vivid, slightly distorted, and highly individualistic. His most distinctive work was done in the '90's, almost simultaneously with the egotistical and soulful painting of those insane geniuses, Vincent van Gogh, who died by his own hand, and Paul Gauguin, who went "savage" on South Sea islands. None of these post-impressionists enjoyed any immediate vogue, but

they were products of their era and eventual fashioners of the "modern art" of a later and more weary generation. Theirs was the psychology of Nietzschean willfulness. As one of Gauguin's disciples explained, "He freed us from all restraints which the idea of copying placed on our painter's instinct. . . . We aspired to express our own personality, our own soul. . . . If at any moment a tree looked reddish to us, we might paint it in vermilion; if a girl's shoulder struck us just right, we might stress its curve to the point of deformation."

The sculpture of Rodin, however, was the most perfect mirror of the era's intellectual trends. He was alive to them all, and knew how in stone to make them romantically and vividly pictorial. His celebrated *Thinker* is more eloquent of physiological psychology and of man's evolution from the beasts than all the learned volumes of Wundt and Darwin. His *Gate of Hell* is the ultimate enduring monument to the era's discontents and doubts.

VII. IMPRESSIONISM AND ECLECTICISM

The majority of artists of the materialistic generation faced its "facts" and acquired from them a strongly sociological or psychological bent. But a minority, including some of the most remarkable painters and poets, ran away from the facts, so to speak, in an erratic quest of "art for art's sake." Why this should have happened, is not altogether clear. Perhaps it was an emotional reaction against the certitudes of natural and social science. Perhaps, on the other hand, it was a reasonable conviction, born of the acceptance of those certitudes, that man, being only a chemical flutter, had nothing much to do except to seek sensations and to play at art.

In painting, this runaway aesthetic movement was tagged "impressionism" in 1874, although it had begun a decade earlier with Manet, and "luminism" would have been a more descriptive title. All the painters who participated in it—Manet himself, Pissarro, Degas, Fantin-latour, Monet, Renoir, Zorn, Whistler, Sorolla—fairly worshiped light and the sense organ of vision. Anything which light revealed to the eye of the artist as beautiful he should paint, as if he were inspired, without reference to anyone else's opinion. Nothing could be learned from "academic" painters, and

not much from any of the historic schools, except as the canvases of El Greco, Rembrandt, and Velásquez revealed the secret of peculiar luminosity and queer distortion. New and ingenious expedients the impressionists would contrive for, capturing in paint the coruscation of the noonday sun, the subtler mystery of moonlight, the complexities of artificial illumination.

Here, then, was the movement's central current. But accompanying it, as side eddies, were a dreamy poetical mood emanating from romantic sources (notably Corot) and a special appreciation of the decorum and decorousness of recently discovered Japanese art. With the exception of Pissarro the impressionists were notoriously faulty draftsmen, and their intense subjectivity and aesthetic posturing at first rendered them ridiculous to critics and bewildering to the general public. Yet by the '90's they were becoming fashionable. In 1877 Manet had proposed to aid Monet by buying ten pictures at a hundred francs each. In 1896 Monet was heading a national subscription to buy Manet's *Olympia* for the Louvre. And without impressionism, there could have been no post-impressionism and no "modern" painting.

Analogous to impressionism in painting was symbolism in literature. This involved a careful choice of just such words and phrases as would convey an appropriate "atmosphere"—usually a quasi-mystical atmosphere—with the implication at least that form is more than content and sound is more than sense. "Not sharp colors but pastel shades, not a literal exactness but a suggestive use of words," was one definition. Symbolism, in some degree, was apparent in the studied striving for atmosphere and effect which characterized such prose writers as Meredith, Maupassant, Bourget, Anatole France, and Chekhov. But it was principally the poets of a preponderantly prosaic age who stampeded from materialism and found refuge in conscious and acknowledged symbolism.

The formal founder of symbolist theory, and its premier poet, was Stéphane Mallarmé, a mild-mannered French professor of English literature, who taught that beauty can best be sensed through words mysteriously suggestive of color, sound, taste, and touch. He was enamored of Poe's poetry, which he translated into French, and he held that the most perfect phrase in all literature

was Poe's line about "the viol, the violet, and the vine." His own poetry, beginning in 1876 with the celebrated *Après-midi d'un faune*, he clothed with a richly jeweled magnificence and a vaguely haunting impressionism. As he aged, he grew more obscure and finally abandoned punctuation.

For years Mallarmé presided every Tuesday evening over a salon at which he held forth on aesthetic feeling to a flock of literary neophytes. And the influence which he thus exerted at Paris was paralleled at Oxford by that of Walter Pater, whose *Marius the Epicurean* (1885) encased a similar gospel in subtly poetical prose. By the late '80's and throughout the '90's the devotees of symbolism and literary aestheticism were numerous and notorious. They included, for example, the French "decadents," Verlaine and Rimbaud, the Belgian Verhaeren, the Anglo-Irishman Wilde, as well as a swarm of minor poets—the period specialized in minor poets—who reveled in Japanese prints and renaissance brocades, in lilies and sunflowers, in absinthe and hashish and the strangest amours. There were those also who, like the young pioneers of the Celtic revival in Ireland, evoked in symbolic form (frequently with unintelligible footnotes) a dim and legendary national past. Likewise, there was Maeterlinck. The reputation he made with *Pelléas and Melisande* in 1892 he sustained with a succession of symbolic plays suggesting the "souls" of orphan princesses, blind beggars, and pale Arthurian knights, who, in shadowy bodies beyond time and space, mysteriously stir about and vaguely sigh according to the dictates of some inscrutable but perpetually thwarting fate. Under a Maeterlinckian spell, even Ibsen, in his declining years, forsook sociological realism and took to penning dramas in which no comprehensible content but only an esoteric "art" remained.

Symbolism in literature was no more popular than impressionism in painting. It, too, was an easy butt of ridicule, and for one person who really liked Wilde's *Salome* there were scores who heartily encored Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience*. Yet if symbolism, like impressionism, belong only chronologically to the generation of materialism, it was ahead of its time, not behind.

This was strikingly true of the impressionistic music which issued from Debussy's experimentation in the '80's with unusual scales

and mystical dissonances calculated to appeal to sophisticated imagination rather than to simpler emotions, and which received novel expression in his settings of Mallarmé's *Après-midi* and Maeterlinck's *Pelléas*. Before the end of the '90's Debussy's innovations were carried further, in the direction of literary symbolism, by the young Russian Scriabin, whose peculiar system of harmony, he claimed, was consonant with a natural color scheme; and still further by the youthful Austrian Schönberg, who, like the impressionist painters, threw over the whole cargo of rules and models and relied upon "natural inspiration." "Modern music" was in the making.

Over against all such novelties in music, painting, and literature, must be set the stolid classical conservatism of architecture. What novelty there was in the most monumental and enduring of the arts was the functionalism which has already been mentioned, and it represented no running away from the realities of the age, no lapse into mysticism or preciousness; rather, it was Darwinian in inspiration and almost brutally utilitarian in object. On the other hand, the all-prevailing architectural mode was not at all novel. It was an adaptive or eclectic classicism—a decorative baroque classicism, varying from one country to another in accordance with historic and national circumstance, and not disdaining to make use of up-to-date materials, such as iron and concrete, or of alien embellishments borrowed from Egypt or the Orient. It seemed singularly appropriate to Europe's latest stage of evolution, for while it conserved the inveterate classical (and pagan) tradition, it reflected, in its very grandeur and ornateness, the magnitude and éclat of the modern nation's machine industry, material wealth, and imperial ambition.

Nations vied with one another as to which could rear the heaviest and most grandiose pile of eclectic classicism. Belgium led off with the gigantic palace of justice at Brussels (1866-1883). Austria doubled with the imposing museums of art and natural history and other imperial structures on the rebuilt Ringstrasse at Vienna (1870-1889). Germany outbid both with the Reichstag building (1882-1894) and Protestant cathedral (1888-1895) at Berlin and the Supreme Court edifice (1884-1895) at Leipzig. But the honors, at

least for size and extravagance, went to Italy for the Victor Emmanuel monument at Rome (1884-1911). France had to content herself with the bizarre Trocadero (1878) and with the lighter and more graceful form of eclecticism which she exported to the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and perfected in the Little Palace at the Paris Fair of 1900.

Two eclectic variants appeared during the period. One was the revival of a Byzantine style, illustrated by the church of the Sacred Heart, the erection of which in Paris atop Montmartre was voted by the royalist majority in the French parliament in 1874 as "an act of national expiation for the crimes of revolution," and by the Catholic cathedral of Westminster, in London, which was begun in the '90's. The other was a special kind of domestic architecture, aiming at picturesqueness in appearance and livableness in interior appointments. It represented an adaptation, on the Continent, of the Swiss châlet, and in England (and the United States), of the house of Queen Anne's time. It was congruously suburban and bourgeois. "Modern" architecture for tenements and workshops of the urban proletariat awaited a great new event in European history—the full emergence of the masses.